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W.L.M. KING PAPERS

Memoranda and Notes

1940-1950

MG 26 J 4 Volume 380

Pages C265471-C267260

W.L.M. King Papers, Memoranda and Notes, 1940-1950,
MG 26 J 4, Volume 380, pages C265471-C267260

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 265

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
1ST NOVEMBER, 1944.

Copy No. 183

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

THE O.K.W. bulletins of the past weeks show a "Fortress Germany" stubbornly defended against a great arc of attack stretching from Kirkenes (evacuated on the 27th) through Memel, East Prussia, Hungary, Slovakia, Yugoslavia and Italy, round to the Vosges, the Moselle valley and Holland. The formulæ of this defence are now quite familiar: concentric attacks in the main frustrated, bitter fighting, enemy penetrations at great cost, &c. The western campaign, according to the Germans, last week took second place to the more intense fighting in Kurland and East Prussia: Goldap was stated to have been evacuated on the 23rd; the Russians penetrated into Ebenrode on the 26th and Schlossberg on the 27th. If there is a new feature in these communiqués it is the daily specification of German towns bombarded from the air; twenty cities have been thus named within one week. Such raids, admitted by Goebbels to be Germany's chief present anxiety, inflict much more than material damage. The Kreisleiter of Duisburg, in a statement recently reported, has revealed the strain now put on civic discipline. He asks the bombed-out to be patient until emergency accommodation can be found for them, he warns those as yet unaffected that they must make more room for the homeless and he warns every worker who fails to report for duty immediately that he will be treated as a *Volksschädling*. In the much smaller frontier town of Kleve a recent air raid apparently disorganised all official A.R.P. "Improvised" arrangements were excused on the ground that "many political leaders" had been killed and the population was reproved for having disregarded the Party's efforts to evacuate them eastwards. Such is the general impression of Allied air strength in Germany that, according to a Swedish report, a frequent topic of conversation is now the possibility of air-borne landings within the Reich.

The new Volkssturm has lost no time in assuming military importance if that may be judged by a place in the O.K.W. bulletins. It is said to have fought gallantly in East Prussia side by side with regular troops. But the enthusiasms

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of propaganda have already given way to colder reality. It has been announced this week that there will be no issue of uniforms or boots save to recruits who have been bombed out. Dittmar in his weekly talk was apparently concerned to provide doubters with some assurance of the military value of the new levies. Their creation signified "an unprecedented extension in depth of the battle zone" but he explained that by this he did not mean an increase in fully-armed forces, but "an increased degree of safety for the rear of the actual fighting front." The levies might achieve considerable defensive strength "but their chief value would be moral rather than material."

Mr. Churchill's statement on the Moscow visit has received fairly detailed comment. Apart from abuse, and the capital made out of the picture of the wandering minstrel, between whom "and the kings to whom he sang there was indeed a great gulf fixed in the Middle Ages," some comfort was derived from the cautious phraseology used to describe the military situation and from the lack of details as to what had really transpired in Moscow: "The House knows as little about the actual conversations as it knew before he spoke." German listeners were told not to be alarmed by the references to Allied unity and the destruction of Germany. This was nothing new and people need not hope for startling political developments: "Germany knows that at this stage the war will be and must be fought exclusively by military means."

The only utterance of political importance on the German side has come from Goebbels who, in another of his general reviews of the war, which was given considerable advance publicity, attempted a German balance sheet of happenings in the last three months. He argued that to fight for time, as Germany was now forced to do, was not hopeless resistance, but contained real hope of victory and suggested that the German leaders were not without a policy: "The nation is firmly determined to hold out in this struggle for its existence until its victorious end, and it is the duty of its leaders to show it the ways and means whereby this gallant endeavour may be brought to the speediest and most complete success." Denying that the self-confidence of the nation had been impaired, he praised the fine spirit both of fighting troops and air-raid victims, and assured his hearers that the September crisis was definitely over. He passed on an assurance of belief in victory given personally to him by Hitler and found in it more conviction than boastings in the enemy camp could provide. Hitler has this week given the same assurance in reply to a telegram from the new Hungarian Premier who had addressed him as "the first hero of the present tremendous military, ideological and workers' struggle." (See later under "Hungary.")

An examination of the fighting value of the German Air Force in October brings out the great efforts made by the Germans to develop their fighter force, which, despite all difficulties of training, reorganisation and fuel shortage, has increased in strength since August. The worst difficulties caused by the retreat through France, such as the lack of operational airfields, shelter cover, &c., within the Reich would seem to have been overcome. The supply of pilots is maintained by withdrawal from the now heavily reduced bomber force. Fuel difficulties have caused training in all branches to be cut to a minimum, but the efficiency of the German night-fighter force is stressed and experiments with jet-propelled aircraft are thought to be well advanced. It has long been evident that one task which the German Air Force is unable to perform is the provision of adequate cover for the fighting troops. What this means to the soldier is brought out by German Army Divisional Report on operations in Norway in July stating without qualification that "the enemy have complete mastery of the air. They bomb and strafe every movement, even single vehicles and individuals. They reconnoitre our front the whole time. Against all this the Luftwaffe is conspicuous by its total absence . . . . Our soldiers enter the battle in low spirits at the thought of the enemy's enormous material superiority. They are always asking: 'Where is the Luftwaffe?'"

Recent air attacks on the rail and water arteries of Western Germany have gravely prejudiced communication between the centres of heavy industry in the Ruhr from those in the rest of the Reich. Supply difficulties have reduced crude steel production in the Ruhr, and the bombing of Duisburg in early October has caused the actual destruction of one-third of all crude steel capacity in that district. Meanwhile, the Russian advance in east, south and north, in conjunction with Allied pressure on the neutral States, has deprived Germany of such important steel alloys as manganese, chrome, nickel and wolfram, which are bound to affect adversely German arms production. A shortage of weapons has been observed on both western and eastern fronts; this is, however, partly due to transport difficulties. It is also reported that 50 per cent. of the newly formed

infantry units in East Prussia are equipped with weapons confiscated from Czech stores in 1939.

In connexion with the armament plants now being driven underground in Germany, it is announced that underground workers are to be given additional rations, approximating to those received by miners. Suggestions have been made that the number of such plants is now considerable, and that working conditions (involving lack of air and sunlight, damp and discomfort) are not conducive to increased effort.

Now that the Allies stand on German soil, the refusal of Germans to believe in the brutality of their enemies is giving concern to the Nazi authorities. The press frequently rebukes people for saying that the Americans are not to be feared. The arrest was recently reported of a woman who said that British officers billeted in her home during the Rhineland occupation behaved like gentlemen. "Rumours" of the good behaviour of Allied troops are denied, and one paper has actually spoken of them as the cause of widespread refusal to obey the evacuation order. It is now clear that large numbers of people have done this in German towns so far captured. Similar developments are reported from the eastern districts of the Reich. The good behaviour of Russian troops, said DNB on the 23rd October, was a trick to persuade Germans not to resist them. The Nazi answer is a flood of publicity, greatly swollen of late, regarding enemy severity and brutality. Details have been given of the confiscation of food stocks in Aachen, the refusal to import further supplies; courts which pass only death sentences; bad conditions in work camps; and the like. The destruction of Wallendorf, announced in the United States on the 17th September, was kept back for this spate of publicity, and first revealed to Germans on the 12th October. Happenings in the East Prussian village of Nemmersdorf have been similarly written up. The German press has also reported the courageous behaviour of patriots in the conquered districts, notably that Eisenhower has been unable to find Germans to act as heads of communes, that administrative officials have continued to perform their duties only if they could thereby assist their compatriots. A Communist has, for lack of better candidates, had to be installed as Mayor of Eupen. Allied sentries have mysteriously disappeared.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

During the past week the Red Army has cleared practically the whole of Ruthenia of the enemy and has reached the eastern borders of Slovakia. The chief towns and communication centres of Chust, Mukačevo, Užhorod and Čop have all been taken, and on the 27th October, the eve of Czechoslovak Independence Day, M. Nemec, the Czechoslovak Government Delegate for Liberated Territory, was able to send telegrams to President Beneš and Premier Srámek stating that he had entered Ruthenia and taken over the administration of the liberated areas.

By contrast, the German divisions in Slovakia have scored important successes against the resistance forces. The two main bastions of the patriots' defence area, Zvolen and Banská Bystrica, the centre and headquarters of the rising, were captured on the 26th and 27th October respectively, and the remaining troops and partisans can only hope to continue the struggle on a guerrilla basis in the hills. A telegram from the resistance headquarters to the Czechoslovak Government on the 27th October indicated the gravity of the situation: "The Slovak people and army fight enthusiastically for the Czechoslovak Republic despite absolute enemy superiority. They fight for every inch of liberated soil and pay a heavy toll. In the fierce iron encirclement, which becomes more and more gripping, the only encouragement in our physical and moral distress is the knowledge that you fight with us and that we are not alone." Subsequently it was announced that, in view of the nature of the fighting and to avoid giving information to the enemy, regular communiqués would no longer be issued.

Bratislava has naturally waxed jubilant over the capture of Banská Bystrica. President Tiso, his Premier and his Defence Minister sent grateful telegrams to Hitler, Ribbentrop and Himmler; flags were ordered to be flown in all towns and parishes of Slovakia; and the press and radio extracted the maximum of propaganda value from the success. The favourite lines of argument were that Beneš, under Russian orders, had once more brought calamity to Slovakia, and that, as in the case of Warsaw, the failure of the Red Army to bring promised relief to the rebels was merely additional proof of Bolshevik perfidy.

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The event was hailed in similar fashion in the Protectorate. There, on the 29th October, Moravec broke an unwontedly long silence with a speech reviewing the achievements of the Krejčí Government during the past three years. It was the familiar story: they had buried the old antagonism between the Czechs and Germans; poverty and hunger were nowhere to be seen; Bohemia and Moravia were enjoying blessed tranquillity in a war-torn Europe; and, finally, the collapse of the Slovak rising meant that for a second time, and now finally, the idea of a Czechoslovak Republic had been buried.

POLAND.

There is as yet no news of any decision having been taken by the Polish Government on the problems raised in the Moscow conversations, which were discussed in *Summary* No. 264. M. Mikolajczyk has laid them before his Cabinet, the Polish National Council in London, and the official Underground movement in Poland.

On the 26th October he had a talk with Mr. Churchill, who gave the House of Commons an account of the Moscow discussions the same afternoon. In that speech Mr. Churchill said he hoped M. Mikolajczyk would "soon return to Moscow," and that "a good arrangement" would "be made which will enable him to form a Polish Government on Polish soil—a Government recognised by all the great Powers concerned." It was, he said, His Majesty's Government's aim that the Polish people should "find in Europe an abiding home and resting-place, which, though it may not entirely coincide or correspond with the pre-war frontier of Poland, will, nevertheless, be adequate for the needs of the Polish nation and not inferior in character and quality, taking the picture as a whole, to what they had previously possessed." Mr. Churchill hinted at the necessity for wasting no time in "indecision or in protracted negotiation," and observed that "if the Polish Government had taken the advice we tendered them at the beginning of this year, the additional complications produced by the formation of the Polish National Committee of Liberation at Lublin would not have arisen."

In the meantime, there is an absence of comment on these problems from Moscow, and broadcasts by the National Liberation Committee's station, except that the latter continues to abuse the reactionary *émigré* Polish Government in London (without naming M. Mikolajczyk) and urges the need for a definite and speedy solution. The Liberation Committee is proceeding more rapidly, according to a Moscow broadcast, with the allocation of land in liberated Poland to the peasants; and is appealing for aid, and especially for food, for the population. It claims that U.N.R.R.A. aid is being delayed owing to action by the Polish Government in London, but for this accusation there seems to be no justification. It is stated that oil is already being produced from the oil-wells in the liberated parts of Galicia west of the southern extension ("Line A") of the Curzon Line.

SOVIET UNION.

Red Army troops captured Kirkenes on the 25th October and have reached Neiden, 12 miles inside the Norwegian frontier. In face of bitter German resistance little progress has been made in East Prussia during the past week, and there has been no great change immediately to the south, except that Jablonna, on the Vistula 8 miles N.N.W. of the Warsaw suburb of Praga, was wrested from the Germans on the 28th October. On Czechoslovak territory Mukocevo was liberated on the 26th and Uzhorod on the 27th October, whilst in Yugoslavia to the north-west of Belgrade the towns of Novi Sad and Apatin on the left bank of the Danube were freed on the 27th and 28th respectively.

On the 24th October, at Tehran, M. Kavtaradze held a press conference in the Soviet Embassy (see below under "Middle East") at which he discussed the recent talks with the Persian Government on the subject of the Soviet demand for oil concessions, but the open attack which he there made on the Persian Prime Minister had had its forerunner in a leading article in the Moscow newspaper *Trud* on the 22nd of the month. This article quoted certain Persian papers to show that M. Saed's policy had led to internal disorders, especially in Kurdistan, and had been disastrous for Persia. *Trud* seems, too, to have gone so far as to make the entirely unwarranted statement that the Prime Minister's duplicity was also shown by the intensification of the subversive work of pro-Fascist elements in Persia and by open tolerance on the part of the Government of continued efforts of evilly-intentioned elements to disrupt communications, and thereby prevent the flow of Allied supplies destined for use in the struggle against

Germany. The Soviet newspaper, after making the further charge that peaceful elements attempting to carry out the obligations imposed by the 1942 Treaty were being persecuted, asserted ominously that the future of Persia depended on close relations with the Soviet Union and on the faithful execution of the treaty.

On the 29th October Moscow Radio broadcast a *Tass* statement denying that the Soviet Union intended to participate in the international conference on civil aviation which opens on the 1st November in Chicago. The reason given was "the fact, which has become known in recent days, that Switizerland, Portugal and Spain, with which the Soviet Union does not maintain diplomatic relations and which have pursued for many years a pro-Fascist policy hostile towards the Soviet Union, have also been invited to the conference." In a recent correspondence in *The War and the Working Class* some contributors have urged that the time was ripe for strong Soviet steps to put an end to the anomaly of non-recognition of the U.S.S.R. by the three countries in question. It is thus possible that (among other reasons for its refusal to attend the conference) the Soviet Government hopes that the Western Allies will bring pressure to bear on these Powers to establish normal relations, and at the same time wishes to give notice that the U.S.S.R. will not tolerate them as members of the world security organisation, at any rate until relations have been established. This view is not contradicted by the fact that when the Soviet Government accepted an invitation to attend the conference on civil aviation, about a month ago, it knew what Powers were to be invited.

The signing of an armistice with Bulgaria (for the terms see under "Bulgaria") was discussed in a long article in *Pravda* of the 30th October, which was mainly recapitulatory, and embodied no points of special interest. It expressed in conclusion the gratification of the Soviet people that the Bulgarians had at last made an end of the criminal fratricidal policy, in relation to the other Slavs and in particular to their liberators the Russians, which had been pursued for the past thirty years by the pro-German rulers of Bulgaria.

On the 26th October the Information Bureau of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs stated that on the preceding day M. M. A. Kostylev, Soviet representative in Italy, had informed the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs of the decision of the Soviet Government to establish full diplomatic relations with Italy. The *agrément* of the Italian Government has been requested to the appointment of M. Kostylev as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the U.S.S.R. in Italy. (For the previous history of Soviet relations with Italy and the appointment of M. Kostylev, see *Summaries* Nos. 232–3 and 237.)

Estonia is the first of the Baltic Republics to appoint a Commissar of Foreign Affairs. It was reported from Tallinn on the 31st October that Hans Kruus had been chosen for the post. M. Kruus, a scientist and a deputy director of Tartu University, was Deputy Prime Minister in the Cabinet formed in Estonia in June 1940 after the conclusion of the Agreements between the Soviet Union and the Baltic States, but before the incorporation of the latter in the U.S.S.R. He held no post in the August Cabinet set up after the incorporation, but became rector of Tartu University, and was evacuated to Russia after the German invasion of Estonia.

Roumania has come in for criticism of her delay in fulfilling the armistice terms, parallel to that meted out a week earlier to Finland (see *Summary* No. 264 under "Finland"). A *Tass* message from Bucharest of the 25th October alleged that several Roumanian institutions and organisations were trying to sabotage the carrying out of the armistice terms in regard to the return of Soviet equipment, of which a great deal had been discovered by the control commission, in particular steam boilers, machine tools and no less than 3,000 tractors. Further, the Roumanian Government was charged with delay in putting into effect the promised purge of the administration. In the country at large, 500 members of the Iron Guard had been arrested, but a large number of them, including many leaders, were said to be still at liberty.

By a decision of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. dated the 4th October this year, Colonel-General Golikov has been appointed Delegate of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. for the repatriation of citizens of the U.S.S.R., who have been in captivity or forcibly driven away to Germany or German-occupied countries. Colonel-General Smorodinov and Lieutenant-General Golubev have been appointed Deputies and Major-General Dragun and Major-General Smirnov assistants of the Delegate for Repatriation. The Delegate for Repatriation is charged with directing the repatriation of citizens of the U.S.S.R. from Germany and from German-occupied countries as they are liberated by the Red Army and Allied troops, and with organising the sending home of liberated Soviet citizens.

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SCANDINAVIA.

A recent enquiry by the Swedish Gallup Institute throws an interesting light on the present state of opinion in Sweden on the question of Scandinavian regionalism. Hitherto it has always appeared that Sweden was the protagonist among the Northern nations for the creation and maintenance of a Scandinavian *bloc*. If the Gallup figures can be trusted, however, Swedish opinion has undergone a great change in this respect as a result of the experience of the war. Of those questioned, no less than 43 per cent. expressed no view—which at least suggests a surprising lack of interest in the question, though it may be merely an instance of characteristic Swedish caution. Of the remainder, as large a figure as 27 per cent. favoured Swedish isolation, while the voters who supported some sort of *bloc* were remarkably uncertain as to which and how many of the neighbouring countries should be included. The largest extent of agreement was with regard to the inclusion of Norway. 14 per cent. of those approached were in favour of a wider association, including countries outside the northern group, among which England was an easy favourite. The explanation of this marked change of view is doubtless the fact that Swedish regionalism has always been associated with neutrality, and that the experience of the war has shown this to be unobtainable, except—so far—by Sweden in isolation. To some extent, therefore, the verdict may be regarded as a vote of confidence in Swedish foreign policy as pursued in the present war. A curious feature in the investigation is that Communists were mostly in favour of isolation, only a third of them favouring the inclusion of Russia in a combination.

The Swedish Government has granted to Finland a credit of 150 million kronor for reconstruction.

Opening a debate on foreign affairs in the Riksdag on the 30th October, the Prime Minister and M. Günther both reasserted the Government's intention of maintaining the policy of neutrality, though they expressed great indignation at the German treatment of Norway and Denmark, to which they seemed to attribute the restrictions which they had recently imposed on Swedish trade with Germany. The assurance was repeated that Sweden would not grant refuge to quislings or war criminals.

The Allied (Soviet) Control Commission is understood to have compiled a list of sixty-one Finns to be arrested and brought to trial for alleged war crimes and two generals have been already arrested, one of whom is Pajari, in spite of his conduct of the opening stages of hostilities against the Germans since the Armistice. The other is General Palojärvi, formerly Finnish Military Attaché in Stockholm. Colonel Paloheimo, who was Assistant Minister of Finance in the Finnish Government until its recent reconstruction, has also been arrested.

On the other hand, the relations between General Zhdanov and Marshal Mannerheim are reported to have been very cordial from the first, and the former is said to have accepted a plea for further delay in demobilisation of the Finnish forces in view of their employment in the expulsion of the Germans. An extension of two months has been conceded.

The capture of Kirkenes by the Soviet forces was celebrated on the 26th October by broadcasts to the Norwegian people from King Haakon and M. Nygaardsvold. The King mentioned the agreement for military co-operation concluded some time ago between the Norwegian Government and the Soviet Union, expressed his pleasure that Norwegian forces were to take part in the operations in Northern Norway, and appealed for the strongest possible support to be given by Norwegians to their Russian Allies, to whose friendship and sympathy for Norway he paid tribute. The Norwegian Prime Minister asserted that Hitler's troops were now in flight in North Norway, and urged that they must be killed, annihilated or taken prisoner, since every German soldier who escaped southwards would contribute to the prolongation of the war. This appeal was no doubt intended to have merely local application to the present theatre of war in Northern Norway, though there seems some risk that it may be given a wider interpretation by those activist elements which have been so long straining at the leash.

M. Trygve Lie, the Norwegian Foreign Minister, and M. Terje Wold, the Minister of Justice, arrived in Stockholm by air from England on the 28th October. It is officially stated that the visit was planned some time ago, and implied that its coincidence with the Russian advance into Norway is accidental, though this occurrence is admitted to add to the importance of the discussions impending.

The Germans are reported to have made comprehensive plans for the complete encirclement of the Oslo district, in the event of any disturbance in that quarter. Arrests made recently confirm the view that it is the German policy at present to secure an influential body of hostages against the contingency of national disorder or armed rising.

The same policy is being pursued in Denmark, where no less than 10,000 Danes are now estimated to be prisoners. It is widely reported that Professor Fog is dead (see last week's *Summary*) but another person arrested in the same raid and stated to have since died now seems to be alive, and it is believed that the Germans circulate rumours of the death of prominent persons arrested, with the object of encouraging unguarded discussion of their possible activities.

THE LOW COUNTRIES.

In view of the possibility of almost irreparable damage being done to part of the Netherlands by the enemy through flooding and in other ways, the Dutch Government has announced that it reserves the right to demand the annexation of a portion of adjoining German territory, cleared of its inhabitants, in compensation.

In spite of a German propaganda campaign aimed at breaking their resolution, the great majority of the railway workers in enemy-occupied Holland remain on strike. In their resentment against them for hampering the military operations, the Germans have not merely disclaimed responsibility for Dutch food supplies, but have issued a decree prohibiting all forms of transport in the region of Amsterdam and The Hague, thus throwing the people of this densely populated area on to their immediately available resources. The food situation there must by now be extremely grave, since the principal stocks were only sufficient to last until the first or second week in November. Moreover, the shortage of fuel has been intensified through the cutting off of the Limburg coal supplies as a result of the Allied advance.

In Belgium the food situation continues to overshadow all other topics. On the 24th October the two Communist members of the Government handed the Prime Minister a letter addressed to him by the National Secretary of the Communist Party, in which the Government was reproached for the prevailing distress. M. Pierlot pointed out in reply that he could not permit any discussion in public between members of the Government, as this would be contrary to ministerial solidarity. In spite of the rumours which this incident not unnaturally provoked, no Cabinet crisis has developed.

Meanwhile, the Allied Supreme Command has appointed Major-General Erskine as Head of a Mission to the Belgian Government to give expert advice on the food situation. General Erskine gave a wireless address to the Belgian people on the 27th October in the course of which he announced that the military authorities had decided to give the Belgian people 200 tons of food a day during the twenty days following the 1st November—the supplies to include as much meat and fats as possible. He explained that this measure was not being taken because there was a shortage of food—in point of fact the food situation in Belgium is much less serious than in France or Holland—but to tide over the reorganisation of the system of distribution. The Belgian harvest has been satisfactory and there are sufficient stocks of essential foods in the country to carry it over at least until February.

The causes for the existing distress were explained in detail by the Prime Minister in a broadcast address on the 23rd October. Coal and transport, he said, were the major problems. Coal production per month had fallen from 2,200,000 tons to 625,000, which was a little over a quarter of the normal requirements. The chief reasons for this were shortage of labour and the lack of nourishing food for the workers who remained. Nevertheless, even 600,000 tons per month would be sufficient to allow a minimum of railway traffic and to provide enough gas and electric power for private dwelling houses and some vital industries. The bottleneck at the moment was the shortage of railway engines and trucks available for civilian traffic. To meet this, nearly all passenger trains had been cancelled except those transporting miners. Foodstuffs were being given absolute priority, coal and timber for pit props coming next. As regards water-ways, many were still unusable. Here the obstacle was not want of ships but the destruction of quays and loading apparatus. Under these circumstances, though there was sufficient food in the country, it would be unwise to release these stocks into a free market until they knew how long it would be before they would receive imported foodstuffs. This meant that controlled distribution, in the shape

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of rationing, repression of the black market and price control, must continue for the present. A certain number of growers and dealers in foodstuffs had failed in their duty and against them the penalties provided by the law would be strictly applied. The Minister of Justice had asked prosecutors to give priority to cases involving foodstuffs.

FRANCE.

The Provisional Government has now also been recognised by the Governments of China and Roumania as well as of several Latin American States (see "Latin America"). The recognition by the three Great Powers has elicited further comment, notably by General de Gaulle in a press conference on the 25th October (see below), and by the Prime Minister in his speech in the House of Commons on the 27th October. General de Gaulle said merely that the Government was naturally pleased that it was now to be called by its name. Mr. Churchill explained the reason for not granting recognition sooner. This, he said, was very simple. The British and United States Governments had a very special responsibility for making sure that the French Government, "emerging in part from their military action, would be acceptable to France as a whole and would not appear to be imposed from without." He had himself for some weeks been satisfied that the present Government commanded "the full assent of the vast majority of the French people," and that it was the only Government "which could possibly discharge the very heavy burdens which are being cast upon it." He had made it clear in his speech of the 2nd August (see *Summary* No. 253) that France could by no means be excluded from the discussions of the principal Allies dealing with the problems of the Rhine and of Germany. Recognition could therefore be regarded as "heralding a period in which she will resume her rightful and historic rôle upon the world's stage." The Prime Minister's statement was welcomed in a Paris broadcast as dispelling the cloud created by the verbal reservations in declarations of the 24th October by President Roosevelt and Mr. Stettinius which suggest that there were as yet no plans to bring France into discussions on post-war security. A statement by the diplomatic correspondent of the *Agence Française de Presse*, published by several papers on the 27th October, had, however, pointed out that "in the opinion of well-informed circles in Paris these reservations refer exclusively to the Council of Security, establishment of which was discussed at Dumbarton Oaks, but which cannot meet until the end of the war . . . . Even so, from the psychological point of view, the reservations made on the very day after the recognition of the Provisional Government disclose the continued existence of inhibitions which still remain to be overcome in the world before France is admitted to her proper place on a footing of equality." In Mr. Duff Cooper's opinion delay now in according to France the full benefits to which she considers she has a right is bound to cause resentment.

In his press conference of the 25th October General de Gaulle touched on many aspects of French affairs. He said that the French troops which entered Germany would undertake a military occupation of the territory they took from the enemy, but that there had so far been no talks with the Allies about the political conditions of such an occupation. He once again stressed France's desire to play a larger part in the war, but said that, if new French divisions were to be equipped, it would be necessary for the Allies to supply arms until France could herself resume manufacture. Since the battle of France the French had not received enough to equip "une grande unité." However, the magnitude of the tasks confronting the Allies in that battle to a certain extent explained why more arms had not been received. He pointed out that, although the F.F.I. were showing great courage in containing the 70,000 Germans on the Atlantic coast, they were ill-equipped and that other and more powerful forces would be needed to overcome German resistance. He also mentioned that the Government was recruiting an expeditionary force for Indo-China comprising colonial troops and volunteers. Referring to the idea of a *bloc* of Western European nations, he said that he did not think this would be necessary, but that the proximity of these States indicated the desirability of some co-ordination of their relations from the point of view of security. (For his references to the Levant, see under "Middle East.")

According to press reports, the Commission of twenty parliamentarians set up to select the 60 Deputies and Senators who are to sit in the Consultative Assembly has so far been able to find only fifty-five suitable candidates. Seventeen of the sixty seats were reserved for what is described as the 4th category, a group of Right-wing parties, but only twelve candidates have been deemed to

have adequate Resistance records. It remains to be seen whether M. Jeanneney will arrange for the five vacant places to be filled before the Assembly meets on the 7th November.

On the 27th October the Council of Ministers adopted an ordinance establishing a Provisional Municipal Council of Paris and Departmental Assembly of the Seine to function until local elections next February. Although the twenty-eight members of the Paris Committee of Liberation, who have hitherto exercised the functions of both Assemblies, are to sit on both *ex officio*, M. Tollet, the president of the committee, has criticised the decision and asked why it should be necessary to replace something provisional by something also provisional.

On the 29th October the press published a communiqué of the Ministry of the Interior announcing the Government's decision to disarm independent groups, such as the Patriotic Militia, which were in some districts continuing to make requisitions and arrests in their self-imposed task of fighting the Fifth Column and the black market. The Government paid tribute to their services during the insurrectionary period, but declared that that period was now ended and that it was for the Government and its representatives alone to exercise administrative and police powers. All reports indicated that the action of independent armed groups was causing increasing anxiety and alarm among the rural population. Many of the members could make an effective contribution to defence by undergoing regular military training under a competent authority, and the arms in the possession of the groups would equip new units of an army which was in sore need of arms. This important decision of the Government was contested by the *Conseil National de la Résistance* (C.N.R.), which issued a statement of disapproval and sent a delegation to see General de Gaulle. The General is reported to have maintained the Government's position, emphasising the urgency of a solution both from the point of view of public order and of France's international position. At the same time he expressed the Government's desire for the co-operation of the C.N.R. According to the latest reports the C.N.R. has issued a further statement expressing its own wish to co-operate, its desire to be consulted beforehand in any questions affecting the Resistance movements, and its hope that "patriotic forces" can be given legal status.

According to a report emanating from the F.F.I. of the Dordogne, Admiral Platon, former Vichy Minister of Colonies, was arrested on the 21st July in the Gironde and executed on the 16th August. There are also unconfirmed reports of the execution in the Gironde of Darquier de Pellepoix, former Vichy Commissioner-General for Jewish Affairs. In Paris Stéphane Lauzanne, for more than forty years editor of the *Matin*, has been convicted of intelligence with the enemy and condemned to twenty years' solitary imprisonment and loss of all his possessions. Louis Renault, the president of the Renault company, who was arrested on the 23rd September, died in hospital on the 25th October, a few days before his trial was due to begin. The press reports that M. Pierre Lefaucheux has been appointed provisional administrator of the Renault Company pending the formation of a "*Régie nationale*." He will be assisted by a provisional consultative committee of workmen, clerical staff, foremen and engineers.

(See also under "Spain.")

SWITZERLAND.

Swiss comment on the Russian refusal to attend the Civil Aviation Conference at Chicago stresses the astonishment caused by this decision in British and United States circles. Government circles in Washington are quoted as regarding it as incomprehensible that Switzerland and Portugal should be put by the Russians on the same footing as Spain, and British circles at Montreal are quoted as declaring that the issuing of an invitation to neutral countries which did not recognise the U.S.S.R. *de jure* was only the ostensible reason for the Russian decision.

SPAIN.

During the past week the Spanish *maquis* has been a good deal more active in the columns of the London press than along the French frontier. As if the English Liberal sympathisers suddenly realised that by pitching it high they were only playing Franco's game, lively reports of successful raids into Spain

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were followed by denials that the Spanish *guerrilleros* had ever crossed the frontier at all. They then said that the Spanish *guerrilleros* having been withdrawn 12 miles from the frontier, all was peace and quiet along the Pyrenees, but that there was unrest in other parts of Spain. Truth is usually to be found hanging midway between the peaks of fantasy reared up by zealous partisans, and the story of the Spanish *maquis* is no exception. The Franco press naturally made capital out of a confused situation, and by exaggerating the menace and by taking elaborate and well-publicised defence measures, Franco did himself a good turn. But to attempt to deny the reality of the *guerrilleros* by transferring anti-Franco resistance far inland is to be equally inaccurate. As has been previously reported, the *maquis* have been making nuisance raids across the frontier (see *Summary* No. 263), and latest reports indicate that, though the general situation is quiet enough and there is no alarm in Madrid, bands of *guerrilleros* are still giving trouble to the Spanish authorities. For instance, in the Val d'Aran, where the town of Viella was at one time cut off (see *Summary* No. 263), the Spanish *maquis* still hold some 20 kiloms. of the road from there to the frontier. There are about 10,000 regular troops in the Val d'Aran, but they are curiously inactive and seem to be making no attempt to clear the country. The desire to avoid casualties in difficult country and possibly the fact that they are still wearing the summer uniforms in which they left North Africa would discourage exposure on the icy Pyrenean heights. There will be no enthusiasm for a prolonged stay in this area, and General Franco must be anxious to see order restored quickly. But he would not appreciate Dr. Negrin's offer, made to the French Delegation in London, to go down to the frontier himself *pour ramener de l'ordre*." The concentrations in the Val d'Aran have led to the denuding of the Eastern end of the frontier, and there seems to be some liveliness around Perpignan with promise of more to come. The *guerrilleros* in this part seem to be undisciplined and uncontrollable adventurers. Contrary to reports circulating in France and reproduced in some of the English press, the local Spanish population, though they may not be sympathetic to the Franco régime, have not yet given active assistance to the raiders. And the story that Gil Robles, the Catholic Monarchist leader, was backing the *Unión Nacional*, has drawn an indignant denial from that exile in Lisbon who does not at all appreciate his name being coupled with an organisation which is mainly Communist and not representative of even Spanish left wing opinion. The *Unión Nacional* is working away in France—the organisation inside Spain may be solid, but there is no evidence to show that it is—and if, as is not unlikely, there is before long a movement of Spanish refugees from all parts of the world to Paris, the situation on the Pyrenean frontier should be full of interest to the student of politics as well as to the student of war. In the meantime, General Franco is not proposing to send Señor Mateu as Ambassador to Paris until things are normal along the frontier; the present arrangement is that Señor Sangroniz will be sent from Algiers as Consul-General and Chargé d'Affaires. The latest unofficial reports from Paris show that the Spanish *maquis* have evacuated most of the Franco consulates which they had occupied a few weeks ago, and there are some signs of Franco-Spanish co-operation to check the activities of the *guerrilleros*. The French Government seem to be considering granting to Spanish refugees a status analogous to that enjoyed after the last war by holders of the League of Nations "Nansen" passports. This would be a first step to administrative control of these people; it is a necessary measure.

An interesting story from Tangier may be a sign of Spanish preparation for the change the *de facto* authorities know is inevitable. For some weeks past there have been rumours that the Spanish authorities were planning a plebiscite in the Tangier Zone. His Majesty's Acting Consul-General has now obtained possession of a list of fourteen leading Moslem dignitaries who have been obliged to sign a blank paper. It is not known to what they have involuntarily committed themselves. It may be a vote for Franco if the plebiscite should take place, or perhaps merely a petition asking for the continuance of the favour of Spanish overlordship. But this is just beating the wind; even if the Spaniards were to persuade every single Moor in Tangier to sign a blank paper, these worthless cheques on Allied goodwill would not be honoured on the day of reckoning.

Since this *Summary* was written the Spanish *Radio Nacional* has broadcast an announcement by General Moscardó, Captain-General of the Fourth Region, that the Val d'Aran had been cleared of "Red" troops. It is very likely that the *guerrilleros* have, in fact, withdrawn. It seems clear that they expected more active assistance from their compatriots than they received.

ITALY.

Despite the scientific and methodical damage carried out by the Germans in liberated Italy, particularly to hydro-electric power stations, Italy's main source of power, factories have resumed the production of various necessities, amongst which silk, textiles, cement, steel and fertilizers are mentioned. Paper plants in Rome and Tivoli are also manufacturing newsprint and others are about to start work. Although there is a dearth of raw materials, the Allies are doing all in their power to co-operate with the manufacturers, particularly by helping them to procure these necessary raw materials.

The situation in Sicily has been examined at a meeting of the Council of Ministers and it has been decided to set up a special council with a High Commissioner as president to report on local problems. This council will consist of twenty-four members drawn from political and economic organisations with local experts to assist them. A grant of 500 million lire has been approved for the economic reconstruction of Sicily and the Italian police force in the island is to be reorganised and purged of unsatisfactory elements.

Emilio Lusso, a former Deputy for Sardinia and himself a Sardinian, has just completed a tour of the island and has reported to Signor Bonomi on the conditions as he found them. According to the *Corriere di Roma*, he urged that powers should be granted to the High Commissioner for the island to work out a scheme of regional autonomy within the national framework.

Signor Bonomi, in an interview with a Reuter correspondent, re-emphasised the difficulties facing Italy this coming winter. If the Germans continue their destruction of all industrial installations and carry off all the produce of the farms, immediate and great help will be needed not only in food and medicine but in transport to distribute it. The housing problem was also very difficult, particularly for the farmers, who must live close to their land. Signor Bonomi went on to say that in Italy to-day it was a question of living, and to this end political parties must unite to improve the structure of the Government by strengthening its technical powers and that other great social and political problems must be postponed. In Signor Bonomi's opinion it would not yet be possible to constitute an assembly of former Deputies, and he apparently believed that for the time being committees of experts could be set up to help with the solution of the various problems. In view of the fact that Italy to-day had no electoral lists and no electoral system, all of which had been destroyed by fascism, Signor Bonomi was preparing a temporary electoral law for the compilation of the lists, and he hoped that in three or four months these lists would be ready. Only then would it be possible to proceed with the administrative elections, which would be the first electoral experiment of a democratic Italy. Signor Bonomi finished by speaking of the urgency of finding some outlet for Italy's growing population. In present circumstances it was, he said, more urgent than ever, but he was glad to say that he had found a profound understanding of this question amongst the representatives of Brazil, whose troops were now fighting in Italy.

In accordance with the policy announced by the President of the United States and the Prime Minister on the 27th September, direct relations between His Majesty's Government and the Italian Government have been resumed. As previously stated, Sir Noel Charles, the present High Commissioner, is to assume the rank of Ambassador. Count Carandini is to be the Italian representative in London. Count Carandini will have the personal rank of Ambassador but he will not have diplomatic status. A Liberal and a strong anti-Fascist from the beginning, Count Carandini fought in the last war and during neo-fascism he played an active part on the Italian Committee of Liberation as the Liberal representative. He is also deeply interested in farming and owned large dairy farms which formerly supplied Rome with a large proportion of its milk supply. The United States and the U.S.S.R. have announced the establishment of full diplomatic relations with Italy, notwithstanding the state of war. The other American Republics have followed the United States lead. The Italian Ambassador to Washington will be Count Sforza.

In Northern Italy the week's main event was the 22nd anniversary of the March on Rome on the 28th October, when the Republican Fascists made a big effort to reproduce some of the pomp and circumstance of former celebrations. Mussolini reviewed Legionaries and made a short speech; congratulatory telegrams—even more stilted than usual—were exchanged between Hitler and the Duce; and Party hierarchs, including Pavolini, Mezzasoma and Giorgio Pini,

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all made speeches. Mussolini also announced an amnesty for political offenders, remitting sentences up to three years' imprisonment, and a further amnesty for the military offence of evading the call-up for military service or compulsory labour—on condition that those concerned reported for service within eight days.

Celebrations took place, according to the Fascist radio, "in all towns and villages of Republican Italy," but the high light was put on Milan, the main town of the industrial north, where discontent and unrest owing to removal of machinery and workers to Germany have reached a high pitch, further aggravated by recent Allied raids. Mussolini visited the town during the day, and Pavolini, the Party Secretary, made a full-dress speech in which, after a glorification of Fascism, which he described as "a profounder and more vital reality than ever," he touched on some of the most outstanding causes of discontent. He assured his audience that "in the event of 'X'" (presumably meaning a forced evacuation towards the north) the Germans had no intention of destroying plant or factories. He also spoke of the danger of inflation, which would only be aggravated by a demand for higher wages. As to the true purport of the amnesty granted that day he was surprisingly outspoken, saying: "We Fascists have no particular love of amnesties. In fact, we have merely sanctioned—finally fixing a limit of eight days—that distinction between the wanderer who returns and takes his place at work again, and the infamous canaille of the bandits, to whom only bullets can speak."

Casualty figures for the Fascist Republican Army from January to August 1944 have recently been published in the Turin *Gazzetta del Popolo*. These are: killed—officers 122, n.c.o.'s 177, men 450; wounded—officers 59, n.c.o.'s 93, men 450; missing—officers 24, n.c.o.'s 55, men 379. While there is no check on the reliability of these figures, they go far to belie Republican Fascist propaganda, which in the past has tried to make the most of the alleged revivification of the Fascist Republican Army and of the part played by it side by side with the German forces.

THE VATICAN.

The European Division of the World Jewish Congress has asked the Pope to make a public appeal for the Jews now threatened in Hungary.

Months ago the Argentine Government wished to give food and medical supplies to the Vatican, and Franco offered to ship them. The scheme was held up for military reasons. Now that the war has moved far enough to the north, however, the Vatican is to receive the 4,000 tons of goods which they need for their works of charity.

War and the Working Class has called the Pope "Franco's godfather," a soubriquet which the Spanish wireless treats as a compliment. The *Catholic Herald* of the 27th October described the scene in these words: "Another anti-Pope outburst from Moscow this weak is linked this time with snarls at Franco," and goes on to attack "some 4,000 Spanish thugs, ex-Red civil war fighters who have sheltered in Southern France." The current number of the United States magazine *Catholic World* maintains a similar theme, more outspokenly. Its editorial opens thus: "The greatest potential menace to permanent peace is Soviet Russia. Fascism is not and never was as dangerous as communism." In contrast the Vatican Wireless in Spanish defined the Holy See's attitude in this war as impartial but not neutral or indifferent, unable to take sides, or to intervene, since intervention is unfruitful if whole peoples do not accept Catholic discipline, bound by the Lateran Treaty to wait until both sides appeal to it. The Pope defends the principle of justice gives warning of the presence of sin, but remains the Father of all.

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

On the northern sector of the new front in Hungary, Soviet troops, advancing from the Upper Tisza, took successively Mukačevo, Užhorad and Čop, thus cutting off and remaining Hungarian and German forces in Ruthenia. By capturing Szatmár-Neméti they also cleared the enemy from the whole area east of the Trianon frontier with Roumania. Further south the fighting was stubborn. German communiqués claimed to have recaptured Nyiregyháza and to have encircled and destroyed Soviet formations which had advanced west of Szolnok. On the 30th October, however, the opening of a general offensive from the south-east was announced.

Budapest was raided heavily on the night of the 26th/27th October.

Szálasi and other members of his Government have exchanged telegrams of greeting with Hitler, Göring and Ribbentrop, promising them Hungary's loyal support to the last. Hitler in reply promised that "the German Reich would never leave Hungary in the lurch," and Ribbentrop promised her the most far-reaching support from himself and from the German Government.

The Lower House is to meet on the 2nd November. A series of sessions is to be held to decide, *inter alia*, the question of the Regency.

The Szálasi Government still seems uncertain as to the strength of its hold on the country, and the calling-up of several age groups in Budapest, including reserve officers up to their 48th year and men up to their 42nd, was cancelled and those already called up were actually sent back. Some curfew, &c., restrictions were, however, relaxed. Otherwise the Government has hardly passed the stage of announcing intentions, which include many measures of nationalisation. Only the Jews, male and female, have been mobilised to dig trenches, &c. There appear to have been many massacres and excesses, especially on the night of the 15th October; but the Government has agreed to allow Jews with protective passes to leave Hungary. Members of the German-speaking minority in Hungary are being evacuated to Germany as the front approaches their homes, mainly in Southern Hungary.

The bread ration has been reduced to 200 grammes per day.

Roumania.

During the week the political atmosphere has lightened. Nothing more has been heard of a transport strike, but in a manifesto accusing the Government of every sort of misconduct, a bid is made for Soviet support. *Universul* has been allowed to reappear, and there is at least a chance that a Government representative of all parties may be formed.

The press attachés at Helsingfors and Stockholm have been recalled in circumstances which suggest that the press department is to be subjected to a thorough overhaul.

The number of alleged war criminals under arrest increases. 1,356 Legionaries have been arrested in addition to 722 who are under accusation and are "now being purged in various prisons."

The Orthodox bishops of Transylvania have replied to a message from the Acting Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church. In this lengthy document, after recalling that the "Roumanian soldiers are fighting side by side with the brave soldiers of the U.S.S.R. to expel Germans and Hungarians from the ancient soil of Roumania," the authors give a sketch of the relations between the Churches of Russia and Transylvania in the past, and proceed to enlarge on the Hungarian atrocities committed after the Vienna Award. Like most propaganda it goes a little too far, and asserts that "young Roumanians were put into yoke to draw the plough."

The same mistake is made in another propaganda document. the articles on "Pathways of Victory" recently published in *Pravda*. The declared purpose of a good deal of this is to warn Soviet citizens whose duty takes them to Roumania not to be misled by the outward appearances of a colourful, joyous and carefree life, which is in reality far inferior to the solidity and worth of life in the Soviets. Some of the accounts of life in Roumania ring true, but the statement that a restaurant-keeper was "ashamed when he had to" serve Crimean wine will only provoke smiles from those who know that wine of all commodities is the one that Roumania has the least need to obtain from abroad, either by looting or in any other way.

Prospects of food shortage are debated but do not materialise. Meat, either fresh or tinned, can be obtained in Bucharest every day of the week except Wednesday. Visitors to Craiova and Brașov report that supplies there are plentiful. There is a shortage of wood for fuel, but oil stoves and fuel are to be had in place of wood.

Roumanian territory is now clear of the enemy, but just as in the war with Russia when the Dneister was reached, the Roumanian army proceeded to advance and occupy the country beyond it, so now the Roumanians continue to march into Hungary side by side with the Russians, no doubt justifying this by a convenient interpretation of one of the clauses of the Armistice agreement.

Yugoslavia.

With the partisan's occupation of Shabac all north-west Serbia appears to be cleared of the Germans. Kragujevac has been captured by Soviet and partisan forces; and the Germans are fighting hard to keep open their two lines of retreat

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by Kraljevo and by the Sandjak into Bosnia. The Red Army has occupied all Batchka, including Novi Sad; and the front is moving westwards across Srem, from which the numerous local Germans are migrating.

The partisans have occupied Split, Omish and the south Dalmatian coast almost to Kotor, except for the delta of the Neretva. In Bosnia they have taken Travnik, and are attacking Zenica and the Mostar–Sarajevo–Brod railway line. In Macedonia the Germans are being compressed between Bulgarian forces pushing forward from the east and partisans who have occupied Kichevo on the west.

Mr. Churchill made a short statement in the House of Commons on the 27th October on his discussions concerning Yugoslavia in Moscow. He said: "We are acting jointly, Russia and Britain, in our relations with both the Royal Yugoslav Government, headed by Dr. Shubashitch, and with Marshal Tito, and we have invited them to come together for the common cause, as they had already agreed to do at the conference which I held with them both at Naples . . . . We have invited them to come together and form a united Government for the purpose of carrying on the war, and, of course, until the country itself can pronounce . . ." Shubashitch and Tito, in fact, met on the 25th.

Greece.

Speaking in the House of Commons on the 27th October, Mr. Churchill said that Great Britain had now redeemed the pledge, made in 1941, that her forces would return to Greece. The lawful Greek Government was now sitting in Athens, and the Greek Brigade would soon return with honour to its native land. The much-needed supplies of food would soon be distributed in Greece, and His Majesty's Government would do its best to assist the Greek Government in stabilising Greek currency. His Majesty's Government did not wish to become an arbiter in Greek affairs; its wish and policy was that the Greek people should decide in perfect freedom upon the form of government under which they wished to live. Until such a decision was made, His Majesty's Government was, naturally, preserving its relations with the Greek Royal House and with the existing constitutional Government, and regarded them as the authority to whom it was bound by the alliance made at the time of the Italian attack on Greece.

After considerable difficulties, particularly in his negotiations with the Liberal Party, M. Papandreou has succeeded in reconstructing his Cabinet, though one or two seats still remain to be filled. All the Communist and EAM representatives who joined the Government in September have been included in the reconstructed Cabinet, and several Liberals have been brought in to replace those who resigned at the end of August, but, as the Cabinet is still not quite complete, it is too early to say definitely how the balance between the various parties will finally lie.

General Spiliotopoulos has been made Director of the Ministry of War, and Brigadier Katsotas, a former commander of the First Greek Brigade in the Middle East, succeeds him as Military Governor of Attica. A law has been passed whereby the Minister of War is authorised to call up soldiers and reservist officers of four classes (ages 26–29); ELAS is to be demobilised; another law provides for the trial and punishment of traitors by special courts.

Mr. Eden, Mr. Macmillan, Lord Moyne, and General Maitland Wilson arrived in Athens on the 27th October. The Allied authorities are doing their utmost to assist the Greek Government to deal with its financial and economic difficulties, and it is hoped that arrangements may be made to import from the Middle East a limited quantity of goods of small bulk and high local value, which the Greek Government will sell for purposes of revenue.

Albania.

After broadcasting an appeal for order, which proved to be its swan song, the puppet Government of Ibrahim Biçaku resigned on the 26th October, leaving it to such civilian officials and army units as exist to carry on the administration in the north where its writ still ran. The Regency Council was dissolved at the same time. The F.N.C. are already in control of three-quarters of the country, and are systematically taking over further territory as the Germans evacuate it. The evacuation in the north is perhaps proceeding more quickly than hitherto, but it is orderly. The F.N.C. have attacked Tirana repeatedly, penetrating more than once into the centre of the town, and the Germans there have begun to destroy their equipment and stores. A strong enemy column with tanks fought its way from Tirana to Elbasan along the road which the F.N.C. had closed. A thousand Balli Kombetar troops were cut off round Kavaje, 15 miles south

of the capital. Damage done by the Germans to the oil wells at Kuçove before they evacuated the district on the 17th October may suspend working for a few weeks. The capture of Ohrid by Macedonian partisans will make escape difficult for further German troops from the south, who have been concentrated at Korça.

Bulgaria.

At the opening of the armistice discussions in Moscow the Bulgarian Foreign Minister, M. Stainov, based an appeal for just treatment of his country on the plea that the war declared by a previous Government against the Western Democracies offended the Bulgarian people's conscience and that they had shown this by the struggle of the partisans, the revolution of the 9th September, the present purge and the army's operations against the Germans. He professed a desire for close friendship with Bulgaria's neighbours, great respect for Great Britain and the United States, and profound love and gratitude for the liberator Power. In accepting the armistice M. Stainov declared that Bulgaria had already complied with much of it and that she hoped by co-operating increasingly with the United Nations to take her place among them even before peace was concluded. The armistice was duly signed on the 28th October by Marshal Tolbukhin for Russia and by Lieutenant-General Gammell for the Allied Supreme Command in the Mediterranean. Its terms are far from vindictive. Bulgaria undertakes to disarm German troops and intern German civilians; to make the Bulgarian forces available for service as required by the Soviet High Command, and to reduce them to a peace footing at the end of hostilities with Germany; to afford Russian and other Allied forces all facilities for movement; to release Allied prisoners and people interned on ideological grounds and to repeal discriminatory laws; to co operate in bringing war criminals to trial and to suppress Hitlerite and Fascist organisations; to submit publications, wireless and films to the censorship of the Soviet High Command; to surrender German war material and German and Bulgarian loot; to return ships and other property of the Allies; to make regular payments of Bulgarian currency and to supply goods and services, as required by the Soviet High Command; and to accept an Allied control commission which will be presided over by a Red Army officer until the end of hostilities with Germany and will supervise the execution of the armistice. The reparation to be made to the Allies including Greece and Yugoslavia is left for future determination. Other provisions affecting those two countries are that Bulgaria, while forbidden to employ her troops on the territory of any of the Allies without that Ally's leave, is bound to withdraw Bulgarian troops, authorities and civilians from the occupied territories, to repeal legislation connected with their annexation, and lastly to provide food at once for the Greeks and Yugoslavs who have suffered from Bulgarian aggression.

In the present Bulgarian situation the dominant feature is the indirect, rather than direct, influence of Russia. The press conforms to the Soviet style. Political commissars have been appointed in the army. Committees of the Fatherland Front have been set up in all localities and in all sections of the population. The Fatherland Front Militia in uniform recalls the N.K.V.D. in plain clothes. In industry increased hours and Stakhanovist activity are boosted and there is a drive for contributions for the front. Accommodation is rationed. Thanks to their greater energy, resourcefulness, ruthlessness and single-mindedness the Communists have got a disproportionately big influence in the Government, but for the present at any rate they seem bound to keep step with its other elements—the Tsveno, the Agrarians and the Social Democrats. Under the leadership of G. M. Dimitrov, who recently returned from exile, a single National Agrarian Union has been formed, and as the Agrarians represent the large peasant majority this is likely to counteract a swing to the extreme left. Meanwhile hotheads are restrained. The press tells Agrarians and Communists not to hinder the revolution by disagreeing among themselves. Yugov, the Communist Minister of the Interior, sternly rebukes members of the Militia for arbitrary arrests and confiscations.

A good deal of publicity was given to the hard fighting by which the Bulgarian army captured Stracin and other positions in its advance on Skoplje.

Turkey.

On the 29th October, the twenty-first anniversary of the foundation of the republic, the main theme at Angora was the peaceful development of the new Turkey both in the past and in the future. President Inönü said that the Republican régime had been a period of national prosperity and that its object for the future was to make Turkey a land of justice and equality and a useful member of the family of nations. They believed greater prosperity was in store

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and they would always be ready to share any burden necessary for the attainment of world security. The Prime Minister, M. Saraçoğlu compared the deficit, the empty barns and the insufficient coal of 1942 with an abundance which he announced, not only of corn and coal but also in the Treasury. He, too, predicted prosperity. The semi-official *Ulus* declared that there was no fundamental difference among Turks. Their purpose was to raise the country to the highest social level. After twenty-one years of peace their concern still was to reconstruct and rehabilitate, and this meant a long struggle. Consequently they hoped for a new world order where war would be banned.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

The Egyptian Government has dismissed a few more officials. Like most of those removed when the Government first came into power, they had openly sided with the Wafd, and the dismissal of all such was probably inevitable. Some of the provincial governors have also been retired or absorbed into the Ministry of the Interior, most of their successors being senior men who had been got rid of in the early days of the late régime.

The provincial changes have doubtless been made with a view to assisting the Government in the forthcoming elections, which may be held in the near future. It is believed that the King insists on the distribution of parliamentary seats being on a coalition basis, and that Ahmad Maher has reluctantly agreed. The proposed distribution would give 55 seats each to the Saadists, Liberals and Makramites (followers of Makram Ebeid), 20 to the Watanists (Nationalists) and 14 to the Independents, while 65 seats would be freely contested. One unsatisfactory feature of this distribution is the excessive representation (20) allotted to the Watanists, who have never before had more than 4 or 5 Deputies in the Chamber. This party holds extremist views, and is known to be anti-treaty and anti-British.

During his recent visit to Cairo, Mr. Eden met the Egyptian Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, as well as Hassanein Pasha, First Chamberlain to the King. Both the Prime Minister and Hassanein assured the Secretary of State that the Egyptian Government intended to co-operate fully with Great Britain and to carry out during the war the part of a loyal ally. The Prime Minister further assured Mr. Eden that his Government was not dismissing officials because they were Wafdist, but because they had engaged in improper practices or were otherwise unfitted for their posts. He himself was resolutely opposed to victimisation for political reasons. As to the King, Hassanein told Mr. Eden that His Majesty was no more anti-British than he was himself, but that His Majesty had been led astray by bad advisers, notably Ali Maher, at the beginning of his reign. Hassanein was convinced that the King firmly believed that his country's future was bound up with that of Great Britain, and that His Majesty would do all in his power to co-operate with us. On the following day Mr. Eden was received by King Farouk, whom he thanked for the assurances His Majesty had recently given regarding Anglo-Egyptian relations. To this the King replied that he had no wish to embarrass his country's ally during the war.

It turns out that Abdul Rahman Azzam is not after all to go to the Levant States as Egyptian Minister. It is proposed now to put him at the head of a new Department for Arab Affairs. Azzam, who is himself of Arab stock and has long been interested in the affairs of the Arab world, is obviously cut out to take a leading part in connexion with Arab affairs under the present régime.

Certain members of the Syrian Government, including the Minister for Foreign Affairs, met General Beynet and Count Ostrorog last week, when discussions were held regarding the transfer of the *Troupes Spéciales* and the proposed treaty with the French. On the second day the meeting was attended also by the Lebanese Foreign Minister, much to the annoyance of the French. The French representatives took up the line that the question of the *Troupes Spéciales* must be discussed separately with each State, and that it was indissolubly linked with that of a treaty; while the Syrians said that the *Troupes Spéciales* were a matter of common interest to both States, and that they must be transferred at once as a preliminary to further negotiations. Though at one point the Syrians said that they would sign no engagement with any country during the war, later they asked the French what sort of treaty they had in view, to which the French replied that they wished for a "treaty of alliance" on the lines of those made by Great Britain with Egypt and Iraq.

Meanwhile, it is reported from Paris that General de Gaulle recently told a press conference that "the Syrians and Lebanese were independent, and independent from all sides." He went on to say that "it would be regrettable were

France to learn one day that the difficulties she was experiencing elsewhere had been complicated by artificial difficulties provoked at Beirut or Damascus. If this proves to be the case it must cease."

The Iraqi Minister for Foreign Affairs, who recently returned to Bagdad from Syria, with the intention of sending an official communication to His Majesty's Ambassador and the American Minister about General Beynet's statement concerning Lebanese independence, has wisely changed his mind. Sir K. Cornwallis, upon whom the Minister called on his return, after reading the draft, advised against its despatch, and after some argument the Minister agreed. The latter emphasised in conversation that the Arab States as a whole were strongly opposed to any further treaties that gave a special position to any outside Power. He added that, should the situation in the Levant States deteriorate, they might appeal to the Arab Committee which had recently met at Alexandria, and which would doubtless be able to reassemble at short notice if necessary.

The conclusions reached by the committee at Alexandria were welcomed by the Palestinian Arabs, who especially applauded the clause dealing with Palestine. They were also gratified at the reception accorded to Musa Alami as their representative.

The Jews have been showing signs of nervousness about the future of Palestine, and the Jewish Agency has made a formal pronouncement rejecting partition and reaffirming as the Zionist objective a Jewish State embracing the whole of the country.

Intensive police measures against the Jewish terrorists continue, and several successful round-ups have been made. The population as a whole was impressed by the official communiqué on lawlessness, as well as by the deportation of the 251 persons who had been detained under the emergency regulations. The Hebrew press has sounded a more chastened note, and the basis of the communiqué is not seriously challenged. On the 26th October, sixteen days after the issue of the communiqué, the *Vaad Leumi* published a warning to the terrorists that unless their activities ceased the Jewish community would take action against them. At the same time they protested against the terms of the communiqué. It is not yet possible fully to estimate Jewish reactions to the deportations, but no doubt as much as possible will be made of what is claimed as "the right of every Jew to be in and remain in Palestine."

Almost the sole topic of interest in Persia during the week has been the decision by the Persian Government to postpone until after the war the granting of any oil concession, including, of course, that demanded by Russia. Those newspapers which are under Russian influence have attacked this decision violently, and have launched a campaign against the Prime Minister and the majority of the Majlis which agrees with him. On the other hand, some six or seven papers support the Persian Government. In one article the writer states that, when Persia was herself starving two years ago, she spared wheat and rice for Russia, then hard-pressed by Germany. He goes on to say that if, when she is fighting for freedom, Russia uses the mailed fist against Persia, surely this will wound Persia's feelings.

On the 24th October M. Kavtaradze held a press conference in the Soviet Embassy at Tehran, at which he stated, according to *Tass*, that the Persian Government had not put forward a single plausible explanation for its decision. He added that, while the friendship between his country and Persia could not be shaken, "the disloyal and unfriendly attitude taken by Premier Saed to the U.S.S.R. excluded the possibility of further collaboration with him."

In other ways the Soviet authorities have been continuing the war of nerves. On the 22nd October lorry-loads of armed Russian troops ranged past the Majlis, while Deputies were subjected to moral pressure on the issue. On the 27th October a demonstration, in favour of an oil concession to Russia, took place in Tehran, organised by the Tudeh Party and attended by Russian military police. The effect, however, both of M. Kavtaradze's statement to the press and of these anti-Government demonstrations has been to strengthen support for the Prime Minister both in the Majlis and among the public. General feeling is still opposed to the Russian demand (see also under "U.S.S.R.").

THE FAR EAST.

The principal Far Eastern event of last week was the naval battle, or rather group of battles, in waters adjacent to the Philippines following on the American landing on the island of Leyte. The Japanese Navy attempted a stroke with

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major forces before the Americans could use airfields on Leyte for land-based bombers, and while Leyte Gulf was still full of transports supplying the initial disembarkation. Several naval correspondents writing in the press have described the Japanese order of battle as strategically inept, because it involved the use of three widely separated forces, but there seems more reason to agree with the judgment of the Dutch Rear-Admiral Koenraad that it was "well-timed and ingenious, though risky." The plan apparently was for a squadron consisting partly of aircraft-carriers to divert the American Third Fleet by a move from Formosan waters, while two other squadrons without carriers, and relying on protection by shore-based aircraft, advanced through the enclosed seas of the central Philippines and fell upon the Seventh Fleet which was covering the landing on Leyte. The greatest capital ship strength was put into the middle squadron, which passed through the Sibuyan Sea and out by the San Bernardino Strait to the north of Samar; this comprised five battleships, including two of the heaviest class, while the other squadrons had two battleships each. The miscarriage of the plan was mainly due to the speed and violence with which Admiral Halsey's Third Fleet attacked the squadron from Formosa; he achieved a decisive victory over this with his carrier-borne aircraft and was then able to reinforce the Seventh Fleet before the Japanese middle squadron was able to achieve a decisive result; meanwhile the southern squadron had been defeated in a night action in the Surigao Strait to the south of Leyte and had failed to reach the American transports in the Leyte Gulf.

That the result of these engagements was an American victory is clear; what is not so clear is how much strength the Japanese Navy retains after the encounter. The estimation of enemy losses is a matter of great difficulty in a battle such as this in which most of the action consisted either of remote aircraft attacks, or of night fighting by surface ships, and a certain suspense of judgment is particularly necessary with regard to the night battle in the Surigao Strait because of the remarkable discrepancies in the reports of the original strength of the Japanese squadron engaged. In the communiqué issued by Admiral Nimitz on the 25th October the force sighted in the Sulu Sea was stated to have consisted of 2 battleships, 1 cruiser and 4 destroyers. A correspondent on Admiral Barbey's flagship after the battle said it had consisted of 2 battleships, 2 cruisers and 4 destroyers. Admiral Nimitz's communiqué of the 29th, however, put it at 2 battleships, 4 cruisers and 7 or 8 destroyers, while General MacArthur increased the figure to 2 battleships, 4 cruisers and 10 destroyers, all of which he claimed had been sunk.

The broadcast speech of Navy Secretary Forrestal on the 26th October showed a certain anxiety lest the tidal wave of victory publicity should cause the American public to think that the naval war in the Pacific was already "in the bag." He warned the public that Japan still had a fleet, and that damaged ships could be repaired, and added a reminder that "we too have lost ships and had others damaged." Rear-Admiral Koenraad, who formerly commanded the Dutch naval base at Soerabaya, also sounded a note of warning, calling attention to Japan's residue of battleship strength. The situation as regards capital ships appears to be that, having lost 3 old battleships, believed to be the *Mutsu*, *Hiyei* and *Kirishima*, Japan had before last week's battle 7 others of her old list, plus 2 of the 40,000-ton class recently put into commission. All of these took part in the Philippines battle; 2 of the old list, the *Fuso* and *Yamashiro*, are claimed to have been sunk, and all the rest to have sustained damage, but it cannot be assumed that any of the latter are out of action for long.

The Japanese have resolutely declined to admit that they were beaten in the Philippines battles, but their claims have been unusually modest and their admissions considerable. They have admitted 1 battleship (unnamed) sunk and another "substantially damaged," 1 aircraft-carrier and 2 cruisers sunk; they have not this time claimed the sinking of any American battleship, though they have been less modest with aircraft-carriers of which they have claimed 8 (3 being the correct figure). They have not been able to deny that the American fleet continues to sail the waters east of the Philippines, or that American fleet remain on Leyte, though they speak of them as being "marooned" there. The Philippines campaign is described as "only just beginning," and there is indeed no reason to expect it to be quickly finished, as the Japanese have nearly a quarter of a million men in the archipelago, which abounds in strong natural defensive positions.

President Osmena of the Philippine Commonwealth landed with General MacArthur on Leyte and has set up his Government on Philippine soil—a move which should have a considerable political effect on the Filipinos, especially in

the Visayas, where Osmena was formerly more popular than his lately deceased predecessor, the Tagalog Quezo. The Americans appear to have received a warm welcome from the population in Leyte and to have been assisted by Filipino guerrillas secretly organised by American officers before the invasion. General MacArthur has also stated in a broadcast that all the islands are infested by anti-Japanese guerrillas, but he has not claimed any effective combat action by them so far outside Leyte; perhaps they are being held in leash until the Americans can give them full support. Among their exploits is declared to have been the capture of the secret papers of a Japanese Commander-in-Chief of the Combined Fleet, who was held prisoner before his death; this is interpreted as referring to either Admiral Yamamoto or Admiral Koga, both of whom were alleged by Tokyo to have perished in air accidents, and as meaning that he crashed somewhere in the Philippines and fell into the hands of a guerrilla band.

Outside the Philippines the most important political item of the week's news has been the recall of General Stilwell (see also under "United States"). He has been relieved of his three concurrent posts of Chief of Staff to Chiang Kai-shek as Commander-in-Chief of the "China theatre of operations," Deputy-Commander to Admiral Mountbatten in South-East Asia Command, and Commander of United States ground forces in China, Burma and India. His post under Chiang Kai-shek, as well as command of United States forces in China, will be taken over by Major-General Wedemeyer, now Deputy Chief of Staff to Admiral Mountbatten, while American troops in India and Burma will come under the command of Lieutenant-General Sultan.

(For General de Gaulle's statement on a French expeditionary force for the Far East, see under "France.")

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The presidential election campaign has now entered its final week. Mr. Dewey continues his rôle as the efficient Prosecuting Attorney of the Administration, while President Roosevelt has made a whirlwind tour of the important but doubtful States. The "experts" believe that the President and Mr. Dewey are running "neck and neck," though the *Fortune* poll gives 53·5 per cent. of the poll to Mr. Roosevelt and 46·5 to Mr. Dewey. Dr. Gallup, who is a supporter of Mr. Dewey, maintains that straw ballots indicate that the President has an extremely small margin over Mr. Dewey and insists that the latter is still gaining ground. After Mr. Roosevelt's recent tour the Democrats, however, express themselves as considerably more confident than they were a month ago.

The outstanding development in the election campaign has been the emergence of foreign policy as the dominant issue in the election, despite earlier statements. Following Mr. Roosevelt's unequivocal statement on the American delegates' powers in the new World Security Council (see last week's *Summary*) which was fairly widely described as a courageous, authoritative and timely pronouncement for which the American public had been waiting, Mr. Dewey cancelled the Farm policy speech he had planned to make. At Minneapolis, the home of Senator Ball, he accused the President of "the most completely isolationist act ever taken by an American President in our 150 years of history," that of deliberately scuttling the London Economic Conference in 1933. He also attacked his signature of the Neutrality Act and his "repudiation" of the League of Nations. Referring to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, however, Mr. Dewey, following the President's lead, said that "we must make certain that our participation in this World Security Organisation is not subjected to reservations that would nullify the power of that organisation to maintain peace and halt future aggression. That means that it must not be subject to a reservation that would require our representative to return to Congress for authority every time he had to make a decision. Obviously, Congress, and only Congress, has the constitutional power to determine what quota of force it will make available and what discretion it will give our representative to use that force. I have not the slightest doubt," continued Governor Dewey, "that a Congress which is working in partnership with the President will achieve the result we all consider essential and grant adequate power for swift action to the American representative," and he accused the President of not being able to co-operate even with a Congress that was predominantly Democratic. Mr. Dewey also revealed that he had received telegrams from leading Republicans in Congress pledging their support for the World Security Organisation.

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Mr. Walter Lippmann believes that after Governor Dewey's speech and the telegrams from the Republican Congressional leaders the Dumbarton Oaks proposals were established more firmly than ever as a bi-partisan commitment. Republican papers generally assert that there is no difference between Mr. Dewey's and Mr. Roosevelt's attitude towards international co-operation, but they believe that the United States is far more likely to achieve a sound foreign policy if Mr. Dewey is elected, since he will be able to co-operate with Congress. The "nationalists" (who are largely the old "isolationists") applaud Mr. Dewey's promise "to stay strictly within the Constitution," while the New Deal papers declare that the Republican candidate's statement concerning the powers of the United States delegate are dangerously ambiguous.

President Roosevelt, in a hard-hitting speech, spoke of the "ugly implication" which was first introduced by Mr. John Foster Dulles, Mr. Dewey's adviser on foreign affairs, that Republicans in Congress would co-operate with a President of their own party in establishing an organisation for world peace, but would not co-operate in the event of a Democratic victory. He charged Republicans with a deliberate and indefensible effort to place politics above patriotism. "I do not think the American people will take kindly to this policy of 'vote my way or I won't play,'" said the President at Philadelphia, and he referred to the achievement of his Administration in the preparation for, and conduct of, the war. To a mass meeting at Chicago the President referred to his message to Congress on the state of the union which he delivered last January and in which he outlined an economic Bill of Rights on which "a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all, regardless of station, race or creed." He foresaw an extension of the United States peace-time productive capacity and called for a programme which would provide America with 60 million productive jobs. "America must remain," asserted the President, "the land of high wages and efficient production. During the war we have been compelled to limit wages and salary increases to prevent runaway inflation. After the war we shall, of course, remove the control of wages and leave their determination to free collective bargaining between trades unions and employers. We shall lift production and price-control as soon as they are no longer needed." Mr. Roosevelt asserted his belief in free enterprise, and added that "the future of the worker and farmer lies in the well-being of private enterprise and the future of private enterprise lies in the well-being of the worker and the farmer." He expressed his confidence that, with Congressional approval, the foreign trade of the United States could be trebled after the war, thus providing millions more jobs and laying the sound economic foundation for a lasting peace.

Mr. Roosevelt's mass meetings in Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, following on his tour of New York City, have done much to dispel what Mr. Marquis Childs has described "as the vilest whispering campaign" referring to the President's health. An amusing poll by the left-wing paper *P.M.* has disclosed that while the President did not "even have the sniffles" as a result of his tour in the rain in New York City, the majority of the reporters who covered the tour had developed colds, and that Mayor La Guardia had to retire to bed after completing half the trip. Nevertheless certain Republican papers reiterate that the choice of the electorate is not between Mr. Dewey and Mr. Roosevelt but between Mr. Dewey and Senator Truman, the Democratic candidate for the Vice-Presidency, the implication being that Mr. Roosevelt cannot last long. Senator Truman, in addition to association with the corrupt Pendagast machine, has now been accused of association with the Ku Klux Klan, which he indignantly repudiates.

Mr. Cordell Hull has issued a statement praising Mr. Roosevelt's handling of foreign affairs. "The President," he says, "is a statesman equipped by nature and experience as few statesmen have been in American history." He expressed confidence that history would record that the acts of the United States after the fall of France and before the United States entered into the war were indispensable "in staving off disaster to our nation and other free nations." Doubtless to help dispel rumours that the Administration was quarrelsome, Mr. Donald Nelson who, it is said, is about to leave on a new overseas mission for the President, has also issued a statement giving unqualified support to the President as the "man with the 'know-how' for the biggest job in the world."

There has been general rejoicing at the great American naval victory off the Philippines and Admiral King has remarked that this action has reduced the Japanese fleet "to not more than one-half of its maximum strength." This victory has naturally dominated the press and radio and has released a great deal of optimism which offsets to some extent the sober accounts of the extremely

hard fighting in Europe. The British gains in Holland have incidentally been greatly praised. Mr. Drew Pearson even alleges that General Marshall went so far as to say that the European war might still be over before Christmas.

There was at first much speculation on the reasons for the recall of General Stilwell from China. Some asserted that it was due to disagreements with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, though other commentators mentioned disagreements with Lord Louis Mountbatten, General Chennault and Admiral Nimitz. In some quarters his recall was interpreted as a snub to the Generalissimo, and there were rumours that he was to be given command of an American army that might land on the shores of China. The President then confirmed that personal differences with the Generalissimo were the trouble. It was "just one of those things," he said, adding that General Stilwell would be given a new command of equal importance.

Mr. Churchill's speech on the outcome of his visit to Moscow has been received as "a characteristically well-rounded Churchillian war review," and has been quoted widely. It has been generally interpreted as proof of genuinely improved Anglo-Soviet relations, though there is despondency at the failure to reach a solution of the Soviet-Polish problem. The Agreements on the Bulgarian Armistice terms and on Yugoslavia, however, are quoted as evidence that the alleged Anglo-Russian differences on the spheres of influence in the Balkans have been amicably resolved, though several columnists maintain that Mr. Churchill did not break down Marshal Stalin's suspicions of the Allies, and that he failed to attain his desires in South-East Europe.

Admiral Land, the Chairman of the Maritime Commission and Administrator of the War Shipping Administration, has released a statement saying that "the President has requested the Maritime Commission to prepare a bold and daring plan for improving the American Merchant Marine and maintaining its future position." As a result of his Conference with the President, at which Mr. Henry Kaiser, the ship builder, was also present, it was agreed to begin a merchant shipbuilding programme as part of the reconversion programme, and take steps to produce new models as soon as shipyard space and man-power were available, so that, as Mr. Henry Kaiser said, "the United States would be able to compete in the world trade with 1950 rather than 1930 models." This programme will, of course, not interfere with the provision of vessels and materials now required for the war.

[See also under "France," "Latin America," and "Far East."]

LATIN AMERICA.

The Argentine Government has addressed a note to the other American Governments in which it declares that it considers necessary the calling of a meeting of Foreign Ministers, according to the procedure laid down by the Lima Conference of 1938, in order to discuss the problems of Argentina's relations with other American countries. The circular is accompanied by the text of a communication delivered to the Council of the Pan-American Union requesting that a meeting be convened as soon as possible. On the 28th October the State Department declared that it had not received this communication, but that if it did, the United States would exchange views with the Governments of the other American Republics before taking a decision.

The Argentine request is, of course, a very pretty nettle. Amidst a great display of injured innocence, the circular note demands that in no case shall the juridical or institutional aspect of the régime be a subject for discussion, since this would establish an undesirable precedent. In the first sentence (and, indeed, throughout) all blame is carefully diverted from Argentina's door; the note affects anxiety about "the situation that has arisen with certain American countries because of the attitude they have adopted towards the Argentine Republic," and shows no small self-satisfaction in extolling Argentina's willingness "to discuss with her peers a fundamental aspect of her international conduct," since she feels that "no stable and authentic order can exist in the American community based on the arbitrary expulsion of one of its members."

In making this bid for sympathy, the Argentine Government seems intent on drawing an early dividend on such *démarches* as the hint of the holding of elections, the recent undertaking to withdraw soldiers from civilian posts, and the professed suppression of pro-Axis propaganda. The Vice-President, meanwhile, it is suggested, is perhaps leaving the door open for elections by statements to the effect that it is not the parliamentary system, but simply the old politicians who are discredited. Nevertheless, some reorganisation of political parties must

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obviously be provided for if substance is to be given to the promise of elections. Colonel Perón's declaration about the return of soldiers to their proper sphere, referred to in last week's *Summary*, was a more definite undertaking: captains and those of lower rank are said to be already returning to the army in preparation for forthcoming manœuvres; majors and those above would return after the 30th November, and by the 1st January only about ten soldiers would remain in civilian posts. He himself, he said, proposed to give his main attention to army tasks in 1945. This talk is very fine but, even if it is quite sincere, the carrying out of the programme may to some extent be governed by the number of responsible civilians who are both capable of filling the vacancies and willing to work under the present clique.

Meanwhile, on the 26th October, Mr. Stettinius received the heads of Latin American missions in Washington at an informal meeting at which views were exchanged about the proposals made at Dumbarton Oaks and related American arrangements. At a press conference the following day, Mr. Stettinius said that these meetings would be continued.

The United States Embassy in London has again informed the Foreign Office of the importance attached to the non-conclusion of a meat contract with Argentina at this time.

The resignations are reported of General Mason, the Argentine Minister for Agriculture, and his Under-Secretary, Major Lorio; the Minister for Public Works, General Pistarini, has provisionally taken over the department of agriculture. General Rawson, formerly President of the Republic and Ambassador to Brazil, has been arrested.

The French Committee of Liberation has been recognised as the Provisional Government of France by Brazil, Peru, Colombia, Venezuela, Haiti, the Dominican Republic and Panama. Mexico, Chile, Peru, Cuba, Uruguay Colombia, Eucador and Venezuela have recognised, or have expressed their intention of recognising, the existing Italian Government. President Vargas has signed a decree suspending all restrictive measures against Italian residents in Brazil.

The new junta established in Guatemala has declared its intention of fulfilling all international obligations, and especially those connected with war effort. It has further dissolved the National Assembly and called elections for the 3rd–5th November. The new body now guarantees order, and claims that it has the support of the entire population. There were reported to have been a thousand casualties in the recent fighting. General Ubico and his wife have flown to the United States.

The new Salvadorean régime has been recognised by Spain, Honduras and Nicaragua, but declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of El Salvador. It claims to represent all parties except the followers of Sr. Romero, the left-wing candidate for the presidency, though its position would appear to be extremely precarious if it had not the solid support of the Army.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 266

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
8TH NOVEMBER, 1944.

Copy No. 183

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

Model's troops in Holland have now been forced back to the Maas, of which they still hold the right bank. The official German bulletins report "bitter fighting" at every stage, both on Walcheren and the mainland, and some success in counter-attacks delivered within Germany, south-east of Aachen. They claim also the prevention of an American break-through in the Vosges. The O.K.W. speaks of advance in Croatia, a fighting retreat in Hungary and effective counter-attacks in East Prussia and Kurland; Russian troops in Goldap were on the 5th reported to be completely cut off, the actual recapture of the place was announced on the 6th. Air raids on the Reich have received daily mention; the communiqué of the 3rd November gave a total of 52 British bombers lost over Düsseldorf on the preceding night. (The actual number lost was 19.)

Comment on the news has made grateful use of Allied admissions of German tenacity. Mr. Churchill was stated to have "solemnly buried" one of the greatest Allied hopes by affirming that a political revolt could not be expected in Germany. *D.N.B.* thought this remark the more significant because the 20th July had revealed "direct contacts particularly with Britain." Strength through Time is still the slogan for much war comment. A broadcast on the last day of October said that "every week gained by Germany retards the Allied plans by months." On the other hand, a full-scale general offensive by Eisenhower is prophesied for the very near future. Until this materialises, Germans are told to consider the focal point of the western fighting to be in the Vosges. Public comment is most gloomy, not in the much-tried west, but in the south of Germany. A Munich paper has attempted to draw a moral from German setbacks. It admits that "undeniable mistakes" in German policy have given the world a wrong idea of National Socialism. Germany's pre-war "display of daring initiative" was construed as arrogance, and for this Germany has paid dearly. Things could, according to this writer, hardly have come to a worse pass: "the threat of death hangs over us . . . . the pressure of war . . . . intolerable sacrifices, demands that

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sometimes make life seem no longer worth living, taking away as they do the last remnants of private peace, have beyond doubt on many a bleak day betrayed us into thinking that it must all end in defeat."

Goebbels has once again publicly attacked this war weariness. His answer to the question, what is the use of doing anything, is that this war will decide everything and that Germans have (if they wish to live) no choice but to become a nation of fanatics: "If to-day the entire nation were to work and fight as its best sons and daughters do at home and at the front, untiringly, like one possessed, faithful and strong-willed, then we should conclude this war victoriously, rapidly and decisively."

There is evidence that the Allied air offensive is being fought with typical German energy and resource. The railway system of Western Germany has been considerably adapted in order to escape air attack. Disorganisation in traffic grew to such proportions during September that marshalling yards west of the Rhine have been relieved of the greater part of their functions and trains in this area have now to be run only by night. The repercussions of this congestion and the effect of traffic restrictions are now felt in varying degrees throughout the Reich. A neutral traveller recently calculated that the journey from Berlin to Bâle now takes anything up to five days. In the case of oil installations, which now enjoy high reparation priority, the rate of repair during October was greater than the rate of destruction. The protection of the population, on the other hand, is proving less successful. Civil defence services are reported saturated and emergency arrangements chaotic, particularly in Duisburg, where many people could neither be fed nor housed without long delay.

A small but significant alteration has been recently announced in the German military penal code. Soldiers who have lost contact with their units and offices are now liable to punishment if they fail to report within *one* day instead of within *three* days as specified in the 1940 edition of the code. The change reflects not only what is now called the September crisis, referred to here last week, but the increasing severity of the High Command in dealing with desertion. A Swiss observer recently watched a troop train in a main German station; in the centre of the train two cattle trucks, heavily wired and guarded, were crammed with deserters, placarded as such and imploring food and drink.

It is interesting to find the expression "Free Corps," with its memories of the illicit Reichswehr detachments of the 'twenties, now recurring in Nazi propaganda. Some of the soldiers left in France have organised themselves, notably in Brittany, into a "Free Corps France," and, according to a recent broadcast to German forces have stocks of food and ammunition and even French recruits fighting with them. Information about Himmler's plans for an organised resistance movement within Germany continues to be received. Men chosen to lead local groups are reported to have been already provided with false papers and even sent to concentration camps. Such men swear eternal fidelity to the Führer and his teaching and accept, according to one report with alacrity, the prospect of an illegal and underground resistance to the enemy in all parts of the Reich. The actual organisation of this resistance seems to owe much to what might be expected to be its model, the partisan movements in Russia, Yugoslavia and France. The unit is a group of five men controlling a single district, such groups having no contact with each other but only with a superior officer. The quick passing of news to the centre is insisted upon as an essential of effective warfare. Both leaders and subordinates would appear to be most carefully chosen by the Security Service of the S.S.

The Volkssturm is meeting heavy weather both inside and outside Germany. Local papers reprove those who think it funny to talk of the new army of old men and cripples, armed with scythes or sticks and playing Red Indians. Field-Marshal Paulus, the senior German officer in Russian hands, has broadcast from the Moscow station "Free Germany" an indignant refutation of Himmler's recent attacks on his comrade, General von Seydlitz, denying that such a man as Himmler, who is "driving the German people to suicide with his Volkssturm," is a fit judge of the conduct of German officers.

Both the Nazi authorities and the population of Austria seem conscious of the fact that Vienna is the next stage on the Russian road from Budapest. Gauleiter Jury has told his people in Niederdonau that there will be no evacuation from the south-eastern frontier districts, and that "the inconveniences necessarily connected with fortification building" must be endured. Party officials would seem to have been recalled from digging in North Italy to superintend the same task at home. The confusion is increased by the influx of refugees, said to be Volksdeutsche from Serbia and Hungary, whom Austrians

are asked to assist and comfort. It is reported that in Linz flats of air-raid evacuees have already been requisitioned for them. According to Gauleiter Hofer, the Volkssturm in Austria is to bear the traditional Tyrolese title of *Standschützen* and to have field-grey uniforms. A *Stabsführer* has already been appointed for Niederdonau, and leaders' courses have been started in Innsbruck.

The issue of a new list of broadcasting stations to which Germans may listen hardly justifies the assertion that they are not allowed to hear their own foreign broadcasts. The list is little more than half as long as that previously issued in 1943, because of the exclusion of stations now in Allied hands, but the only other changes are of minor importance, the omission of those in Norway and Holland, of Strasbourg and of two Reich stations transmitting for foreign countries. German internal censorship is neither more nor less strict than it has always been. The German Forces transmission, including the frank articles appearing in the military paper *Front und Heimat*, has always been forbidden to listeners within the Reich.

The speeches at the fifth anniversary of the establishment of the Warthegau appear to have been censored for transmission to the press. The German Home Service broadcast what purported to be a full account of the proceedings. Guderian specifically coupled together in his short speech the soldiers in his audience, including those who had fought in Warsaw, and the Volkssturm. To the latter he promised an Army issue of equipment and of weapons, which he assured them would be good ones. Himmler's own speech was much more vigorous and outspoken than the later *D.N.B.* account made out. Among notable excisions were, a reference to his "dear old friend" Daluege, the promise of such a resettlement of Germany's eastern provinces as would provide "a fully developed farm. . . . for every soldier of every unit of the Armed Forces," and the prophecy that "sooner or later we shall advance again beyond our frontiers." According to *D.N.B.* Himmler ended his speech with the more politic exhortation to stand firm until the enemies of Germany gradually realised that it would be tantamount to suicide for them to continue the assault against the Reich.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

Reliable information as to the latest developments in Slovakia is now scanty. Bratislava continues to put out more or less credible reports on the situation in Central Slovakia, claiming that the only military operation at present in progress is the mopping up of the remnants of the resistance forces. On the 2nd November the German European Service in Slovak claimed that 12,000 prisoners had been taken and that captured booty included 284 guns of various calibres, 900 vehicles, 92 tanks, 65 aircraft and 28 field-kitchens. A later claim, on the 6th November, added to this tally 3,000 more prisoners, a further 18 guns, 5 tanks, 15 tons of explosives, a large food-store and 479 railway trucks of war material, including 72 loaded with ammunition, 10 with tanks, and 15 with field-kitchens. It is hard to accept these figures at their face value but there is, unfortunately, little cause to doubt the truth of a statement that General Viest, commander of the Czechoslovak forces in Slovakia, and General Golian, his deputy, have fallen into German hands. The latter had been the leader and military organiser of the revolt inside Slovakia, while General Viest, formerly Minister of State in the Czechoslovak Government in London, only arrived in Slovakia to take over his new duties in October. Unless the Slovak leaders are deterred by fears of ultimate retribution these two officers are likely to be executed, for Viest was sentenced to death in his absence some three years ago and Golian has already been indicted for treason for his part in the rising.

The Germans are evidently becoming increasingly concerned to maintain order in the Protectorate and especially in the province of Moravia which, as the Red Army presses westwards, takes on an added importance in the German rear. On the 1st November, what was described as a meeting of the Autonomous Protectorate Government was held at Vestín, about a dozen miles from the Slovak border. The Premier and the Minister of Agriculture were present and the former addressed a gathering of officials, workers, farmers and tradesmen. He covered the usual ground—the dangers of Bolshevism, the folly of hoping for British and American protection from the Red menace, the useless bloodshed that revolt against the Germans would entail—and promised a rude awakening to "those here in Bohemia and Moravia who are playing at setting up National Committees."

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Der Neue Tag of the 20th October reported that Henlein had appointed Grupenführer Franz May as Gaustabsführer of the Volkssturm in the Sudetenland, and on the 2nd November *D.N.B.* announced that 90,000 Sudeten Volkssturm had taken part in the 1944 defence rallies which ended on the 31st October.

POLAND.

The Polish Government is still hesitating to make any public definition of its policy concerning the recent Moscow conversations. It is possible that such a decision may become easier to make as soon as the results of the American Presidential Election will have thrown light on the probable attitude of the United States in World Affairs. In the meantime any immediate acceptance, for instance, of the Curzon Line would necessarily seem in Polish eyes like surrender of a bird still partly in the hand; while the future expectation of compensation in the west and of Allied guarantees of Poland's integrity and independence must still seem like birds very much in the bush.

On the other hand, a pronouncement reported to have been made at the week-end by M. Strasburger, Polish Minister Resident in Cairo, in which he said that Vilna and Lwow were even dearer to Polish hearts than Warsaw, and that to give up the Galician oilfelds would risk the economic ruin of Poland, should not be taken as indications of the form which the decision of the Polish Government is likely to take.

In the meantime the Soviet administration and the Polish National Liberation Committee in Lublin continue to treat the Curzon Line and its southward extension in Eastern Galicia ("Line A") as a provisional boundary. Thus, since its liberation in the fourth week of October, Suwalki has been under the administration of the Lublin Committee. That Committee has on the other hand been advising the Poles at Lwow to withdraw to the west.

The National Liberation Committee in Lublin has published a decree dealing with speculation and war profiteering (25th October). Progress is reported in the dividing up of large estates, particularly in the province (*voivodeship*) of Rzeszow, *i.e.*, the portion of the province of Lwow situated west of the southern extension of the Curzon Line. A beginning has been made at Lublin in the trial of two former collaborationists. Fifty other cases are shortly to be tried.

It was reported in a *Tass* message that Metropolitan Andrew Szeptycki, Archbishop of Lwow and primate of the Uniate Church in Eastern Galicia, had died in Lwow on the 1st November at the age of 79. He was described by *Tass* as head of the Greek Catholic (another name for Uniate) Church in the U.S.S.R., and it has announced that the administration of that Church had been taken over by Metropolitan Joseph Slepoy (Slipij), who, after being for many years director of the Uniate Seminary in Lwow, had recently been made Suffragan Bishop of Lwow.

SOVIET UNION.

In the far North no fighting has been reported in the Soviet communiqués since the 1st November, when an Order of the Day proclaimed the complete liberation of the Petsamo Region. In East Prussia only defensive fighting has been mentioned, in the area round Goldap, which the Germans claim to have recaptured. No progress has been reported in Poland, but in Hungary the left bank of the Tisza was cleared (2nd November), Szolnok captured (4th November) and a rapid advance between the Tisza and the Danube has brought the Red Army to the outskirts of Budapest.

In an Order of the Day issued on the 7th November Marshal Stalin announced that the Soviet State frontier had been restored along its whole length, which, if taken literally would mean, that the last remnants of German resistance in the Latvian S.S.R. have been overcome, although this was not specifically stated. This great achievement, announced on the anniversary of the October Revolution, was celebrated by twenty-four salvoes in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk, Petrozavodsk, Tallinn, Riga, Vilna, Kishinev, Tiflis, Sevastopol and Lvov. In the same Order Marshal Stalin claimed that in the summer battle for Byelorussia 540,000 Germans had been killed or captured; in the Ukraine a further 250,000 officers and men had been accounted for.

On the 6th November, the 27th anniversary of the October Revolution, Marshal Stalin made his annual speech to the Moscow Soviet. In reviewing

military developments his theme was "the astounding precision" with which the programme of common action drawn up at Tehran had been implemented. "Our Allies accomplished a mass landing operation on the coast of France that was unparalleled in history for scope and organisation," and this "second front in Europe" engaged up to 75 German divisions. Thanks to this help the Red Army, which a year ago was fighting virtually single-handed, had put out of action 120 German and satellite divisions (presumably in the whole course of the war). In 1943 the Red Army faced 257 enemy divisions, of which 207 were German: the figures were now 180 German and 24 Hungarian divisions. "It cannot be doubted," the Marshal added, that "Hungary will also be put out of action in the nearest future." Germany, isolated in Europe, now "finds herself on the brink of inevitable destruction." "To-day the Red Army has . . . . more tanks, guns and planes than the German Army": and they are superior in quality.

Turning to politics, the Marshal again took up the theme of Allied solidarity (apparently addressing his remarks not least to those members of the Bolshevik party who are not as convinced of the wisdom of a policy of collaboration with the Western Allies as he is). "There is talk of differences between the three Powers on certain security problems. Of course, there are differences, and they will arise on a number of other issues too. Differences of opinion occur even among people in the same party." What is surprising, the Marshal continued, is not the existence of disagreements, but the fact that "they are so few and that as a rule in practically every case they are resolved in a spirit of unity and co-ordination among the three Great Powers." Marshal Stalin referred particularly to the decisions of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference and to the "spirit of complete unanimity" which had prevailed during the recent visit of Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden to Moscow. All the efforts of the Hitlerites to divide the United Nations had failed because "the alliance between the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and the United States is founded not on accidental transitory considerations but on vitally important and long-term interests."

Finally Marshal Stalin dealt with the treatment of Germany after defeat, and with "making impossible new aggression and new war, if not for ever, then at least for a long time to come. After her defeat Germany will, of course, be disarmed, in the economic and in the military-political sense." But that is not enough. "It is common knowledge," he declared, "that the German leaders are already preparing for a new war." History has shown the advantages which the aggressor enjoys. Marshal Stalin quoted the Pearl Harbour incident, the loss of the Philippines, Hong Kong and Singapore, to show that Japan, "as the aggressive nation, proved to be better prepared for war than Great Britain and the United States, which pursued a policy of peace." The U.S.S.R. had similarly lost the Ukraine, White Russia and the Baltic area because she was less prepared for war than Germany. So the problem is "to preclude fresh aggression on Germany's part and, if war should start, nevertheless, to stifle it at its very beginning and give it no opportunities to develop into a big war . . . . Apart from the complete disarmament of the aggressive nations, there is only one means to this end": to establish a security organisation representing the peace-loving nations, whose controlling body has at its disposal the minimum of armed force necessary to prevent aggression, and "to oblige this organisation to employ these armed forces without delay, if it becomes necessary, to avert or stop aggression and to punish those guilty of aggression." This must not be "a repetition of the sad memory of the League of Nations," which had neither the right nor the means to avert aggression. These steps will be effective if the Great Powers "continue to act in a spirit of unanimity and concord . . . . They will not be effective if this essential condition is violated."

Soviet territory, Marshal Stalin continued, has been cleared "now and for ever" of the Hitlerite filth. It now remains for the Red Army, jointly with its Allies, "to finish off the Fascist beast in its own lair, and to raise over Berlin the banner of victory. There is reason to expect that this task will be fulfilled by the Red Army in the near future."

Marshal Stalin's reference to Japan is new and encouraging. Not only did he describe her as an "aggressive nation," but by demanding "the complete disarmament of the aggressive nations" he included by implication that of Japan. His clarification of the Soviet Government's position with regard to Germany should finally silence whispers suggesting the possibility of any Soviet-German "deal."

The slogans put forward by the Central Committee of the Communist Party for the Anniversary of the Revolution are on traditional lines (see *Summary*

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No. 213). There is, however, a new note of victorious confidence in all of them. Thus the first slogan, acclaiming the revolution, declares that it "created the mighty Soviet Power, the foundation of the freedom and independence of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., the bulwark of peace among peoples." In hailing the Red Army, it is emphasised that it "has driven out the German-Fascist invaders beyond the boundaries of our motherland, and is smashing them on German territory." References to the Allies are also warmer. The Anglo-Soviet-American alliance will ensure not only victory but also "a stable peace between the peoples of the whole world." Greetings are extended to "the brave British and American sailors" as well as to "the gallant troops of Great Britain and the United States, who are smashing the Hitlerite hordes in Western Europe." The Yugoslav, Polish, French and Czech peoples are also singled out for special mention. In the case of Poland, controversial issues are carefully avoided, the appeal being to "patriots of Poland" to assist their liberators—the Red Army and the Polish Army, with no mention of the P.C.N.L.

The Soviet campaign against those European Powers which have not recognised the Soviet Government (see last week's *Summary*) is developing briskly. On the 4th November, Moscow Radio broadcast in Russian a communiqué of the Information Bureau of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs on Soviet-Swiss relations. This communiqué revealed that on the 10th October, the Swiss Minister in London forwarded to the Soviet Government through its Ambassador in London a memorandum containing a proposal for the re-establishment of diplomatic relations. After summarising this memorandum the statement continues: "It is, however, a matter of general knowledge that during many years the Swiss Government, in violation of its old democratic traditions, has been pursuing a pro-Fascist policy hostile to the Soviet Union, which together with other democratic countries is consistently waging a struggle against Hitlerite Germany in the interests of peace-loving nations." The Soviet Government therefore "refused to accept the proposals of the Swiss Government . . . . since the Swiss Government has hitherto not disassociated itself in any form from its former policy of hostility to the Soviet Union." Switzerland has never recognised the Soviet Government, and the latter may well find irresistible the desire to inflict a public humiliation on so belated a penitent. Its attitude may, however, be part of the wider war of nerves which the Soviet Government is waging against some neutrals, and in particular against Spain. If relatively harmless Switzerland is handled so roughly, what will the Soviet attitude be towards Spain, whose Government is treated by Soviet propaganda as an Axis satellite, and some of whose generals are on the Soviet list of war criminals? *Izvestiya*'s foreign observer returned to this familiar Soviet topic on the 3rd November, stating that "Fascist Spain is Hitler's last bulwark in Europe," and that "people naturally ask: 'Will the Madrid lackey outlive his European boss?' This question cannot be deemed irrelevant either for the cause of victory over Germany or for the future of European peace. That is why ripening events in Spain attract the close attention of public circles in all democratic countries." So once again Soviet interest in the future of Spain, and unqualified condemnation of the Franco régime, have been made clear to the world.

The Soviet press and radio campaign against the Persian Government (see *Summary* No. 265 under "Middle East") continues, reinforced this week by a long article on "Events in Persia," in *Izvestiya* of the 4th November, which accuses the Persian Government of violating its treaty and agreement obligations to the U.S.S.R. *Izvestiya* states that in contravention of clause 13 of the Soviet-Persian Treaty of 1921, the Persian Government, "willingly inviting concessionnaires from other countries, raised obstacles to the operations of the Soviet-Persian Khurian joint stock company." M. Saed's Government is once more charged with apathy in prosecuting Hitlerite agents, and the Prime Minister himself "with plain hypocrisy and double-dealing," whilst *Izvestiya* vigorously disputes the Persian allegation that the requests for oil concessions made by Great Britain, the United States and the U.S.S.R. had been treated equitably. For the first time in this controversy the presence of American troops in Persia is questioned as being incompatible with "the sovereignty and independence of Persia, which has no treaty alliance with the United States (see also under "Middle East").

An article on the presidential elections in the United States which appeared in the official *Izvestiya* on the 5th November is remarkable mainly for its bold title: "President Roosevelt's election is guaranteed." The tone of the article is unqualifiedly pro-Roosevelt, and it even mentions "reports in Republican headquarters" that "a sham 'attempt' on Dewey" is being prepared, the

responsibility for which would be laid on the American Communists. Even this, however, could not help Governor Dewey, but would merely expose him utterly "in the eyes of those who still harbour some illusions on his behalf."

On the 4th November the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet awarded the Order of Lenin to a number of Soviet diplomats, including M. Gousev, the Soviet Ambassador in London; M. Gromyko (Washington), M. Malik (Tokyo), and M. Panyushkin (Ambassador to China, who has been in Moscow for health reasons for the last six months). The Order was also awarded to three Deputy-Commissars for Foreign Affairs—M. Kavtaradze (who recently wielded the big stick in Persia—see *Summary* No. 265), M. Lozovsky and M. Dekanozov. The Order of the Red Banner of Labour was awarded (among others) to M. Orlov (Soviet political adviser on the Control Commission in Finland), General Maksimov and M. Kostylev (the recently appointed Ambassadors to Persia and Italy respectively), M. Solod (Soviet Minister to Syria and the Lebanon), M. Lavrentiev (recently appointed People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the R.S.F.S.R.), and M. Sobolev (Minister in London).

The end of the harvest this year was marked by several statements on the Soviet agricultural position. One broadcast talk recalled that on the eve of the war 250,000 collective farms replaced the former small-holdings of 25 million individual peasants. The technical advantages of this change-over from small-scale to large-scale mechanised farming were stressed, as well as the fact that in the pre-war period Soviet agriculture had 480,000 tractors and 154,000 combines (worked by 970,000 tractor-drivers and 255,000 combine-harvester operators). Agriculture was then 70 per cent. mechanised, and this resulted in important increases in agricultural yields. Furthermore, writing recently in *Krasny Flot*, the People's Deputy Commissar for Agriculture, M. Benediktov, declared that the total increase in the sown area this year in collective farms amounts to 12 million hectares, of which 9 million are under grain. He said that as a result of the increased sown area, accompanied by higher yields, the country will receive far more agricultural produce than during the preceding war-time years. He did not, however, add that there will be many more mouths to feed.

SCANDINAVIA.

The dissolution of the Civic Guard, or Skyddskår, in Finland, the decree for which passed its third reading in the Diet on the 3rd November, has caused great local depression, and is described in a Helsinki message to *Svenska Dagbladet* as "the hardest blow to Finland since the Armistice was signed." These regrets are not, however, shared in labour circles, which have always regarded the institution with suspicion as a reactionary body; in spite of the agreement between the Social Democrats and the Skyddskår during the "winter war," *Arbetarbladet* states that it knows of no instance where organised Swedo-Finnish workers have joined it. Originally, indeed, the Skyddskår was formed surreptitiously to counter the Bolshevik revolution, and formed the nucleus of the White Guards who suppressed communism in the stage of the war for independence which began early in 1918. The organisation was legally recognised as a part of the military forces of the republic in 1927, though at this stage the step was stubbornly resisted by the Social Democrats. Later, however, the organisation developed valuable social and educational features, which are remembered with wistful regret, and it was regarded as a cherished part of the national life. Considering its origin, however, and its pronouncedly *bourgeois* colour, it could hardly have been expected to meet with the approval of the Soviet Union.

The Germans and quislings are making intense propaganda of the evacuation of the civil population from Northern Norway, which they represent as a voluntary flight from the advancing Russians. On the other hand, Norwegian sources point out that Jonas Lie, who has been put in control of Troms and and Finnmark and armed with fresh powers in the Police Department by a decree signed by Quisling on the 2nd November, addressed the people of Kirkenes and Björnevatn immediately before the capture of this region by the Soviet forces, declaring that all houses would be destroyed by the Germans and the civil population compulsorily evacuated. Inhabitants of the Lyngenfjord–Skibotn area are also reported to have been compulsorily evacuated. A ship's steward who endeavoured to persuade an evacuation ship to make for a Soviet-controlled port has been condemned by a special court and subsequently shot.

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The Norwegian Military Command broadcast from London on the 31st October a warning to the underground forces in Norway, pointing out that events in the North had not so far affected the previous instructions to the rest of the country to avoid open fighting. Such a warning may well have been felt desirable in view of M. Nygaardsvold's broadcast reported in last week's *Summary*. The Home Front leadership has also issued instructions, in anticipation of further intensive efforts by the Germans to break up the resistance movement, strongly emphasising the importance of increased security precautions.

It has now been announced in the Swedish Press and on the radio that the representatives of the Norwegian Government during their visit to Stockholm reached agreement with the Swedish authorities as to the use of the Norwegian police forces trained in Sweden. A number of them, it is said, will depart for North Norway as soon as possible. The total number of trainees is said to be some 11,000. M. Lie and M. Wold have now arrived in Moscow.

The Allied air attack on the Gestapo headquarters in Aarhus University on the 31st October seems to have been extremely successful. The majority of the Danes killed and injured are believed to have been in the German service and the latest estimates of German dead are over a hundred. D.P.T. (4th November) reports that among those killed must almost certainly be included the notorious Gestapo leader Schwitzgebel, who controlled the whole of Jutland. There is also stated to have been an extensive destruction of filed records, a circumstance which should be of great value to the Danish underground movement.

In spite of continued German raids and arrests in Copenhagen, sabotage in Denmark continues unchecked, especially on the Jutland railways, where explosions and dislocations are reported to be of nightly occurrence. A successful *coup* took place on the 6th November, when five Danish patriots captured the largest train ferryboat, normally plying across the Great Belt, and brought it successfully into the Swedish port of Helsingborg. A successful raid was made on the same day on the Public Registry at Aalborg, when card indexes containing particulars of 200,000 persons were removed.

LOW COUNTRIES.

The distribution of food in Belgium appears to be improving slightly. The supplies now (see last *Summary*) being furnished by the Allied military authorities are contributing to the improvement, but there is also reason to believe that the Belgian authorities are meeting with more success in their efforts to tackle the food problem. They continue, however, to be subjected to a stream of censure in the Belgian press, which never ceases taxing the Government with weakness. Criticism, though often captious, is sometimes pertinent. Lack of co-ordination between departments undoubtedly exists, and the fact that there are separate Ministries of Food and of Agriculture probably causes some inefficiency. It is also alleged that M. Pierlot lacks the strength to put an end to inter-departmental rivalries.

Meanwhile, however, the Communists have decided to continue to support the Government; that is to say, the Communist Ministers will not resign forthwith; but the Communist press will probably continue to run down the Government, as, indeed, will most other papers. It is a matter of some significance that M. Spaak, who proclaims himself a "militant Socialist," is advocating the formation of a Left-wing *bloc* which would include Socialists, Communists, Christian Democrats and Left-wing Liberals. This project is in the air and has aroused some discussion (see *Summary* No. 263) in many quarters.

The Belgian resistance organisations, especially the Independence Front, continue to be very discontented and to complain that the Government is not giving them due recognition. Many Belgians, on the other hand, are afraid that these bodies may constitute a serious threat to the rule of law. The political situation, therefore, is anything but stable.

In Luxemburg the Government seems to be grappling with the urgent problems of the moment in a workmanlike manner and to be enjoying wide popular support, though some of their measures have been criticised by the Communists.

In the Occupied Netherlands food grows scarcer and German repression becomes more brutal; the rounding-up and deportation of Dutchmen by the German police continues.

The inhabitants of Walcheren are in a sorry plight; large parts of the island are under water—at least at high tide; there is little food; and there may soon be a grave shortage of pure drinking water.

The free Dutch News Agency has published a statement by the Catholic Chaplain-General to the Dutch forces on conditions in other parts of the liberated Netherlands. He draws a vivid picture of the destruction done by the Germans before their retreat and states that rations are so low that those engaged on road repairs or in mining find it difficult to do their job properly. The Dutch, he added, do not complain much; they are grateful for their liberation, but they are "tired and sad" and puzzled by the fact that 10,000 German civilians, brought from the Aachen area to camps on Dutch soil, are being much better fed than they are. They think they should get the food that the Allies are giving the Germans and that the Germans should be put on short commons. Respect for the rules of international law, they argue, does not fill their empty stomachs.

ERRATA.

Summary No. 262, page 8, last paragraph, line 2, for "exchange rota" read "exchange rate"; line 6, for "outside" read "inside."

FRANCE.

The announcement that the Prime Minister and Mr. Eden have accepted an invitation from General de Gaulle and M. Bidault to visit Paris in the near future as the guests of the Provisional Government has been warmly welcomed in Paris. The French communiqué which gave the news on the 3rd November expressed the pleasure which the French Government and people would have in seeing the visitors in the capital to the liberation of which the gallant British forces had so largely contributed. It described Mr. Churchill as "the famous British statesman who during this war has rendered and is still rendering such incompatible service to the entire free world" and Mr. Eden as "the great Foreign Minister whose far-sighted activity is one of the pivots of the great coalition." It added that the visit would give an opportunity for most useful talks between the two friendly Allied Governments. The prospect of such talks has given general satisfaction to the Paris papers, several of which have published leading articles paying warm tribute to Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden. The Communist *Humanité*, however, fears that the visit may lead to some exclusive Anglo-French arrangement, dictated by "les trusts" and leaving Russia out of account. The French home service of the 4th November broadcast a report of a talk about the Levant by the diplomatic correspondent of the *Agence Française de Presse*, in which he expressed the hope that Syria and the Lebanon would be frankly discussed while the British Ministers were in France.

The State Department announced on the 5th November that an invitation to visit Paris had also been addressed to President Roosevelt and Mr. Hull. The French note conveying this invitation described it as "an expression of the appreciation of the entire French nation for the outstanding contribution which the peoples and armies of the United States have made to the liberation of the capital of France and of the greater part of her territory." Acceptance of the invitation and the date of any visit will presumably depend largely upon the result of the Presidential election.

The vexed question of the Communist-inspired Patriotic Militia or Patriotic Guard (see last *Summary*) is still unsettled. On the 31st October the Council of Ministers showed that they stood firm by their decision to disarm all groups other than the army and the regular police when they unanimously approved a number of measures to implement that decision. A provision that all French men and women who wished to volunteer "for the defence of republican liberties" should give their names to the local town hall or police station appeared, however, to leave the door open for the transformation of the Patriotic Militia into a sort of unarmed Home Guard to protect republican order against internal dangers. Nevertheless, the Government's measures were violently opposed by the Communist Party, whose Political Bureau held a meeting on the 2nd November, at which, it is to be noted, both the Communist Ministers were present. The Bureau issued a lengthy statement (also said to have been unanimously approved) declaring that the President of the Government had once again taken it upon himself to treat the French Resistance movment as a negligible quantity, that the Government's

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decisions proceeded from " an unmistakable distrust of the people," and that the alleged need to collect all arms for the soldiers was a mere pretext, since the army needed heavy arms, not the light arms of the Patriotic Guard. " Conscious of the seriousness of the situation created by the Government's decisions," the Political Bureau appealed to " all patriots to be very much on their guard and to foil all provocative acts " which might be taken against them. It directed its representative on the C.N.R. to obtain the suspension of the Government's measures, invited the Communist members of the Departmental Committees of Liberation to stimulate the committees " to safeguard the rights of the Resistance movement " and instructed the Communist members of the Consultative Assembly to express " the misgivings of the people, who do not want to be delivered defenceless to the treacherous blows of the Fifth Column."

Fortunately the C.N.R. has proved more conciliatory. After a meeting on the 3rd November, it announced that it had unanimously decided to do away with the name " Patriotic Militia " and to apply instead to all groups under its supervision the designation of " Civic and Republican Guards." It had also approved a plan to give these Guards a legal status, and it published a communication which it had sent to the Government, expressing its desire to collaborate with it loyally and suggesting that its plan, which had been adopted unanimously, should form the basis for further discussions. The plan proposes that the Civic Guards, who are to exercise " patriotic vigilance throughout the country " should have depots of arms in places supervised by the municipalities and for which the local Committees of Liberation would be responsible. In the ordinary way these arms would be used only for specially defined purposes and only a few responsible officers of the Guards would carry arms regularly, but in certain cases of urgency the Guards might use their weapons first and account to the public authorities afterwards. It remains to be seen whether a compromise on these lines will be acceptable to the Government. In the meantime some attempts are being made to force its hand. Thus a mass meeting organised by the Paris Committee of Liberation to glorify the rôle of the Patriotic Militia was held in the Vélodrôme d'Hiver on the 4th November and among the speakers was the President of the C.N.R. himself, who said that the Militia had now reached the second stage in their career, the stage of " total integration in the defence of the Republic " under the name of Civic Republican Guards.

On the 31st October, the Council of Ministers approved an ordinance setting up a High Court of Justice to try members of the " so-called Government of Vichy." This Court will be composed of the five highest French magistrates, the President of the *Cour de Cassation* and the presidents of the different Chambers of that court. It will have 24 jurors chosen from a list of 100 names drawn up by the Provisional Consultative Assembly and comprising 33 Senators, 33 Deputies and 34 non-parliamentary members of the Assembly.

The appeal of Georges Suarez against the death sentence recently pronounced by the Paris Court of Justice has been rejected by the *Cour de Cassation* and he has made a final appeal to General de Gaulle. Recent sentences include that of penal servitude for life on General Pinsard, former Inspector-General of the Vichy Legion of French Volunteers, and recent arrests that of Sisley Huddleston who became a French citizen after the Armistice of 1940, and distinguished himself by the fervour of his Pétainist and anti-British sentiments.

The creation of factory committees, which was decided in principle by the Government on the 29th September, was the subject of a draft ordinance adopted by the Cabinet on the 31st October. This provides for the establishment of committees representing workers and management in all factories with over 100 employees. Their functions will be not only social but economic, since they must be kept informed of the financial and general situation of the factory, they must be shown all documents normally communicated to shareholders, and their reports must be laid before the general assembly of shareholders. They have the right to suggest means of increasing production in the factory.

The financial measures adopted by the Government on the 3rd November close a period of tension when many eyes were focussed on the Belgian financial experiment and the fear that similar measures might be applied in France was causing a flight from the currency and a run on notes of small denomination. Press comment on the Belgian measures has not been favourable, and they were violently attacked by the Communists for penalising the peasants. The French Government has instead decided to issue a 3 per cent. long-term loan at par, to be called the Liberation Loan, in order to mop up surplus currency. Upon the success of this loan will depend the decision whether further measures should be taken. Meanwhile, the severe measures directed against those who profited

by the occupation (see *Summary* 261) form a complement to the new loan. The Treasury situation is satisfactory and the " rentes " are rising, while the comparatively low rate of interest offered on the new loan, the first ever to be issued at par, indicates the strong position of the Government at present.

(See also under " Spain " and " Middle East.")

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

Everything goes to show that the military phase of the activities of the Spanish *maquis* along the Pyrenees is definitely over. The clearing of the Val d'Aran by Spanish regular troops reported last week, and since confirmed, is probably the last operation of any consequence before winter prevents even guerrilla fighting in those high, windswept passes. The political phase, however, is by no means over; indeed, the Congress of the *Unión Nacional* in Toulouse, which ended on the 5th November, not only excited the delegates themselves, as was natural, but, thanks to Reuters and the B.B.C., attracted a world-wide publicity which neither its merits nor its significance deserved. But, even here the atmosphere was calmer: *Radio Toulouse* no longer incites the Spaniards to rebellion, and there are indications that counsels of prudence from General Miaja in Mexico, from Dr. Negrín, still in London, and not improbably from Moscow, too, have persuaded the Spanish men of the *maquis* that the moment has not yet come for Franco to be driven out. The immediate threat, never very grave, has receded, but the future situation will not be comfortable for the Falange régime. The probable infiltration of hostile men and propaganda into Barcelona, with its large, restless, industrial proletariat, may have serious results in undermining Franco's position during the winter months.

The Caudillo on his side has not been idle, and in order to get full publicity for an explanation of his political position—which was certainly overdue—he has given an interview to the B.U.P. correspondent in Madrid. The purpose of this unusual step was to stake a claim to be heard at the peace table. Undeterred by modesty or by apprehensions of misunderstanding, General Franco proceeded to justify his claim by painting a picture of Spanish policy since 1939 which the epoptic commentator can describe only as amazing in its impudence. By a play on words he claimed a voice in the peace settlement on the specious grounds that Spain had shown a desire for peace (as if that was a major virtue) by remaining at peace. He took credit for not having stabbed France in the back in 1940, an act forbidden by " our traditional chivalry." But the cream of his remarks is in his description of Spain as an " organic democracy." In the sense that anything organic is potentially putrescent, this is perhaps a defensible definition. When we remember that nowhere in the world is the gulf between words and their meaning deeper and wider than in Falange Spain, there is still room for astonishment at the Caudillo's Alice-in-Wonderland description of the Spanish State as based upon " the popular will and purest Christian tenets." The phrase " the popular will," which at first glance seems hardly applicable to Franco Spain, would doubtless be justified by its author in the recent syndical elections of which much has been made in the Spanish press. These elections to choose the delegates for the several corporations have been held with the sole idea of impressing foreign opinion that a free, popular election has taken place in Spain. In fact, the candidates for each corporation were limited to two or three, and were nominated by the Falange Syndicates themselves. Since it was important for propaganda that the greatest number of voters be brought to the polls, or at least be registered by their vote, certain devices were practised to this end. First, all blank papers counted as a vote for the first candidate on the list who was, of course, the Falange first choice. Secondly, employers were made responsible for their workers going to the polls and defaulters were to be heavily fined for their anti-democratic " attempt against the liberty of the vote." Thirdly, each voter received a paper which he had to have stamped at the pooling-booth and which he was told to keep, the implication being that he would be called upon to produce it next time he wanted a ration card or identity papers. So much for the expression of " popular will." As to " the purest Christian tenets," General Franco, of course, would have to exclude from their application the sanctity of human life and liberty, for there are still nearly 150,000 political prisoners awaiting trial or under preventive arrest, and it was admitted confidentially by the Director of Prisons that 70 political executions took place in September and that 1,137 persons were then lying under sentence of death.

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These conditions are the direct responsibility of General Franco himself; he has his own ideas of the "purest Christian tenets," and is quite impervious to appeals for clemency. The latest move, taken on the advice of the Nuncio, is a petition for an amnesty signed by all the Spanish bishops, which will be presented to Franco by the Minister of Justice.

As to the future, the Caudillo made a glancing reference to the Monarchy. After saying that the question of the restoration was not an actual one, Franco affirmed that should the Monarchy be re-established after the war "it must constitute an eminently social reformist monarchy, very different from that which recently presided over our decadence." These are not words to encourage Don Juan in any lakeside dreams of a reconciliation with the self-opinionated and stubborn little Leader of the *Falange Española y Tradicionalista*.

There is no news of political interest from Lisbon, where negotiations for the new Supply-Purchase agreement are continuing between His Majesty's Government and the Portuguese Government.

ITALY.

Although there appears to be some division of opinion amongst the inhabitants of the Val d'Aosta as to the desirability of annexation to France, the Italian Minister at Berne has reported to his Government that a number of prominent persons in the valley have issued a declaration expressing their sincere loyalty to Italy and their hostility to annexation to France. At the same time, they insist that some autonomy as regards language and culture be granted to the valley.

The Committee of National Liberation of Piedmont is making representations to the Italian Government regarding its financial situation, suggesting that the Government should give secret guarantees to certain banks in the area which are apparently ready to advance funds to patriot forces in the Alpine valleys to the number of about 45,000. These same forces have also complained that the French do not seem to recognise their status since units which have been forced across the frontier were disarmed.

The Northern Italy Liberation Committee fear that a grave situation may arise when the Germans evacuate Venezia Giulia, in spite of the agreement already made between the Committee and Marshal Tito for the preservation of public order. A direct agreement between the Italian and Yugoslav Governments is advocated. The Allied plan is to keep Venezia Giulia under A.M.G. control until the peace conference, making use of all administration, whether Italian or Yugoslav, which is found to be functioning when the Allies arrive. But the ethnical distribution of the population will make the situation an extremely delicate one.

Owing to some employers not paying the wages increase ratified by the Council of Ministers on the 19th October, a half-an-hour sit-down strike was organised in Rome by the local workers' committees. This strike, however, was called off at a meeting between the secretaries of the Italian General Confederation of Labour and Signor Bonomi, at which the Ministers of Agriculture and Industry were also present. The Government announced that the employers had no justification for not paying the increased wages since this measure already had the Cabinet's approval. Besides the increase of wages, the workers had demanded supplementary rations and the creation of workers' canteens. According to a press report, at a further meeting under the presidency of Signor Bonomi, attended by three Allied representatives, it was decided to grant these demands, and that the Allies should supply macaroni and flour to these canteens beginning on the 6th November.

Reactions to Mr. Eden's visit to Rome were, on the whole, very favourable. The Italians in general see in Mr. Eden's visit a gesture of goodwill towards the present-day Italy which has rid itself of Fascism, so consistently opposed by the Secretary of State.

Signor Aldisio, the High Commissioner for Sicily, has received the Trapani Liberation Committee, and has assured them that reconstruction of the harbours of Trapani and Marsala will soon begin, and that the municipal and provincial administration would also soon be reconstituted with elements chosen from the Liberation Committees.

Citizenship of Rome has been conferred on President Roosevelt. The Mayor, Prince Doria-Pamphili, and the Council of the capital came to this decision in order to mark Italy's gratitude to the President for his firm friendship which has led him to discriminate between the Italian people and the Fascist régime.

There is little definite news to report from the North this week. According to *Transocean*, some partisans have given themselves up as a result of the amnesty decree announced on the 28th October; the amnesty expires on the 10th November. Fascist propaganda speaks of extensive "mopping-up operations" against partisans. Reliable information from Milan suggests that captured partisans are being treated with increasing cruelty by the Germans and neo-Fascists, and in many cases are summarily hanged.

According to Swiss reports, unrest in the main industrial centres of the North has reached such a pitch that the Fascists fear a repetition of the general strike of last March. Pavolini's speech, reported last week, which would seem to have been aimed directly at this situation, is said to have been inspired by Kesselring and the German military authorities, who, in view of their apparent intention to carry on the defence of Italy throughout the winter, have obviously everything to gain by averting disturbances in the big northern industrial centres.

The Italo-German Cultural Association held its 22nd annual meeting in Venice in the presence of many prominent Italian and German personalities, including Dr. Rudolf Rahn, the German Ambassador to the Italian Social Republic. Dr. Rahn made a speech in which, after the usual glorification of the ties between Italy and Germany, he spoke of the "terrible fate" of Finland, Roumania and Bulgaria, who had "handed themselves over to certain and systematic destruction," and also warned his Italian hearers against putting their faith in "miraculous weapons"—though ultimate victory was assured because "the moral crisis which has stricken down Europe like an epidemic has been surmounted."

THE VATICAN.

On the 30th and 31st October and the 2nd November the Vatican Wireless gave broadcasts in German which must have astounded many German listeners. The first praised a recent "social speech" of Archbishop Saliège of Toulouse at a "thanksgiving service in Toulouse Cathedral." The thanksgiving was obviously for the liberation of France from the Germans. The whole speech was a plea for the Catholic as opposed to the totalitarian conception of man. "The purpose of social life is not slavery but the free unfolding of the human personality." "The proletariat must go. All must have the right to a due amount of property. The worker does not want to be kept under the protection of fascism or the corporative system." Finally, "love and justice are the soul of France, who will never die." The speaker went on to recall similar pronouncements of the Swiss Episcopate in September last, of the English Bishops, and the pastoral letter of the German Bishops of March 1942, itself a reproduction of the German Bishops' memorandum on the "Dignity and Rights of Man" sent to the Reich Government in December 1941. All these episcopal utterances were then shown to be local manifestations of the social policy of the Popes, which Pius XII went out of his way to emphasise on the 1st September this year.

The second talk was a reflection on All Saints' Day, that it is not Cæsars, generals or demagogues who build empires, but Saints. "Ring out, bells, the peace of the ages, the peace of Eternity!"

The third talk, by Dr. Bruno Hiltenberg, took for a text the inscription over the German cemetery in Rome, "Teutones in Pace," and recalled that Germans in Rome find their last resting place in the shadow of St. Peter's, as they did centuries ago. It ends with the sad question: "Is there any one among us who has not lost a dear one in this war?"

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

In Hungary, a group of members of the Upper House willing to support the Szálasi régime, corresponding to the existing "National Association" of Deputies of the Lower House, was formed under the Archduke Joseph. On the 4th November both Houses passed legislation dealing with the situation created by Horthy's "resignation"; and thereafter Szálasi took an oath before the Holy Crown in the capacity (unknown to the Hungarian Constitution) of "Leader of the Nation," exercising the functions and enjoying the rights of the Hungarian Regent. The Regency is, however, not to be filled for the moment.

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Meanwhile, the big Soviet advance which had begun on the 31st October made quick progress and by the 4th November Soviet forces had reached the outskirts of Pest. Hampered by weather, however, they did not enter the city and by the 6th November the Germans began to claim a "stabilisation" of the front in this sector. Further north, the Germans and Hungarians withdrew across the Tisza west of Nyiregyháza; but from this point northward the line showed little change.

Refugees are reported to be streaming westward from Budapest, but there are no signs that its defenders mean to abandon it until forced to do so, and no decision has apparently yet been taken on the compulsory evacuation of the civilian population. The attitude of the workers is still uncertain. A general mobilisation order for Budapest was issued and then cancelled, presumably out of fear of the reliability of the men called up, and there is a reliable report of one revolt, which was, however, started prematurely and soon repressed; the Moscow correspondent of *The Times*, on the 7th November, suggested that if the Soviet forces entered Budapest, they would have to control "an unreliable, reckless and probably hostile population." There are reports that Germany is moving material from Budapest war factories into the Reich.

Roumania.

The change of government in Roumania is at long last an accomplished fact. Two members of the former Government remain, the Prime Minister, Sanatescu, who combines with that office the portfolio of Minister of War, and Patrașcanu, the leader of the Communist party, who becomes Minister of Justice. Somewhat surprisingly neither Dinu Bratianu, Maniu, nor Petrescu, the leader of the Social Democrats, are included. There has been a "general post" of offices. Some are combined in new ways, and some entirely new ones appear, such as the Minister of Co-operation and the Ministry of Minorities. The Liberals have four portfolios, the National Peasants six, and the Communist groups between them, seven. The Communist strength in the Government is therefore out of all proportion to their strength in the country. Niculescu-Buzești's place as Foreign Minister is taken by Constantin Vișoianu. He will be remembered as having been associated with Barbu Stirbey in the earliest Armistice negotiations. The pro-Nazi element has entirely disappeared.

A certain amount of trouble has arisen over carrying out the terms of the armistice. The Soviet High Commission accuses the Roumanian Government of evading or disregarding a number of the provisions. In particular Roumania has neglected to make the payments agreed upon to enable the High Commission to function in the country, they have done little or nothing towards fulfilling the indemnity obligations, and have attempted to hold up any action by raising the question of the rate at which goods are to be valued, and they have done little in the way of restoring loot from Russia. There is no doubt about there being reasonable cause for complaint. Attempts have been made to conceal loot by repainting and removing marks of origin from machinery. And Roumania has installed a new tramway system at Constanta and a bus service at Craiova, the vehicles and machinery for which were looted wholesale from Odessa. The Roumanians, on the other hand, accuse the Soviet High Command of non-fulfilment of the Article which provides for the restoration of Roumanian civil administration. This complaint also is well founded; both Moldavia and Northern Transylvania are still being administered by the Soviet Military Command. The Russians have made a clever counter to this charge. When the order was made for the disarming of the political party guards, the Communist party evaded the order with the connivance of local Soviet officials. When the High Commission was requested to enforce its own order and disarm the Communist guards, the Commissioner replied that the High Commission could not interfere with Roumania's internal affairs! It is evident that according to the Soviet interpretation of the armistice terms, they provide for a great deal more interference with Roumanian affairs than the Roumanians expected. And neither side has shown any disposition to be accommodating.

The Soviet authorities have moved trains into the yards of the Româno-Americana, Astra and Steaua Româna Oil Companies, and have set prisoners-of-war to work loading material for removal to Russia. In reply to representations, the Soviet High Commissioner claimed that this material was German and was intended for use at Baku when the fields there had been occupied. He undertook to examine the matter and return anything which was found to have been improperly removed, but the loading continued, and after a further request that loading should cease pending enquiries, and the trains already despatched

brought back, lighting was installed so that work could be carried on by night, and loading went on at an accelerated rate. Between 12,000 and 13,000 tons of material has been removed. A great deal of this appears to be drilling apparatus, which is invaluable for getting damaged wells into working order. The Soviet Government, to whom the matter has now been referred, admit that both the British and Americans should have been consulted, and profess that they have no desire to interfere with the activities of the Roumanian Oil Companies, by the removal of some "surplus" stocks.

Yugoslavia.

In eastern Yugoslavia, the Germans now hold in Macedonia only some areas in the centre and in the neighbourhood of Skoplje, in Serbia the route along the Ibar to Kraljevo and thence to Bosnia, in the Sandjak Sjenica and Novi Pazar, in Montenegro an area round Podgorica and Kotor. They are concentrating troops in Kosovo, Metohija and Montenegro, for an attempt at escape. Meanwhile partisan forces control all the ports of Dalmatia from Zara to the Gulf of Kotor. They have advanced inland towards Mostar and may prevent a German retreat through Hercegovina.

In the north, the Soviet and partisan westward advance has reached Sremska Mitrovica.

Tito appeared publicly in Belgrade to review partisan units on the 27th October. He was not accompanied by Dr. Shubashitch. He made a speech, thanking all who had helped in the expulsion of the enemy, declaring the partisans' readiness to accept the sincere collaboration of all, but warning any dissidents that the partisans would not forgo the fruits of victory. Nor, he said, would they be treated as pawns; for they had earned the right to be treated as equals by the Allies. *Politika*, the organ of Dr. Ribnikar, Vice-President of the National Liberation Committee, has re-appeared. In an article of the 29th October, it said that the new Yugoslavia had nothing in common with the old. All connexions with the past had been broken. The new Yugoslavia had been established by the decisions of A.V.N.O.J. (the partisan assembly) last year. Civil authority over Belgrade has been given to a committee, with Mihajlo Ratkovitch, a carpenter, as president.

Tito and Shubashitch had several meetings, in the presence of members of the N.L. Committee, and drew up, on the 1st November, a draft agreement for submission to the Yugoslav Government and to King Peter. This provides for three Regents, to act for the King in Yugoslavia, pending a decision on the form of the State. The Regents would appoint a Government of twenty-eight Ministers, consisting of all the members of the Shubashitch Government and all the members of the N.L. Committee with Tito as Prime Minister, Minister of Defence and Commander-in-Chief. The task of the United Government would be to conduct a plebiscite on the form of the State. Meanwhile A.V.N.O.J. would remain the legislative authority in Yugoslavia.

In answer to the Yugoslav Ambassador in London, who wrote that the Yugoslav population in the areas annexed by Italy in 1920 and 1924 (*i.e.*, Venezia Giulia), would deeply resent being again, even if only temporarily, placed under Italian rule, His Majesty's Government have replied that it is the intention of the Supreme Allied Commander to place the areas indicated under Allied Military Government until their disposition has been determined by negotiation between the Governments concerned.

Greece.

Except for small individual groups, no German troops remain on the Greek mainland. British troops have landed in the Salonica area; the town of Salonica is being administered by E.L.A.S. (For the Bulgarian evacuation of Thrace, see under "Bulgaria.")

The outstanding problems in Greece remain the guerrilla situation and the currency question, and on their speedy solution depends the future not only of the Papandreou Government but of public order and security throughout Greece. Outside Athens E.L.A.S. behave as they please, and neither the E.A.M. Ministers nor General Saraphis have any control over them. M. Papandreou has taken various steps to ensure order; the E.A.M./E.L.A.S. National Militia will cease to exist at the end of November; till then it is placed under Government orders; the gendarmerie is to be purged and reorganised on a broader basis as a National Guard; volunteers who joined either the Middle East forces or the guerrillas are to be discharged; regular army officers will be absorbed into the National

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Army, while guerrilla officers will be offered facilities for special training; four classes are to be called up for the National Army in December; meantime, the Military Governor of Attica is placed under the orders of General Scobie.

Professor Svolos has announced that the Government has decided to issue a new drachma on or before the 11th November.

A special military tribunal is to try ten persons charged with high treason. These include General Tsolakoglou and John Rallis, the first and last puppet Premiers; General Bakos, Minister of Defence in the Tsolakoglou Government; Simonidis, Governor-General of Macedonia; Lambou, Chief of the Special Security Police; and Colonel Plitzanopoulos, head of the Security Battalions. General Pangalos is said to have been arrested. Six Ministers have been entrusted with the task of reporting how a purge of State officials may best be effected.

Albania.

On the 20th October Enver Hoxha, the F.N.Ç. leader, announced the formation of the first Albanian Democratic Government before a crowded and enthusiastic Assembly at Berat where the F.N.Ç. have set up their headquarters. There was fanatical excitement in the town, and Enver Hoxha will probably try to obtain Allied recognition for his Government in spite of the present confusion in Albania. Mr. Law repeated in the House of Commons on the 1st November the British Government's view that the Albanian people themselves must decide on the future government of the country.

The F.N.Ç. have been extending their control in the north, but the Germans still hold the chief places on the lines of communication there. There has been heavy fighting between the F.N.Ç. and the Germans 20 miles to the south and east of Scutari. In the south the F.N.Ç. have continued to harass the Germans at Elbasan, they have entered Korça and they are reported to have surrounded Struga in conjunction with Macedonian partisans.

Bulgaria.

The evacuation of Western Thrace by the Bulgarian civil and military authorities was completed on the 25th October, although General Beresov, the Soviet commander, proposes to continue using Bulgarian troops in Yugoslavia. While the general leniency of the armistice caused a measure of smug satisfaction, the evacuation of Western Thrace must have been a rude shock to Bulgarian territorial aspirations, and it was no doubt in order to sweeten the pill that the Government and press boosted the armistice, stressing their satisfaction with the moderate terms secured, their intention to see them faithfully carried out and the advantage of so doing. One paper also stated that during the armistice discussions the Bulgarian delegates found constant support in the Russian people, and the Sofia radio announced that the delegates who had stayed on in Moscow for trade discussions had received a promise from M. Mikoyan that he would see whether Bulgaria's needs could be met.

On the 26th October, Sofia radio broadcast a manifesto by the Macedonian National Assembly to Macedonians everywhere including Greece to close the ranks in order to establish a free Macedonia as an equal unit in a federal Yugoslavia and to destroy the present artificial frontiers.

Public interest is being worked up in the forthcoming trials by the People's Courts. Demands for condign justice arrive from local and other associations. Jewish victims of the Fascist régime are invited to depose, and it is ordered somewhat naïvely that public prosecutors must base their charges on adequate evidence and not rely, as under the former régime, on confessions. It is announced that Prince Kiril is one of a batch of two hundred persons to be tried. Princess Eudoxie, the sister of the late King, has also been arrested. Filov, Bozjhilov, Bagrianov, all members of their Cabinets, two bishops and a number of other clerics, two former Presidents of the Sobranje, and other public men and journalists are to be tried. In Sofia alone there are nearly seven hundred to be charged, and arrests continue.

Turkey.

In opening the Grand National Assembly on the 1st November President Inönü stated that the finances of the Republic were sound—a claim for which there seems to be considerable justification. He touched on the many branches of internal reconstruction with which the Government has managed to proceed in spite of the war, and with reference to agricultural improvement at any rate his

optimism seems to be confirmed by the fact that a bumper harvest was obtained although a million men were under arms. With regard to foreign affairs he expressed the hope that Allied victory would bring justice and security for all nations, great and small—and here he betrayed a fear which constantly obsesses the Government. He repeated a statement he has made more than once, that Turkey would do her utmost to be a helpful member of the family of nations. In her relations with her great Soviet neighbour Turkey had carefully respected her treaty obligations and she hoped that these relations would develop in friendliness. She also hoped for closer relations with the United States. To the British alliance which had kept its vitality after the severest tests, Turkey would continue to attach the highest importance. Turkey rejoiced at the liberation of France and Greece and she would do everything she could to promote peace in the Balkans. She had no outstanding differences with anyone and no secret designs. She desired only to progress morally and materially in conditions of peace. Declaring that the Republic ensured equality, justice and freedom for all its citizens, that it was government by the people and that it would fight any tendency to imitate a foreign régime, President Inönü ended by affirming what in fact distinguishes the Turkish from most other authoritarian States, namely, that the Republic has acted for the benefit of the people.

The cordial telegram of good wishes sent by the Prime Minister, M. Saracoğlu, to the Greek Prime Minister on his Government's return to Athens left no doubt about the Turkish Government's desire to continue the friendliest relations with Greece.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

Few details about the assassination of Lord Moyne in Cairo on the 6th November, beyond those reported in the press, have so far been received. The known facts are briefly that Lord Moyne was attacked and seriously wounded by two armed men dressed in European clothes outside his private residence at Zamalek, in Gezira, shortly after 1 p.m., and died of his wounds in hospital that night. Both the assailants were arrested. The police authorities are now satisfied that the men are Jews. King Farouk, members of the Egyptian Government and many other Egyptians have shown their deep concern and sympathy. The King went in person to the hospital to enquire after Lord Moyne's condition, and also gave a special award to an Egyptian policeman who had shown gallantry in arresting the assassins.

The Egyptian Government has announced its decision to appoint a commission to investigate the alleged irregularities of the late Cabinet. The commission is partisan in composition, the chairman being Makram Ebeid himself who, from the time of his famous "Black Book," has been the main accuser of Nahas, while the only other Minister appointed belongs to Makram's party. The fact that the other parties of the coalition are not represented has provoked a good deal of comment. It is believed that the Prime Minister is himself reluctant to take extreme measures against the Wafd, and that his party (the Saadists) have deliberately refrained from participating in the work of the Commission so as to leave the Makramites and the Palace, which is said to be behind the move, responsible for its proceedings.

It is reported that Hassanein Pasha has proposed a fresh distribution of seats for the forthcoming elections, differing from that mentioned in *Summary* No. 265. The suggestion that he made to the Prime Minister was to give 90 seats to the Saadists, 70 to the Liberals and Makramites respectively, 20 to the Watanists and 14 to the Independents. No free seats would be allowed. Ahmad Maher, who wants to have a number of free seats for his own party (as he hopes) to win, has not yet acquiesced in this proposal. The number allotted to the Watanists certainly seems excessive. It is in any case doubtful whether 20 Watanists of standing could be found, and if this number is accepted by the Prime Minister he may try to introduce some of his own representatives into that party, so as to use it in order to secure a majority against Makram Ebeid.

In a statement last week on Arab Union, the Egyptian Prime Minister said he believed in collaboration between Egypt and other Arab countries, and thought that Arab Union was the best means to this end. While, of course, giving no credit to Nahas for the success of the Alexandria Committee, he allowed that the decisions taken were of importance and interest to the present Egyptian Government. He added that a special section for Arab Affairs (to the head of which

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Abdul Rahman Azzam has since been appointed), was being established in the Egyptian Foreign Office, and that Egyptian representatives would shortly be appointed to Syria and Lebanon.

The Lebanese Prime Minister commented to the press last week on General de Gaulle's recent statement about the independence of Syria and Lebanon (see *Summary* No. 265. Although the official text had not, he said, been communicated to his Government, he noted with satisfaction that General de Gaulle had referred to "an independent Lebanon—independent from all sides." The President admitted, however, that he did not understand the latter part of General de Gaulle's statement. "It is impossible," he said, "that artificial difficulties should be created here. No one has the right to intervene in the exercise of sovereignty of this country, in its destinies and in its policy, which are now in the hands of the Lebanese, represented by their local and national authorities."

Discussions were resumed on the 30th October between General Beynet and the Syrian authorities, but progress, according to General Beynet, was about as much "as if they had been riding on a merry-go-round." The French continued to press for a treaty while the Syrians were adamant in their refusal to negotiate, and reiterated their demand for the *Troupes Spéciales* to be handed over immediately. At a meeting of the Syrian Parliament later in the day all the speakers supported the policy of the Government.

A deadlock has thus been reached in Franco-Syrian negotiations. Although little is known at present about the terms of the proposed treaty, that little is enough to make the Levant States believe that it would mean giving to France a privileged position which neither Syria nor Lebanon wishes to concede. They fear, indeed, that it might mean the re-establishment of the mandatory position—a prospect naturally abhorrent to them.

Mr. Churchill has replied to the letter from the Syrian President of the 19th September on the question of a treaty between Syria and France (see *Summary* No. 260). The Prime Minister states that His Majesty's Minister will explain the British point of view to the Syrian Government, and hopes that the President will consider it gravely and dispassionately. In response the President has told Sir E. Spears that, while greatly appreciating the spirit in which Mr. Churchill's message was sent, he wishes him to know that Syria cannot grant a privileged position to any other Power, and that the *Troupes Spéciales* must be handed over to Syria.

M. Solod, the newly-appointed Soviet Minister to Syria and the Lebanon, recently told the Lebanese Minister for Foreign Affairs that the Soviet Government, as M. Novikov had already pointed out, "wished to see the Levant States completely independent with no foreign Power occupying a privileged position."

The Persian Prime Minister has replied to the attack made upon him by M. Kavtaradze with regard to the Russian demand for an oil concession in Northern Persia. When first approached by M. Kavtaradze, said M. Saed, he felt sure that his Cabinet would not consent to the demand, but promised to discuss it with his colleagues. He did so on more than one occasion, and informed M. Kavtaradze of their negative reply. When M. Kavtaradze said that this amounted to a rejection of the Soviet request and would "strain relations," M. Saed suggested that if detailed proposals were made they would be considered by the Persian Government, although no final decision could be given until after the war. This offer was refused by M. Kavtaradze. The statement ended with four reasons for postponing the decision.

Up to the 2nd November the situation continued to be threatening. Demonstrations in favour of Russia occurred in Tabriz, and troubles were also reported in Resht and Isfahan. So great was the pressure exercised by the Soviet authorities that it looked at one time as if the Shah might have to sacrifice the Prime Minister, although it is doubtful whether his successor, whoever he might be, could adopt a different attitude. On the 31st October a broadcast from Moscow made a ferocious and baseless attack on M. Saed, accusing him and other "reactionaries" of wishing to make Persia "into a base for a line of attack on Russia." That part of the Persian press influenced by Russia also continued to attack the Prime Minister with unabated violence. On the other hand the number of papers supporting the Government's policy has increased, and Russian behaviour has been criticised as unwarranted interference.

His Majesty's Government regard the matter as sufficiently serious to warrant an approach on our part to the Soviet Government. After consultation, therefore, with the State Department, we are informing Moscow that we consider this to be a question which the Persian Government has the right to decide for itself,

and that, in view of the Anglo-Soviet-Persian Treaty and the Tehran Declaration of 1943, the Persian Government cannot be forced against its will to yield to the Russian demand. Moreover, we have accepted without demur the Persian decision to make no further oil concessions until after the war. The United States Government is taking similar action.

By the 2nd November the horizon began to clear a little. There were indications that the Russians might after all drop their demand. One good sign was that the Soviet authorities promised to provide rail wagons in Northern Persia for grain which has been held up for lack of transport.

(See also under "Soviet Union.")

THE FAR EAST.

President Roosevelt, in his press conference statement of the 31st October, made it clear that General Stilwell had been recalled at the request of Chiang Kai-shek and that there had been no other reason for it than that, as the President put it, "sometimes you just can't help hating someone." The recall, he said, had nothing to do with politics or strategy or with the Chinese Communists, or with the question of supplies for China, nor had it any connexion with the simultaneously announced resignation of Mr. Gauss, the American Ambassador in Chungking. Dr. T. V. Soong, the Chinese Foreign Minister, has now confirmed President Roosevelt's account of the affair. In a statement broadcast on the 4th November, the Foreign Minister said that the Chinese Government had not intended to issue any explanation, because the recall was purely a military matter, but there had been many "unfounded speculations" about the reasons for it, particularly in the United States army. In fact, it had been entirely "a question of personality" and had had nothing to do with any difference of policy between China and the United States. When General Hurley and Mr. Nelson had come to confer with the Chinese Government as President Roosevelt's personal representatives, complete agreement had been reached as a result of the talks, and Dr. Soong believed that, far from any rift developing between China and the United States, the relations of the two countries would from now on become "more understanding, intimate and fruitful than ever before."

The "unfounded speculations" which provoked this statement by Dr. Soong referred no doubt in the first place to the article by Brooks Atkinson, the Chungking correspondent of the *New York Times*, published by that newspaper on the 31st October and widely reproduced in American evening papers of the same date. Atkinson flew home from China with Stilwell and thus eluded the censorship in Chungking, which cut another correspondent's report on the same subject from 388 words to 10. Atkinson seems to have dipped his pen in Stilwellian vinegar, and he attacked the Chungking Government in no uncertain terms. He described Stilwell's recall as "the triumph of a moribund, anti-democratic régime, which is more concerned with maintaining its political supremacy than in driving the Japanese out of China." According to his account (which was reported to have produced "something like consternation" in the United States), General Hurley, as President Roosevelt's special envoy, had been negotiating during September for Stilwell to be given full command over all Chinese armed forces. The Generalissimo at first appeared to agree, but afterwards his attitude stiffened, and at a meeting of the Central Executive Committee (presumably its Standing Committee) in October he declared that Stilwell must go, that control of Lease-Lend materials must be placed in his own hands, and that he would not be coerced into making an agreement with the Communists. If the United States would not modify its demands, China would renounce Lease-Lend and go back to fighting Japan alone, as before Pearl Harbour. President Roosevelt then, according to Atkinson, agreed to recall Stilwell.

Much the same version of the episode was given by the British United Press correspondent, Darrell Berrigan, who added, however, that a dispute about strategy had played a major part in precipitating the crisis, as Chiang Kai-shek alleged that Stilwell had disobeyed his orders in launching the campaign in Yunnan, and held him responsible for the reverses in Hunan and Kwangsi on the ground that he had failed to provide any supplies for the Chinese forces engaged on that front.

Whatever may be the truth with regard to the negotiations carried on in Chungking by General Hurley, the statement that Chiang Kai-shek threatened

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to continue China's war in isolation if the United States laid down unacceptable conditions for Lease-Lend assistance accords with the remarkable phrase in his "Double Tenth" broadcast (noted in *Summary* No. 263) that China would go on with the war against Japan "in co-operation with her Allies or alone." However extraordinary such an attitude may appear at first sight, it is less so if it is realised that the Chinese army, as distinct from the American air force in China, and excluding the campaign in western Yunnan, has received in 1944 no war material to speak of. Despite the important influence it has exercised in the strategic position in the Western Pacific as a whole, the activity of the American air force from Chinese bases has been by no means an unmixed blessing to China, for it has provoked the Japanese into major offensives without providing enough air power to stop these offensives. A large part of the supplies flown over the "Hump" has gone into building up a long-range bomber force for the strategic bombing of Japan, which may have an important long-term effect on the course of the war, but has done nothing to help Chinese troops in Hengyang or Kweilin. In some Chinese quarters it was urged at the outset that, after the need for fighter aircraft for the protection of key cities had been met, priority of air transport should be given to artillery and other supplies for the Chinese army before any attempt was made to build up a large bomber force. The Americans, on the other hand, seem to have relied on the Chinese army with its existing equipment to protect the airfields which were constructed, and no doubt certain highly-placed Chinese, if only for reasons of "face," encouraged them in this belief. Now that disaster has come in South China, and a number of important airfields have fallen one after another into the hands of the Japanese, mutual recriminations between Chinese and Americans have been more or less inevitable; the Americans point to incompetence, corruption and defeatism among Chinese generals as the causes of the collapse, while the Chinese say they could have done better if they had been given some guns.

The Yunnan campaign has been an additional complication, because virtually all American material not required for the American air force was diverted to the Chinese army on this front on General Stilwell's recommendation. The campaign has been not unsuccessful; Tengchung has been captured and contact made with South-East Asia Command forces in North Burma. But from a Chinese point of view Tengchung cannot weigh in the scales against Changsha and Hengyang; the link-up of the Ledo and Burma roads is being pushed forward as fast as conditions allow, but it must be some time yet before China obtains any relief by this route, and much trouble may be in store for her in the meantime.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

On Tuesday the United States elected a President, one-third of the Senate, a complete House of Representatives and a host of State officials, including thirty Governors. Not unnaturally the Presidential election overshadowed all others.

Mr. Roosevelt has won a resounding victory. The American people's verdict has been deliberate and complete. The result is a landslide and Mr. Roosevelt is the first President to serve not only for three but for four terms.

Before the results of the Presidential election were known the majority of "experts" generally conceded a slight advantage to Mr. Roosevelt, and although it was expected that he might win by a narrow margin they refused to commit themselves, despite the fact that the betting odds were roughly three to one on Mr. Roosevelt. Their forecasts were hedged with all sorts of conditions, and they took final refuge in the fact that the figures were liable to a margin of error of 3 per cent. either way. The Gallup poll gave Mr. Roosevelt 51·5 per cent. and Mr. Dewey 48·5 per cent. of the civilian popular vote, on the eve of the poll. The magazine *Fortune*, whose polls have been fairly accurate in the past, issued a final tabulation showing 53·6 per cent. for President Roosevelt and 46·4 per cent. for Governor Dewey. No sampling of the Soldiers' Vote was allowed.

A few weeks ago Dr. Gallup also estimated that the poll would be less than 40 million, but on Tuesday, thanks largely to the efforts of the C.I.O.'s Political Action Committee in getting out the vote and to the last-minute appeals by both candidates, thanks also to generally favourable weather, the total vote was much larger than at first anticipated.

Lacking any definite lead by the experts beyond the statement that the race was "neck and neck" and a "photo-finish" was to be expected, 56 Washington political correspondents relied on their own judgment and forecast a handsome

victory for President Roosevelt, giving him 332 electoral votes compared with 199 for Mr. Dewey. There is no doubt that the result will tend to discredit the public opinion surveys which, while claiming prescience have not risked prophecy, and whose careful scientific planning has been so wide of the mark.

During this final week the election campaign reached new heights of bitterness, venom and acrimony. Never before in his lifetime, said the President, had a campaign been filled "with such misrepresentation, distortion and falsehood. Never since 1928 have there been so many attempts to stimulate in America such racial or religious intolerance." Because of this Mr. Roosevelt admitted frankly that, although originally reluctant to run, he had become most anxious to win.

In his speech at Madison Square Garden Mr. Dewey continued to use the technique of the repetition of a few basic themes. He belaboured the "one-man rule," the "tired and quarrelsome Administration" which systematically "abused and insulted" the powers of Congress. He accused the President of prolonging the war in Europe through his "incompetence," and asked what had happened to General Eisenhower's forecast that Germany would be defeated in 1944. Mr. Morgenthau's alleged plan for the pastoralisation of Germany, for which he maintained Mr. Roosevelt was responsible, had stiffened, he declared, the will of the German people to resist and had caused the unnecessary loss of American lives.

Mr. Dewey also accused the Democratic party of selling out to the Communists, alleging that they, through Sydney Hillman of the C.I.O.'s Political Action Committee, were trying to secure control of the Federal Government. Once again he reminded his listeners that there were 10 million unemployed in 1940 and that "it took a war to get jobs." He reiterated his belief that now was the time for a change to a Republican administration in order to ensure full employment through lowered taxation, increased social security, freedom of private enterprise and the maintenance of high wages through collective bargaining. The President in turn ridiculed this charge at Boston by saying "this 'incompetent' Administration had developed a programme which was so good for the farmers and the business men and the workers of the nation that it is time for a change" according to the Republicans. "This 'chaotic' Administration has done such an amazing job for war production that it is time for a change." The Administration "had done such a fine job with the Good Neighbour policy and our plans for world peace that it is time for a change."

Despite the original design of the Republican party to concentrate on domestic issues and underline the weaknesses of the Administration on the home front, with foreign policy and the war securely tucked away on a non-partisan basis, events have made foreign policy the dominant issue. There is no doubt that the President correctly gauged the feeling of the public when he took the initiative and demanded that the American representative on the Council of the United Nations Organisation should be endorsed in advance by Congress with power to act, a demand which was later, and in a less forthright manner, made by Mr. Dewey. The record of the Republican party and the prominence in its ranks of unregenerate isolationists such as Senators Nye and Johnson considerably helped the President, and there was undoubtedly a feeling that Mr. Dewey, despite his protestations that he would be able to work with Congress better than President Roosevelt, would not be able to control the isolationists in his own party. Mr. Roosevelt has also probably been helped by the implication that the Republicans would not co-operate in building world peace in the event of a Democratic victory, thus building "a party spite-fence between (Americans) and the peace." Mr. Dewey suffered too by his failure to repudiate his isolationist backers. Compared with Mr. Willkie, the Governor failed to arouse enthusiasm and his speeches lacked warmth and popular appeal. His strategy in going back to 1933 in finding grounds on which to attack the President is also open to question, though it must be admitted that the progress of the war in Europe and the Pacific, despite China, all helped Mr. Roosevelt.

In his whirl-wind campaign, moreover, the President successfully refuted the charge that he is a decrepit old man incapable of assuming the burdens of another term of office. Mr. Dewey's charges that the President was at heart an isolationist and was responsible for the United States entering the war unprepared have been a boomerang.

The problems which the President will be called upon to face both at home and abroad are critical and it is therefore all the more encouraging that he has been given so decisive a mandate by the people of the United States. His authority will now everywhere be greater. The Democratic Party has gained

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ground at the expense of the Republicans both in the Senate, where they already had a majority, and particularly in the House of Representatives. At present there are 214 Democrats, 212 Republicans, 4 minor party members and five vacancies. In the new House the Democrats will now have a clear working majority, and the friction between the Executive and the Legislature is likely to be considerably eased. At the time this summary is written there are indications that in some States a Republican Governor will be succeeded by a Democrat. The defeat of isolationists, such as Senators Nye and Danahar, Representatives Hamilton Fish and Lyons, together with the vote of confidence by the people of the United States in Mr. Roosevelt's Administration to finish the war and win the peace, augurs well for the future, though Mr. Roosevelt will have to use to the full all his old skill to achieve his aims both in domestic and foreign affairs.

[See also under "Far East," "France," "Italy," "Soviet Union," "Middle East" and "Latin America."]

LATIN AMERICA.

The Governing Board of the Pan-American Union met on the 1st November (see *Summary* No. 265) and decided to transmit Argentina's request for a meeting of Foreign Ministers to the member Governments for study and recommendations. Mr. Stettinius, in his Press Conferences of the 1st and 2nd November, declared that the United States Government would not make any decision on the Argentine request until the other republics had considered it and there had been an exchange of views. He explained that when he had stated recently that the United States would do nothing to discourage a meeting of Foreign Ministers (a remark which seems to have caused a very favourable impression in Buenos Aires), he had in mind suggestions for a meeting to discuss post-war problems. On the latter subject a further meeting of Latin American diplomatic representatives in Washington would take place, as arranged, on the 9th November. The board of the Pan-American Union is next due to meet in December, though this date may be put forward when a majority of replies are received from the other Governments.

The Argentine Government did not consult its neighbours before launching its proposal, and the effect in Latin America has been one of surprise, tinged perhaps with a certain admiration for the boldness of the move. So far only Colombia, Venezuela and Ecuador have revealed their attitude. On the 31st October the Colombian Government announced that, after consulting with Venezuela and Ecuador, it favoured, in the interests of American unity, participation in the meeting proposed by Argentina. The Venezuelan Minister for Foreign Affairs, apparently finding discretion the better part of valour, later described this statement as premature. To judge by broadcast reports, each country tends to impute to its neighbours more tenderness for the Argentine proposal than it will itself admit to. The Chilean Minister for Foreign Affairs, however, has confessed his surprise, declaring that he finds it difficult to envisage a meeting merely to discuss the Argentine question, and the Uruguayan Under-Secretary has emphasised the need for extreme caution in his country, adding that its position is necessarily delicate and that his Government is undecided.

The Argentine move is, of course, a gamble and its results are not yet calculable. Of the various possibilities that present themselves, one is a conference without the presence of Argentina and another is one with the Argentine problem occupying an inconspicuous place in the agenda. Meanwhile, in Buenos Aires the general tendency is to regard this dangerous proposal as a "clever and probably sincere" move to ease the international position. Some Argentines, however, fear that a conference might settle their external problems without relieving them of their internal dictatorship, others feel that a rapprochement with the United Nations would be the source of internal improvement. The Government appears to be confident that if General Peluffo could meet his colleagues round a table he could convince them of the honesty of his intentions. Meanwhile, the Nationalists are busy convincing themselves of their own righteousness, and the Argentine wireless stations have broadcast rosy accounts of the reception given to their proposal in other countries. Colombia received a special bouquet as the first to welcome it, and General Farrell, speaking at Córdoba, said that Argentina "is beginning to be understood."

The Argentine police are reported to have made arrests in connexion with threatened strikes in Buenos Aires and La Plata; and broadcasts from Montevideo described disturbances in Buenos Aires on the 31st October. Some

days before there were disorders at Salta when a judge ordered the arrest of the local police chief. According to the Federal Chief of Police, Colonel Velasco, new organisations of the Communist International have been discovered and suppressed. Dr. Waldorp, a distinguished doctor and a member of the German-Argentine Association, has been appointed interventor in the University of Buenos Aires. About forty professors appointed by the Nationalist Interventor in June have been dismissed.

A decree issued by the Argentine Government has contributed to abate the vexatious decree of the 3rd June, 1944, which ordered the railway companies to hand over their share in increased freights (granted in March 1942) for the purpose of raising wages. The Government has now accepted a reduced sum, for which it will allow compensation. No progress has been made towards solving the longer-term troubles of the railway companies.

The Salvadorean Government set up by Colonel Osmín Aguirre Salinas (see *Summary* No. 264) continues to survive. Spasmodic strikes took place last week, and Sr. Miguel Tomás Molina, the President of the Supreme Court (which declared Colonel Aguirre's Government unconstitutional), has proclaimed himself President. Sr. Romero, the Democratic Union's candidate for the presidency, is reported to be returning to his country from the United States.

The Chilean Government is reported to be considering the establishment of relations with the U.S.S.R. in the near future. The French Provisional Government has been recognised by Paraguay; relations with the Italian Government have been restored, or will shortly be restored, by Paraguay, Bolivia and Panamá.

UNITED NATIONS.

Civil Aviation Conference.

More than 50 States sent representatives to the Civil Aviation Conference at Chicago which met on 1st November under the Chairmanship of Mr. Adolf Berle, the principal United States Delegate. Because of the world-wide interest in the subject the United States had extended its invitations to include neutrals with the unfortunate result that the U.S.S.R. had at the last moment refused to participate (see *Summary* No. 265, under "Soviet Union"). But the number of delegates and experts was so great that even the resources of the Stevens Hotel were taxed beyond capacity. It became clear also that the United States wished the Conference to go more into technical detail than had been contemplated by some other delegations, including the United Kingdom, and the Conference is likely to extend to three weeks.

The main issues of the Conference are, however, apparent, and much careful consideration and planning will be needed if a satisfactory result is obtained. It is universally agreed that it is too early to draw up a permanent convention on the subject. But it seems desirable that any interim arrangement should reflect the principles on which the permanent organisation will be based, since the future of civil aviation will be affected by what happens in the immediate post-war period. There is, of course, also general agreement that there must be a technical convention concerning such matters as safety, rules of the air, meteorological services, &c., with a suitable governing body to control these matters. But a large number of countries wish the international authority to exercise much more power than this. The New Zealand and Australian Governments have proposed that all international air services should be owned by an international transport authority. Other nations would not go as far, but there is a large body of support for the proposals of the United Kingdom first adumbrated in the White Paper, that the international authority should have power, in accordance with principles to be agreed on in a convention, to decide upon routes and the numbers and nationality of aircraft that should be used on them. Lord Swinton, the leader of the British Delegation, devoted his opening speech to the consideration of the general principles on which such proposals are based.

The United States Government, on the other hand, considers that the time has not yet arrived for so much international control. It wishes civil aviation to remain in competitive hands with as little interference as possible, and it claims that there are as yet no guiding principles on which universal agreement can be obtained. Its own preference is for numbers of planes to depend on the nationality of the passengers carried on the route. It would, however, leave the adjustment of traffic to negotiation between the competing companies in the same manner as shipping was dealt with before the war. In addition, in order that

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traffic may be begun as soon as possible, it wishes to conclude bilateral agreements at once with those States situated on the routes which the United States companies wish to operate, and it has indicated that, while, as the principal aircraft manufacturing State, it is ready to provide transport aircraft for other countries, its attitude on this question will depend in part on the readiness of other countries to provide facilities for landing grounds, &c., which United States aircraft can use.

The United Kingdom, on the other hand, has suggested that the frequencies on routes and the nationality of the aircraft allotted to each should be controlled by the principle of the origin of the traffic irrespective of the nationality of those travelling. Otherwise many countries might simply serve as the aerodromes of those which provided the bulk of the traffic. Canada has put forward suggestions in the form of a draft convention which goes a long way in the same direction as the United Kingdom, though it stresses the control of routes rather than of frequencies in the routes. More recently, however, Canada has suggested that the interim period should be free of all such restrictions. The Latin American States also have shown a disposition to refuse almost all international control, but it is not yet known how far this is merely a bargaining position to obtain a better position on the controlling body.

The Conference has set up four main technical Committees: a Convention Committee on the general principles of an international convention, a Technical Standards Committee, a Routes Committee (of which Mr. Berle is Chairman) and a Committee on the Interim Council.

The last Committee has an especially thorny task, for the United States proposals for its constitution which includes a permanent seat for Brazil, have met with very wide criticism, especially from the Latin American delegates. Canada's suggested controlling body is based on a principle similar to that on which the International Labour Organisation is based, while the United Kingdom has not yet put forward views on the subject.

It is clear that much discussion will be necessary to clarify these complicated points, to endeavour to come to an agreement on some of the basic principles, to decide how many must be settled at this time and to provide for the immediate future. But though there are obviously great divergencies of opinion, as was to be expected on a subject in which technical advances have been so great during the last decade, there is a very strong desire to draw up an international convention and to set up an international authority at the appropriate time. Obviously there will be need of compromise and the recognition of the points of view of both large and small countries if a considerable advance is to be made at this Conference.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 267

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
15TH NOVEMBER, 1944.

Copy No. 183

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

FOR the first time in twenty-one years Hitler has failed to make his November speech on the anniversary of the Munich Putsch. Last year, despite many rumours, intensified by the increasing rarity of his appearances, he did appear and gave a vigorous performance (*cf. Summary* No. 214). Since then, he has avoided the lime-light even more; it has been suggested that the conferring of a decoration on General Blaskovitz on the 28th October was announced on the 6th November in order to reassure an anxious public that he was still alive. Public attention has thus been focussed on the Munich ceremony, which was cancelled without explanation, save the rather lame excuse, in a message to the Far East, that the total war decrees had prohibited political meetings. (As a matter of fact Goebbels had exempted from restriction gatherings of political importance.) Four days later, on Sunday the 12th, a mass rally was held in Munich, in a place not indicated but, to judge from certain allusions in the Gauleiter's opening speech, probably the famous Bierhalle, at which Himmler read a long harangue from the Führer.

The fact that nothing happened on the 8th, when all Germany was waiting to hear if Hitler would speak or not, suggests that the Putsch anniversary was grafted on to a Volkssturm meeting; in order that a speech from Hitler might perhaps counter the unfavourable impression produced by his failure to give any sign of life on the 8th. The announcer, describing the scene on Sunday evening, emphasised that it was a triple celebration, in the first place commemorating the martyrs of 1923, secondly those of this and the last war, and finally as the occasion of the swearing-in of the Volkssturm. On the other hand, so long and detailed a speech could not have been prepared in a moment. Whether the Sunday meeting was an attempt to retrieve the mistake of Thursday's cancellation it is not possible at present to say; the background of these events is enveloped in mystery. Nothing reliable is known of Hitler's condition, not

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even whether he is certainly alive. If he is alive, he is plainly not in a condition to appear in public.. It may be that he is really ill, suffering from a cerebral complaint following on the events of July. More than one report has alleged this to be so. Yet since the 20th July he is known to have spoken and acted with sanity and even assurance. This fact suggests that the cause of his retirement may be temperamental, that there are times (as at 1 o'clock on the morning of the 21st July) when he can speak before a microphone, and that there are others when he is unable to deliver a speech. It may be no disease, but a loss of nerve (such as he fervently protested a year ago would never happen to him) which makes him afraid to appear in public. Such fear, whether of assassination or of a breakdown, may well have increased since his escape from death in July. But it was probably operative long before that. He missed a more important occasion than last Thursday when he failed to speak on the 30th January, 1943, the tenth anniversary of his accession to power.

At all events it can be assumed that at so critical a stage in the war as the present his advisers would have insisted on his appearance had that been humanly possible. The question arises as to how long the mystery of his retirement can be maintained. If he does not reappear soon it will be difficult to persuade his countrymen that he is still alive. Some phrases in the speech of last Sunday can, indeed, be read as skilful preparation by others, or as his personal foreboding of his disappearance from the public scene. He warned his people not to expect to see him. He considered his present task to be the direction of the war and not the making of speeches. He said that his own life was immaterial to the accomplishment of his task and that he would spare neither health nor life to fulfil his duties as "the first German.". He has said these things before, but their repetition can hardly compensate for the absence in Germany's bombed cities of a leader visibly radiating that unwavering resolution which, through another's mouth, he still claims to possess.

If the speech was put together by others than Hitler it was a clever pastiche. It was rambling in structure and occasionally vigorous in phrase. It had the familiar historical recapitulation, the parallels between the past and present tasks of National Socialism. It affirmed that the Leader was devoted body and soul to the single aim of strengthening Germany against Bolshevism, which is at least in accord with what is known of his convictions. The egocentric note of last year's speech was even more prominent, especially in the passages on Germany loyalty, National Socialist magnanimity, the necessity of hero-worship, and the treachery of the July criminals and of members of "old, ailing and morbid dynasties." References to the actual strategy of the war were absent. One of its few realistic references was to the heroic efforts of Japan, Germany's "greatest ally." The leaders in Italy, Hungary, Slovakia and Croatia, who had rallied the forces of resistance against national decay, all received honourable mention. Perhaps this was an attempt to make good the blunder of his statement on the 25th September that Germany had been deserted by all her European allies. Typical of Hitler's manner was also the description of the concentric Allied attacks of August and September as "bitter repercussions" of the 20th July. The Volkssturm, though a chief occasion of the meeting, was accorded only the briefest mention. Several types of traitor were threatened: anyone who should use dagger or bomb against Germany, members of former parties who believed that the time of their resurrection might have come, and, most cryptic category of all, those who now thought fit to involve other people in conflict with their conscience. Is this a warning to those who may be planning another 20th July and attempting to induce Army officers to break their oath of allegiance to their supreme commander?

The keynote of the Volkssturm meetings of Sunday last was, as a V.B. headline expressed it, "Volkssturm in the spirit of the Feldherrnhalle." The main speeches by Goebbels in Berlin and by Schepmann in Danzig, were undistinguished, and did little more than repeat points which have already become propaganda slogans. The former gave assurances about the modern organisation and armament of the levies: there would be no question of sending Berliners unarmed against the enemy. Schepmann stressed the responsibility of the S.A. for weapon training and admitted that some 4 million men were already enrolled. The most vigorous Nazi speech of Sunday, made neither in Germany nor in connexion with the Volkssturm, was by Terboven at a rally in Oslo, in which he used with some effect all the propaganda appeals of the moment to encourage belief in victory, which, thanks to the holding up of the enemy through precious weeks and months, would be accomplished by technical developments allowing German armament to abolish the material superiority of the Allies.

He contrived in the same speech to stress that as in 1923 the Nazis had surmounted a situation which ordinary politicians thought hopeless, so it would be again.

There are two interesting features in the propaganda concerning V2, the use of which was announced by the O.K.W. on the 8th November. It was calculated to attract some public attention in a week in which the only outstanding items were Roosevelt's victory and Hitler's failure to speak. In the second place it was announced with studied moderation, as a contributory irritant to the enemy and without any suggestion, in spite of its name, that it was retaliatory. It was stated to be "far more effective" than V1, and to travel faster than sound. But such comment as has been seen preferred to praise it as a marvel of construction and to deal with British censorship of news rather than to describe damage.

Official German reports of the fighting in the Scheldt estuary avoided actual mention of the Allied capture of Walcheren, but the O.K.W. bulletin of the 10th gave a summary of what German resistance there had achieved: "in weeks of gallant fighting" the German troops had blocked the Allied access to Antwerp and had gained time for measures depriving them of the use of the port. The same bulletin gave the information that the port area of Antwerp had for weeks past been under fire from V1 and V2. Second place in these bulletins has been taken by the advance of General Patton's army in Lorraine and by what the O.K.W. termed the American attempt "to eliminate the fortified town of Metz by strategic envelopment." Unofficial accounts of these engagements laid stress on the fact that Patton's offensive was the first stage in a more general and extensive attack. The position in Italy, in Hungary and in East Prussia was described as more or less unchanged; one communiqué said that after rainy weather in Hungary the Russian attacks had been resumed. There is no confirmation of a report that Kesselring has been killed.

The outstanding military event of the week, the sinking of the *Tirpitz* in Tromsö Fiord on the 12th, has so far elicited no German comment. This successful attack is the eighth attempt to sink by level bombing a capital ship which was regarded by the Germans as unsinkable. The destruction of the *Tirpitz* three and a half years after that of her sister ship *Bismarck* deprives the German navy of its last seaworthy battleship. The most powerful ships it has left are the pocket battleships *Lutzow* and *Admiral Scheer*, at present inactive in the Baltic.

An important indirect effect of air attacks on German population centres, which has so far not been noticed in this *Summary*, is the impediment to police control. The difficult task of controlling movements of population is seriously complicated by the destruction of records. This has happened in the town of Saarbrücken, whither General Paton's armies are now heading. The local newspaper announced at the end of October that "special circumstances" made it necessary to register the entire population of the Stadtkreis, presumably at the same time as the distribution of ration cards. The same paper admits the difficulty of locating workers by saying that "present conditions make things easier for shirkers"; there is in certain areas of the Reich now no means of compelling those who make no effort to do so to return to their work. Among the agenda of Gau propaganda leaders in Kurhessen is said to have been discussion of "the tremendously increased work of the Security Police and Security Service." There, as elsewhere, the police would seem to have been reduced by being drafted into the armed forces. According to a private report, the regular police in some districts have now all gone to the front, their place being taken by conscripted men of over 35. A report from East Prussia speaks of elderly members of the Volkssturm doing duty as police. The Essen papers recently made the unusual statement that the Gestapo was now being instructed to deal severely with rumour-mongers. So outspoken a reference suggests that the situation is getting out of hand in certain areas. So does a phrase in General Dittmar's last talk: he spoke of opposing "with maximum counter-efforts" all attempts to break the German home front.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

It is impossible to assess with any accuracy the strength and extent of the underground resistance organisation in the Protectorate but that the Germans expect a rising sooner or later is quite plain. Their policy to combat this danger lies in a combination of praise, warnings and practical measures. During the past

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few weeks every sort of propaganda has been used in the attempt to ensure order in the country and among the practical steps to destroy possible nuclei of opposition have been an increase in the number of executions and the transfer to Germany of more Czech police; the latter are being increasingly replaced by Gestapo and S.S. men.

In Slovakia the Bratislava Government has clearly lost all independent significance and is now no more than a German mouthpiece. The controlled press and radio are still zealously conducting an inquest on the revolt and accusations and denunciations are rife; a new demand is being made for a purge of those Czechs still living in Slovakia and there are signs that the rising has given a fresh fillip to the dissension between Catholics and Protestants; the one positive step taken in the mobilisation of all available labour for the building of fortifications in the Bratislava area. Meanwhile Karmasin continues to complain that the Government had not, in the past, sufficiently safeguarded the rights of the Volksdeutsche and to demand still greater self-administration for the German minority.

The Czechoslovak Brigade in the west is engaged in the siege of the Germans in Dunkirk. Two sharp actions have been reported and in each the Czechoslovaks inflicted casualties and took prisoners without serious cost to themselves. The major difficulty of this unit has been its lack of reserves and it is worth noting that these have recently been increased by the arrival of a number of Czech soldiers from the "Autonomous Protectorate Army" who had contrived to make their way to the Allies from Northern Italy where the Germans had been using them as lines of communication troops. Czechoslovaks in liberated France have also been instructed to report themselves to the Czechoslovak Embassy in Paris with a view to their enrolment for military service.

Moscow radio on the 13th November broadcast an article from *War and the Working Class* commenting acidly on an interview given by Jan Masaryk to the English magazine *Illustrated*, in which the Minister is reported to have spoken of Czechoslovakia as "a valuable link between the East and the West." The "link" idea is sarcastically ridiculed and the Minister labelled "incautious."

On the 7th November the citizens of Mukačevo and Užhorod in Ruthenia sent messages of congratulation to Marshal Stalin. It is noteworthy that neither message contained any reference to Czechoslovakia and the Užhorod greeting spoke of "our dream to live in a single harmonious family with the Ukrainian people."

SOVIET UNION.

During the past week there has been little change in the military situation. The Red Army has been held outside Budapest, and appears to be developing an outflanking movement to the north-east. On the 9th November the Soviet Information Bureau issued a communiqué on the fighting on the Second Ukrainian Front (Translyvania and Hungary) between the 6th October and the 6th November. In this it was claimed that over 100,000 German and Hungarian officers and men had been killed, and 42,160 captured.

Colonel-General Golikov, the recently appointed Representative of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. for matters relating to repatriation (see *Summary* No. 265), made a statement to a *Tass* correspondent which was published in all the Soviet papers and broadcast on the 11th November. In this he announced that "tens of thousands" of Soviet citizens had already returned home from Finland, Roumania and Poland; "the first 10,000 have returned from Britain; extensive preparatory work for repatriation of Soviet citizens has been conducted in France, Belgium and Luxemburg." He complained that in some cases Soviet citizens in liberated territory were still treated as prisoners of war, and even held in the same camps as Germans, in unsatisfactory conditions. In a number of instances the authorities on the spot even put obstacles in the way of the speedy return of these persons to the U.S.S.R. "There are also quite a few instances when people hostile to the Soviet State try by deceit, provocation, &c., to poison the minds of our citizens and make them believe the monstrous lie that the Soviet motherland had forgotten them, renounced them, and no longer considered them her citizens." General Golikov declared that there would be no reprisals even on "those Soviet citizens who, submitting to German violence and terror, committed actions against the interests of the U.S.S.R. . . . . if upon their return to the motherland they honestly discharge their duty." This is the first occasion on which there has been a clear statement of the attitude of the Soviet authorities to those Soviet citizens who,

under duress, have assisted the Germans. The decision to let bygones be bygones is a wise one. It should greatly facilitate an early return to normality in the U.S.S.R. after the end of the war, both by preventing political bitterness and by securing the early and willing repatriation of the millions of Soviet citizens scattered all over Europe, whose labour will be so essential to the work of reconstruction. At the same time notice is given to the Allies that the Soviet Government is impatient of delays in returning captured Soviet citizens, and is jealously observing the treatment which they receive. Two days earlier Moscow Radio had criticised the "shocking living conditions" in certain camps in France, notably in the Marseilles area, in which liberated Soviet citizens were confined together with German prisoners of war. Some of the former were even being recruited for the Foreign Legion, "under conditions of terror." The Soviet Ambassador in France was stated to have protested to the French Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

The Bulgarian armistice delegation which left Moscow on the 31st October brought home interesting impressions. The Minister for Foreign Affairs stated on his return that no one should imagine that communism was to be introduced into Bulgaria at the instigation of the Soviet Government, despite the impression which might have been conveyed by the eulogies of the U.S.S.R. and the October Revolution filling the Sofia press. On the contrary, all the Soviet Ministers whom the delegation had met at Moscow had insisted that on no account should Bulgaria become a Communist State, and had advised the maintenance of the Fatherland Front, "which truly represented the new democratic Bulgaria." M. Molotov even deprecated excessive witch-hunting for Fascist-minded officers, urging that good service at the front should be taken as the sole test. The delegates, in particular M. Tarpeshev, the Communist Minister without Portfolio, appear to have been genuinely chilled by their interview with the great Dimitrov. Refusing to speak anything but Russian on the ground that he was a Soviet citizen, Dimitrov sternly reminded his compatriots at an official meeting that the Agrarians and not the Communists were the majority in Bulgaria, and in private spoke even more severely than in public. The impression left by his words on the abashed delegates was increased by their astonishment at finding their revolutionary comrade living in a style never enjoyed even by King Boris. Evidently hints of the Soviet attitude had got round even before the return of the delegation, for a story recently current in Sofia had it that Stalin had threatened to have Tolbukhin's head if he allowed the Bulgarians to bolshevise the Red Army. Paradoxical as the line taken by the Soviet authorities may have appeared to the Bulgarian delegates, it is only a further illustration of the general Soviet attitude towards the new Governments now emerging in liberated Europe. The Communist Parties themselves in all European countries support "Governments of national unity" with mildly reformist programmes. It is interesting to note that even in Bulgaria, probably the country where the Communist Party is strongest, and during occupation by the Red Army, the Soviet authorities directly discourage the local Communists from abandoning this policy. The Tito–Subasić agreement, smiled on by Moscow and confusing to many of the faithful in Yugoslavia, is a further illustration of this general trend.

M. Molotov gave a luncheon on the 10th November in honour of the Norwegian Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Trygve Lie, and his mission. The Soviet guests included MM. Dekanozov and Maisky. In his speech M. Molotov urged the development of the existing friendly relations between the U.S.S.R. and Norway now that the two countries once more had a common frontier.

The resignation of the Saed Government occasioned a fresh outburst of vituperation in *Pravda*. The charges mainly followed the now familiar lines, but included a new and apparently unfounded allegation that Saed had "armed tribes and instigated them against the Central Government." It was also alleged that the Tehran radio had been "converted into an instrument for slanderous anti-Soviet propaganda," while attempts had been made to suppress Moscow Radio reports on the situation in Persia. In fact, the Soviet authorities have done everything possible to prevent the Persian case reaching the outside world. In reporting the release of the Trade Unionists arrested by the Persian military and police in Tehran in connexion with the proposed meeting in honour of the October Revolution anniversary, Moscow Radio quoted a Persian paper as demanding the prosecution of Saed for these arrests. (See also under "Middle East.")

The refusal of the Soviet Government to attend the World Aviation Conference has again been discussed, in an article in No. 21 of *The War and the*

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Working Class. This indignantly denied that there could be any other reason for the absence of the U.S.S.R. from this conference than that officially stated (see *Summary* No. 265). The writer declared that the Soviet authorities knew only on the 24th October that Spain, Portugal and Switzerland had been invited—countries which were on good terms with Germany and her satellites, but had not seen fit to establish normal relations with the U.S.S.R. The Soviet Government had known that some neutrals would be invited, but did not know that "these specific neutrals" would be included. "Of course there would be no objection to such neutrals as Sweden and Turkey." It was noted that the United States had not invited the Argentine, which "conducts a pro-Fascist policy and is hostile towards the United States."

On the 12th November it was announced that M. N. V. Gorelkin had been appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the U.S.S.R. to Uruguay. M. Gorelkin was Ambassador to Italy before the latter declared war on the U.S.S.R. He was one of a number of Soviet diplomats who were recently awarded the Red Banner of Labour "for outstanding services to the Soviet State and for successful fulfilment of the Government's assignments." (See last week's *Summary*.)

It was announced on the 10th November that M. P. I. Valeskaln had been appointed People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Latvian S.S.R. The new Commissar, who although having a Latvian name is apparently not a Latvian citizen, succeeded M. Junius Latsis as Minister of Education in the Latvian S.S.R. in January 1941. (See also under "Czechoslovakia," "Hungary" and "Roumania.")

SCANDINAVIA.

The Swedish Government delivered on the 11th November a note of protest to the German Legation in Stockholm in reply to a German notification two days earlier that the Eastern Baltic and the Gulf of Bothnia were to be an operational area in which all ships would risk being mined or fired on without warning. The Swedish Government considers these measures injurious to legitimate Swedish interests, denies the right of German forces to make use of them, and holds the German Government entirely responsible for any consequences. The Swedish War Risk Insurance Board has simultaneously notified Swedish ships in the Gulf of Bothnia that they should confine themselves to Swedish territorial waters.

Protests have also been evoked by a number of recent violations of Swedish territory by German soldiers, who have looted hay belonging to Swedish peasants. Most of these incidents have taken place on the Finno-Swedish frontier, but an aggravated case occurred on the 4th November in North Värmland, when a German patrol pursued two Norwegian refugees for a distance of 4 kilom. beyond the Norwegian frontier, firing shots and ultimately compelling a Swedish forester to guide them back, pressing the muzzles of rifles into his back. General von Falkenhorst has apologised for this incident and undertaken to punish the offenders.

The allegations of protection afforded by Sweden to actively anti-Soviet refugees from Estonia and other Baltic regions have been further pursued by the Swedish Communist organ *Ny Dag*, and have, after some delay, evoked replies in other Swedish papers. In *Morgon-tidningen* especially, the defence has adopted a perhaps rather provocative form by alleging the commission of a large number of murders and acts of torture by the Russians during the occupation of Estonia in 1940–41. These charges are indignantly denied by *Ny Dag*, which demands evidence of the accusations. *Dagens Nyheter*, while describing *Ny Dag*'s presentation of the case as "narrow and mischievous," admits the necessity of procuring a trustworthy report of the composition of the Baltic refugee groups. No doubt, says the paper, they are mostly good people, but there are also exceptions from the rule.

The split in the Finnish Social Democratic Party occasioned by the opposition to the dominant influence of Tanner has now led to important developments. On the 8th November it was announced that two Ministers from the dissident section of the Party, MM. Fagerholm and Vuori, had resigned from the Government. It was at once predicted that this move would bring about a more complete reconstruction of the Government unless the Social Democrats were prepared to elect two men to replace those who have resigned. After discussion in the party groups in the Diet, it was decided that a Government reconstruction was unavoidable. On the 10th November M. Castren's Government resigned, and

Marshal Mannerheim is understood to have started to form a new one, the Prime Minister of which is expected to be M. Paasikivi.

A rather curious feature of the situation has been a violent attack upon M. Vuori by the Communist paper *Vapaa Sana*. Having regard to the fact that the new Government is expected to be politically further to the Left than the old, and to be purged of elements which favoured the continuance of hostilities with Russia, this attitude of the Communists is difficult to understand. The attack may have a personal basis: the political editor of the paper is said to be the daughter of Kuusinen. It may also be explained as an instance of the inveterate antagonism of Communists to orthodox trade union circles.

The discussions in Stockholm between the Swedish Government and the Norwegian Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Justice appear to have been highly satisfactory. Apart from the question of the employment of the Norwegian police forces trained in Sweden, the Norwegian Government has obtained a loan of 100 million kr. to cover expenditure in Sweden during the next six months. The question of Swedish contributions to Norwegian supplies has also been satisfactorily handled.

In spite of the attempts of German and quisling propaganda to represent the evacuation of the civil population from Northern Norway as voluntary and humanitarian (see last week's *Summary*), there is no longer any real concealment of the fact that it is both compulsory and cruel. German sources reported on 8th November that the evacuation of Hammerfest was being carried out as a German defence measure. Actually the evacuation of Norwegians throughout the northern part of the country is being carried out by methods of the most drastic compulsion, and persons attempting to evade it have been shot. Livestock and food-stuffs, together with farm buildings, are being systematically destroyed.

The quisling Minister for the Interior, Hagelin, has finally resigned, ostensibly on grounds of ill-health. The "rowing" propensities of the Quisling Party have now been regretfully admitted by the extreme party organ *Germaneren*, in an article which states that mistrust and dissension and an inclination to row for safety are noticeable everywhere, even in the least expected quarters. The fears of the traitors are no doubt intelligible, for, apart from post-war prospects, there have been several cases of liquidation recently, and on the 6th November an act of sabotage destroyed the War Academy in Oslo, which had been occupied as the Headquarters of the Hird staff. Other cases of sabotage have been reported.

THE LOW COUNTRIES.

On the 9th November the Prime Minister was asked in the House of Commons whether he proposed to make a statement concerning the loss sustained by the Netherlands through the flooding of large areas of valuable agricultural land, and whether, in view of the statement recently (see *Summary* No. 265) published by the Netherlands Government, a joint reply by the United Nations could be made without delay. Mr. Attlee, replying on behalf of the Prime Minister, stated that, "so far as His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom are concerned, I can say that all just claims for territorial compensation at the expense of Germany which the Netherlands Government may eventually decide to put forward will be given energetic support."

The plight of the Dutch is arousing sympathy in Belgium; a relief committee has been set up under Government patronage, and the Prince Regent has sent a donation of 50,000 fr.

Meanwhile, the Dutch Government are making such preparations as they can to repair the damage done to their country by the Germans; large orders for pumping, and other, machinery are being placed in the United States.

In the course of a speech to the Belgian Chamber on the 7th M. Pierlot adverted to the cordial relations between Britain and Belgium and said that the visit of M. Spaak to London—where he had arrived on the 4th—was aimed at making closer the co-operation of the two countries in various spheres. Belgian opinion is, in general, eager for close co-operation between Belgium, the Netherlands, Britain and France for purposes of security. But the Communists, while arguing that Belgium should maintain friendly relations with all the United Nations, deprecate a specially close understanding with Britain on the ground that Belgium would thereby be brought under British hegemony.

Towards the close of his visit to London M. Spaak said in an interview: "I have noticed that there is much discussion in the press on the creation of a West European *bloc*. The word *bloc*, it seems to me, is ill-chosen, and may have

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wrong interpretations. The main thing is to ensure peace by collective security and a universal organisation. But the Great Powers at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference were of opinion that, as the executive agents of international security, regional organisations might be formed. In that spirit I think that an agreement among the Western Powers is not only possible but necessary." M. Spaak added that during his visit he had also discussed with the British Government the provision of food for the Belgian people and of arms and equipment for the Belgian Army.

It would appear that there are still some 49,000 men in the various Belgian resistance organisations. The Government hopes to absorb a large proportion of them into the army, the gendarmerie and the civil service and to find jobs in private employment for the rest.

Some 60,000 Belgians, suspected of collaboration with Germans, have already been taken into custody, but public opinion demands yet more arrests, though some Belgians fear that innocent, as well as guilty, persons have been apprehended and ask that greater care should be taken before arrests are made.

For the Netherlands and the Civil Aviation Conference, see under "United Nations."

FRANCE.

Paris has given Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden a triumphal welcome and the Paris papers, which doubled their size on the 12th November, have paid glowing tributes to Great Britain and her Prime Minister. The success of the visit has also been emphasised by the remarkably warm tone of the official announcement issued in Paris on the 13th.

The visit was timed to coincide with the Armistice Day celebrations. On the morning of the 11th November, Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden, who had arrived by air the previous afternoon, accompanied by Sir Alexander Cadogan, Field-Marshal Sir Alan Brooke and General Sir Hastings Ismay, drove with General de Gaulle and M. Bidault up the Champs-Elysées to the Arc de Triomphe where the General and the Prime Minister laid wreaths on the tomb of the Unknown Soldier. A military review in which British and American detachments took part was followed by a visit to the statue of Clemenceau and to the tomb of Foch. Later, in a welcoming speech at the official lunch at the Ministry of War, General de Gaulle said that 1,000 years hence France would not have forgotten "what was accomplished in this war through the fighting, the labours and the sufferings of the noble people whom Mr. Churchill is carrying on with him to heights of the greatest glory." The presence of the visitors was a practical demonstration of an alliance which cruel vicissitudes had shown to be more than ever necessary. In the course of his reply Mr. Churchill declared that France and Britain had shared the glories of Western Europe for so many years that they had become indispensable to one another. "It is a fundamental principle of British policy that the alliance with France should be unshakable, constant and effective."

On the following day the visitors were welcomed at the Hôtel de Ville by the Prefect of Police, the Prefect of the Seine and the Paris Committee of Liberation who had already during the preceding week received Mr. Duff Cooper and Mr. Jefferson Caffery. A diploma of honorary citizen of the city of Paris was presented to Mr. Churchill. He made a moving speech in French, which included an appeal to the French people to rally round their "uncontested chief," General de Gaulle, and do their utmost "to have France united and indivisible."

The visit of the British Ministers also gave the opportunity for political discussions. These opened in auspicious circumstances, for on the morning of the 11th November the French Government had received invitations from the Governments of Great Britain, the United States and the U.S.S.R. to appoint a full and permanent representative to the European Advisory Commission. This news was received with great satisfaction by the Paris press as marking France's return to the rank of a great European Power. According to the official announcement issued in Paris on the 13th November, the talks covered "all questions concerning the conduct of the war and the preparation of the peace." They "were devoted in particular to the immediate problems arising out of the necessity, now that France has been liberated, for as full participation by France as possible in the common struggle." Mr. Churchill's view was indicated in his speech at the Hôtel de Ville when he declared that "a strong French Army as soon as possible" corresponded to the sentiments of England and the policy

of its Government and was "absolutely necessary for the establishment of the moral equilibrium of Europe and to provide Europe with one of its factors of stability and virility which the world so sorely needs." He warned his hearers, however, that, since he could not promise a long war, it might not be possible to get many modern divisions ready, but said he would do his best to see that French forces were engaged against the Germans in the months which remained. As proof of his interest Mr. Churchill travelled by car to the front on the 13th and visited troops of the First French Army on the snow-clad slopes of the Vosges.

The Government has suffered a severe loss by the death of the Minister of Finance, M. Lepercq, who was killed in a car accident on his way back from a visit to Lille. M. Lepercq had a remarkable Resistance record and commanded the Paris F.F.I. during the August rising.

The new Provisional Consultative Assembly met for the first time on the 7th November at the Luxembourg. The opening session was purely formal. On the 8th the Assembly proceeded to elect its officers and in the second ballot chose M. Félix Gouin, the Socialist deputy, who presided over the Assembly at Algiers, to be its president. On the 9th it held its first working session and heard a brief speech from General de Gaulle in which he appealed to it to help the Government to accomplish its onerous duties. The parliamentary representatives have decided to call themselves the *Groupe de la Résistance Parlementaire*. The five remaining members of the group have now been selected, thus bringing its numbers up to the allotted 60 (see *Summary* 265). M. Maurice Thorez, Secretary-General of the French Communist Party, will be able to return from Russia to take his seat, since a decree has been issued extending to him the benefit of an amnesty granted by an ordinance of the 29th October. This empowers the Government to pardon offences against military law committed before the 17th June, 1940, in cases where the persons concerned have subsequently taken an active part in the Resistance movement. M. Thorez was sentenced for anti-militarist activities in November 1939. The amnesty follows upon a long and vigorous campaign conducted by the Communist Party in favour of his return.

The Administration of the Bank of France, first reformed in 1936 by the Popular Front Government and changed again, though not fundamentally, by Vichy in 1940, has again been reformed. On the 7th November the Cabinet approved an ordinance modifying the method of appointment of the Council of the Bank and weighting it heavily on the official side. At the same time the Cabinet approved the transformation of the Ministry of National Economy into a body charged with directing the whole economic policy of the Government, preparing and supervising the execution of a plan of economic reconstruction, and co-ordinating the work of the Ministries of Production, Agriculture and Food, and of the Ministry of Reconstruction shortly to be set up. The Minister of National Economy is also to be responsible for international economic negotiations and will in this sphere be associated with the work of the Quai d'Orsay.

From the 23rd to the 25th October the *Mouvement de Libération Nationale*, perhaps the most important Resistance organisation, held a Congress in Paris and resolved to negotiate with the *Front National* and other movements for the constitution of a single *Front de la Libération*. It decided, however, to reject the *Front National's* proposals for an agreed list of candidates at the forthcoming local elections (see Summary No. 263); movements should put forward their own candidates at the first ballot but join forces at the second ballot. The Congress also authorised its bureau to continue negotiations with the Socialist Party for the establishment of a common doctrine leading to joint action, and adopted a programme which goes far towards Socialism.

The Socialist Party Congress, the first party congress to be held in France since the liberation, began on the 9th November in Paris. The British Labour Party sent a delegation headed by Mr. Harold Laski and the Socialist parties of other countries were also represented. The main event on the first day was a long speech by M. Daniel Mayer, Secretary-General of the Party, who reported on its clandestine activities of the last four years and on the drastic purge that had been carried out within the Party itself. This was "un congrès de rénovation et d'épuration" which must abjure the old internal struggles. It must elect a new directing committee and decide such questions as the relations of the Party with the Christian Democrats, with M. Paul-Boncour's group, with the *Mouvement de Libération Nationale* and with the Communist Party. M. Mayer renewed the offer, made to the Communists under the occupation, of a joint committee to prepare the way to working-class unity. He referred to the German

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question, stating that once the German people had been re-educated they must be given their place within the new League of Nations. The other speeches showed that the Party doctrine remains unchanged but that the question of the purge is a main preoccupation.

Georges Suarez was refused a reprieve and shot on the 9th November. Mgr. Dutoit, Bishop of Arras, has been placed in "administrative internment" by order of the Prefect of the Pas-de-Calais. He is charged with having published articles in the diocesan *Semaine Religieuse* derogatory to France's Allies, the French troops and Resistance organisations. This is the first instance of civil action against a prince of the Church for collaboration. Recent arrests include that of Jérome Carcopino, a former Vichy Minister of Public Instruction.

(For France's attitude to Civil Aviation, see "United Nations.")

SWITZERLAND.

Further comment on the Russian refusal to attend the Civil Aviation Conference at Chicago indicates the trend of Swiss opinion to be that Russia is still unwilling to co-operate sincerely with other nations. This attitude is contrasted with the results claimed for the Moscow Conference.

The reason given by Russia for her rejection of the Swiss proposals for the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries—namely, that the Swiss Government "has hitherto not dissociated itself in any form from its former policy of hostility to the Soviet Union"—was not considered by Switzerland to be justified by the true facts. Switzerland had a politically clear conscience and rejected the accusation brought against her. She would await events calmly, but she would in no circumstances allow herself to be intimidated by a gesture, the meaning of which was as yet unaffirmed. For this reason, the Federal Council would not deviate from the view which led to the negotiations, and which was in accordance with its genuine desire to maintain good and peaceful relations with all foreign States. It would take the view that the negotiations were merely interrupted.

The public reaction was one of deep resentment, not only at the disregard shown by a major Power for a small State, but also at the method chosen to administer the rebuff; for it was contrary to usage for one country to reply to another by a public broadcast on a delicate subject requiring a certain measure of discretion. Resentment was also expressed at the use of the word "Fascist" to describe Swiss sentiments, and it was recalled that for many years the German press has complained about Switzerland's failure to take part in the crusade against Moscow.

On the 10th November, the Federal Council accepted with regret the resignation of M. Pilet-Golaz, chief of the Political Department. It was stated that the Minister had already notified the National Council of his intention in a letter on the 7th, but that the decision had in fact been taken before that date. The President of the Confederation at a banquet held by the Radical Party on the 13th November stated that M. Pilet-Golaz's decision was entirely due to considerations of internal policy, and bore no relation to Switzerland's foreign policy, which would not be affected by the resignation. M. Pilet-Golaz had thought it his duty to sacrifice his high place for the maintenance of internal peace. The President then paid a high tribute to the retiring Minister's work.

SPAIN.

General Franco's statement to the United Press mentioned in last week's *Summary* has not been well received either by the Allies or by the enemy. We on our side cannot accept the sincerity of a man who in his claim to Spanish neutrality conveniently forgets the much longer period when Spain was non-belligerent, and the Germans, forgetting what they owe to Franco, object to his currying favour now with the victorious democracies. In Spain much has been made of the prominence given in the Allied press and wireless programmes to the Caudillo's pronouncement, but careful editing gives only a favourable picture, headlines such as "Franco speaks; the world listens" being quoted by *Radio Nacional*, which added that the B.B.C. news bulletins gave four minutes to Franco's statement, "which is longer than the B.B.C. generally devotes to declarations from English or foreign statesmen." Public satisfaction, however,

masked official disappointment, and the Under-Secretary of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs has complained that the B.B.C. confined itself to giving hostile commentaries. The truth is that there were none others available, for even those papers which were General Franco's friends in the Civil War cannot now approve his oily conversion.

However, this interview does clarify the situation, especially as it has been followed by the Spanish Ambassador's request to the Permanent Under-Secretary of State to arrange an early interview at which he could make an important communication from General Franco to the Secretary of State. We now know what to expect. Spain takes her stand on her alleged neutrality in this war which is based on abstention from stabbing France in the back (such treachery seemingly being the only breach of neutrality Franco's mind could grasp). The claim is that she could not be either our ally or Germany's ally because "she could never ally herself ideologically with nations not guided by the principles of Catholicism" (an argument hardly applicable to Fascist Italy), but (since the Allies are winning the war) she is now to be considered a democracy of a rather special, Spanish kind, to be known as organic. The episode of the Blue Division is squared with "honourable and complete neutrality" because no hostility against Russia as a nation was involved; it was a crusade for the idea of anti-communism, which has wider implications than merely Soviet ones. And so, on its record, the Franco régime self-righteously claims to participate in any European settlement. That is the Franco line; it is not a very good one.

First, the claim to neutrality is patently absurd. It was not valid even in 1939, for the Germans received plenty of favours from Franco before the fall of France. And with the declaration of non-belligerency on the 12th June, 1940, Spain, during the Suñer period, showed herself in everything but open war to be an associate of the Axis Powers. And, although Count Jordana did make an effort to behave neutrally, the Spanish Government maintained non-belligerency until February 1944. As to the refusal to "ally herself ideologically with nations not guided by the principles of Catholicism," the Caudillo must have forgotten his words to von Stohrer, German Ambassador to Spain, in September 1940. Stohrer had talked of Spanish-German collaboration as creating "with the definite triumph of a strong and sound ideology," a new Europe. Franco replied that "Spain had contributed to the rule of this new order . . . . *the strength of her faith in the triumph of our common ideals.*" He went on to describe the warmth of Spanish friendship for Germany "in the battle for the consolidation of this politico-social revolution for which we fought so hard which is now being waged on the seas and in the air of Europe." This commitment to precisely the ideological association which he is now repudiating will not be forgotten. Great Britain and the United States are not less likely to forget Franco's attacks on the "plutocratic democracies" (which are bad) and to accept him at his own valuation as head of an Organic Democracy (which is good) than M. Stalin is to accept the Spanish fairy tale of the Blue Division. In short, General Franco's attempt at self-rehabilitation may look good in the Spanish press, whose ambiguous columns are usually decorated with equivocations of this kind. But when it comes to dealing with the Allies, the little Caudillo will find that his legs are too short for the pier-head jump to "work a passage" which no one has yet offered him. His ambitions are, however, probably more modest. On the business principle that you never get more than 25 per cent. of what you ask for, he claims a seat at the peace table, and will be only too happy if we leave him with his seat in the Pardo—and, of course, his bunny rabbits.

Along the Pyrenees things seem quiet, but none of the punitive or restrictive measures taken by the Spanish authorities have yet been relaxed. In the Basque province of Guipúzcoa it is credibly reported that there have been over 2,000 arrests, mainly of Basque Nationalists, and at one moment the bull ring at San Sebastián was crowded with prisoners. At the end of October the alleged discovery of a plot by the Perpignan "Reds" (see *Summary* No. 265) led to a fresh wave of arrests in Barcelona too, where the Catalan Nationalists are being active in their propaganda. One agreeable piece of political publicity was the draping of the Catalan flag on the cables which join two large steel towers in the harbour. It took the Barcelona Fire Brigade three hours of dangerous acrobatics and a lot of courage to remove the horrid emblem. Another commemorative practice is to place wreaths on the empty places from which the Falange had removed statues of Catalan patriots. This sort of game is not likely to decrease in Barcelona during the winter.

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ITALY.

An interview granted by the Lieutenant of the Realm to the correspondent of the *New York Times* seems to have created a minor storm amongst some of the parties forming the Italian Government. The Prince's remark that the "Institutional" question should be settled by a plebiscite and not by the Constituent Assembly appears to have been the main cause of the trouble. In the Prince's opinion, a plebiscite should settle the question of a Monarchy or a Republic, and the Constituent Assembly should subsequently decide what form the Monarchy or the Republic should take. In support of this argument the Prince quoted the principles of the Atlantic Charter, in which it says that all peoples have the right to choose the form of government under which they will live, and also emphasised the fact that the feeling of the people towards this question, as yet unknown, might differ from the already known feeling of the political parties. The Prince realised that one of the chief dangers to the Monarchy was a certain faction, which had been closely connected with Fascism and had now rallied to the Monarchy for reasons of safety, but, in the present circumstances, the Prince thought that there was more danger of a dictatorship under a Republic than there would be under the Monarchy.

A communiqué has been issued by the Italian Government on this interview which reaffirms that the political parties which form the present Government are the expression of the Italian people in their fight for liberty, and repeats their solemn pledge that the "Institutional" question will be decided by the Constituent Assembly in accordance with the Law of the State.

The executive of the Italian Communist Party, after having been in conference since the 8th November, has now published a statement of the Party's aims in relation to the international situation. The chief points of this statement are as follows:—

The Communist Party reaffirms its support of the Government but reserves its right to criticise the Government when circumstances demand it.

The Party considers Italy's participation in the war insufficient and demands the purification of all reactionary elements, especially in the Army, so that the latter may do more for the liberation of Italy and less for the interests of political parties.

The Party calls on the Government to take more active measures to improve the transport and food situation, and for this purpose demands that authority should be generally transferred from the Allied Commission to the Italian Government which, according to this statement, has not yet been done despite Allied declarations.

The Party also demands elections for local administration authorities in those districts where conditions are sufficiently settled to admit of them, and more recognition for the local Liberation Committees. The Party stated it had no objection in principle to the suggestion for a Consultative Assembly, but foresaw the danger that it might become the playground of reactionary forces.

The statement finishes with instructions to its local representatives to support the Government in conformation with the Party's policy, to uphold the Committees of Liberation and to learn to conduct themselves in a manner uniform with national and democratic unity. The Party noted the increasing agreement between the Communist and Christian Democrat Parties with satisfaction and, as regards the future, declared itself for Republican agrarian reforms and the intervention of the State in industrial and banking concerns.

Mr. Harold Macmillan, the British Resident Minister, Central Mediterranean, has been appointed Acting President of the Allied Commission, and Commodore Ellery Stone, U.S.N.R., has been promoted Chief Commissioner.

On the anniversary of the Italo-Austrian Armistice in 1918 Signor Bonomi, the President of the Council, broadcast a speech in which he said that the Italian people should make themselves two promises, firstly to destroy every vestige of fascism and secondly to oppose every manifestation of the nationalistic spirit which was responsible for their present deplorable state. Signor Bonomi also said that, although party politics are a guarantee of liberty, yet the politicians themselves must not put their own interests above those of the nation as a whole.

In North Italy the amnesty extended by Mussolini to partisans giving themselves up expired on the 10th November. According to the Fascist propagandists, numbers of partisans have reported to the authorities, and much capital has been made of their pitiable state, and of the alleged fact that, contrary to "the lying campaign of the enemy," they are under no compulsion

to join the Republican Armed Forces or to work in labour camps, but are merely being sent home. However, as the *Gazette de Lausanne* points out, anyone who joined the maquis in order to elude the penalties of the law or in hopes of receiving foreign money will be excluded from the amnesty and liable to prosecution; so it would seem that here, too, the Fascists are playing their usual game of giving with one hand and taking away with the other. In the meantime, General Alexander has issued orders to partisans to conserve their energies during the winter months.

Though the fevered evacuation preparations of October seem to have died down to some extent, it would seem that these were very extensive and even included arrangements for the transfer to Germany of all Italians whose known Fascist or German sympathies would endanger them in the event of an Allied advance. Plans are also said to have been made for leaving an underground nucleus of Fascists behind should evacuation become necessary. Some sort of semi-official agreement seems to have been reached between the Milan industrialists and the local military authorities whereby the industrialists hope to save their factories from destruction on payment of a lump sum, should the Germans give the order to mine them. Two prominent Milan industrialists, Alberto and Piero Pirelli, are rumoured to have been deported to Germany.

Record wheat, rice and maize crops are reported, and large-scale transportation to Germany seems to be taking place.

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

During this week bad weather hampered military operations in Hungary. The Soviet attack on Pest made no progress, and after much fluctuating fighting the Germans claimed to have established a defensive line outside the city. They also claimed to have contained and partially expelled Soviet troops which had landed on Csepel Island. The Red Army, however, began a drive northward cutting the Pest–Miskolcz railway at Mezokoved and taking Jászbereny, while in the south, Soviet and Yugoslav Partisan troops crossed the Danube east of Pécs. Partisan activity is reported from the Croat frontier.

Colonel-General J. Vörös, Chief of the Hungarian General Staff up to the 15th October, has broadcast from Moscow. He said that he himself had been arrested by the Gestapo but had escaped and crossed over to the Russian lines. All orders issued in the name of Horthy from the 16th October onward (this includes Horthy's abdication and his recantation of the order to the troops to cease fire) were counterfeit and illegal. Vörös called on the Hungarian troops to come over to the Russians and not to defend Budapest, and to the population to resist the Germans by all means. He ended: "Long live free, democratic Hungary under the leadership of Regent Horthy!" The Soviets claim further desertions by Hungarian officers and men; the remaining Hungarian troops are now under German supreme command, and interspersed among German formations so that movement is difficult for them, but their reliability, from the German point of view, must be regarded as very doubtful.

Men of military age have been evacuated from the eastern suburbs of Pest and much of the civilian population is fleeing from the city to west Hungary where much destitution and disorganisation now prevail. The Central Government has not yet moved, and has promised that Budapest will be held to the last. Meanwhile the Arrow Cross Party is strengthening its grip on the country. A regular network of confidence men in all offices is being established and more party men are being appointed to all key posts. Further arrests of supporters of the Horthy régime are reported.

The Government, which continues to appeal in particular to the workers, has announced its intention of establishing a new "Occupational Organisation of the Working Nation."

Roumania.

The last few days have been uneventful and have been given over to taking stock of the situation created by the change of Government. There is a general impression that events are moving towards a new crisis, as the reconstituted Government lacks the elements of stability.

The outstanding feature of the week's news is the arrival of M. Vyshinski at Bucharest to deal with the question of compliance with the terms of the armistice. He was received by the King at the Castle of Peles.

The new Minister of the Interior, Penescu, has announced that his department is drafting an administrative law for the holding of communal elections.

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The project of communal elections was mentioned as a way out of the difficulties in which the late Government found itself in the middle of October. The Minister also states that Roumanian authority has been re-established in five or six of the judete of Transylvania. He lays stress on the rights of the Hungarian minority, but explains that, for reasons of State, Roumanian must be the official language of the whole country.

The Minister of Justice, Patrascanu (Communist), who is responsible for the " purge " of the civil service, has declared that this must extend to the highest ranks of the legal profession. Those who were responsible for Roumania's disaster will be mercilessly punished. The period for the restitution of property looted from Russia expires at midnight on the 14th November, and the transfer must be completed by that time.

Yugoslavia.

In the Kosovo region Bulgarian forces have had a considerable success and are reported to be advancing on Prishtina from the north. They have also captured Kumanovo, east of Skoplje. The Red Army is threatening Kraljevo. The Germans still hold their escape line through the Sandjak. In Macedonia the partisans have closed in behind the retreating Germans and have occupied Bitolj (Monastir) and Djevdjeli and Veles (on the main line from Salonica). Enemy sources reported a fortnight's heavy fighting north-east of Zagreb, where the partisans are said to control all the rural areas.

In Belgrade an assembly of about a thousand partisan delegates from Serbia, whose duty is to elect a National Liberation Council of Serbia, met on the 10th November. The New Yugoslav Telegraph Service described it as repudiating all idea of Serbian hegemony in Yugoslavia, as assuming legislative authority in Serbia, as electing an executive committee, and as setting up a War Crimes Commission. (A similar commission had been set up earlier at Nish.) An eye-witness's description of Belgrade says that the city is badly damaged by Allied and German bombing, that sanitary conditions are bad and epidemics are expected, that the attitude of the people is apathetic, and that the partisans are taking care not to provoke antagonism and are retaining technical officials of the Neditch régime.

The Macedonian partisan leaders are reported to have received an agreement in principle from the Bulgarian Fatherland Front that Bulgarian Macedonia shall be eventually included in the Macedonian Member-State of Yugoslavia. They are also said to be content to leave the question of Greek Macedonia for settlement by the United Nations. But, speaking in Belgrade on the 8th November, General Djilas, of the Central Communist Party and till recently on the partisan Mission to Moscow, attacked the Greek Government for " violently terrorising our Macedonians in Greece without any justifiable reasons," and said that this policy could " only lead to poisoning of relations between the new Yugoslavia and the Greeks."

The economic condition of Croatia south of the Kupa river is deplorable. It is reported that it would take three months to repair the railways and there is little rolling-stock. The roads could be quickly repaired were lorries made available. One aspect of Croat opinion is revealed by the appeal of *Hrvatski Narod*, of Zagreb, for courtesy towards Croat troops on leave; another by the judicial power of punishment accorded to the Croat Commissioner for Food Supply. The partisans are reported to be welcoming Croat officers and allowing them to retain their previous ranks.

Greece.

In order to balance its budget and stop inflation, the Greek Government has decided to take the following steps: to fix wages of State employees so that the average wage equals seven shillings a day; to sell certain imported supplies at a price lower than existing market prices but high enough to produce revenue needed by the exchequer; to raise indirect taxes and to put a purchase tax on luxuries; to put a heavy tax on war profits; to keep down to a minimum expenditure on the armed forces.

A stabilisation law has been passed fixing the exchange rate of the new drachma issued by the Bank of Greece at 600 to the pound. B.M.A. notes will circulate in Greece, alongside the notes of the Bank of Greece, at the above parity. The Bank of Greece will exchange its notes with B.M.A. notes for amounts of not less than 12,000 drachmæ, and will exchange B.M.A. notes for drachmæ without any limit. The law empowers the Bank of Greece, at a later,

unspecified, date, to sell foreign exchange on London and other centres, provided the amount demanded be not less than 60,000 drachmae. The rate of exchange on New York will be fixed on the basis of its quotation on the international money market. The rate of the old drachma to the new drachma is fixed at 50,000,000,000 to one. Advances by the Bank of Greece to the State are limited to 2,000,000,000 drachmas. Legislation on exchange control remains in force in so far as it consists with the present law.

An agreement has been reached between the Greek Government and representatives of the British Treasury, whereby the Greek Government has agreed to call in, within a period of twelve months, or such other period as may be agreed between the two Governments, all B.M.A. notes circulating in Greece, and to replace them by drachma notes. His Majesty's Government has undertaken to make available to the Bank of Greece an agreed amount of B.M.A. notes, to be debited against the account of the Bank of Greece with the Bank of England; when the B.M.A. notes have been withdrawn and returned, their face value in sterling will be credited to the Bank of Greece.

Professor Svolos, the Greek Finance Minister, has stated that the Bank of Greece holds cover for the new currency to the amount of £43 million, the greater part of it in gold and the rest in foreign exchange.

According to a statement by General Scobie, supplies of all kinds are now being brought into Greece at the monthly rate of 130,000 tons.

Albania.

After attacking the German and quisling forces in Tirana intermittently for a month, the F.N.Ç. opened an assault on the 3rd November, and at the end of five days' hard fighting captured three-quarters of the capital. The 1,000 Germans who took up strong positions in the royal palace and in barracks in the remaining fourth of the town were effectively bombed by Balkan Air Force. The Germans have been using considerable forces to keep open the Resan–Ohrid–Struga way of escape to the north.

Bulgaria.

Coming, as they did, soon after the return from Moscow of the Bulgarian armistice delegation, the meetings, banquets and other celebrations organised in honour of the anniversary of the Russian revolution furnished the occasion for many demonstrations of devotion to Russia. The prestige of the Soviet Union stands remarkably high to-day and press, radio and public speeches were filled with praise of the Union's achievements and of the Red Army's prowess. But care was taken not to omit reference to the part played by Great Britain and the United States. At a dinner given by the Red Army the Archbishop of Sofia, Mgr. Stefan, went so far as to call on the Soviet Union to give practical proof of that love of freedom which Soviet speakers had extolled. The Foreign Minister, the first time he received the British political representative, was at pains to assure Mr. Houstoun-Boswall that the demonstrations of enthusiasm for Soviet Russia did not mean that there was any question of introducing Communism (see " Soviet Union "). M. Stainov said that, with passions inflamed, the Government had to go slow for the present, but he hoped that it would have established itself by the end of the year. He admitted that the People's Courts were a drastic measure, but he contended that the alternative would have been the execution of summary justice by self-appointed judges in every village. With regard to the reported trade negotiations in Moscow, M. Stainov explained to Mr. Houston-Boswall that the Soviet authorities had suggested expert conversations and that Bulgarian experts would accordingly be sent to Moscow. He hastened to add that this implied no preference for Soviet trade. In a press interview M. Stainov coupled with the need for discipline the need for hard work, and this shock-worker note has been struck by other authorities.

By capturing Strumica, Podujevo and Veles and at any rate co-operating in the capture of Kumanovo the Bulgarian army made a further substantial contribution to the expulsion of the Germans from Yugoslavia. Bulgaria broke off relations with Japan on the 6th November, but the Japanese Minister and his staff have not yet left the country.

Turkey.

The entry into Izmir harbour on the 7th November of a Cunarder, the first foreign merchantman to arrive since 1941, marked the reopening of the Ægean,

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and as guardian of the Straits Turkey has agreed to the passage of supplies to Russia. It is satisfactory that the new Turkish Ambassador in Moscow met with a friendly reception. The Turkish press on the occasion of the Soviet anniversary had nothing but compliments for Russia and approval for Marshal Stalin's speech.

The Turkish delegation to the Civil Aviation Conference at Chicago expressed an admirable desire to co-operate with the other nations represented, and there now seems to be some chance that the Trukish Government really means to abandon its absurd policy of secretiveness and exclusion and to afford facilities for civil air routes across Turkey. The first need is a good civil airfield at Angora.

The Turkish Government recognised M. de St. Hardouin last month as representing the Provisional French Government at Angora. The Turkish Ambassador in Paris is to be M. Numan Menemencioğlu, the former Foreign Minister. A Turkish Ambassador is also being sent to Rome.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

Expressions of regret and indignation at the murder of Lord Moyne have been received by His Majesty's Government not only from Egypt and the Sudan but from other Middle Eastern countries, including Syria, Lebanon and Iraq. Iraq has been deeply shocked at the news, which incidentally has affected the political outlook by causing attention once more to be focused on Palestine.

The two men arrested, whose names were first given as Cohen and Salzman, have since confessed to the crime. Both came recently to Cairo from Palestine, Cohen preceding Salzman by several weeks. They state that they are members of the Jewish underground organisation called in Hebrew the "Fighters for the Freedom of Israel," but more commonly known as the "Stern Gang." Both appear to have entered Egyptian territory in British military uniform. Under interrogation Salzman gave as the motive of assassination the "bad government" in Palestine, for which Lord Moyne was held responsible.

No agreement has as yet been reached on the distribution of seats in the new Egyptian Parliament, for which elections are to be held in due course. Meanwhile the Egyptian Government has passed a law abolishing exceptional promotions and increases of salary made by the late Government.

Hassanein Pasha, First Chamberlain to King Farouk, was taken seriously ill after attending Lord Moyne's funeral, and will be unable to undertake any duty for some time. It is unfortunate that this pro-British friend and counsellor of the King should disappear from the political arena at the present critical juncture, since it leaves the Palace door open to less beneficent influences. Meanwhile, Lord Killearn has returned to Cairo from South Africa, where he had been spending a short holiday.

Hassan Nashat Pasha, Egyptian Ambassador in London, having recently married an English wife, has to leave the diplomatic service under an Egyptian law which obliges members of that service to resign if they marry foreigners. He is shortly returning to Egypt, and pending the appointment of his successor, Abdul Fattah Amr Pasha, better known for his brilliance as a squash-racquets player than for his diplomatic qualifications, is to be Minister Plenipotentiary at the Egyptian Embassy.

Rumours are current in Bagdad that the Prime Minister, Hamdi Pachachi, may resign before long owing to continued ill-health. If he does, it may not be easy to find a suitable successor. The Regent does not seem to favour at present the return of Nuri Pasha, and according to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Arshad al Umari, His Royal Highness might select as Prime Minister either Arshad himself or Ibrahim Kemal. Arshad made a good name for himself during his tenure of office as Lord Mayor of Bagdad, and has been one of the most influential members of the present Cabinet. As for Kemal, he is an able man of strong views, but he finds it difficult to co-operate with others. In either case a good deal of manœuvring behind the scenes would be required before a stable Cabinet could emerge.

The Persian Prime Minister has submitted his resignation. The reason given by him for this step was that, in spite of the support he commanded in the Majlis, he thought his departure from office might help the Russians to resume relations with the Persian Government and to drop their demand for an oil concession. The Shah did not at first wish to accept the resignation, but finally agreed, fearing that otherwise extreme action might be taken by the Russians, M. Saed's successor has not yet been selected.

In conversation with His Majesty's Ambassador the Shah expressed pleasure at learning that, according to the leader on "Persian Oil" in *The Times* of the 3rd November, Russian propaganda was not being accepted in London at its face-value. He did not agree, however, with the suggestion in *The Times* article that there was not "any particular reason why negotiations should have to wait till the end of the war." As the Shah pointed out, it was the presence of Russian troops in Northern Persia that gave Russia an unfair advantage which she had not scrupled to take, and freedom to discuss the question of oil would come with the departure of foreign troops from Persian soil rather than with the end of the war.

Generally speaking, as reported in last week's *Summary*, the strain that arose in Persia over the Russian demand is now a little easier. It cannot, however, be assumed that the crisis is over. M. Kavtaradze is still in Tehran, where he is showing signs of renewed activity; and until we receive an official reply on the matter from the Soviet Government, their attitude to the problem remains in doubt.

The press campaign in Persia continues to be waged on both sides, and while public opinion is still opposed to the granting of a concession to Russia, it would welcome a solution of the problem enabling her to resume relations with the Persian Government. That Soviet influence is not without its effect on certain quarters in Persia is illustrated by the message addressed by the "Central Trade Union Council" to Marshal Stalin on the anniversary of the October revolution. "In the name of all peasants and workers of Persia," runs the message, "the Council send their ardent greetings and the sincere regards of the oppressed people of Persia for the gallant Red Army and heroic peoples of the U.S.S.R. who have saved the Persian nation from the claws of the blood-thirsty Fascist brigands. Long live the U.S.S.R.—the true stronghold of world democracy!" (See also under "Soviet Union.")

THE FAR EAST.

The speech made by Marshal Stalin on the 27th anniversary of the October Revolution, in which he referred to Japan as an aggressor nation (see last week's *Summary* under "Soviet Union"), was, according to a Tokyo broadcast, reproduced in full without comment in all Tokyo newspapers of the 9th November. The broadcast stated that "while no press reaction or official comments are available as yet, the considerable prominence which Stalin's speech shared with other war news in the morning papers is taken as indicative of the keen interest with which his speech was received here." On the following day Iguchi, the Board of Information spokesman, made a statement in which he said that "it is generally admitted by those well acquainted with the circumstances of the Japanese-American negotiations preceding the present war that Japan was not an aggressor." Despite the American press interpretation of the passage as "the Soviet response to the American demand for positive Soviet co-operation in the war against Japan," Iguchi saw no indication in the speech of any change in the policy of the Soviet Union towards Japan. "Keen rational observers," he said, "who can penetrate the fog of complicated international relations, will find out what the Soviet leader had in mind."

In rebuttal of the charge that Japan was an aggressor Iguchi triumphantly quoted Mr. Lyttelton's speech of the 20th June (see *Summary* No. 247), and maintained that the imposition of economic embargoes on Japan by Britain and the United States in 1941 had been "an act tantamount to war." He added that Japan had given sovereign independence to Burma and the Philippines, which had been under British and American rule respectively before the war, and that British and American forces were now invading these countries to take away the independence which they had acquired.

It is an interesting fact that the Japanese publicity authorities should have made no attempt to conceal Marshal Stalin's accusation from the Japanese public and that the only official reassurance on the subject has been a guarded hint of an ulterior motive in the speech. It is probable that the Japanese Government is, in fact, kept guessing as to Soviet intentions, and thinks it just as well to give publicity to Marshal Stalin's remarks, so as to prepare the public for any further hostile developments which may be impending. On the other hand, they are well aware that hard words break no bones, and are able to see what has been pointed out by several columnists in the American press, that

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Marshal Stalin's reference to Japan, featured on the morning of polling day, was not unhelpful to President Roosevelt's election candidature. The Japanese Government will, therefore, presumably, wait for some more concrete indications of Moscow policy before taking up any new attitude towards the Soviet Union.

In the Philippines the Japanese have succeeded, though at heavy cost in bombed convoys, in maintaining a battle-front on the island of Leyte, and American gains have so far been restricted to Leyte and Samar. It has now been announced that General Yamashita, who commanded the Japanese invasion army in Malaya in 1941–42, is now in command in the Philippines, and his name has been much used in Japanese propaganda as a guarantee of Japan's ability to repel General MacArthur's expedition. Although the claims made on behalf of the Navy in the recent sea-air battles in Philippine waters have been stoutly upheld, the surface fleet has been allowed to fade quietly out of the picture, and its place as a threat to American sea-power and communications has been taken by the much-publicised Kamikaze (" divine wind ") Corps of Navy airmen, so called after the famous typhoon which destroyed Kublai Khan's invasion fleet off Kyushu in 1281. Members of this corps are alleged to dedicate themselves to crash-diving bomb-laden aircraft into enemy ships on orders from their commander, and a number of sinkings by this method have been claimed. The Japanese radio proudly affirms that the crash-dive-bomber is superior to the Germans' V.1 and V.2 in that it is steered to its target by a human agent, and boast that it manifests the ascendency of the Japanese spirit over the greater material strength of Japan's adversaries. A rival Army air group, the Banda unit, has now been formed to compete with the Navy and has put out its initial claims of sinkings.

In China, Kweilin, the capital of Kwangsi, and Liuchow, one of the principal towns of that province, have now fallen to the Japanese, and a special message of commendation has been sent by the Emperor to Field-Marshal Hata, the Commander-in-Chief in China, declaring that the forces under him had destroyed a number of American air bases and " have given us much valuable help for further operations in the whole of China." Hata in a proclamation on the 11th November declared that Japan would continue operations in China until the last vestige of American military power there had been destroyed, but had no desire for " fratricidal strife " in East Asia and would carry out her promise to withdraw all troops from China on the cessation of hostilities. In a broadcast to China from Singapore a *Domei* commentator threatened a further advance " for the final reduction of Chungking itself," and urged the Chungking Government to come to terms with Nanking " before it is too late."

By a curious coincidence Wang Ching-wei died in a Japanese hospital on the 10th November, the day of the capture of Kweilin. He had been undergoing medical treatment in Japan since March. His death may have been a natural one, but it is from a Japanese point of view not disadvantageous. Having failed to win over any leading personnel from Chungking, as he was originally expected to do, he became something of a liability, because his personal rivalry with Chiang Kai-shek was a principal obstacle to any attempt at negotiation with the Chungking régime.

Wang Ching-wei has been succeeded in his various posts at Nanking by his henchman, Chen Kung-po, and already a new political line has appeared in Nanking propaganda, which has taken up a proposal made by a writer, Hu Lan-cheng, for a " People's Congress " formed of representatives of the Nanking, Chungking and Yenan Governments for " bringing about national unity and salvation." This gesture to the Communists is an innovation in Nanking tactics, which have hitherto concentrated on anti-communism, and probably reflects Nanking's knowledge of the reported linking of the Communists with certain malcontent generals both in North and South China in an anti-Chungking coalition. The puppets are no doubt trying to reinsure in every direction, and the Japanese may reckon that, if Chiang will not respond to their anti-Communist overtures, it is as well to show him that Nanking is not debarred by ideology from stirring the Yenan pot. The Nanking small fry, whose interest is in Shanghai and its hinterland rather than in high aims of unifying China, are, indeed, probably ready to concede more to the Communists in practice than Chungking would be; a general disintegration of China would suit them well enough. The opposition to the Chungking Government in Free China marches, of course, under the anti-Japanese banner—as did the Kwangsi rebels in 1936—but an anti-Japanism which wrecked what is left of centralised authority in China would not be of a kind to alarm either Tokyo or Nanking.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The elections have been more decisive than was generally expected, less because of the size of Mr. Roosevelt's majority in the Electoral College (which he himself, however, admitted was a surprise), than because of gains by the Democrats all along the line, particularly in the House of Representatives, and above all because of the defeat of a surprising number of well-established isolationists. Whatever the party affiliation, it is agreed that the result of the elections is a strong expression of popular opposition to isolationism, at least in its most aggravated form. This is surprisingly conceded even by such isolationist papers as the Patterson group. Despite the clamour of the " Chicago set," it seems apparent that the people of the United States have given a clear mandate to the President to make a determined effort to establish a system of world security in order to prevent further wars.

Although returns are not yet complete, the major results are not in doubt, and the latest figures show that of the popular vote (largely excluding the Soldier Vote, which will not be completely counted until the 7th December) Mr. Roosevelt received 24,312,810 and Mr. Dewey 21,222,287. Compared with 432 (36 States) electoral college votes gained by the President, Mr. Dewey received 99 votes (12 States, one more than Mr. Willkie). Mr. Roosevelt won Michigan, with its 19 votes, which in 1940 had supported Mr. Willkie. The States which voted for Governor Dewey were North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Colorado, Kansas, Wisconsin, Iowa, Indiana, Vermont and Maine, Wyoming and Ohio. The last two, representing 3 and 26 electoral votes respectively, had in 1940 voted for Mr. Roosevelt. Ohio, of course, is the home State of Governor Bricker, the Republican vice-presidential candidate.

In the gubernatorial elections 17 Republicans and 14 Democrats have been elected with one State, Utah, still undecided. Ohio, Washington, Massachusetts and Missouri, which formerly had Republican governors, now have Democrats, while the Republicans have won Indiana and North Dakota.

The new Senate will consist of 56 Democrats and 37 Republicans and 1 (La Follette) Progressive. Pennsylvania and Missouri have yet to be decided. At least eight Senators who were strongly isolationist will not return. Senator Reynolds (Dem., North Carolina) did not stand for re-election. Four were defeated in the primaries and their successors are in the main more internationally minded. The four defeated Senators are Worth Clark (Rep., Idaho), Champ Clark (Dem., Missouri), Rufus Holman (Rep., Oregon) and " Cotton Ed " Smith (Dem., South Carolina). Three leading isolationists were also defeated in the elections, Senators Nye (Rep., North Dakota), Danaher (Rep., Connecticut) and Gillette (Dem., Iowa). On the positive side, the Senate is considerably strengthened by the presence of such progressives as Governor Saltonstall (Rep., Massachusetts) and Mr. Fulbright (Dem., Arkansas). For the first time since President Wilson, it is not now certain that the isolationists can muster the necessary one-third of the Senate in order to reject a treaty. 33 Senators are clearly men who favour international co-operation, 16 are Southern Democrats, who traditionally are inclined to vote with the Internationalists, 14 are somewhat uncertain and 25 are more or less isolationist. The sentiments of the United States people in favouring American participation in world affairs have been expressed with unassailable clarity, but even so the Administration will need to be vigilant, if its plans are not to be shipwrecked by the efforts of the eight arch-isolationists who still remain.

Before the results of the elections were known, there were some fears expressed, for instance, by the columnist, Mr. Arthur Krock, that, while President Roosevelt would be re-elected, he might have to work with a House of Representatives that was predominantly Republican. Returns to date show that the Democrats have a working majority of about 50. (The latest figures are Democrats 242, Republicans 187, undecided 4, minor parties 2.) As in the gubernatorial elections certain notorious isolationists were defeated, notably Representatives Hamilton Fish (Rep., New York), Calvin Johnson, Day and Busbey (all Rep., Illinois), as well as twenty others of the same general type. The House is still liable to control, however, on domestic issues by the " unholy alliance " of Republicans and Southern Democrats. On foreign affairs a combination of Democrats and internationalist Republicans will have the majority.

The recent campaign has seen one new development of the utmost significance—that is the emergence of the C.I.O.'s Political Action Committee

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as an effective vehicle for the entrance of American labour into national politics. At the Democratic Party Convention the P.A.C. fought for the retention of Mr. Henry Wallace as Vice-President. Although it met with a set-back and failed to attain its object, the P.A.C. was nevertheless sufficiently strong to frustrate the hopes of several other candidates for the vice-presidential nomination and accepted the nomination of Senator Truman as a compromise. At the beginning of the political campaign there was, it is generally agreed, a widespread atmosphere of apathy, and the P.A.C. set itself to cure this, first, by securing the registration, and, secondly, the actual balloting, for the President. Mr. Sydney Hillman (who, incidentally, is visiting this country shortly to head the C.I.O. delegation at the meeting next month to prepare the agenda for the World Labour Conference, which has been called by the T.U.C. early next year) was the driving force in the P.A.C. In the primary elections the Committee was credited with quite substantial victories. It was held to be largely responsible for the defeat of such people as Representative Starnes (Dem., Alabama), Costello (Dem., California) and Senators "Cotton Ed" Smith (Dem., South Carolina) and Caraway (Dem., Arkansas), for the refusal of Mr. Martin Dies, of the notorious committee which bears his name, and Senator Reynolds (Dem., North Carolina) to stand for re-election, and, in part at least, for the nomination of several outstanding Liberals.

Republicans and even Conservative Democrats are, however, said to be distinctly worried at the emergence of this new Labour organisation within the Democratic Party. Mr. Dewey and Mr. Bricker specially went out of their way to label Mr. Hillman and other supporters, as Communists, and to say that the P.A.C. was a Communist scheme to capture first the Democratic Party and later the Federal Government. These attacks, however, did not deter the P.A.C. and may well have been a boomerang. The P.A.C. is generally regarded as having been responsible for swinging Michigan over to Mr. Roosevelt and for helping to hold New York, Massachusetts, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Its formal future will be decided at a Convention of the Congress of Industrial Organisations, which meets soon at Chicago. Whatever is decided, it is widely felt that the committee is likely to continue in being at least as a formidable pressure group. Some Conservative-Democrats are, it is said, wondering whether it may not prove to be the nucleus of a political Labour Party, or, if not that, at least responsible for splitting the Democratic Party by ousting the Southern Democrats and causing political realignments within the two-party system. The brilliant group of economists, writers, broadcasters and research workers, which Mr. Hillman gathered together and which are considered in some quarters to be far abler than either of the machines of the Republican or Democratic Parties, is likely to be kept in being and to be a considerable force, though it is also true that, at least under Mr. Roosevelt's leadership, the Democratic Party, which is an uneasy amalgam of conflicting groups, is not likely to split asunder. But Mr. Hillman has demonstrated that he is the new power in the Labour world and that Mr. John L. Lewis no longer counts, since once again he failed to "deliver" the miners' vote in Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Illinois.

(See also under "United Nations" and "Latin America.")

LATIN AMERICA.

In Argentina it appears to be generally believed that the conference of Foreign Ministers to discuss the present situation of the Republic *vis-à-vis* other American countries will in fact take place. Even Dr. Palacios, the exiled Socialist leader, has expressed approval of such a meeting, which suggests that the Opposition is not now prepared to join issue on the question of foreign policy. General Peluffo enjoys more respect among his countrymen than his predecessors in the Foreign Ministry, and his foreign policy at least recommends itself more widely than does the domestic conduct of his colleagues. It seems likely that the Government is once again negotiating for the support of the Radicals, whose collaboration would give the régime a civilian veneer that might prove extremely useful. Such a transition would seem the most practicable way of avoiding complete disorder, since no régime could now hope to survive unless it had at least a measure of army support.

Among further attempts to create favourable opinion may be counted a decree giving the Minister of Industry and Commerce control over certain foreign firms (this is stated to have led already to intervention in thirteen German firms),

and the resignation of Sr. Di Stagni, the Nationalist director of income tax, who is said to have acted as adviser to German interests.

In other Latin American countries official quarters maintain a decent reserve. The Argentine wireless now claims that "it is known that seven countries, Colombia, Venezuela, Paraguay, Uruguay, Chile, Bolivia and Ecuador, are in favour of a conference. This is the substance of things hoped for rather than the evidence of things already seen. The Cuban Minister of the Interior is reported to have stated that Cuba is undecided. Brazil is clearly unwilling to take up a definite attitude until the views of all the other Governments are known, and no further pronouncements have been made other than those recorded in last week's *Summary*.

A further meeting in the series of discussions between Mr. Stettinius and heads of Latin American missions in Washington was held on the 9th November, and Mr. Stettinius reported that he was encouraged by the support that the American republics were showing for the basic ideas embodied in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. At his Press Conference, Mr. Stettinius distinguished this question from that of Argentina, though he would not necessarily say that his Government would not discuss the two matters at the same conference. He added that possibly within a week or ten days' the Government might have a clearer idea of how the Argentine question would be dealt with.

Rumours that the Uruguayan Government had proposed the dissolution of the Emergency Consultative Committee for Political Defence have been denied by the Uruguayan Foreign Ministry, and the place of Argentina, which withdrew in September (see *Summary* No. 258) has been taken by Peru.

The Guatemalan junta (see last week's *Summary*), now known as the Frente Popular Libertador, has been recognised by the United States, Spain and most of its neighbours. Persons in close contact with the régime kidnapped a former head of the secret police from the Peruvian Legation on the 6th November. The Government have professed their ignorance of the affair and undertaken to punish those responsible.

Bolivia and Ecuador are reported to be seeking the establishment of diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. Nicaragua has recognised the French and Italian Governments.

UNITED NATIONS.

Civil Aviation Conference.

On technical questions the Conference has already made great progress. Numerous sub-committees have reviewed every aspect of this part of the work of the Conference and have already come to agreement on a large proportion of it. Thus it will be possible to incorporate in an international convention, if it is so desired, the experience which has been acquired through the great development of aviation during the war period.

On more fundamental questions no such agreement has yet been reached. On one problem, however, considerable progress has been made. Yielding to the protests of the Latin American States, the United States Delegation has withdrawn its plan for the constitution of the Aviation Council. The principle of sovereign equality to which appeal was made, it is now suggested, will be recognised by the creation of an Assembly in which all States are represented equally. But some smaller executive body will be necessary and this may be one of 15 or 16 States, partly elected by the Assembly and partly chosen by their importance in the field of aviation, including their domestic services and the facilities offered for international routes. Thus the functional principle advocated by the Canadian Delegation would be recognised, and it is also hoped by some countries that geographical representation will be taken into account in the decisions to be made.

On the primary question of international control over routes and frequencies but little progress was made in the formal committees. The New Zealand and Australian proposal for the international ownership and operation of international air services was rejected as premature by the first Committee, a result which was generally recognised as inevitable. The United States has not yet withdrawn from its position that complete freedom should be allowed to commercial air lines (subject, of course, to cabotage, which includes colonial territories) to operate as commercial considerations may dictate. The United Kingdom, on the other hand, and the other members of the Commonwealth, who met at Montreal, have remained convinced that some international control of routes and frequencies is necessary, and that any interim bilateral agreements

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should contain stipulations which reflect this basic principle. At a press conference Lord Swinton emphasised the security aspect of international control, pointing out the important part airborne troops had played in recent operations.

In order to find a way out of this situation private talks have been begun between Mr. Berle, Lord Swinton and Mr. Symington (Canada). It is probable that some little time must elapse before it can be ascertained whether the materials for some compromise exist. Any agreement for the interim period could, of course, take some less formal shape than a Convention, if it were so desired.

The French Delegation (which supported the New Zealand proposal mentioned above) has shown an even greater attachment to the principle of international control than the Delegations of the Commonwealth. The Netherlands Delegation, following the example of the United States, has listed the routes on which the Netherlands Government proposes to operate, 39 in all, covering a large proportion of the world's air routes. The Delegation of Eire has notified the Conference that it wishes to open an international air port. But, unless some agreement can be reached on the main question of international control, routes will depend upon separate agreements entirely dictated by national interests.

U.N.R.R.A.

An interesting development has taken place with regard to the provisional arrangement made at the meeting of the U.N.R.R.A. Council at Montreal, whereby the Health Section of U.N.R.R.A. should temporarily undertake the administration of the Sanitary Conventions (recently revised) which were formerly administered by the Office International d'Hygiène Publique in Paris. A communication has now been received from the Director of the Paris "Office" announcing that the "Office" is open again and ready to undertake the administration of the Conventions; and the French Government has protested against the arrangements made at Montreal in view of the legal rights of the Paris "Office." The Montreal arrangement was, of course, made before Paris was liberated and no reflection on the Paris "Office" was intended. It seems improbable, however, that conditions in France are such as will make it possible for the "Office" to function effectively for some time. American co-operation now being sought in an endeavour to persuade the French Government to accept the Montreal arrangements for the time being, support being promised for giving the Paris Office an appropriate place in the International Health Organisation which it is hoped will be set up under the Economic and Social Council of the proposed new United Nations Organisation.

It is suggested that the future International Health Organisation should take the form of an International Health Commission which would be responsible for promoting the collection and dissemination of technical information, for research work, and for arranging advisory services to Governments. It would also be responsible for determining the scope of a number of specialised health bureaux (of which the Paris "Office" would be one) and preventing overlapping or rivalry between them. It is suggested that the specialised bureaux might be located in different parts of the world, though they would be co-ordinated from a common centre. The work of the Health Organisation of the League of Nations would be taken over by the new International Health Organisation.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 268

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
22ND NOVEMBER, 1944.

Copy No. 183

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

A REMARKABLE passage in Hitler's proclamation of the 12th November concerned the effect of the July plot on the relations between the German army and the Nazi Party. Hitler made the defiant assertion (which was accorded applause) that the time had gone when people might compromise and make reservations and in illustration of this general proposition he cited three particular cases: the Reich war flag, symbolising the National Socialist revolutionary idea, had become the regimental flag of the German armed forces, the German salute had been introduced into the army, and the People's Grenadiers had been formed. The changes in the German *Wehrmacht* here referred to are probably more spectacular than fundamental. But they are symptomatic of the latest phase of the long struggle between Party and *Wehrmacht*, in the course of which the Nazi spirit has had to fight its way step by step to further recognition by the soldiers. Two of its recent victories are worthy of mention here as filling out the Führer's picture. Some time in September Hitler issued an order enlarging the powers of the National Socialist Guidance Officers lately appointed to the army. These men were now allowed to address their reports to the highest authority without informing their superior officers and "without regard to the normal channels of communication." This means that the Chief of the National Socialist Leadership Staff, as he is called, may receive reports withheld from the military superiors of the writers. Even more significant is a law dated the 1st October which amends the German Military Service Act of 1935. That Act laid down that Party membership (and subscriptions) should lapse for the period of military service. The creation of the Waffen S.S. as a fighting force was thus a violation of the principle, if not of the letter, of such an Act. The new law not only allows soldiers to be Party members but to hold office in the Party while they are in the forces. It requires that their superior officer consent to this in all cases where their military duties are not interfered with. The only indication of a bargain

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having been struck is that Party badges must not be worn on military service. The official doctrine now is that only true National Socialists can fight for Germany. General Weisenberger, for example, addressing officers in his military district is reported to have told them that every soldier is first and foremost a fanatical National Socialist and that the *Wehrmacht* is no more than a part of the National Socialist nation. Other statements in this address make it fairly clear that the most topical point at issue between Nazis and others in the forces is the obvious one of belief in a German victory. Pessimists, said the General, will be eliminated, for young men, and particularly officer cadets, must be trained in loyalty. Such evidence makes it clear that the Nazis are up against more than German military tradition; they fight, and fear, the soldier's knowledge of the real state of affairs.

At long last the Germans have decided to make political capital out of the renegade Russian soldiers of General Vlasov. The General, to whom a rather spasmodic publicity has been accorded in the past, has now emerged as the "Leader of the Freedom Movement of all the Russian Peoples," and as such was received by the German Foreign Minister on the 11th November. On the 18th the widest circulation was given to a broadcast account of a ceremony in Prague at which Vlasov read a manifesto addressed "to the peoples of Russia" and Frank welcomed representatives of several Russian races. On this occasion Vlasov received a congratulatory telegram from Himmler. (For the main points of the manifesto, see below, under "Soviet Union.") Asked in the Wilhelmstrasse whether all this meant a change in Germany's Eastern policy, von Stumm gave an evasive answer, to the effect that German policy, as everyone could see, adapted itself naturally to changing conditions.

Serious German support of Vlasov dates back to early 1943, when units of a Free Russian army were formed and allotted to garrison duties in the eastern occupied areas. Constant friction was reported between these units and Rosenberg's officials who were committed to a Germanising policy which made the Free Russians frequently side with the civil population against them. The limelight he now suddenly enjoys leaves little doubt that he has been given another chance and that the German authorities are using him to experiment with a counterpart of the Moscow "Free Germans," to counteract the impression that Germany it now almost bereft of allies in Europe and most of all to create by political concessions more fighting units. Vlasov's speech in Berlin on the 18th November was an attack on Stalin and a plea for co-ordinated blows against bolshevism, which omitted any mention of the Western Allies. A curious feature of this new political line is the rôle played by Himmler. Hitherto he is supposed to have scorned Vlasov. He used hard words about him in 1943, but had a long meeting with him late last September. It may be significant that to his telegram of the 14th no reply was announced, an omission accentuated by Vlasov's reply to Ribbentrop on the same day.

The account given in last week's *Summary* of the effect of Allied bombing on police control in Germany may now be filled in by recent press evidence of conditions in certain bombed cities. A central area in Dortmund is now sealed off "for reasons of health." An Essen paper recently urged its readers in Dortmund to be patient in waiting for water and electric light and revealed that evacuation from Duisburg is proceeding as fast as conditions will allow. It commented on the difficulties experienced by NSV workers in finding shelter for the bombed out; people in other places were said to show little understanding of what they had suffered. The rush to shelters is now so great that only women and children are admitted; men must remain outside. Everyone is said to realise that the present scale of attack makes even the most rudimentary supply system nearly impossible, and also that things are bound to get worse. Even now, says one report, the population can hardly keep alive. An article in a Cologne paper refers to the almost nightly spread of destruction over the city: "The enemy has deprived us of gas, water and communications. Bread has become increasingly scarce and a helping of soup is regarded as a gift from heaven."

The Allied offensive on the western front has been reported by the Germans with considerable caution and some comment has explicitly warned the public that it is likely to grow in intensity and to spread over a wide area. The O.K.W. stated on the 15th that the expected British attack had begun west of the Maas, and the succeeding bulletins have treated Thionville and Metz as the most important fighting areas. That of the 19th admitted Allied penetration "at some points in the Geilenkirchen area." The French thrust to Mulhouse and the Rhine was described by one reporter as of secondary importance. Decisive actions, he said, were only to be expected in Lorraine and near Aachen.

Geilenkirchen is a town of 20,000 people, and is the second German town of any size to come under Allied Military Government. The experience so far gained of conditions in the captured townships is hardly of a type to allow more than a conjecture of what German behaviour will be in the more industrialised centres of the Reich. But, as so far observed, the inhabitants seem to have behaved as one would expect. Many have been sullen, most have been indifferent, but obedient; few have welcomed the invader, but little active hostility has been met with. They are said to have behaved like people who had passed from one form of military discipline to another. Nazi evacuation orders were found to have been widely disregarded; white armbands and flags were everywhere in evidence. This behaviour is no doubt known to the Nazi authorities who are reported to have started rumours that Aachen was betrayed into Allied hands by "Catholics and weaklings" and to be considering drastic measures to prevent civilians awaiting the enemy's arrival. Germans have already been told that public buildings will not be spared, now that it is a question of fighting for "every square metre of German soil." The SS are said to have plans for gassing front-line populations who refuse to obey instructions and to have threatened to submit the quarters they inhabit to V.1 fire.

The experience of A.M.G. seems so far to have been that German youth has been less undisciplined and more easy to control than was expected. Recent evidence from within the Reich suggests that within the cadres of the Hitler Youth there is a good deal of discussion and that different views are expressed with surprising frankness. The Edelweiss groups apparently hold their meetings on H.J. premises and discuss reports of conditions in factories and in the army. These groups appear to differ widely in character from one region to another. Some have a doubtful reputation, others seem to maintain with great courage connexions with both workers and soldiers. The numbers involved may not be large, but the attitude shown is in some cases extremely clear and firm, such as may radiate a strong influence once the machinery of repression is removed.

More news is now available of conditions in the Channel Islands where, as reported in this *Summary* (No. 261) early in October, stocks of food were said to be insufficient to feed the civilian population. The Bailiff of Guernsey has recently got a message through to the Red Cross authorities that conditions on that island are very bad. Rations have been drastically cut, but bread is expected to last only to 15th December. Stocks of soap are completely, and those of clothing largely, exhausted. There are few vegetables and there is no coal. Conditions would seem to be little better in Jersey, where the Bailiff is said to be unpopular as a collaborator who has done well out of the occupation.

Preparations for the defence of Austria are in full swing. Himmler has visited Styria and discussed with the Reichsstatthalter special measures to be taken in that region. Ley has just concluded a ten days' inspection of Volkssturm units. Men are recruited for work on the South-East wall, even from important factories; trade and craft enterprises are being asked to supply workers in their place.

In his annual speech to the peasantry, Backe said that the reduction of nitrogen supplies to agriculture to 23 per cent. of the quantities available in the last year of peace was the chief problem. But the supply of nitrogen, though important, was not all-important. For years neither fertilisers, fuel nor manpower had been available in sufficient quantities. After painting a gloomy picture of the agricultural situation, Backe said that no situation was so difficult that it could not be mastered. The peasantry would have to work harder than before outside the harvest times.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

M. Némec, the Czechoslovak Government delegate for liberated territory, whose arrival in Ruthenia was reported in *Summary* No. 265, has started his duties at Chust. According to his first reports, the main problem facing the delegation is that of transport and communications. Roads, railways and bridges were destroyed by the retreating enemy and most of the railway rolling-stock was removed to Hungary. In consequence, the distribution of food and medical supplies presents considerable difficulty, and the present situation with regard to these essentials is described by the Minister as "catastrophic."

The delegation of three members of the Slovak National Council, who arrived in this country for discussions with President Beneš and his Government on the

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13th October, left England for the Soviet Union, *en route* for their own country, on the 15th November. A useful exchange of views has taken place and the Slovak representatives have given their endorsement to the legal continuity of the Czechoslovak Republic and the foreign policy of the London Government. There is agreement, too, that the administration of the restored republic shall be much more decentralised than formerly, but apparently decisions as to the nature and extent of this decentralisation have been deferred until the people of Czechoslovakia can be properly consulted.

POLAND.

Nothing has transpired as yet as to reactions in Washington on the questions discussed in M. Mikolajczyk's conversations in Moscow last month. Meantime, the Polish forces in Holland and in Italy continue to receive honourable mention for the part played by them at Arnhem, on the Mark and on Walcheren, at Predappio and Marsignano, and round Forli. On the 11th November, celebrated as Poland's Independence Day, the Polish Chaplain-General in Italy issued a pastoral letter paying tribute to the defenders of Warsaw and praising Poland's fight for moral law and Christian civilisation.

In Lublin the same day was marked by an exchange of greetings between the National Liberation Committee and Marshal Stalin, and by speeches by leading members of the Committee. A delegation from Praga, the liberated suburb of Warsaw, which had arrived in Moscow for the twenty-seventh anniversary of the October Revolution, was received by Marshal Stalin and M. Molotov on the 15th November. The leader, Colonel Marian Spychalski, who was described in the report of the proceedings as Mayor of Warsaw, had been the representative of the National Council of the Homeland with the Polish Army in the U.S.S.R. The delegates presented a plaque bearing the crest of Poland to Marshal Stalin and another to the City of Moscow; the Marshal, in his speech of thanks, referred to the gift as "a mark of the fraternal feelings of the Polish people towards the peoples of the Soviet Union, as a symbol of the firm fighting alliance between Poland and the Soviet Union against the common enemy, Hitlerite Germany."

The National Liberation Committee has issued a decree militarising the national railways in liberated Poland for the duration of the war (the 4th November). It has established twenty-one radio relay centres, and issued many hundreds of loud-speakers. Rapid execution of the provisions for land distribution has continued. In Rzeszow Province, *i.e.*, that of Lwow west of the Curzon Line, the process is reported to be complete to over 80 per cent., over 13,000 farmsteads having already received land there. Provincial Jewish committees have been established throughout liberated Poland and have elected a Central Committee, of which Dr. Sommerstein is chairman. The Lublin Catholic University reopened on the 12th November after a lapse of five years.

SOVIET UNION

The only military progress to report this week has been in the area east and north-east of Budapest, where the Red Army has continued to advance slowly, capturing the town and railway station of Györgyös on the 19th November. That day was celebrated in the U.S.S.R. as Artillery Day, in honour of the barrage of the 19th November, 1942, which initiated the Red Army's offensive at Stalingrad. In an Order of the Day Marshal Stalin recalled the triumphs of Soviet artillery outside Leningrad and Moscow, at Stalingrad, Voronezh, Kursk, Byelgorod, Kharkov, Kiev, Vitebsk, Bobruisk, Minsk, Jassy and Kishinev, and claimed that "everybody knows that Soviet artillery has achieved complete domination of the battlefield over enemy artillery." The occasion was greeted by 20 salvoes from guns in Moscow, in the other 15 capitals of Union Republics, and in Leningrad, Stalingrad, Sevastopol, Odessa, Khabarovsk, Novosibirsk, Sverdlovsk, Gorky, Molotov and Tula. (The list includes some of the main production centres of Soviet armaments as well as cities where fighting took place.) The Order of Suvorov (First class) has been awarded to Chief Marshal of Artillery Voronov, Marshals of Artillery Chistyakov and Yakovlev, Colonel-Generals Kazakov and Khlebnikov. The order of Suvorov (Second class) and Kutuzov were awarded to a large number of directors and designers of the munitions industry.

On the 17th November Moscow Radio broadcast a Government statement confirming that General de Gaulle had been invited to visit Moscow. The wording of the statement seemed intended to make it clear that the invitation had been issued only after General de Gaulle had suggested to M. Bogomolov, Soviet Ambassador in Paris, that such an invitation would be welcome. It is, perhaps, not a coincidence that the Soviet press and radio has recently shown anxiety about proposals for a West European *bloc* comprising Great Britain, France, Belgium and Holland. *Izvestiya's* review of international affairs on the 16th November, after welcoming the invitation to France to participate in the European Advisory Commission, went on to discuss suggestions for "a Western European military and economic *bloc*." "Some see in this project only a regional agreement within the framework of the international organisation of the United Nations; others see in it, frankly, a counter-balance to the Soviet Union, or one of the unsuccessful combinations of the pre-war style. It is natural that warning voices are heard in the press, reminding us that France must look not only west but east too, and that a close mutual understanding with Russia must be an axiom of French post-war policy." It is clear that the Soviet Government will not welcome any suggestion for a western *bloc* which is not closely integrated into a general security scheme (see also under "France").

The Soviet papers have given at some length *Tass* reports of the Belgian resistance movement's protests against the Government's decision to disarm it. On the 19th November *Pravda's* observer discussed the matter at some length in a spirit entirely favourable to the resistance movement. The news from Belgium was "strange," in that the Government "considers its most urgent task to be the disarming of the Belgian forces of resistance. . . . It is unlikely that the disarming of the most resolute enemies of Hitlerite Germany will help Belgium."

The Russian quisling, Lieutenant-General Vlasov, has been in eclipse since his activities were last recorded in the *Summary* (No. 207). On the 14th November he emerged from obscurity, and "in the presence of Russian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Tartar, Caucasian and Turkmen representatives" in Prague he announced the formation of a "committee for the liberation of the peoples of Russia," with a detailed programme. This included the overthrow of the Stalin régime; an honourable peace with Germany; an internal policy based on national self-determination; equal rights for women; consolidation of the family; abolition of forced labour and mass deportations; dissolution of collective farms; restoration of private property and free trade; institution of real freedom of conscience, assembly, press; release of political prisoners; "no retaliation against those who give up fighting at Stalin's side for bolshevism, whether they fought from conviction or because they were forced to."

The "Committee of Liberation," in whose name Vlasov claimed to be speaking, remains shrouded in mystery. German sources assert that it has a membership of seventy-five, including workers, peasants and intellectuals; the absence of "a great number" of these from Prague was explained by the fact that they were in the U.S.S.R. This committee will publish a newspaper, *Volya Naroda*, twice weekly under the editorship of Lieutenant-General G. Shilenkov. This paper will replace the *Novoye Slovo*, hitherto the Berlin organ of the Russian quislings.

Vlasov seems always to have wished to bring under his command all Soviet prisoners of war who were prepared to act against the Red Army, and to put forward a political platform for an "indivisible Russia." The obstacle hitherto seems to have been Rosenberg. Vlasov's reappearance is no doubt partly due to the fact that the Red Army has knocked the bottom out of Rosenberg's eastern policy. Vlasov has tried to exploit the expulsion of the German army from Soviet territory, and war-weariness in the U.S.S.R. He "guaranteed" that Germany had no designs on Russian territory and that she will respect the sovereignty of anti-Bolshevik Russia; and he appealed to Russian patriotism against "the international forces led by Stalin's clique, which thrives on world revolution." Against these he called for "unity of all anti-Bolshevik forces."

Hitherto Vlasov's "Russian Liberation Army" (composed of Russians only) has proved extremely unreliable in action against the Red Army (see *Summaries* Nos. 198 and 207), and has not been allowed automatic weapons or heavy artillery. Now it has been united with the possibly more reliable (from the German point of view) Cossack units, as well as with the "Ukrainian Army of Liberation" and Caucasian, Turkmen, Tartar and Byelorussian units; and it is claimed that it is being supplied with modern equipment, and will soon take over an important sector of the Eastern front. This is the main significance of the new move from the German point of view. The Slovak Radio stated

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that, " although no exact figures about the planned Vlasov Army are yet known, it may be taken as certain that it will exceed 1 million." If a force of anything like this fantastic figure can be got together, it may be assumed that the overwhelming majority of it will be unmoved by Vlasov's new programme; his prospective followers will almost certainly attach more importance to his promise that " the committee will make every effort to make easier your position here in a foreign country " than to his more ambitious flights of political theory. There has been no reference to the new " Committee of Liberation " or to Vlasov from the Soviet side; but the Soviet authorities were no doubt aware of what was being planned, and intended the recent promise of an amnesty to prisoners of war who had served the enemy (see last week's *Summary*) at least in part as a counter-measure. (See also under " Germany.")

Tass recorded on the 14th November the arrival at Murmansk of 10,000 Soviet prisoners of war and deported civilians who had been liberated by the western Allies. They were welcomed by representatives of the Delegate of the Council of People's Commissars for Repatriation (see last week's *Summary*), and are being sent in groups to their homes. Orphans are being accommodated in children's homes. A further 10,000 liberated Byelorussians, mostly women, children and old persons, are reported to have returned home from Poland.

It was reported by Moscow Radio that Dr. Subasić, the Yugoslav Prime Minister, had arrived in Moscow on the 19th November, and had a conversation with M. Molotov on the following day. He was accompanied by M. Kardelj, deputy Chairman of the National Committee of Liberation, by M. Simić, the Yugoslav Ambassador to the U.S.S.R., by General Velebit and by members of the Soviet military mission in Yugoslavia headed by Major-General Melnikov.

The Soviet press on the 16th November reported the appointment of M. A. G. Shchiborin as Minister Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary in Egypt, to replace M. Nikolai Novikov (the first Soviet Minister to Egypt), who was recalled December 1943, made a considerable impression in Cairo by his knowledge to Moscow last August. The retiring Minister, who presented his credentials in of Moslem and Near Eastern affairs and of Arabic. M. Shchiborin was First Secretary at the Soviet Embassy to the Allied Governments in London from 1942 to the spring of this year, when he too was recalled to Moscow (see also under " Middle East ").

SCANDINAVIA.

The long-expected formation of a new Finnish Government was announced on the 17th November. As anticipated, it is under the premiership of M. Paasikivi and its composition seems highly appropriate to its task of consummating the peace settlement and promoting friendlier relations with the Soviet Union. Besides the Premier, with his unrivalled experience of Finno-Russian negotiation, the Government has at least two other members who can claim exceptional knowledge of Soviet mentality, the Foreign Minister, M. Enckell, who was born in St. Petersburg and speaks fluent Russian, and M. Svento, foreign editor of *Suomi Sosialidemokraatti*, who has recently been attached to the Finnish Foreign Office as a special expert on questions relating to the Soviet Union. The veteran General Walden, one of the few survivors of the Linkomies régime, thoroughly deserves his retention as Minister of Defence, in view of his record in peace negotiation, as a member of the delegation which concluded the Treaty of Dorpat in 1920 and of that which negotiated the settlement after the " winter war " of 1939–40.

Among other members whose inclusion is likely to be viewed with favour by the Soviet Government are the Communist Yrjö Leino and M. Johan Helo, whose advocacy of Russo-Finnish friendship earned him a long period of imprisonment and expulsion from the Social Democrat Party.

Politically, the new Government is representative of nearly all sections of opinion. The Social Democrats have six places in it, adroitly divided so as to give equal mathematical representation to their two factions, while retaining a heavy qualitative balance on the anti-Tanner side. The Tannerites all lack weight and influence, and it is probably significant that two of them, MM. Takki and Aura, are among the very few survivors from the Linkomies régime, which approved the Ryti–Ribbentrop Pact. Their retention is presumably justified by their known harmlessness and passivity. The anti-Tanner section can boast perhaps three of the most important members of the Government—M. Pokkala, a veteran politician with a large Finnish following, M. Vuori and M. Svento. For the rest, the Agrarian Party has four representatives, and the Swedish

People's Party three, of whom the only important one is M. Enekell, while the Conservatives are represented by the Premier and General Walden, and the National Progress Party has a young and unknown supporter in the Deputy Finance Minister, M. Tuomioja. For present purposes the Administration seems promising, and the objection that it does not fully represent the present party distribution in the Diet is probably unimportant, since new elections are due to be held before long. The absence of M. Fagerholm seems to be a price paid in the course of the political bargaining necessitated by the reconstruction, which is said to have been difficult and has certainly taken an unexpectedly long time.

The Finnish Government has applied to Sweden for the return of three alleged war criminals, who include M. Ketilainen, formerly Governor in Eastern Karelia, and General Aurijuri, Commander of the Eighth Division in the Finnish Army. These men headed a list of Finnish war criminals in East Karelia published by the Extraordinary State Commission of the Soviet Union as long ago as August last.

Further instances have been reported of German violations of the Swedish frontier. On the 14th November it was announced that Germans had crossed the Kongemä river about 25 kilometres north-west of Karesuando, and had pulled down barns and stolen nearly 5,000 kilos. of hay. The attitude assumed by German Foreign Office spokesmen to the Swedish protests has been insolently non-conciliatory, in spite of General Falkenhorst's apology for the incident on the Swedo-Norwegian frontier (see last week's *Summary*). The press campaign in Sweden is described as astonishing, and it is urged that the exact course of the frontier in this region is difficult to determine. Actually, it is marked by the large river which was crossed by the depredators. It is also suggested that in this region " a Swedish hay-loft may have been mistaken for a Norwegian one " (the looting of which is presumably to be regarded as quite in order!) whereas in fact the Norwegian frontier at the point in question is separated from Finland by about 70 or 80 kilometres of intervening Swedish territory. The Wilhelmstrasse spokesman finally counter-attacked by alleging repeated violations of the Norwegian frontier by Swedish soldiers and making a further complaint with reference to the Norwegian police training camps in Sweden. Finally he asserted that Anglo-American bombers were using Sweden as an assembly area for terror raids on German towns. An equally provocative line has been taken in German press comment on the Swedish protest against the Baltic war zone. In this rather strained situation, the German Minister to Sweden, Herr Thomsen, has been recalled to report. He arrived in Berlin on the 16th November.

There has been a lively discussion in the Swedish press on the question of permitting the recruitment of Swedish volunteers for service in Norway, on analogy with the course pursued during the Finnish War of 1939–40. Such a course is viewed with favour by some influential papers, and the press seems to assume that the question was among those discussed between the Swedish Government and the visiting Norwegian Ministers. On the other hand, an article in the *Yorkshire Post* for the 15th November, which hints at the possibility of active Swedish intervention in the war, when Sweden " could carry a large, useful and chivalrous share of the sacrifices yet to be made," has been criticised by *Dagens Nyheter* as at all events premature.

M. Terje Wold, the Norwegian Minister of Justice, has now arrived in liberated Norwegian territory. A Norwegian mission is now attached to the Russian command on the Arctic front, under the leadership of Colonel Dahl, who commanded the Alta battalion in North Norway in 1940 and has an intimate acquaintance with the topography and local conditions. A force of about 250 Norwegian soldiers, sent from Great Britain, is also reported to have arrived in Kirkenes. The anxiety felt in Norwegian circles for the fate of the inhabitants of Finnmark, in view of the systematic campaign of destruction pursued by the Germans in North Norway, was voiced by Crown Price Olav in a speech delivered in London on the 20th November. The latest reports are distinctly disquieting. In response to a request from the Quisling Government for permission to evacuate by the " horse-shoe " route through Sweden from Narvik to Trondheim, the Swedish Government have expressed their willingness to welcome all Norwegian refugees arriving in Sweden, but have naturally refused to assist the Germans and quislings in their policy of forced evacuation by granting the use of Swedish territory for the purpose of transferring the population to Southern Norway.

In spite of the activities of the Gestapo, sabotage in Denmark, particularly directed against the Jutland railway system, has recently assumed very large proportions. On the 15th November it was reported by D.P.T. to have reached

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such a scale that it was no longer possible to report separate details. These achievements have led to a serious outbreak of reprisal murders and acts of counter-sabotage, attributed to the Schalburg Corps. In consequence of these outrages, on the 15th November the trade union leaders in Esbjerg called a 24-hour strike by way of protest. On the 16th the Germans imposed a curfew and cut off gas and other essential supplies. Throughout the following day flags were flown at half-mast, but after the release of the Mayor and other local leaders who had been arrested by the Germans, negotiations were resumed. On the same day, the 17th November, an exceptionally daring raid was made on an arms factory in Copenhagen, when not less than 1,200 sub-machine-guns are reported to have been carried off without any casualties being incurred.

THE LOW COUNTRIES.

On the 13th it was announced that all members of the Belgian resistance organisations were to hand over their arms to the gendarmerie on or before the 18th; all fit men, however, would be allowed to volunteer for the army. It was subsequently explained that all who had volunteered were to return to their homes until it had been decided whether or no they were to be called up, during which period they would be regarded as soldiers on leave and be paid as such. Volunteers who were called up would, if they wished, be put into platoons entirely composed of ex-members of the resistance organisations.

These provisions were far from satisfactory to the Communists and the resistance organisations in general. On the 16th the two Communist Ministers and M. Demany, who represented the Independence Front in the Cabinet, walked out of a Cabinet meeting and told journalists who were waiting for news that they had resigned. The Communist Ministers explained that in their view all volunteers should have been taken into the army at once; the Government, in their opinion, were hostile to the resistance organisations and to all that they stood for. Further, the Government had omitted to take any steps against certain categories of traitors, many of the little fish had been caught, but the big fish were being left unmolested; for instance, nothing had been done to those industrialists who had collaborated with Germany; lastly, although the Government's financial policy bore hardly on the small man, all requests for concessions in his favour had been rejected.

M. Demany also made a statement to the press in which, while expressing his appreciation of M. Pierlot's sympathetic attitude to the resistance organisations, he declared that the Ministry of Defence was hostile to them. He added that the Government was deplorably slack in dealing with traitors and hinted that a reactionary spirit was strong within it.

That same evening M. Pierlot affirmed in a vigorous broadcast that, while the Government appreciated the value of the services of the resistance organisations, they were determined to carry out their policy of disbanding them, a policy with which the Allied Supreme Command were in full agreement. Moreover, at the request of that command Brussels Radio broadcast a message from General Erskine, head of the Allied Military Mission in Belgium, to the effect that Allied forces would, if asked by the Government to do so, assist in the maintenance of order.

These statements had a calming effect. For, though a meeting of protest against the Government's measures was held in Brussels on the 16th, in spite of an official ban, and addressed by two of the ex-Ministers, all three of them met General Erskine on the 17th and agreed that they would do all they could to secure observance of the law and to prevent conflict between the resistance organisations and Allied forces. These organisations, on their part, agreed that all weapons in the possession of their members were to be handed over to Allied authorities, and on the 20th the methods by which this was to be done were settled; after the 25th no member of any resistance organisation was to carry arms unless he held a permit to do so from the Allied authorities.

Thus M. Pierlot appears to have weathered a dangerous storm; but other storms are probably to come. Though the disbanding of the resistance groups will probably be widely welcomed, for all the outcry that their members made, there is undoubtedly a good deal of feeling against the Government because they have not yet taken any steps against alleged industrialist collaborators. There is also some apprehension in left-wing circles that reactionary influences are strong. But the Socialists have decided that this is not the moment to withdraw

support from the Government. Though M. Pierlot is not very popular, the prospect of succeeding him does not now allure any possible rivals. Yet, though he may be indispensable for the moment, his position is not strong.

FRANCE.

Mr. Eden's account of his visit to Paris with the Prime Minister, rendered to the House of Commons on the 14th November, was prominently reported in the Paris press and gave great satisfaction in France. No less satisfaction was caused by the announcement of the 17th November that General de Gaulle had accepted an invitation from the Government of the U.S.S.R. and would shortly visit Moscow accompanied by M. Bidault. This news was universally welcomed by the press as a further sign of the recognition of France as a Great Power and as evidence that the success of the Prime Minister's visit to Paris had not in any way affected the friendly relations between France and the U.S.S.R. Many papers echoed M. Bidault's belief, recorded in an interview published by the *Sunday Times* of the 12th November, that France could "play a valuable part in forming a bridge between East and West." Hopes were also expressed that an invitation to General de Gaulle would soon transform the meetings of "the big three" into meetings of "the big four."

Mr. Duff Cooper presented his credentials to General de Gaulle on the 18th November. The French and Canadian Governments have agreed to raise their Legations in Ottawa and Paris to the rank of Embassies.

On the 19th November General de Gaulle made a broadcast survey of France's progress towards military and economic recovery. He announced that the First French Army, supported exclusively by the French Air Force, had launched a successful offensive on a front of 100 kilometres between St. Dié and the Swiss frontier, captured Montbéliard, Héricourt and Delle, reached the outskirts of Belfort, entered Alsace and taken nearly 10,000 prisoners. Other French forces, comprising units of all arms, were attacking with the Americans in Lorraine, had taken Baccaret and were engaged at Metz. The detachments formed in the Empire were thus being amalgamated with units of the F.F.L. in the heat of battle, and in eight months' time the nation would have a large army in Europe, an army worthy of it. (Since the General's broadcast it has been reported that the French First Army has entered Belfort and reached the Rhine between Mulhouse and the Swiss frontier; also that organised resistance has ceased in Metz.)

Turning to the economic situation, General de Gaulle said that the efforts to restore economic power had been concentrated "on the three domains on which all the rest depends: electric current, transport and raw materials." Coal production had risen from 244,000 tons weekly in September to 422,000 tons in the past week, or about half the pre-war output. On the 21st August Paris had been supplied with 900,000 kilowatt hours of electric current. On the 18th November she had received 9 million kilowatt hours. In 1938 the average had been 11 million. 1,238 bridges had been rebuilt and on the 21st November the first train would cross the Loire, at Orléans. On the 18th the first barges from the north of France (they are reported by the press to have carried coal) had been unloaded in Paris. The Seine was now navigable from Le Havre to Montereau and the Canal du Midi from Sète to Bordeaux. While the condition of the ports still forbade the import of raw materials, plans were being drawn up which should enable imports to begin on a considerable and ever-increasing scale by the beginning of spring at latest. All this had had to be accomplished "by gradually remedying the inevitable confusion produced in the central and local administration by the long period of enemy oppression, the presence of Allied armies, the sudden liberation, the fall of the Vichy régime, the isolation of whole districts and sometimes by some impatient people who had more enthusiasm than experience." Finally, the General appealed to all "in the name of all and in the interests of all" to make the Liberation Loan a triumphant success. Economic recovery and real social reforms would not be possible if large accumulations of surplus money remained idle or threatened the price structure.

The death of M. Lepercq (see *Summary* No. 267), whose last act was to lower the minimum subscription to the Liberation Loan from 5,000 francs to 2,000, has caused a minor Cabinet reshuffle. His post as Minister of Finance has been taken by M. Pleven. M. Giaccobi, Minister of Food, has succeeded M. Pleven as Minister for the Colonies, and M. Paul Ramadier, a former Socialist Deputy and Under-Secretary for Public Works in various Governments between 1930 and

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1940, enters the Government as Minister of Food. Another newcomer is M. Raoul Dautry, Minister for Armaments from September 1939 to June 1940, who has been appointed to the newly created Ministry of Reconstruction and Town Planning. In his new rôle as Minister of Finance, M. Pleven broadcast an address to the nation on the 16th November urging support of the Liberation Loan. He was followed on the 17th by the Minister of Agriculture, who made a special appeal to the peasants to subscribe.

The doubts voiced in some circles about the adequacy of the Government's financial measures reappeared in a statement by the *Confédération Générale du Travail* on the 14th November. This called for the stabilisation of prices; the suppression of the black market in gold; the taking of a census of all fortunes, with the aim of confiscating illegal profits; and the replacement of existing bank-notes by a new issue. It also renewed long-standing demands for the nationalisation of credit institutions and key industries.

An answer to these demands was provided by M. Mendès—France's programme of economic policy, unanimously approved by the Cabinet on the 17th November. This stated that the Government had decided on price stabilisation, on the gradual absorption of surplus purchasing-power through loans and taxation, and on a census of fortunes and illicit profits. A plan of industrial production would be drawn up and all local schemes brought within its scope. Plans for the nationalisation of a large sector of industry by orderly and legal means were already under way but needed detailed study. The ordinance on the creation of factory committees (see *Summary* No. 266) was of such importance that it would be submitted to the Consultative Assembly.

At the Cabinet meeting of the 15th November the Government decided on the confiscation of the Renault works. These had already been requisitioned (see *Summary* No. 261) and would have been automatically confiscated after the trial and expected condemnation of Louis Renault, had not his death in hospital made it necessary to issue a special ordinance.

M. Vincent Auriol has been elected President of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Consultative Assembly, and M. Charles Laurent, President of the Finance Commission. By 170 votes to 6 the Assembly has refuesd to accept the nomination of M. Poitou-Duplessy as one of the Parliamentary representatives. M. Poitou-Duplessy, who belongs to the *Fédération républicaine*, was one of those who voted full powers to Pétain in July 1940.

The Socialist Party Congress (see last *Summary*) ended on the 13th November. A provisional directing committee of twenty-five members was elected and charged with preparing a new constitution for the party to be presented to the next Congress early in 1945. Seventy-eight Deputies and three Senators were excluded from the party on the grounds of collaboration or lack of resistance. The Congress empowered the directing committee to continue conversations with the *Mouvement de Libération Nationale* and other groups. It welcomed the idea of collaboration with Christian Democrats, but reaffirmed the principle of secularism. It approved the presence of party representatives in the Government and voted a long resolution, in which it pledged its support to General de Gaulle for the implementation of the C.N.R. programme; demanded the nationalisation of key industries and the decentralisation of local administration; and called for a world federation of free nations, in which a new Germany, purged but not dismembered, should have her place.

According to the *Agence Française de Presse*, the Regional Commissioner has stated that in the Toulouse region 476 militiamen have been imprisoned and twenty-one shot; that 221 collaborationists and seventy-seven members of the *Parti Populaire Français* have been interned; and that, in addition, there are a number of people detained whose cases have not yet been investigated. At Annecy "irregulars," disguised as members of the F.F.I., have broken into the prison and removed and shot two of the prisoners—Colonel Lelong, who had already been condemned to death, and General Marion, who was awaiting trial. The victims were respectively police chief and prefect of Haute-Savoie under the Vichy régime. The Regional Commissioner for Lyons is taking drastic measures to prevent further outrages.

(See also under "Soviet Union," "Spain" and "Middle East.")

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

The discouragement given in this country and in the United States to General Franco's profession of democratic faith has induced the Spanish press

to explain away some misunderstandings (as they say) caused by the Caudillo's interview with the U.P. correspondent. *Arriba* of the 17th November, for instance, points out that the peace conference will fall into two parts, the settlement of the war and the creation of peace. Neutrals will not participate in the first, but in the second, "the presence of nations who by remaining aloof from the conflict have shown a strong love of peace and civilisation is imperative." And *Ya* of the 18th November carried an article which said substantially the same thing. At the same time official propaganda reinforces this argument by taking up once again the glorious heritage of Hispanity. Eugenio Montez, one of the stock Falange hacks, makes a truly astonishing attempt in *Arriba* to show the United States that the aims of America and Franco Spain are identical. After recalling Franco's words that Spain is to-day part of America, the writer says cryptically that Spain's contribution to the history of the United States has left a longing for the homeland. "Our great friendship with the United States of America and Brazil is part of that family feeling, perhaps a political family feeling." After this piece of impudence comes a tribute—"The example of progress and activity the United States gives the world attracts us towards her, and makes us wish to collaborate in the future as in the past"; then comes the real claim: "To the sympathy inspired by history we add to-day analogous aims." If we did not know that every Spanish journalist is, in Bauldelaire's words, "un gazetier fumeux qui se croit un flambeau," we should surely be nauseated by the spectacle of a nation which claims above all the high quality of pride and yet can stoop to the humiliation of such mean bamboozlement.

However, not all Franco's supporters are prepared to truckle in this ignominious fashion; the Falange extremists, moved by the brother of pride, obstinacy, are indignantly protesting against Franco's betrayal of Falange transcendentalism, and a report from Barcelona suggests even that the very extreme extremists are thinking of forming a new party in opposition to the Caudillo. Visionary ecstasy is one of the outstanding characteristics of Spanish mystics.

Largely owing to the arrival of a regiment of Spahis, who have had a calmative effect upon the Spanish *maquis*, the situation along the Pyrenean frontier continues to improve. This pacific influence of African blackamoors upon Spaniards in French metropolitan territory is not to be taken, however, as an augury for future international peace, justice and liberty. French sources suggest that the *Unión Nacional* in Toulouse had already ceased to have any control over these *guerrilleros*, who conduct was becoming frankly disorderly, and further, that the *Junta Suprema* itself, obeying the normal rhythm of Spanish politics, was fast dissolving into a fissiparous free-for-all. Another sign of increasing French control is the dispatch into the Republic of Andorra of 100 French gendarmes. This unusual, though justified precaution was taken by General de Gaulle in his capacity as co-Prince of Andorra (the other titular head, who was informed of the step taken, is the Spanish Bishop of Seo de Urgel). France has never admitted the right of the Spanish Government to act for the Spanish tutelary co-Prince, and this action, taken before the winter snows make passage into Andorra from France impracticable, is clearly intended to safeguard the French interest by preventing any change in the traditional balance of power in the small Republic. The Spaniards, however, in order not to be left out of the picture, have provided the other co-Prince, the Bishop of Urgel, with 100 Spanish gendarmes also destined for Andorra. The French Government have taken exception to this action, and have made an official protest in Madrid. Their view is that the Bishop of Urgel has nothing to do with the maintenance of order, which is a purely French responsibility. This Spanish move, which follows closely upon the formal recognition of the French Provisional Government, seems to be intended as a hint to the French that, in spite of recent pronouncements made on French soil, the Franco régime is still very much alive and capable of kicking.

The alleged approach by Señor Miguel Maura, the Spanish Republican leader, to Señor Sangroniz, Spanish interim representative in Paris, which received publicity in the French and British newspapers, has caused some excitement in Madrid. Maura's proposal, which, he claimed, Señor Sangroniz promised to forward to his Government, was that General Franco should send representatives to discuss with Spanish political exiles a modification of the present régime. The Falange are enraged, and the Monarchists and Socialists are equally angry because they both consider Maura to be a traitor representing nobody; only the moderate Republicans are pleased, because they attach political importance to the inclusion of this piece of news in the B.B.C. Spanish programme on the 16th November. The Spanish press of the 17th published a scornful denial

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that any Spanish diplomatic representatives abroad could have held political conversations with expatriates. In the meantime, the Spanish Government have formally recognised the French Provisional Government.

The state of Portugal may be ultimately bettered by the operation of the scheme for the general reorganisation of industry (including a plan for electrification), which was approved by the National Assembly on the 23rd October (see *Summaries* Nos. 246 and 264). After the revolution in 1926 Dr. Salazar successfully solved by orthodox methods Portugal's financial problems, but he has been less fortunate in overcoming the obstacles, some natural, some human, in the way of economic productivity. His hopes of increased agricultural yields have not been realised, and he is now turning to industrial expansion in order to raise the low standard of living of a preponderantly agricultural population. Hitherto, lack of raw materials, small markets, shyness of investors and other factors have hindered industrialisation, but the new Government scheme shows Dr. Salazar's belief that only increased industrial production can make the country capable of supporting its rapidly increasing population. This subject will be treated in a later *Summary*.

ITALY.

The Soviet Labour Delegation has finished its visit to Italy and is now returning to Russia. A comprehensive tour, organised by the General Confederation of Italian Labour, was made of the greater part of liberated Italy, including Sicily and Sardinia, during which the delegates expressed their sympathy for the Italian working classes, and a hope that now the Fascist régime had come to an end, Russia and Italy could renew their former friendly associations. In Rome and the other principal towns the truce between the political parties was observed, as well as the agreement to preserve unity in the Trades Union movement, but in the south the opportunity to stage some propaganda was apparently too much for the local Communist parties.

On the 11th November the Christian Democratic Party published two resolutions, the first of which accused the press of certain parties represented in the Government of trying to undermine the authority of the Government. The resolution went on to say that, unless the use of violence and a disrespect of the law were not energetically suppressed, the coalition Government would fall and with it the principles of liberty and democracy. Signor Togliatti, in the Communist Party's paper, *Unità*, has now published a reply to the Christian Democrat's resolution, in which he says that this resolution should have been addressed to the Fascists and not to the anti-Fascist and progressive forces of the country. Signor Togliatti quotes the partisan resistance in the north as an example of the discipline of the country and says that there have been no serious disturbances except the Palermo riot, which, according to him, was provoked by the forces of the State. Signor Togliatti attributes any discontent felt by the people more to the delay in punishing former Fascists rather than to lack of food.

The Communist paper *Unità*, of the 16th November, also publishes an article by Di Vittorio, one of the three secretaries of the Confederation of Italian Labour, attacking the Labour Offices. The introduction and support of these offices is attributed to the desire to import the American system into Italian administration. Di Vittorio admits the usefulness of the offices in supplying labour for the armed forces particularly during the early days of liberation, but attributes their continued existence in areas where civil administration has taken over to the intrigues of Italian civilians. He considers them dangerous, because they threaten to perpetuate Fascist tendencies and to regiment the workers' organisations. He further claims that the Trade Unions, in conjunction with the local authorities, are capable of placing workers in employment and should refuse to comply with the demands of the Labour Offices.

Sardinia appears to be taking her cue from Sicily as regards her demands from the Italian Government. The Separatist Movement hardly exists in Sardinia compared with Sicily, but unless steps are taken to improve conditions unrest will undoubtedly grow. It is not clear in what way Sicily and Sardinia think that they would benefit from separation, but the desire for independence, particularly in the former island, was probably born from their feeling of having been both neglected and exploited in the past. The most obvious schemes for eventual economic amelioration—such as afforestation, drainage and the expansion of the fishing industry—seem to be long-term policies necessitating considerable capital and this is not likely to be available in either island at present or in the future.

Count Carandini has arrived in London to take up his duties as Italian representative.

Signor Quaroni has been appointed Italian Ambassador in Moscow. Signor Quaroni was formerly the Italian diplomatic representative in Kabul. Under Marshal Badoglio's Government he was sent from there to Moscow in the same capacity in April 1944.

General Roatta, the former Chief of the Italian General Staff, has been arrested in Rome and accused of contributing to the maintenance of Fascism in power before the war. General Roatta was removed from his post, at the request of the British Government, in November 1943.

In the North, though the amnesty to partisans ended on the 10th November, reports still come in daily as to the number of partisans who are said to have given themselves up in various regions. These numbers are in no case large, and seldom exceed three figures; the Fascists account for this by saying that full returns have not yet come in. In any case, it would seem that only a small proportion have reported out of the total number of partisans in North Italy—a total which Fascist Republican official estimates put at over 85,000. The fate of the partisans who give themselves up seems to be uncertain. Swiss sources have suggested that the amnesty move was merely a German-inspired manœuvre to gain more labour for Germany, but this theory would seem to be rendered questionable by the recent issue of a circular from the Italian Minister of the Interior, stating that there will be no further compulsory rounding-up of Italian workers for Germany. Reprisals appear to have been carried out in some cases: for example, thirty partisans of Rovigo are said to have been hanged on surrendering, in retaliation for the death of a German officer at partisan hands. Despite both amnesty and General Alexander's warning to partisans to lie low during the winter, reports of patriot sabotage and other activities continue to be numerous.

The Communist and Socialist Parties in the North have followed the example of the corresponding parties in the South and entered into an alliance for co-ordinated action.

Mussolini presided over a meeting of the Fascist Republican Cabinet on the 16th November and made a detailed report on the political and military situation, of which, however, no particulars are available. The financial situation was also discussed, and warnings were uttered both then and later as to the dangers of inflation.

Swiss papers report that Mussolini has been playing with the idea of founding a new Nationalist Party to replace Fascism. He is said recently to have interviewed a former follower of Croce's, Dr. Edmondo Cione, who lately wrote a series of articles against Croce in the *Corrière della Sera*, and whose theories may apparently be utilised for the basis of this new party. The party's motto would be "Via dall'Italia tutti stranieri, Tedeschi, Anglo-Americani, &c.," and it seems to be on Nationalist lines similar to those recently put forward by a new "Italian Federation of Students and Intellectuals" which has already been strongly denounced by Farinacci.

VATICAN.

The problem of the relations between Catholics and Communists has been raised by Mgr. Théas, Bishop of Montauban, an unwavering supporter of the French Resistance Movement. *Temps Présent* of the 10th November quoted a letter of his to the leader of the "Jeunesse communiste" of Tarn et Garonne, in which he restated the Church's social ideals much as the Pope did on the 1st September. The Bishop had heard that many young Communists repudiated the Marxist materialism of their elders and adhered to a spiritual doctrine, and he wished to discover whether Christians and Communists could collaborate in building the new world, or whether their views in 1944 were as incompatible as they were in 1937. He called the Proletariat a social sore, condemned capitalist enslavement of the workers as the Archbishop of Toulouse had done in October (see *Summary* No. 266, "Vatican"), maintained the workers' right to private property and the amenities of civilisation. He opposed any system that made of marriage or the family a purely human institution or handed to the community the parents' responsibility for their children's education. Finally, he said that the Church would not accept a social system based on atheism and materialism. Here, his words emphasised the papal pronouncements which condemn not Communism, but "atheistic Communism."

Six English broadcasts from the Vatican have been devoted to the Pope's address to Italian doctors on the 12th November. A doctor's first duty was to

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save life. From this it followed that he must not countenance mercy killings, nor the "satisfaction of a natural instinct while depriving it of its life-generating power." The Pope recognised the fact that in moral questions the laity would often more readily hear the advice of a doctor than of a theologian. Hence the need for doctors with a Christian outlook.

Vatican officials perform a supremely useful function when they visit and report on conditions in military and civilian prison camps. The September number of the Vatican paper *Ecclesia* contains a severe condemnation of conditions that obtained in French-controlled camps of Italians in Tunisia. On the other hand, the papal visitor goes out of his way to praise the Finns who more than fulfil the Geneva Convention in the treatment of their prisoners. This, says the report, is all the more praiseworthy because the Soviet Government does not feel bound by the Convention and Finns have no sure information of the fate of their own men imprisoned in the Soviet Union.

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

During the week German reports persistently spoke of fierce fighting round Budapest, as well as on the southern crossings of the Danube. Soviet communiqués suggested that only containing attacks had gone on in these areas, while the main weight of the Soviet and Roumanian forces in Hungary—put by the Germans at 35 rifle and 7 motorised divisions—was thrown northward. In this direction important progress was made and the northern limit of the Great Plain reached at several points. Among the larger places captured were Gyöngyös and Diosgyör.

The Soviets report that the attitude of the population in the occupied areas has become more friendly, while their own authorities have given the strictest orders for good conduct. Altogether, Hungarian, moral and military, is clearly weakening. Officers and men are deserting in increasing numbers. Recent desertions include the Chief of Staff of the 7th Army Corps, one entire battalion under its commanding officer, and many smaller formations. The Minister of Defence has attempted to raise the morale of his troops by promising them better pay, larger dependants' allowances and speedier promotion; but it is symptomatic that the authorities still prefer to employ the population chiefly in the factories, or on digging fortifications, while for the fighting services they appeal chiefly to volunteers from among young and fanatical elements who are being thrown hurriedly into the field; volunteer Levente anti-tank units were in action three weeks after formation. Ministers and speakers on the wireless pour out denunciations of "poisoners of the nation" who create panic and internal unrest. Martial law has been extended to cover all offences calculated to undermine the national will to resist. The Commissioners of the operational zones have been given practically dictatorial powers. Meanwhile the supply situation continues to worsen. The number of refugees in west Hungary is estimated at "hundreds of thousands," and it is admitted that large reserves of foodstuffs have fallen into Soviet hands.

The National Socialists and the Union of East Fronters have dissolved themselves and entered the Arrow Cross Party. The Government has repeatedly announced that Budapest can and will be held; but it is privily preparing itself to retire, probably to Sopron. It is confirmed that large quantities of industrial and other equipment, including stocks of agricultural produce, are being evacuated to Germany.

The accusations now being launched against Horthy and his *entourage* include not only having let the Soviet advance across the Carpathians (an admission of the effectiveness, formerly denied, of his Order of the Day), but also having refused to march into Southern Transylvania at the time of the Roumanian *volte-face* "in order to get a good mark at the Peace Conference from the British and Americans."

Roumania.

The confiscation of enormous quantities of material from the oilfields has resulted in a great deal of unrest and disturbance amongst the workmen. At one refinery there has been a demonstration in favour of the former British staff. The companies have, for some time past, had lists ready of personnel whom they wish to send back and some of them are being assembled at convenient points so as to be ready to return to their former posts as soon as possible. Permission for

their return has not yet been granted by the Soviet authorities, although it is now six weeks since it was asked for.

It is not only in the petroleum industry that the mistakes and misunderstandings which exist on both sides have had disastrous results. Roumanian politicians from the start have tried to be too clever for the Russians, and have not only played into the hands of the local Communists but have provided the Soviet authorities with an excuse for riding roughshod over them on the ground that the Roumanians have not attempted to carry out their obligations fairly and willingly. Requisitions of goods of all sorts have been fantastic and have been made regardless of the capacity of the country. Labour has been disorganised and in particular agricultural work has been paralysed. Instead of the 2½ million acres of cultivable land which is normally sown only 600,000 acres have been sown this autumn, and only about a fortnight of the sowing season remains.

The new Government has set up an inter-departmental commission to supervise the carrying out of the armistice terms. The chairman is Petre Grozea (Communist), the Vice-President of the Council, and there are two members from each political party. All members of Roumanian Governments which have been in office between 1940 and the 23rd August, 1944, have now been arrested, as well as 4,000 persons described as "Legionaries."

Some administrative trouble has occurred in Transylvania and Constantsa. Certain officials and staffs were sent to Transylvania without the previous consent of the Soviet High Commission, and when the order was given for their withdrawal, it seems to have been interpreted by the population as a general order for evacuation. A further order to the people to remain quiet and carry on as usual had to be issued to reassure them. At Constantsa a mayor and Deputies were elected whom the military authorities would not allow to assume office. The local population, at the instigation of the National Democratic Front, installed them by force.

Yugoslavia.

In the extreme north the Red Army has crossed the Danube near Apatin into Baranja. The only other change in the front has been in the south, where the Germans have retreated from Skoplje. *Radio Free Yugoslavia* claimed that the partisans had taken the city; *Radio Sofia* that Bulgarian troops had done so. The latter added that in Skoplje beside the flags of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia there now floated the red flag of the Macedonian partisans. Similarly, each of the two stations claimed the subsequent capture by its national forces of Kachanik and Gniljane, north of Skoplje.

Partisans have occupied Cetinje between the Germans retreating from Kotor and those retreating via Podgorica. A small British force is co-operating against the Germans on the coast road from Kotor. Further north the Germans are trying to retreat north from Uzhice and down the Drina to get into north Bosnia. Allied aircraft have been heavily attacking the enemy's lines of retreat.

The Serbian Assembly in Belgrade (see *Summary* No. 267, p. 14) confirmed all the work of the partisan committee in Serbia during the past three years; and appointed a tribunal. The Assembly's session was followed by that of the much more authoritative Serbian National Liberation Front, the partisan body, which was started in 1941 and claims to have superseded the former political parties.

In an interview Tito has emphasised the people's urgent need of food, fuel and other necessaries and the destruction of railways, bridges and vehicles. He said that the Russians were providing 50,000 tons of wheat, of which 17,000 tons had reached Belgrade, and hundreds of lorries. (Belgrade is now also being well supplied with food from the Banat.) Tito asked that the Western Allies should send supplies, vehicles and Yugoslav ships to Western Yugoslavia now that the Dalmatian ports were free, and added, "I am rather surprised we have not yet had any success with the Allies." On the other hand, the partisan representatives are still arguing with the Allied authorities over the method of distribution of Allied relief. Several Yugoslav claims have recently been put forward by the partisans. Generals "Tempo" and Vukmanovitch, addressing the Serbian Assembly, declared that the peoples of Bulgarian (see *Summary* No. 267, p. 14) and Greek Macedonia desired to be included in Yugoslav Macedonia. Vlahov, the Macedonian Vice-President of the Partisan National Executive Committee, is reported to have sent a letter to the Greek Prime Minister, saying that Macedonians nominally in Yugoslavia, Greece and Bulgaria will not allow anybody to menace their liberty, and protesting against an alleged persecution of

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Slavs in Greek Macedonia. Partisan propaganda maintains the demand for Trieste and has added a demand for Baja in Hungary.

The Royal Yugoslav Minister of War has issued an order that all members of the Yugoslav Armed Forces who do not signify their readiness to serve under Tito within three days of the promulgation of the order will be treated as deserters. This has caused great confusion.

There is no further news as yet about the formation of a united Yugoslav Government. Shubashitch arrived in Moscow, to consult the Soviet Government, on the 20th November (see "U.S.S.R.").

Greece.

It is reported from Athens that the new currency continues to command the confidence of the public and that prices are stable. Unfortunately, Government drawings continue to be out of all proportion to revenue from taxes and sales of supplies. A joint Greek–British Co-ordination Committee has been formed to discuss such matters as finance for industry and regulation of wages. Certain wage rates have already been fixed, and will apply over the entire country. Meantime a law has been passed imposing on a thousand of the wealthiest citizens of Greece an extraordinary tax of 1,500 gold pounds.

M. Papandreou is finding that it is no easy task to reorganise the Greek High Command; General Othonaios, the new Commander-in-Chief, has refused to work with General Ventiris, and a compromise has had to be arranged, as the latter's removal would have been inopportune at the moment, while the new National Guard is being organised. The Prime Minister has also had trouble with E.A.M. and Communist leaders, who have pressed for the disbandment of the Greek Brigade. Indeed, M. Siantos, addressing a Communist rally on the 20th November, implied that the Brigade would be disarmed simultaneously with the guerrillas. However, M. Papandreou has now reached an agreement with the Communist leaders by which there are to be no more demonstrations, no more illegal arrests, and no more arms are to be carried; all street painting is to be effaced, beginning with the red paint with which the Communists had defaced the British Embassy; the 10th December is fixed as the date for disbanding the guerrillas; the Greek Brigade will not be disbanded, but generous leave will be given. M. Papandreou has announced that General Scobie will be in charge of the disbandment of the guerrillas.

Hellas, which now has a correspondent in Athens, reports that Greek opinion in Macedonia and Thrace is dissatisfied with the Bulgarian armistice for the following reasons: Greece is not represented on the Allied Control Commission; Bulgaria's manufactures, cattle-breeding and shipping have been left intact; Italy had to accept in advance new political, economic and financial conditions, but no such clause was imposed on Bulgaria; no mention was made of Bulgarian disarmament, frontier rectification or of a Bulgarian indemnity for ruined Greece.

Albania.

Balkan Air Force attacked Tirana again on 15th November, and on the following day F.N.Ç. forces finally captured the capital. Allied aircraft also bombed northbound German transport at various points and had particular success near Elbasan. On 16th November it was reported that the last German column from the south had passed through Ohrid and that in the north the F.N.Ç. had cut the Prizren–Djacovica road. British special troops have co-operated with the F.N.Ç. in harassing the German withdrawal in the south.

Although the population was enthusiastic when the R.A.F. first brought supplies by air, Enver Hoxha, the F.N.Ç. leader, showed considerable disappointment with the quantity we were able to send by sea. His greatest need, however, is currency, for there is so little of it circulating in the area under F.N.Ç. control that there was not enough for men working on the Kuçove oil-field and on the reconstruction of Valona harbour.

Bulgaria.

The internal situation in Bulgaria is reported to be still unsettled. The Government has evidently not yet managed to suppress extremists. On the 15th November the Central Committee of the Fatherland Front broadcast a warning to provincial committees of the organisation not to seize goods or distribute them and not to commandeer railway trucks. Next day the Minister of Propaganda broadcast a statement deprecating attempts by "irresponsible

elements" to usurp the functions of the Government. The fact seems to be that Yugov, the Communist Minister of the Interior, in spite of much oratory on behalf of discipline, has failed to impose it on the National Militia and Fatherland Front committees in the provinces. He is described as a "man of straw" who exercises very much less influence than the head of the militia and the secretary of the Central Committee of the Fatherland Front—a woman Communist. Municipal elections must await parliamentary elections, and in lieu of municipal councils the Government has been appointing its own nominees to serve on local Fatherland Front Committees. Many of these nominees are said to have indulged in private vendettas. Arrests continue, but excesses are reported to be increasing. Relations between the army and militia are strained. The authority of the Government suffers from the fact that most of the militia is exempt from service at the front while most of the army is in Yugoslavia. In these circumstances there are persistent rumours that the Communists mean to overthrow the Government and purge the army, but, on the other hand, Dr. G. M. Dimitrov, the leader of the left-wing Agrarians, is now reported to have such a backing that he could by himself precipitate a Government crisis.

Great credit was taken for the capture of Skoplje on 14th November. The Bulgarian delegation which attended the reopening of the partisan assembly of Serbian delegates in Belgrade were reported by the press to have been warmly received and to have discussed the future of Macedonia in a federated Yugoslavia.

The Japanese Minister and his staff left for Istanbul on 15th November.

Turkey.

Although Turkey broke off diplomatic and economic relations with Germany last August, she has passed no trading-with-the-enemy legislation and made no attempt to check German financial activities. The businesses of repatriated Germans are conducted by their nominees, and German banks and insurance companies are still carrying on. With a view to the fulfilment of our promise to mitigate to the best of our ability the economic dislocation caused by the rupture with Germany, there have been constant discussions between British, United States and Turkish authorities. But the inflation of Turkish prices and the Turkish propensity for haggling have impeded agreement. The Turkish Government has, however, advanced a step by deciding to allow on exports to the United States the same premium of 40 per cent. as is already allowed on exports to the United Kingdom, recouping itself by the same premium of 40 per cent. on imports from the United States as it levies on imports from the United Kingdom. In effect this puts the dollar on the same footing as sterling for trade exchanges with Turkey.

An account is now available of the proceedings which began last September in a military court against the Pan-Turanian enthusiasts—mainly teachers and students—accused of promoting racialism and plotting to upset the Government. It is fairly clear that the Pan-Turanians' activities were fomented by Germany at the time of her attack on Russia. But the Turkish Government, though it can hardly have been ignorant of the matter, took no steps to suppress the Pan-Turanians till May 1944, which it perhaps considered a suitable moment for obtaining *kudos* in Moscow. Moscow showed no great appreciation, having no doubt noticed that the Turkish Government deferred action until the German campaign against Russia had definitely failed. Pan-Turanianism, it may be recalled, was denounced by Atatürk and, though it may have received a fillip when a German victory over Russia was expected, it is for most Turks no more than a vague dream. They would, however, be wise to remember that a Russia which has some 20 million inhabitants of Turanian stock might one day be in a position to apply Pan-Turanianism in reverse.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

On the 17th November the Prime Minister made a statement in the House of Commons about Palestine in connexion with the assassination of Lord Moyne, which he described as a shameful crime which had shocked the world and had affected none more strongly than those, like himself, who in the past had been consistent friends of the Jews and constant architects of their future. "If our dreams for Zionism are to end in the smoke of assassins' pistols," said Mr. Churchill, "and our labours for its future to produce only a new set of gangsters worthy of Nazi Germany, many like myself will have to reconsider the position we have maintained so consistently and so long in the past. If there

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is to be any hope of a peaceful and successful future for Zionism, these wicked activities must cease, and those responsible for them must be destroyed root and branch.''

Mr. Churchill quoted from a letter he had received from Dr. Weizmann (who recently arrived in Jerusalem) assuring him that Palestine Jewry would go to the utmost limit of its power to cut out this evil from its midst. Mr. Churchill went on to say that the executive of the Jewish Agency had called upon the Jewish community '' to cast out the members of this destructive band, deprive them of all refuge and shelter, to resist their threats, and to render all necessary assistance to the authorities in the prevention of terrorist acts, and in the eradication of the terrorist organisation.'' '' These are strong words,'' said the Prime Minister, '' but we must wait for these words to be translated into deeds. We must wait to see that not only the leaders, but every man, woman and child of the Jewish community, does his or her best to bring this terrorism to a speedy end.''

It was announced last week that one member had resigned and one had threatened to resign from the executive of the Jewish Agency. This is believed to be due to a decision by the executive to employ the Hagana—the largest and most important illegal Jewish force in Palestine—against the terrorist gangs, although it was not proposed that the Hagana should act in co-operation with the Palestine police.

Both men accused of Lord Moyne's assassination are to be tried before an Egyptian Military Court under the law of *état de siège*—a form of martial law adopted in Egypt and maintained in that country during the war. One of them, whose name, at first given as Cohen, is now known to be Hakim, is a deserter from the Palestine Regiment. This, however, affords no ground for holding that he is not subject to Egyptian criminal jurisdiction, and as it is desirable that both the accused should be tried in the same way and preferably by an Egyptian Court, we shall not raise the point. Fraser Bey, a British officer in the Egyptian police, will attend the trial and submit a daily record of the proceedings to His Majesty's Embassy.

Since his return to Cairo Lord Killearn has had satisfactory talks both with King Farouk and with the new Prime Minister. In his conversation with His Majesty's Ambassador the King showed a growing sense of his responsibilities, while the Prime Minister told Lord Killearn that he believed the King really wanted to play the game. Ahmad Maher Pasha also said that he did not propose to badger His Majesty over constitutional issues as Nahas had done, but would deal with matters as they arose, avoiding as far as possible contentious questions with the Palace.

The Egyptian Parliament was dissolved by royal decree on the 15th November, and the new Chamber will meet on the 18th January, 1945. The date of the election has not yet been announced, but as a rule this is some ten days prior to the meeting of the new Parliament. How far the election will be '' free '' remains to be seen. Discussions between the parties are still being held over the distribution of seats, on which no decision has yet been reached.

Questions relating to the Levant States were discussed by Mr. Eden with M. Bidault, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs in the Provisional French Government, during the Foreign Secretary's visit to Paris with the Prime Minister. M. Bidault gave the fullest assurances that both he and his Government intended to carry out all the promises made regarding the independence of Syria and Lebanon; though he added that France would expect to retain a measure of influence there. As regards the transfer of the *Troupes Spéciales* and the issue of equipment to the local gendarmerie, M. Bidault promised to send a reply before long. On learning of M. Bidault's assurances, the Syrian President told Sir E. Spears that his Government was prepared to discuss in the friendliest spirit all outstanding questions with the French, but would still refuse to sign a treaty or accord them a pre-eminent position in Syria.

Information has now been received giving the views of Ibn Saud on the protocol issued by the Preparatory Committee on Arab Union. He believes that some of the resolutions adopted at Alexandria are not applicable to Saudi Arabia, the control of which is based on *Sharia* law. He also suspects the motives of some of those taking part. Nevertheless, certain parts of the protocol he considers to be in his own interests and in those of all concerned. But if relations of mutual assistance and goodwill are to be established between the Arab States, he thinks that those States should first make an alliance between themselves similar to that already made between Saudi Arabia, Iraq and the Yemen. If an act of aggression were committed against the Arabs by a foreign Power, they could then rely on each other and co-operate to meet it.

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is to be any hope of a peaceful and successful future for Zionism, these wicked activities must cease, and those responsible for them must be destroyed root and branch.''

Mr. Churchill quoted from a letter he had received from Dr. Weizmann (who recently arrived in Jerusalem) assuring him that Palestine Jewry would go to the utmost limit of its power to cut out this evil from its midst. Mr. Churchill went on to say that the executive of the Jewish Agency had called upon the Jewish community '' to cast out the members of this destructive band, deprive them of all refuge and shelter, to resist their threats, and to render all necessary assistance to the authorities in the prevention of terrorist acts, and in the eradication of the terrorist organisation.'' '' These are strong words,'' said the Prime Minister, '' but we must wait for these words to be translated into deeds. We must wait to see that not only the leaders, but every man, woman and child of the Jewish community, does his or her best to bring this terrorism to a speedy end.''

It was announced last week that one member had resigned and one had threatened to resign from the executive of the Jewish Agency. This is believed to be due to a decision by the executive to employ the Hagana—the largest and most important illegal Jewish force in Palestine—against the terrorist gangs, although it was not proposed that the Hagana should act in co-operation with the Palestine police.

Both men accused of Lord Moyne's assassination are to be tried before an Egyptian Military Court under the law of *état de siège*—a form of martial law adopted in Egypt and maintained in that country during the war. One of them, whose name, at first given as Cohen, is now known to be Hakim, is a deserter from the Palestine Regiment. This, however, affords no ground for holding that he is not subject to Egyptian criminal jurisdiction, and as it is desirable that both the accused should be tried in the same way and preferably by an Egyptian Court, we shall not raise the point. Fraser Bey, a British officer in the Egyptian police, will attend the trial and submit a daily record of the proceedings to His Majesty's Embassy.

Since his return to Cairo Lord Killearn has had satisfactory talks both with King Farouk and with the new Prime Minister. In his conversation with His Majesty's Ambassador the King showed a growing sense of his responsibilities, while the Prime Minister told Lord Killearn that he believed the King really wanted to play the game. Ahmad Maher Pasha also said that he did not propose to badger His Majesty over constitutional issues as Nahas had done, but would deal with matters as they arose, avoiding as far as possible contentious questions with the Palace.

The Egyptian Parliament was dissolved by royal decree on the 15th November, and the new Chamber will meet on the 18th January, 1945. The date of the election has not yet been announced, but as a rule this is some ten days prior to the meeting of the new Parliament. How far the election will be '' free '' remains to be seen. Discussions between the parties are still being held over the distribution of seats, on which no decision has yet been reached.

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REPEAT
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Further, the Chinese Ministry of War (Military Affairs) is not quite what it seems. While remaining nominally a department of the Executive Yuan, it is concurrently the "Board of Military Affairs" in the National Military Council, and as such it is only one of a number of boards and commissions forming the Council under the direction of its Chairman, who is Chiang Kai-shek, assisted by a Chief of Staff, who is Ho Ying-chin. The National Military Council is not subordinate to, but co-ordinate with, the Executive Yuan (whose President is Chiang Kai-shek), and its Chairman, Chiang Kai-shek, is empowered to exercise the military power of the National Government, whose President, the Head of the State, is also Chiang Kai-shek.

The new appointments in Chungking must be viewed in relation to this political system. The most striking change, and the one naturally receiving most notice in Britain and the United States, is the replacement of Ho Ying-chin by Chen Cheng as War Minister. But Chen's sphere is a more limited one than may appear at first sight, because Ho Ying-chin, as Chief of Staff to the Chairman of the National Military Council, is still Chen's superior, and ultimate control over the armed forces (in so far as they obey the Central Government) remains in the hands of Chiang Kai-shek himself. On the civilian side H. H. Kung, though losing the Finance Ministry, remains Vice-President of the Executive Yuan, while Chen Li-fu, though losing the Education Ministry, takes over from his brother the Kuomintang Organisation Board, so that this important position continues to be held by the so-called "C.C. clique."

Within these limitations it can be said that the sum of changes is distinctly for the better. Chen Cheng's appointment, in particular, should lead to an improvement on the purely military side of China's war effort. Aged 44, he has a high military reputation and has had experience of command in the field during the present war—which Ho has not, having been War Minister since 1930. Chen was born in Chekiang and educated at the Paoting and Whampoa military academies; he was Vice-Minister of War in 1936–38 and Director of the Political Training Department of the National Military Council in 1938–40; he has also been at different times Commander-in-chief of the Ninth and Sixth War Zones and Governor of Hupeh. Recently it was reported that he had been sent to the north-west to reorganise the Chinese defence there after the collapse in Honan in the summer of this year. One of Chiang Kai-shek's most trusted generals, Chen Cheng has often been spoken of as a possible successor to his position, and he may, indeed, be cast ultimately for this rôle; in the meantime, however, he has still less influence at the highest level than Ho Ying-chin, who is eleven years older and has had more political experience. Chiang values Ho above all for his personal loyalty, which has not failed through a series of political crises; Ho thus remains the trusted adviser, even though he gives up some of his administrative functions.

When he was Director of the Political Training Department of the National Military Council, Chen Cheng had the Communist leader Chou En-lai as his assistant, the "united front" being at that time still a reality. On account of this former personal connexion, his appointment as War Minister should facilitate a military *modus vivendi* between the Chungking Government and the Communists, Chou En-lai having now returned to Chungking in company with General Hurley, who has been on a visit to Yenan. The prospects of at least a temporary Kuomintang–Communist agreement now seem to be somewhat brighter than they were recently, but, even though Chen Cheng's appointment may help, it should be emphasised that the decision on policy rests with the Generalissimo himself, and the gap between the Government and Communist proposals for a settlement still remains very wide.

The new Finance Minister, O. K. Yui, is a Cantonese, who has held a series of posts in the Administration of Chinese Shanghai, finally becoming Mayor of Greater Shanghai in 1937. He has been Vice-Minister of Finance since 1941. He is fifteen years younger than Kung, whom he replaces, and seems not to have been involved in the odium which has fallen upon the latter both for the currency inflation, which he has failed to check, and for the notorious enrichment of his family.

Wang Shih-chieh is not a newcomer to the Board of Information, for he only left that office two years ago. He is well known in this country as a member of the Chinese Goodwill Mission which visited Britain in December 1943 and has been a conspicuous promoter of Sino-British friendship.

Chu Chia-hua, the new Minister of Education, is, from an Allied point of view, a somewhat less desirable appointment, though an improvement on his extreme Nationalist prédecessor. Holder of a doctorate of Berlin University, Chu Chia-hua was formerly prominent as leader of the pro-German group in the Kuomintang. In present circumstances this is not likely to have any

significance as regards China's attitude to the war, but it may mean (if he continues to hold the post) that the door will be open to German technical instructors after the war. According to a report from a good source Chungking is looking forward to getting the services of a large number of German technicians after the war, as it is expected that they will be ready to accept posts at relatively low salaries, and it is considered an added advantage that they will not be nationals of a Great Power.

Mr. Nelson has now returned to Chungking with thirteen American economic experts. Just before his arrival it was announced that a Chinese War Production Board on the American model had been set up with Wong Wen-hao, the Economic Affairs Minister, as chairman.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

For some time it has been known that there have been lags in the production of certain critical items necessary for the conduct of the war, notably heavy bombers, heavy artillery and ammunition, tyres, and assault transport and cargo ships. Workers, under the impression that the war in Europe is almost ended, have left essential war jobs in comparatively large numbers, moving not into other war work (which is impossible without a permit) but into civilian industry. This is precisely the position which was predicted by Mr. McNutt of the War Man-power Commission and Mr. Byrnes of the War Mobilisation Office when they advocated many months ago some form of National Service legislation such as there is in this country. The proposal was then denounced as "industrial conscription," and the times are certainly not propitious for its introduction now. Nevertheless, Mr. Henry Kaiser, the shipbuilder, maintains that workers are leaving their jobs at such a pace that they threaten to halt the production of vital war equipment, and Mr. Krug, Chairman of the War Production Board, has also drawn attention to the deficiencies in certain war production programmes. Mr. Byrnes, who offered his resignation as Director of War Mobilisation, but was persuaded by the President to continue at least until after the collapse of Germany, has stated that he might have to take "more drastic action" to correct the conditions in the man-power situation. Unless the production of vital war equipment increases, Mr. Byrnes threatens to suspend the limited reconversion of civilian industry which has now begun. He reminded the procurement agencies that "much of the man-power trouble is due to the mistaken belief on the part of some people that the war is about over." In order to dispel this false optimism, Admiral King, the Commander-in-chief of the United States fleet, has broadcast an appeal to the effect that, unless production deficiencies are wiped out, the momentum of the advance in the Pacific cannot be maintained. General Eisenhower has also broadcast from the Western Front to the war workers in America, calling for increased production of war materials and pointing out that the capture of Aachen was delayed owing to the shortage of ammunition—"expenditures have raced ahead of our receipts from home." In order to help to break down one critical bottleneck 1,000 specialists have been released from the army to re-enter the munitions industry.

The Senate Sub-Committee on Cartels, of which Senator Kilgore (Dem., West Virginia) is chairman, has presented its report to the Senate Military Affairs Committee. The report declares that the Germans have already "begun to pursue a strategy which they found successful a quarter of a century ago. They are already deploying their economic reserves throughout the world in preparation for a third attempt at world domination." The United Nations, it urges, should not only encompass the military defeat of Germany, but also the defeat of her economic forces. "Immediately after military victory, an international authority should take over the economic controls formerly held by Nazi cartelists. Such an authority should destroy the cartel system in Germany and make it possible for private enterprise to function in a free and competitive manner." "A cartel system dominated by American or British interests would eventually produce the same undesirable results as are exploited by the Germans. It would jeopardise peace and soon bring us face to face with the possibility of a third even more destructive world war." The report also recommends the punishment of cartel leaders and the prevention of the revival of the cartel system by the establishment of an international economic council as was envisaged at Dumbarton Oaks.

There has been some criticism of this plan in the press, and it is generally interpreted as an endorsement of the Morgenthau proposals for the dismemberment of German industry. There are signs, also, that, despite the official attitude of the Administration, public opinion in the United States towards cartels is undergoing some modification. Mr. Milo Perkins, formerly the executive director

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of the Board of Economic Warfare and an advocate of free enterprise, has recently urged in *Harpers'* magazine that the Americans should reconsider their views on cartels and not operate "in the fairy land of our own oratory." Mr. Perkins's arguments were based on two premises: first, that the United States had not the power to break cartels and, secondly, that foreign Governments were supporting their industrialists in their cartel arrangements and that the United States would be compelled to follow suit. He advocated the establishment of a Board of International Trade (within the Department of State) to review the compulsory registration of cartels and international commodity agreements. "Where we cannot eliminate the cartels, we must gradually perfect new ways to make them into instruments which will serve the public interest."

At the international business conference at Rye, Sir Clive Baillieu, one of the British delegates, proposed that the word cartel should be dropped and some such phrase as "trade accord groups" substituted. He also advocated the establishment of international machinery for the continuous and public review of the operations of all such "accords." Later the conference adopted a resolution recommending the retention of cartels, emphasising, however, that, while the benefits of such agreements should be preserved, it was essential to avoid their use "in a manner contrary to the public interest of any nation."

Both the American Federation of Labour and the Congress of Industrial Organisations are holding their conventions this week. Referring to the successes of the Political Action Committee of the C.I.O., Mr. Philip Murray, the president, declared: "We set the forces of reaction in the United States back on their heels." It is now known that Mr. Roosevelt, not counting the Soldier Vote, obtained over 6½ million votes in thirteen cities with a population of more than half a million against some 4¼ million for Mr. Dewey. The P.A.C. is generally thought to be largely responsible for this heavy poll in the industrial cities. Subject to ratification by the convention this week, which is regarded as fairly certain, the Executive Board of the C.I.O., meeting at Chicago, has unanimously recommended the continuance of the C.I.O. Political Action Committee (as was foreshadowed in last week's *Summary*) and the continuance of Mr. Sydney Hillman and other officers in their present positions.

One interesting reflection on the presidential election is the relative impotence shown by the American press in influencing public opinion. Roughly two-thirds of the press were opposed to the President (see *Summary* No. 260). This was also roughly true in the 1932, 1936 and 1940 elections. On the whole, radio commentators were more inclined to support the President than the press, and Mr. Harold Ickes has now attacked the press for its remoteness from trends of popular opinion.

At his press conference Mr. Roosevelt has indicated that he favours immediate legislation on the lines of the Wadsworth Bill to ensure post-war compulsory National Service. The President would not state whether he contemplated purely military service, though he recalled the tremendous advantage which was gained by youths who went through the C.C.C. (Civilian Conservation Corps) programme and pointed out the large percentage of young men who had been turned down for military service in this war owing to their poor physical condition. He would also not express an opinion whether compulsory service should extend to women, though he had earlier indicated his own preference that it should. It is possible, as some critics believe, that this proposal will meet with strong opposition, partly on the ground that there is little difference between compulsory National Service and the Hitler Youth Movement.

Senator Ellison D. ("Cotton Ed") Smith (Democrat, South Carolina), already defeated in the primaries, has now died at the age of 80. An irascible picturesque Roosevelt-hater and bitter opponent of the Administration, he was an advocate of extremism in inter-racial affairs and once said "there is no place in the Democratic Party for Negroes."

[See also under "Middle East," "Far East," "United Nations" and "Latin America."]

LATIN AMERICA.

The submission to the Latin American Governments of Argentina's request for a meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs has led to a proposal by the Mexican Government that such a meeting should be held for the purpose of considering post-war problems, and that this should be followed by a discussion of the Argentine case. In answering the Mexican communication, the United States has circulated a note which takes a stand similar to that adopted in its

previous notes on the subject of Argentina. Possibly as a result of this reply, it has been reported by the Argentine Associated Press that the United States has rejected the Argentine request. The State Department has denied this, adding that consultations are still in progress and that no decision has yet been taken. Meanwhile the Panamanian Government has capped the Mexican proposal with a further proposal that a conference to discuss post-war problems should be held and that Argentina should be invited to attend provided the other American Governments can satisfy themselves that she is pursuing a policy in accordance with the obligations she undertook at Rio and other American Conferences. Consultations should take place among the American Foreign Ministers to decide whether Argentina is in fact pursuing such a policy. If the decision is adverse, discussion of the Argentine case should be limited to an expression of hope of reform and a statement of the measures necessary for Argentina to take to satisfy other American nations.

In Buenos Aires General Peluffo has categorically denied rumours of his impending resignation. Nevertheless, reports of coming changes in the Argentine Government have multiplied. The highest common factor of these frequently contradictory rumours is that more civilian Ministers will be introduced. Other evidences of factitious democracy have been provided. The Minister of Justice, for example, is to set up a commission to consider a charter for the political parties "in accordance with the Government's intention to bring the country back to constitutional normality; and the notorious Dr. Manuel Fresco has been included in a published list of persons guilty of accepting bribes under former régimes.

In violent contrast to these propitiatory (if inexpensive) gestures must be set a new law designed to modernise the system of compulsory military service in Argentina. In peacetime Argentines of both sexes over twelve years of age, and in wartime all inhabitants except exempted foreigners, must take part in national defence. Military service covers the ages of 12 ("preconscription") to 50. The Ministry of War has explained that "war is no longer a purely military affair," but involves the whole nation, so that the new arrangements are "perfectly in accordance with the historical moment." This is highly reminiscent of Colonel Perón's June lecture (see *Summaries*, Nos. 248 and 249); and the Colonel, ever zealous for the support of the workers as well as of the army, has now promised rural labourers that the projected Estatuto del Peón intended to relieve their lot shall be enforced, even if the Government is obliged to take control of all the estancias in the Republic.

On the 17th November Mr. Law declared in the House of Commons that the decreasing volume of Argentine remittances had caused His Majesty's Government no little anxiety, and that there was little excuse for this fall at a time when Argentina was one of the most prosperous countries in the world.

Also in reply to questions in the House on the 17th October Mr. Attlee stated that the only countries which could be represented as of right at a future peace conference were those which had taken part in the war as belligerents. The Chilean Ambassador has now enquired what meaning should be given to the term belligerents. He has been informed that Mr. Attlee's intention was to make it clear that, since the purpose of a peace conference was to make peace between States that had been at war, only such States were as of right entitled to share in such a conference. It was not intended to exclude the possible participation of other interested States.

President Ríos of Chile, who has now recovered from his operation, resumes his duties on the 27th November. He has recently remarked that his Government desires to establish diplomatic relations with all countries and especially with the United Nations, including the U.S.S.R., that Chile's feelings were known, and that it was necessary to see what those of Russia were (see *Summaries* Nos. 263 and 266).

Three revolutionary movements, all of military origin, have been reported elsewhere in Latin America. In Ecuador fighting took place on the 18th November in Quito and Guayaquil, but the rebels, "active and retired army officers," appear to have been subjugated. In Venezuela it has been officially announced that a revolutionary plot, hatched by a small group of officers and soldiers of the Caracas garrison, had been discovered and suppressed. In Bolivia a revolt began on the 19th November in Oruro and a state of siege was declared. The aim of the rising was to remove President Villarroel and his Government. It was apparently instigated by supporters of the former régime of General Panaranda, headed by General Candia, formerly Minister for War. The Government has announced the suppression of the movement and the execution of four of its leaders.

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Broadcasts from Guatemala City announce the formation of a Salvadorean Government in exile in Guatemalan territory (see last week's *Summary*), under the Presidency of the ex-President of the Salvadorean Supreme Court, who, with his associate judges, was dismissed by the National Assembly for having declared the present Salvadorean Government of Colonel Aguirre unconstitutional. There is now great discontent in Salvador itself and a state of siege has been declared. The Guatemalan Government has been recognised by all countries having diplomatic representatives in Guatemala, with the exception of Peru.

UNITED NATIONS.

Civil Aviation Conference.

At the end of nine days' private discussion between United Kingdom, United States and Canadian delegates it was hoped that agreement had been reached on the basic principles of international control of civil aviation. An apparently successful attempt had been made to meet the United States desire to afford as much scope as possible to competition and to allow the traffic to be decided by the efficiency and attractiveness of the services offered. Thus, in addition to the "four freedoms" of innocent passage, technical landings, the right to convey passengers to and from the country of the operator to any other country, agreement was reached (subject to a differentiation in rates) on the "fifth freedom," the right of transporting passengers between two foreign countries. Provision was also made for a three- or four-year interval to elapse before routes and frequencies were fixed, in order that those countries which had been prevented by the war from developing civil aviation might have a fair chance to compete with others which had not been in such a position. But, after communication of these proposals had begun to be made to some of the other principal countries concerned, it was found that the United States Delegation interpreted some parts of the agreement in an entirely different manner to what had been anticipated by the British and Canadian Delegations.

Thus the document, which has been presented to the other delegations and been published, is less complete than had at one time been hoped. It lays down some valuable general principles concerning the international character of civil aviation and the renunciation of civil aviation as an instrument of national policy. It also establishes the right of each State to decide its own internal air services and to prescribe the routes which international services must follow inside its territory. Exclusive agreements are banned. A number of indisputable propositions concerning equality of opportunity for all countries, the necessity of the highest quality of service at the lowest cost, the avoidance of economic waste by unreasonable competition are also laid down, and will no doubt find general acceptance. On the technical side, also, a very large measure of agreement has been reached and the safety and convenience of all travellers will thereby be much increased. An agreement on these lines would be an important advance in the regularisation of the great international air service which we may expect to come into existence in the next few years.

The machinery of control is along the lines of that suggested by the Canadian Delegation (see *Summary* No. 267). There is to be an Assembly on which all countries will have an equal vote, but of the countries to be represented on the Board of Directors, of fifteen members, seven are to be chosen by their importance in civil aviation, according to an established formula, which will probably give more seats to the members of the British Commonwealth than the two suggested in the original United States plan. No doubt the U.S.S.R. will be added to this group if she decides to come into the system. The other eight members are to be elected for three-year terms. States not represented on the Board may take part in the discussions without voting rights when their interests are affected.

There would thus be no international control of routes and frequencies, which would be left to individual agreements between Governments, while rates would be decided by the companies operating on the routes, subject, of course, to Government control in the interests of the travelling public. But, as private discussions are still proceeding, it may be possible to obtain agreement on some form of international control on such matters, especially for the immediate post-war period. Meanwhile, a number of other European countries have followed the example of the United States and the Netherlands and filed proposals for post-war routes. Nine have announced their intention of flying passengers and cargo across the North Atlantic. It is clear that, without some form of international regulation, a very difficult situation may ensue, and it is this fact which makes it possible that further agreement may be reached while the members of the Conference are studying the proposals submitted to them.

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Broadcasts from Guatemala City announce the formation of a Salvadorean Government in exile in Guatemalan territory (see last week's *Summary*), under the Presidency of the ex-President of the Salvadorean Supreme Court, who, with his associate judges, was dismissed by the National Assembly for having declared the present Salvadorean Government of Colonel Aguirre unconstitutional. There is now great discontent in Salvador itself and a state of siege has been declared. The Guatemalan Government has been recognised by all countries having diplomatic representatives in Guatemala, with the exception of Peru.

UNITED NATIONS.

Civil Aviation Conference.

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REPEAT
REPETER

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary
No. 269

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
29TH NOVEMBER, 1944.

Copy No 183

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

THE French thrust into Alsace has provoked admissions of surprise from German news agencies. The dramatic events at the southern end of the Western Front have indeed been a prominent feature of the week's war reports. It has been officially claimed that powerful counter-attacks cut off the French force attacking Mulhouse. The bulletins of the O.K.W. also reported attacks on an increasing scale in the Aachen area, a British attack on the Italian front, which with tremendous deployment of material was said to have failed to break the German line between Faenza and Forli, and hard fighting in Metz and the Belfort Gap. The points at which attack is most feared would seem to be at the northern end of both western and eastern fronts. The importance of the Allied advance to Cologne has been much stressed of late by the Germans, partly in order to minimise the effect of their hurried withdrawal from Alsace. The distance through Jülich and Düren to the Rhine is, as Dittmar this week commented, almost negligible for the type of transport of which the Americans have so much. But in that narrow strip of country they will come up against the toughest German resistance. Dittmar forecasts "a battle of attrition," such as in the last war wrought havoc to both sides. The fighting is already said to be "fiercer than Normandy." As to the Eastern front, German agencies announced a large-scale Russian attack as having started in the Kurland area on the 19th. There have been suggestions that such an attack might be a prelude to a general Russian offensive any time and that troops were still being assembled by the various Russian commanders.

The war situation continues to be presented more or less optimistically. Full use is made of the encouraging arguments that the Allies are losing heavily in the Western battle, that their reserves are not inexhaustible and that German reserves are increasing, so that the struggle becomes more equal month by month. Dittmar has apparently caused surprise by speaking of the present American

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offensive as the last that can be launched under the favourable conditions of the present "transition period." At times, however, a much more realistic note is heard, as this week in Halfeld's article in the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*. He reverted to the apprehensions of the coming winter and grimly reminded his readers that the Germans had not only to win battles on east, west and south, but to carry on through months of hardship: "We must stick out the worst of all winters . . . . maintain a reserve of forces which will allow us to act independently in 1945, and force our enemies to revise their nihilistic plans."

The activities of the Wilhelmstrasse in the sphere of foreign policy are giving rise to awkward questions. Dr. Schmidt emphatically denied, at a press conference, that rumours of peace negotiations via the Vatican had any foundation. The recent visit of Weiszäcker to the Pope was one of ordinary routine on which he declared comment or explanation to be unnecessary. Questions on the point drew from Schmidt the statement that the only possible peace was one which would ensure both the existence of the German nation and the retention of the conquered territories. According to the Berlin correspondent of a Swedish paper this second condition does not correspond to the general opinion in Berlin, which holds that Hitler's European order is no longer practical politics. Dr. Schmidt reacted with a sharp denial to the publication of this in *The Times* as the German official view. Another Swedish observer notes as "most striking" a new and tolerant attitude to the nations of Europe, ascribing it to a victory of the views of Himmler over those of Ribbentrop. There is other recent evidence that the rather doctrinaire attitude of the German Foreign Minister is overruled by the realism of his colleagues, even in the sphere of foreign policy.

German expectations of a large-scale Soviet offensive in the east are reflected in conditions in the rump General Government. According to information from underground Polish and from Soviet sources, Governor-General Frank has decided to transfer his seat about 100 km. north-westward, to the town of Czestochowa, near the Upper Silesian border, and the requisitioning of the necessary accommodation there has begun. The construction of defence works is still in progress, and all German males (including Volksdeutsche and Deutschstämmige) between 16 and 60 years have been conscribed for police service in the Stadtwacht or Landwacht—the equivalent of service in the Volkssturm elsewhere—since mid-October; early in November Poles were "invited" to volunteer for auxiliary service in the German Armed Forces. Recent neutral visitors to Cracow have reported that the city is filled with soldiers, carrying their arms "at the ready." All German children, and German women not fully employed, have been evacuated to the Reich, Slovakia, or elsewhere; and the number of Reich German administrative officials still in the territory was recently officially stated to have fallen to a few thousand. On paper, the official attitude towards the native population is increasingly conciliatory. At the end of October Frank announced that Polish participation in the work of administration would be initiated at once on the Kreis level, with the creation of advisory committees, and would eventually be extended to the provincial and national levels; since then, the German authorities have begun negotiations with the Polish Central Welfare Committee and with other Polish representatives. Polish sources also affirm that the Gestapo is discussing with Frank the possibility of a change of attitude towards the Polish Home Army, with a view to enlisting its support against the Russians.

Evidence of German attempts to exploit Baltic anti-Russian sentiment is furnished by the Swedish press, which has recently reported the formation in Berlin of a new "Committee for the Baltic Peoples," in which former local Quislings have been put aside, in favour of "new men who enjoy the confidence of the Baltic peoples." Further, in their retreat from western Latvia, the Germans are reported to have left behind battalions comprised of youths from all the Baltic territories as well as some German Balts, with instructions to wage underground resistance against the Russians.

As further evidence of dislocation in the German transport system should be noted an announcement, supported by a leading article in the Berlin press, to the effect that the railways burdened with military traffic cannot convey food supplies over long distances, and that areas will thus have to rely to an increasing degree on local stocks. This seems to foreshadow a food shortage (the possibilities of substitution of food-stuffs being limited) and it is significant that food grain and vegetables were specially mentioned in the announcement. In densely populated regions like the Ruhr which are far from self-supporting, outside supplies will depend on water transport, which has itself recently been impaired by aerial attack.

Two or three articles have recently been noticed in the German press praising the energy and personal initiative of Speer, particularly in cases where war industry (as is now admitted to the German public) has been damaged by bombing. A recent article in the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, on the other hand, seemed concerned to defend Speer and others against the charge that the efficiency of German economy had suffered from being controlled by men who were not experts, but "political personalities of unshakable energy." The degree to which Nazi leaders of the type of Himmler, Goebbels, Speer and Sauckel can maintain a unified central control of administration no doubt varies in different spheres. A highly placed observer in Switzerland recently doubted whether a central Government in the true sense still existed in Germany. This is probably a misconception. The evidence suggests that the control of vital war measures has been concentrated in the hands of a relatively small group of men working in close collaboration with one another, but this may mean that it is increasingly difficult to get decisions on matters of less urgency.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

The Czechoslovak Minister of Reconstruction has recently disclosed some of his Government's plans for the transition period from war to peace conditions. The extent to which U.N.R.R.A. aid will be required and the transport problems involved are under discussion; a planning centre is being created with the purpose of rebuilding the economic life of the country as a whole; Czchoslovak specialists are studying the latest technical and scientific developments in the free world and plans are being made for the training of technicians and workers in Czechoslovakia to meet the inevitable lack of qualified people which will prevail in the immediate post-war period; of the specific legal measures already taken the most important is a decree which annuls all transfers of property concluded after the 28th September, 1938, and freezes the entire property of enemy persons and persons of unreliable State allegiance; this decree further provides that a temporary control may be set up to administer any enterprises where this is desirable to ensure the smooth functioning of economic life. The Czechoslovak Government emphasises that all these measures are of a short-term character so as not to prejudice the wishes of the people in the homeland.

The areas of Ruthenia handed over to the Czechoslovak delegate by the Soviet authorities comprise the political districts of Rachovo, Tačevo, Chust, Volové and Sevljus, 13 villages in the district of Iršava, 2 in Berehovo and 2 in Svaljava, *i.e.*, roughly the eastern half of the province. East of the line of demarcation Czechoslovak laws are now valid; local national committees have been set up, anti-State organisations are being dissolved and their property confiscated; a rationing system is being introduced and frontier protection organised. M. Nemec has again stressed to his Government the great need for technicians and machinery to restore communications and for food, clothing and footwear; he points out that, although the local harvest in general is quite good and the number of cattle has not decreased catastrophically, there is a danger of famine in some districts in the near future.

Despite various reports indicating the continued existence of resistance in Slovakia the most reliable evidence suggests that, apart from the Czechoslovak airborne brigade, which is believed to be still operating in the region of Banská Štiavnice, south of Banská Bystrica, morale among the Slovaks is low and many are returning from the mountains to their homes. The Germans claim that the prisoners taken during the past fortnight included William Pauliny, a financial expert and member of the Slovak National Council, and a group of seventeen Americans. In the east, the Russians have made a notable advance into Slovakia and have occupied the towns of Humenné and Michalovce.

POLAND.

M. Mikolajczyk's resignation on the 24th November followed a discussion by the Polish Cabinet on the previous day of the Note brought by Mr. Harriman from President Roosevelt. American policy, as outlined partly in this Note and partly in Mr. Stettinius' statement of the 25th November, has always excluded the guaranteeing of specific frontiers in Europe. It is unequivocally in favour

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of a strong, free, and independent Poland. If frontiers were agreed between the two parties, with Great Britain's assent, no objection would be offered to this taking place at the present stage, or to such transfers of minorities as might be involved. It was hoped to give material assistance in Poland's post-war economic reconstruction. Mr. Harriman, however, accompanied this note with an oral message for the President offering to press Marshal Stalin to concede Lwow and the oilfields to Poland, if M. Mikolajczyk would wish this effort to be made. When, after receiving this notfication, M. Mikolajczyk sought for his Cabinet's support in continuing negotiations with the U.S.S.R., he found a majority of his Cabinet definitely against him, and resigned.

M. Kwapinski, whom the President then called on to form a Cabinet, is a veteran Socialist leader who has been mayor of Lodz and, since 1942, Minister of Commerce in the Polish London Government. He was imprisoned in Russia both under the Tsarist régime and in 1939–41; and is perhaps more radically opposed to the proposed agreement with the U.S.S.R. than any other member of the Cabinet. His efforts have met with no encouragement from the Peasant Party, which includes M. Mikolajczyk, and is supported by M. Romer. M. Kwapinski having failed in his task, a new Government has now been formed, headed by the Deputy-President M. Arciszewski, another Socialist. This Government is based upon the Socialist and National Democratic parties and includes no peasants. Its personnel is not impressive, and it is by no means excluded that the President may yet have to fall back again on M. Mikolajczyk. In this event M. Mikolajczyk may well insist on being allowed to carry out his known desire for reaching a settlement with the U.S.S.R. which would allow of a unified Government in liberated Poland, including at least some members of the London Government; and would make possible the co-ordination of all Poland's war effort, and the avoidance of civil war. It is known that he came back from the recent Moscow conversations hoping to win over his Cabinet to this policy; and it may be regarded as certain that if he is again asked to become Prime Minister, he will insist on being allowed by the President to pursue it.

The report given by Colonel Spychalski and his fellow delegates from Warsaw (Praga) of Marshal Stalin's informal conversation lasting 2½ hours with them after the official proceedings (see *Summary* No. 268) throws further light on Soviet policy towards the All-Slav movement in general and Poland in particular. It appears that Marshal Stalin was exceptionally cordial, even jovial, and that the delegates were genuinely warmed by their reception. The Marshal urged the necessity for a closer friendship and alliance between all the Slav peoples, but was at pains to emphasise that this was not Great Power Pan-Slavism, but an alliance of Slav States based on full equality. Such an alliance would be the best guarantee of future peace, and would prevent the Germans from ever again daring to attack another nation. Towards Poland Marshal Stalin expressed himself in most friendly terms, repeating the assurance that he wished to see Poland a strong and independent democratic State, and that nobody in the U.S.S.R. had any thought of "grabbing" her. He promised Soviet aid in the reconstruction of Warsaw, and in arming an army of any size that Poland could produce, adding significantly "what the Soviet Union promises, it always fulfils." He further proposed a joint Russian–Polish occupation of Berlin. While stressing the necessity for a firm Polish–Soviet alliance Stalin added the somewhat unexpected corollary that Poland must look for Allies not only in the East, but in the West; and must thus seek a lasting alliance with Britain, France and the United States.

SOVIET UNION.

On the 23rd November an Order of the Day announced that the Red Army, supported by ships of the Baltic Fleet, had cleared the island of Saare Ma (Osel) of German troops. Saare Ma controls the approach to the Gulf of Riga, and its recovery will greatly facilitate the operations of the Baltic Fleet. During the operation four torpedo boats, three patrol ships and one transport were claimed as sunk, with one heavy cruiser and two patrol ships damaged. This victory was saluted by twenty salvoes from 224 guns in Moscow. No progress has been reported from East Prussia or Poland, but in Czechoslovakia the Red Army had advanced from the east and south-east into Slovakia, capturing the towns of Mikhaljovce and Humanne on the 26th November. In Hungary the Soviet advance continues slowly east of Budapest, and the Red Army is closing in on Miskolc.

On the 20th November Army General Bulganin (promoted to that rank on the preceding day) was appointed one of the Deputy People's Commissars for Defence, of whom there are nearly twenty in all. Two days later it was announced in Moscow that Marshal Voroshilov had been relieved of his duties as a member of the State Committee of Defence, and that General Bulganin had been appointed a member of that body, which roughly corresponds to the War Cabinet in this country. General Bulganin is a figure of some prominence in the Communist Party, and a member of its Central Committee. He is a Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities, and in 1940 was appointed President of the Economic Council of Metallurgy and Chemistry attached to the Council of People's Commissars. In August of this year he was appointed representative of the Soviet Government to the Polish Committee of National Liberation, and awarded the Order of Kutuzov, 1st class (see *Summary* No. 253, under "Poland").

Too much significance should not be attached to the fact that Marshal Voroshilov has been relieved of his duties as a member of the State Committee of Defence. There is no evidence that he has lost the favour of Marshal Stalin, which he has enjoyed since their close co-operation during the civil war. This favour brought him to high office, and kept him there even after his military failures during the Finnish war and in 1941. Marshal Voroshilov is still a member of the Politburo, the real centre of power in the U.S.S.R. He is now nearly 64 years of age, and his political influence has declined rapidly during the last five years: so that there would be nothing surprising if he were honourably retired. One press correspondent in Moscow, however, got the Soviet censor to pass a statement that "Voroshilov is presumed to be taking over new and important duties," and a German Foreign Office spokesman has already suggested that these duties are connected with a reorganisation of the Far Eastern Army. If such a task is being undertaken, there is, indeed, no one to whom Marshal Stalin would be more likely to entrust its supervision than Marshal Voroshilov.

On the 23rd November M. Kuznetsov, Chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, reported to a meeting of leading Moscow trade unionists on the recent visit to Britain of a Soviet Trade Union delegation, of which M. Kuznetsov was head (see *Summary* No. 261). Loud applause greeted his statement that agreement had been reached on the necessity for severe treatment of war criminals. M. Kuznetsov announced that it had been decided to exchange delegations between individual trade unions in the two countries: "in the first instance trade unions of the coal, metallurgical, textile, building and transport industries will send delegations." He added that the postponed world Trade Union Conference (see *Summary* No. 261) would take place in February 1945, and a preparatory committee (comprising British, Soviet and United States trade unionists) would set to work in London on the 4th December. A resolution was passed uriging that from this conference there should be erected, "on a broad democratic basis, a fighting organ of the world trade-union movement capable of waging unrelenting struggle against fascism and its accomplices, and of fusing the ranks of the working class of the democratic countries for the successful solution of the tasks connected with its vitally important interests." An article in the current number of *The War and the Working Class* defined Soviet wishes rather more precisely: "It is now a question of creating an amalgamation of trade unions, which will include Soviet and United States unions and will really become world-wide; and it is perfectly obvious that this amalgamation will differ radically both in name and essence from the Amsterdam International," which, the article hinted, had been markedly influenced by German trade unionists. This world trade union organisation must "assure to organised labour the place it deserves in the coming solution of fundamental problems of post-war organisation in the interests of democratic, progressive development." It should have views on such problems as defence of the interests and rights of the masses of working people; working conditions and standards of living; help for victims of the war and ex-Servicemen; combating unemployment; the length of the working day, wages, prices; the continuance of controls in the post-war period; health protection, social insurance, education, housing, &c.

An exhibition of photographs illustrating the war effort of British youth has been opened in Moscow. At the opening ceremony, which was attended by many prominent Soviet personalities, a speech was delivered in Russian by Mr. Balfour, the British Minister. The exhibition is being visited by school children and groups from youth organisations; it will later go on tour. It was made the occasion for an article on Anglo-Soviet relations in *Komsomolskaya*

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Pravda (the text of which is not yet available) which the Moscow correspondent of *The Times* described as far surpassing in warmth of feeling and understanding of the British war effort anything published in the Soviet press since the beginning of the war.

No details are yet available of the conversations between the Soviet leaders and the Yugoslav Prime Minister, M. Shubashitch, who left Moscow on the 24th November. The official *Tass* communiqué, put out on the following day, merely stated in general terms that the principal Yugoslav problems had been discussed with due regard to the position of Yugoslavia among the United Nations. During the discussions the necessity was noted of the formation of a united Yugoslav Government on the basis of the agreements recently concluded between Marshal Tito and Dr. Shubashitch. The Soviet Government, the communiqué continued, welcomed the efforts of the two leaders "to unite all truly democratic forces" in their country, and regarded "the creation of a democratic and federated Yugoslavia as a positive and constructive factor in the achievement of victory and the organisation of peace in Europe."

Following several war-time visits to Moscow on the part of the Prime Minister of Outer Mongolia (the last in January of this year—see *Summary* No. 225), *Tass* reports the arrival of a Mongolian trade delegation on the 24th November, headed by the Vice-Premier Madzhig. It is just a year since the last Mongolian trade mission visited Moscow. The delegation was met at the railway station by a group of high-ranking Soviet officials connected with the Commissariats for Foreign Trade and Foreign Affairs, including the Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Trade, M. Yuly M. Kaganovich. No information has yet been officially released regarding the objects of this visit, but in view of Outer Mongolia's large surplus of livestock and agricultural raw materials, such as wool, ways and means of increasing these exports to the Soviet Union are probably under discussion, or even a Soviet-Mongolian trade treaty, which apparently does not yet formally exist.

The Extraordinary State Commission for investigating atrocities has issued a new report, dealing this time with crimes committed in Estonia. The report describes the persecution of Estonians, the prohibition of their language, the systematic destruction of cultural monuments, universities and schools, and the spoliation of industry and agriculture. Over 50,000 men, women and children are stated to have been killed in various concentration camps. The Hitlerite Government and the German High Command are cited as responsible for these crimes, and amongst those personally responsible Field-Marshals von Leeb and von Küchler are named, together with Colonel-Generals von Model and Lindemann, Generalkommissar Obergruppenführer Karl Lietzmann, Standartenführer Prince von Hohenlohe, head of the German Security Police, and many others. In commenting on this report *Pravda* drew the possibly slightly optimistic conclusion that "the bestial policy of the Germans caused the Estonian working people and Estonian intellectuals to think with particular tenderness and love of that period when Estonia, in the family of Soviet peoples, had freedom and the opportunity of developing its national culture and economy.

On the 22nd November the Order of Lenin was awarded to two prominent Communists of foreign origin, now presumably Soviet citizens—MM. Kuusinen and Varga. M. Kuusinen, who was a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Comintern from 1928 until its dissolution in 1943, is chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Karelo-Finnish S.S.R., and a deputy chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. M. Varga, whose decoration was awarded "for many years of fruitful work in the sphere of economic studies and successful scientific and publicist work," is a Hungarian Communist who has resided in the U.S.S.R. for many years. He is editor of the journal *World Economy and World Politics*, and contributed an important article on reparations to *The War and the Working Class* in October 1943 (see *Summary* No. 205).

(For Marshal Stalin's statement on Soviet Slav policy, see under "Poland," and for relations with Persia, see under "Middle East.")

SCANDINAVIA.

A terrible picture of the sufferings and prospects of the civilian population of the counties of Finnmark and Troms in Northern Norway has been provided by a distinguished refugee, with exceptional official experience of the region affected, who has recently escaped to Sweden and has since visited England. His

report, as published in *Svenska Dagbladet* for the 22nd November, brings out not only the ruthless compulsion employed by the Germans in the evacuation, but the inadequacy of the means provided for effecting it. Ships and other means of transport have been requisitioned for military purposes, and the Norwegians, while their homes have been burnt and their cattle destroyed, and persons attempting to evade the order have in numerous instances been shot, are reduced to walking or the use of small rowing-boats for their movement southward, in arctic winter conditions. Apart from a fraction of the population in the neighbourhood of Kirkenes, who succeeded in hiding in mine galleries and thus joining the Russians, and some fugitives wandering in the mountains in horrible conditions, the whole of Finnmark is stated to be blasted and depopulated. In Hammerfest, out of 400 to 500 houses only 3, requisitioned by the S.S. and Gestapo, are left standing. In Vardö, an old woman of 92 was left the sole resident in the town, apart from one other person who succeeded in escaping from the compulsory evacuation. Meantime the roads are blocked by the retreat of the German forces, which is behind its time-table, and the sufferings of the Norwegian population are cynically disregarded. The report states in conclusion that, in default of speedy help, the civilian population is faced with certain death. Another report, based on a letter from Tromsö, adds a final touch of cynicism. "Everything," it says, "is being filmed and described as Norwegians fleeing from bolshevism."

In these circumstances, the Swedes seem to be doing their best to provide alleviation. It is stated in the press that supplies of food, clothing, &c., are being placed in depots along the Swedo-Norwegian frontier, which is being patrolled with a continuous air reconnaissance. The Swedish Government is also understood to have applied to Berlin for safe conduct for Swedish Red Cross ships to convey evacuees from the ports of North Norway to Narvik and thence by rail into Sweden.

The German paper circulated in Norway, *Deutsche Zeitung in Norwegen*, is quoted as reporting that it is intended to abandon 20 per cent. of Norway, and to make Trondheim the centre of the southward evacuation.

A Moscow broadcast in Norwegian, sent out on the 20th November, appears to interpret the appeal made by Prime Minister Nygaardsvold to Northern Norway as being of general application to the whole country. Reminding the audience of the importance attached by M. Nygaardsvold to the destruction or capture of the soldiers retreating southwards (see *Summary* No. 265), the broadcast asks for the paralysation of the German railway system and the sinking or firing of German ships throughout the whole of Norway, together with the sabotaging of transport vehicles. Blows, it concludes, are to be struck at the German transport system *everywhere in Norway*. So far there are no indications that these drastic instructions are being followed, nor does this appear to have been the intention contemplated in M. Nygaardvold's appeal. A German announcement, however, alleges some recent acts of sabotage on the railways in the neighbourhood of Oslo and Lillestrom—some 10 or 12 miles north-east of the capital, and the destruction of the Fram Fire Insurance building in Oslo on the 23rd November is also attributed to saboteurs.

Events in North Norway have aroused great indignation in Sweden, which has been aggravated by the misrepresentations of the quisling press on the subject of Sweden's refusal to open the "horse-shoe" route for the transit of evacuees from Northern to Southern Norway. The offer to receive refugees from Norway is deliberately ignored. Stronger action against Germany is being demanded of the Swedish Government in certain quarters. On the 23rd November, a Social Democrat member of the Riksdag, Frederik Ström, speaking at Göteborg, demanded that diplomatic relations with Germany should be broken off. The new paper *Expressen*, the 24th November, appears to favour this course, pointing out that the alternative of permitting the preparation of a volunteer force for service in Norway would take too long to relieve the existing situation. But Sweden, says this paper, cannot without loss of self-respect be an idle spectator of the tragedy of North Norway, she must speak her mind unmistakably and act accordingly.

On the 24th November, the Swedish passenger ship *Hansa* was sunk by a mine or torpedo between the island of Gothland and Sweden, with the loss of 93 lives, including that of the Deputy Chief or Staff, Colonel Lindquist. The spot where the incident occurred was outside the area in the Baltic recently proclaimed an operational zone by Germany. A convoy system has since been started on this route.

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In an interview published on the 20th November by the Finnish paper, *Arbetarbladet*, M. Fagerholm attributes his exclusion from the Government to the intervention of M. Tanner, and the latter, while complaining that the version given in the interview is inaccurate, admits that he complained of a lack of balance in the Social Democrat views originally represented on the Government, and pointed out that M. Fagerholm had long ceased to represent majority opinion in that party.

In Denmark a reinforcement of nearly 4,000 German military police arrived in Copenhagen on the 18th November. This was interpreted as a prelude to intensified raids and the latest information seems to justify this apprehension. Sabotage, however, has so far continued unchecked, especially on the Jutland railways, and five more informers are reported to have been liquidated during the weekend the 18th/20th November.

THE LOW COUNTRIES.

It was announced on the 25th November that the Dutch Premier, accompanied by the Ministers of War, Justice, the Interior, and Finance, had arrived in the liberated Netherlands for a visit; Professor Gerbrandy was to return soon to London, to report to the Queen, but the other four Ministers were to remain longer, in order to ascertain local conditions and to take certain necessary decisions. On the 26th Professor Gerbrandy broadcast to his countrymen to assure them that the Government was aware of, and sympathised with, their sufferings; he reminded them, however, that, during the operational phase of liberation, the highest authority rested with the Allied Command, which, for instance, was responsible for food supplies; that Command was doing all it could to help the Dutch. Professor Gerbrandy added that he had noted the gratitude of the people in the Southern Netherlands to their English liberators; a friendship had been established between the Dutch and the British people that would be of the greatest importance in the future.

In the opinion of Dutch engineers it will be possible to drain the flooded portions of the island of Walcheren within a year after the requisite plant has been obtained. But it will be some years before the reclaimed land is again fit for cultivation.

The shortage of food in the liberated Netherlands is acute. On the 21st there was a demonstration in Eindhoven by a number of the hungry inhabitants, who wish to draw the attention of the authorities to their plight, though they admitted that priority must be given to the import of military supplies. They were told that every effort was being made to help them. In the occupied Netherlands, too, food is very scarce, and is becoming scarcer. The Germans, moreover, continue to round up Dutchmen and send them to Germany or put them to forced labour in their own country.

Though there is at present a good deal more food in Belgium than in the Netherlands, much alarm is felt about the future. M. Pierlot has expressed himself very strongly in an interview with a correspondent of the *Sunday Times*. "If," he said, "with the harbours which will soon be operating on a larger scale our imports do not increase, the food situation will become so disastrous that no Government . . . . will be able to survive." He added that though "the reception of British soldiers in this country has been hearty and sincere . . . . if the food situation does not improve the people's attitude might easily change." It may be added that there is a shortage of jobs as well as a shortage of food. The Minister of Labour recently stated in the Chamber that there were 400,000 unemployed, but hoped that, with the aid of the Allied authorities, work would soon be found for them.

Such conditions are obviously not conducive to public tranquillity, and may well be partly responsible for the anti-Government demonstrations which have occurred, ostensibly because of the disarming of the Resistance organisations (see last *Summary*). On the 25th such a demonstration, organised by the Independence Front, occurred in Brussels and was attended by much disorder. The mob, according to a statement broadcast by the Premier on the 26th, attempted to break into the zone surounding the Ministries to which access was forbidden; some of the demonstrators threw grenades and fired small arms, and the Gendarmerie were compelled to use their weapons to disperse the rioters; 45 persons were injured.

This incident appears to have confirmed the resolve of the Socialist and Liberal parties to support the Government—at least for the time being. The support of the Catholics was already assured. Trouble, however, continues, and widespread strikes in Brussels and its environs broke out on the 28th.

FRANCE.

The liberation of Lorraine is nearing completion and that of Alsace is under way. The American Seventh Army has pushed on beyond Metz and a force including General Leclerc's French armoured division has thrust through the Saverne gap to Strasbourg. Further south the French First Army is advancing from Mulhouse and threatening the retreat of the German troops from the Vosges. General Eisenhower has expressed his pleasure at the success of French arms.

The French authorities had already taken various measures for the administration of the three eastern departments which the Germans treated as annexed territories. An ordinance of the 15th September provides for the restoration of the laws of the Republic which were in force on the 16th June, 1940. A Regional Commissioner, M. Charles Blondel, has been appointed for the Alsatian departments of Bas-Rhin and Haut-Rhin, and special powers have been conferred upon him and upon M. Rebourset, the Prefect of the Moselle, with whom he is to consult. Among their duties is that of preparing and laying before the Government measures which will bring legislation in the three departments into line with that ruling in the rest of France. This and the ordinance of the 23rd October abolishing the *Direction Générale des Services d'Alsace et Lorraine*, set up in 1925, suggest that while the Government is by no means blind to the special problems which must arise in departments subjected for four years to a ruthless policy of Germanisation, it is anxious to avoid giving Alsace and Lorraine a special status. The services of the *Direction Générale* have all been transferred to the Ministry of the Interior except those for education and social insurance, which have gone to the Ministry of National Education and the Ministry of Labour. Food supplies are being hurried to the population of the newly-liberated areas and lorries hitherto used for the victualling of Paris are being diverted for the purpose. The Government has undertaken to exchange German currency acquired since 1940 at the rate of 15 francs to the mark, and further imports of such currency have been forbidden.

On the 21st and 22nd November the Consultative Assembly held a debate on foreign affairs. Mr. Duff Cooper reports that the speeches were on a higher level than that usual at Algiers and that they showed a remarkable agreement on the main lines of French foreign policy. Most striking was the almost unanimous rejection of the idea of a western *bloc* and the emphasis on the need for close friendship with the U.S.S.R., coupled with good relations with Great Britain and the United States of America. M. Bidault's first speech in the Assembly was disappointing because he was ill and spoke very briefly, but it is noteworthwy that in a subsequent message to the *Populaire* he referred to his forthcoming visit to Moscow as a journey from which the Government expected results "of essential importance for France, for Europe and for the world." The main Government spokesman was General de Gaulle, who in a short and vigorous speech restated France's claim to a full share in all decisions concerning Germany, said that if Italy would formally renounce all claims against France friendly relations could be renewed, and reasserted France's intention to take her full part in the Far Eastern War and the reconquest of Indo-China. In an article in the *Aube* of the 25th November, Captain Maurice Schumann, former *porte-parole* of Fighting France and now a Resistance member of the Assembly, pointed out that the unanimity shown in the debate was broken only on one essential question: whereas, M. Wilzer, deputy for the Moselle, had declared for the annexation of Saar and Rhineland territories with either the assimilation or the transplantation of their population, M. Daniel Mayer, Secretary-General of the Socialist Party, had drawn attention to the danger of any dismemberment of Germany or annexation of specifically German territory. Captain Schumann then proceeded to an interesting interpretation of the references to Germany in General de Gaulle's own speech. From this, he said, it was clear that the Government would not annex peoples against their will. The fate of the German people would finally depend "de ce qu'ils révéleront d'eux-mêmes." But as none

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could foresee the effects of the dissolution of the *Corpus Germanicum* the hypothesis of annexation should not be ruled out. Moreover, nothing was more revealing than the fact that the General had referred to the German "peoples" and the "German State or States." This meant that for the Government the unified Bismarckian Germany was incompatible with French security. Finally, the Government would insist on a military and economic watch on the Rhine; in other words the basins of the Saar and the Ruhr must be put at the disposal "of the party of freedom, of which France was the vanguard."

French demands on Germany were also dealt with in an interview given to Reuter's correspondent on the 21st November by M. Mayer, the Minister of Transport. He said that they would include the return of all French ships and railway material in German hands; compensation in kind for French losses in transport material; and, eventually, deliveries to France of new in exchange for worn-out material.

M. Massigli has been appointed French representative on the European Advisory Commission.

The Government has adopted measures put forward by M. Parodi, the Minister of Labour, in order to provide for the 600,000 unemployed in France, of whom 300,000 are in the Paris region, and to secure labour for the urgent repair of communications and clearing of bombed areas. Workers unemployed as a result of the war will continue to be paid 75 per cent. of their wages in accordance with the law of the 22nd May, 1944, and to receive social insurance benefits, but their labour will be used by the Government where it is required. As far as possible the staff of individual factories will be kept together and employers will be informed of the work given to their employees, so that factories will be able to reclaim their workers directly they are able to reopen.

M. Ramadier, the new Minister of Food, made a statement to the Consultative Assembly on the 23rd November. He said that, apart from the transport situation, the fall in agricultural production compared with 1939 was the main reason for the present difficulties and that supplies of bread, meat and wine would remain short until next autumn. The fat ration would be increased when imports from the empire could be obtained; potatoes were fortunately plentiful. The problem of collecting produce from the peasants was difficult, but it might be possible, by reducing the number of middle-men, to raise prices for the peasants without raising them for the consumers. M. Ramadier explained the difficulties of replacing the personnel of the Vichy agricultural organisation, but was attacked by the Communists for slowness in purging his administration.

Albert Favre, a former Under-Secretary of State, has been condemned to hard labour for life for "*intelligence avec l'ennemi.*" Recent arrests include those of several directors of Air-France, among them General Pujo and M. Edgar-Bonnet, who is also a director of the Suez Canal Company and as such was expected shortly in England for conversations with the British directors. They are accused of treason for having delivered material to the Lufthansa and sent Air-France personnel to Germany with the approval of the Government of Vichy. The metropolitan services of the Air-France Company have been requisitioned as from the 15th November.

(See last *Summary* under "Vatican.")

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

General Franco's political evolution proceeds. On the 21st November the Spanish Ambassador handed to the Secretary of State a copy of a personal letter from the Caudillo expressing his desire for a clarification of Anglo-Spanish relations, and instructing the Duke of Alba to transmit to the Prime Minister his sentiments on the subject. This document, perhaps the most important pronouncement on Spanish policy since the war began, will be analysed in next week's *Summary*. The Spanish text shows that General Franco's sentiments are most friendly, and that he is sincerely anxious for an improvement in the atmosphere so that Spain and Great Britain may enjoy mutual confidence and esteem. Franco's Spanish is even more "transcendental" than Hitler's German. He has brought to a high degree the art of accumulating woolly ambiguities in sentences starved of full stops, but where semi-colons abound in 16th century profusion, and which bristle equivocally with hypothetical imperfect subjunctives. If "le style c'est l'homme," then General Franco is indeed a tortuous and smoky character. To render this Falangist farrago into even non-basic English is a

teasing task for any translator. The first reaction of an English reader is that this is an impudent document and the product of a mind remote from European realities.

The two draft decrees for the reorganisation of Portuguese industry, which were approved by the National Assembly on the 28th October—and to which reference was made in last week's *Summary*—cover a lot of ground. Portugal's economy is fundamentally an agricultural one of a very primitive kind; the problem facing any Government, therefore, is how to support, in unfavourable natural conditions and against the handicap of material inefficiency, a population which has increased by 50 per cent. in the last forty years and is still expanding. Efforts at increased agricultural yields having largely failed since Dr. Salazar began to direct the national economy, the new State is now looking to industrial development to solve the problem.

The basis of the new scheme is the necessity to reduce imports, and thereby to abolish the unfavourable balance of trade from which Portugal suffered in the decade preceding the outbreak of war. This has led to a grouping of industry which depends almost entirely on self-sufficiency. Existing industries are divided into groups according to the degree of their organisation and their ability to satisfy the needs of the home market. In Group I there are only five industries whose concentration is considered satisfactory. In Group II there are eleven industries which, though dispersed, are almost capable of satisfying the country's needs. Group III consists of twenty-five industries which are insufficiently developed to prevent large imports of the articles they manufacture. Group IV lists those new industries, basic or subsidiary, which are now to be established. If Portugal were to be made self-sufficing in the industries in Groups III and IV, it is hoped that imports could be reduced by 25 per cent. It is estimated that the first stage in the general plan—the nationalisation of Group III and the establishment of Group IV industries—will last eight years. The programme presupposes the necessary supply of electric power, which is covered by the second Bill.

This grandiose scheme is a natural development, and has doubtless been accelerated by the effects of our blockade. It certainly reflects Dr. Salazar's determination never again to be dependent upon the caprices of belligerents or to be squeezed by a political fist even though it be covered by the glove of commerce. We cannot tell to what extent the plan will succeed in freeing Portugal from dependence on foreign countries; we do not know, for instance, how far these measures of protection will fit into the economic organisation of the post-war world. Financially the prospects are not unfavourable. Great profits have been made since 1939 from the export of sardines, cork, tin and wolfram, the last especially having been a war-time windfall both for private individuals and the national exchequer. There is ample capital in private hands (provided it can be coaxed out of them), which could be used for launching new enterprises, and the Government hold large foreign balances, particularly in sterling, available for capital expenditure on equipment. But the spirit which has led, with one or two exceptions, to the general inefficiency of Portuguese industry to-day still flourishes, if such a word can be used of an animus of inertia. And the execution of the plan will certainly lead to increased governmental interference, already considerable, in industrial enterprises. Administrative incompetence will thus probably delay the accomplishment of the scheme in the eight years laid down. But, given internal stability, some progress should be made towards solving the Portuguese problem. And there should be, for British manufactures, a valuable, if temporary market for such capital goods as this country may be able to export in the years following the end of the war.

ITALY.

Signor Bonomi has had no easy task in trying to get the six parties which form his Government to pull together. Ever since April, when Signor Bonomi formed his first Government, these six parties have been more or less at loggerheads despite their promises to put aside their political differences, particularly as regards the "Institutional question," and lately Signor Bonomi has been pressed to give the Left a stronger representation in the Government. On the 22nd November the Communist leaders called on Signor Bonomi and asked for the resignation of Count Casati (Liberal), the Minister of War, and of Marchese

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Visconti Venosta (Independent), Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. They also demanded greater energy in the conduct of the purge especially as regards the Army, and for the delay as regards the Army Count Casati is personally blamed. In this respect there has been a report that the arrest of Marshal Badoglio had been ordered, although this is denied by Signor Scoccimaro, Count Sforza's Communist Deputy for the Purge. Signor Bonomi informed the Communist leaders that he could not agree to the resignation of either Count Casati or of Marchese Visconti Venosta. Marchese Visconti Venosta, however, sent in his resignation on the same day giving as his reason that a new phase had been reached in Italian foreign policy and that there should now be a separate Minister who could be personally responsible towards the Cabinet for his policy. This refers to the fact that Signor Bonomi is nominally Foreign Minister but Marchese Visconti Venosta has been in charge of the Ministry. It is understood, however, that the real reason for Marchese Venosta's resignation was the interference of other Ministers—particularly of Count Sforza, who, ever since he landed in Italy, has coveted the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It may be remembered that Count Sforza occupied this post in 1921 for about nine months in Signor Nitti's Liberal Government. On the 25th November Signor Togliatti addressed a letter to Signor Bonomi in which he demanded that Count Sforza should become the Foreign Minister, Signor Tarchiani of the Action Party Minister of War, and Signor Nenni, leader of the Socialist Party, Minister of the Interior, the latter post being under Signor Bonomi. It would therefore appear that Count Sforza, nominally an Independent, although in reality up to now of the Action Party, has thrown in his lot with the Communists, who may well make use of him for a short time as the Action Party has only a small following. Signor Togliatti's final demand was that the present crisis should be submitted to the various committees of National Liberation, of which Count Sforza has lately been elected president, a totally unconstitutional procedure to which Signor Bonomi could naturally not agree. The crisis has therefore developed into a struggle for power between the extremists, with whom Count Sforza is siding, and the moderates. The extremists are trying to gain the most important Ministries, while Signor Bonomi is trying to include a more steadying influence in the Cabinet such as Signor Orlando.

As neither side would give way on any point Signor Bonomi, on the 26th November, handed the Cabinet's resignation to the Lieutenant of the Realm, who, after consulting with Signor Orlando, Signor della Toretta and the six party leaders as well as the leaders of the parties not represented in the Government, hoped to persuade the parties to continue working under Signor Bonomi and Count Sforza to take up the post of Ambassador in Washington. Up to date there does not appear to be any signs of the extremists giving way in their insistence to occupy the key positions in the Cabinet, nor of Signor Bonomi's reconsidering his decision that Signor Scoccimaro, the Deputy Commissioner for the Purge, must resign as in Signor Bonomi's opinion the purge is being used for political purposes rather than for the eradication of Fascism.

The fact that His Majesty's Government made it known that the choice of Count Sforza as Foreign Minister would not be viewed with favour is taken up by Signor Nenni in *Avanti* as undue interference in Italian internal affairs. *Risorgimento Liberale*, however, explains that His Majesty's Government had not so much imposed a veto as made a recommendation with a view to maintaining friendly relations between the two Governments. A misunderstanding had arisen in connexion with an assurance given by Count Sforza at the time of his return to Italy and this misunderstanding would have been accentuated if Count Sforza had become Minister for Foreign Affairs. Count Sforza had indeed promised to assist Badoglio in his struggle against the German invaders but the situation which he found on arrival in Italy was not that which he had been led to expect. There is truth in this explanation, at least as regards the British interpretation of Count Sforza's promise. An ambitious man, whose career has been ruined by Fascism, Count Sforza would appear to be trying to make up for lost time in his endeavour to gain power, by sacrificing all principles and ideals.

Whether Signor Bonomi will be able to form a Government from the six original parties or by the inclusion of one or two of the others would seem to depend on whether the extremists think the time is ripe for a show-down or whether they will wait for a more propitious moment. But it must be remembered that Signor Bonomi is himself 70 years old and has no really strong backing to help him through this crisis, but if he feels he has the solid support of the Allies in Rome, and His Majesty's Government have assured him personally of

their support, it should make a big difference and may see him through the present trouble.

THE VATICAN

On the 15th November the Pope addressed the Polish Colony in Rome. After paying his tribute to Warsaw, he showed his faith in a happier future. "The whole of mankind, the true prosperity of nations and the durability of peace have as their foundation justice and respect for rights, especially the rights of those who are weaker. When the world becomes itself again it will have to recognise Poland's share in its deliverance." He spoke also of what the Polish cities of Lublin and Lwów had owed to Blessed Stanislas Kostka, the patron Clement X gave Poland in 1674.

The papal conception of the post-war world is reflected in the recent pronouncement of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy of the United States on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. Peace, it maintains, must carry out the Atlantic Charter in full. Prostrate nations must be helped, or they will become centres of unrest. National sovereignty must be respected, because it is a right which comes from the judicial personality of a nation; but it is limited both by the duties it owes to the international community, and "by the innate rights of men and families within the nation." The American bishops agree with the growing insistence of Catholic social thought that a nation is made up of individuals with their innate rights, each a member of one or more societies or associations which enjoy the rights of judicial personality. In a striking passage they condemn non-intervention.

"The ideology of a nation in its internal life is a concern of the international community. To reject this principle is to maintain that the violation of the innate rights of men in a country by its own Government has no relation to world peace . . . . a nation which refuses to its own people the full enjoyment of innate human rights cannot be relied on to co-operate in the international community for the maintenance of peace." According to them, there must be no isolation from the international institution. Every nation must belong, and none must be judge in its own cause. The pronouncement has been interpreted in some United States quarters as an attack on Russian foreign policy.

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

The beginning of the week saw minor fighting on the left flank of the Soviet line, which soon developed into a sensational Soviet advance. The bridgehead was greatly enlarged and first Mohacs was captured and then the important city of Pécs. Further up the Danube, Soviet forces landed on Csepel island where, a German commentator suggested, they "intend to make use of the Communist elements in the eastern suburbs of Pest." Here there has been heavy fighting but the main Soviet advance was northward. Tokaj, Hatvan and Miskolcz were all captured, as well as ground north of the 1938 frontier with Czechoslovakia. In Miskolcz, which is a large industrial centre, German reports again referred to Communist formations co-operating with the Soviets.

There is still little first-hand news of conditions behind the Soviet line. While the German and Hungarian press published large quantities of atrocity stories, correspondents' messages from Moscow emphasise that the Soviet troops have received strictest orders to preserve discipline, and maintain that the reception accorded to them by the population has been not unfriendly. *The Times* Moscow correspondent telegraphed on the 27th November that the Russians were respecting the local authorities of the Horthy régime and dropping leaflets reminding the Hungarians that Horthy had delegated full authority to his Chief of Staff (Vörös), who was now collaborating with the Red Army. "It was significant that the Red Army's mission in Hungary was a liberating one." According to other Soviet reports, the "Organising Committees" set up in occupied areas are drawn chiefly from the Smallholders, Social Democrats and Communists.

On the Hungarian side of the line, the National Guard inaugurated by Lakatos has been replaced by a new formation, the Armed National Service, the functions of which appear to be those of a Party guard. There have been further callings-up for the army, this time on a considerable scale. According to a German

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report, Cardinal Serédi has ordered Catholic teachers to take the oath of allegiance to Szálasi. This has not yet been confirmed from Hungarian sources; but the Papal Nuncio has attended official functions. Some more Government offices have been evacuated from Budapest, but the Government itself has not left, and the Germans have again declared their intention of holding the city to the last. There have again been many references—sometimes made to refute rumours of German looting—to large stocks and supplies falling into Soviet hands.

Roumania.

M. Vyshinsky who has been visiting Bucharest in connexion with the delay in carrying out the terms of the Armistice, has held detailed discussions with the British members of the Allied Commission. The meetings have been held in an atmosphere of great cordiality. It cannot be said that the points on which the British Section of the Commission wished to arrive at an understanding, have yet been satisfactorily settled. With regard to the removal of material from the Petroleum Companies' stores, M. Vyshinsky repeated the arguments about the goods being legitimate booty since they were German property, which had previously been used by both General Vinogradov and M. Molotov, and then said that it might be possible for the shipments to be stopped. As to the unrest and growing difficulties in the refineries and elsewhere owing to the presence of the N.K.V.D. M. Vyshinsky contended that this was a matter for the Roumanian Government, and that nobody was interfering with them. When asked why permission had not been given for the return of the oil experts, M. Vyshinsky said he would refer the matter to Moscow.

The Soviet Government has demanded that accommodation be found for three more divisions, one to be stationed in the Ploiești district, one in the country to the west of Bucharest, and one at Petroșani, Deva and Arad. These districts include the chief industries and the Soviet action has given rise to the fear that a complete military occupation is in contemplation.

What in the absence of an explanation is a totally unaccountable step for the authorities to take, is an order by the Bucharest police that taverns must close at 6 p.m., bodega bars at 8 p.m. and restaurants at 9 p.m. In Bucharest the restaurants do not *begin* business until about 9 o'clock. In 1940 as a war-time measure they were ordered to close at 2 a.m., and that was considered a very severe privation. It is quite certain that no Roumanian authority made such an order as this of its own free will.

Yugoslavia.

All Macedonia has now been cleared of the enemy. Further north the Bulgarians took Prishtina, and, together with partisan units, later took Vochitrn and Mitrovica. Meanwhile Albanian partisans occupied Prizren and Petch. The whole Kosovo–Metohija area seems to be cleared.

The Germans were driven back on Kotor, which the partisans occupied. The German force in southern Montenegro is now surrounded and trying to force its way out *via* Nikshitch. The German lines of retreat through Kraljevo and the Sandjak are still open.

Allied aircraft increased their deliveries of equipment to the partisans and heavily bombed enemy concentrations and communications.

The Serbian gathering of delegates from partisan committees (see *Summary* No. 267, p. 14) elected a Council for Serbia and a Presidium (standing committee). This Presidium has defined the formation and activities of the local partisan committees as "the basic organs of popular authority." The Belgrade press urges these committees to exercise their authority and show initiative. The Presidium has also appointed twelve commissars for departments of government in Serbia, and a legislative committee. Thus Serbia has been brought into line with the partisan organisation set up in other regions of Yugoslavia.

Tito's provisional Yugoslav Government has proclaimed an amnesty to all who were or are in Mihailovitch's or the Croat or Slovene Domobranstvo (quisling) forces, if they report for service to the partisan military or civil authorities by the 15th January next. The amnesty does not apply to those who remain in those forces after the publication of the amnesty (apparently 21st November) or are guilty of murder, robbery, &c. The provisional Government has also ordered the confiscation of all property of the German State and its citizens, and of persons of German nationality (presumably the local German minority), except those who have fought in the partisan forces. The property

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of persons absent or forcibly abducted by the enemy is sequestrated pending a decision upon it.

The Communist newspaper *Borba* has attacked the Governments of France, Greece and Belgium for now seeking to disarm their "resistance" movements. About the Allied troops in Dalmatia the new Yugoslav Telegraph Service emphasised that the partisan military authorities had permitted a very small force of British artillery to co-operate with their troops. No other request for permission for an Allied landing had been made.

In Belgrade and Split the *bourgeois* class is reported to be recovering confidence.

The Greek Communist Party is reported to have let it be known privately in Moscow that, if Bulgaria were willing to cede her bit of Macedonia to the proposed autonomous Yugoslav Macedonia, they saw no reason why the districts of Florina and Kastoria, in Greece, should not be similarly ceded; but that the Serres, Drama and Kavalla areas should remain in Greece.

Shubashitch has left Moscow (see "Soviet Union").

Greece.

The task of the Greek Government in maintaining stabilisation and restarting commerce and industry has been made more difficult by the fact that it has at the same time been necessary to create the administrative machinery to deal with these problems. The Government hopes shortly to establish a reasonable scale of wages and prices and is preparing plans to finance industries which produce goods for sale to the public. The recent budget, however, contains no credits for rehabilitation, and, with very little revenue coming in, the Government has been reluctant to provide the British military authorities with drachmæ to pay for road and relief works. The Government has, however, agreed to give financial assistance to industries whose products will be used to provide shelter for the homeless during the winter.

M. Papandreou, who has been having frequent conferences with M. Siantos and the Communist Ministers, has shown signs of yielding to pressure from these quarters; General Ventiris, the Chief of Staff (see last week's *Summary*), has been removed from his post, and M. Lambrianidis, Under-Secretary for War and member of M. Papandreou's party, has been superseded by General Sariyiannis, an appointment that will please none but the Extreme Left; M. Lambrianidis remains in the Cabinet as Minister without portfolio. The more moderate elements in the Government are apprehensive, and at one point both Liberals and Populists contemplated resigning; however, they have now agreed to remain in the Government until a legally armed force has been established in Greece. Meantime, the Liberal paper *Dimokratia* has sharply attacked M. Papandreou and has accused the British of making a tragic mistake in thinking that the Greek Communists were carrying on a struggle for national liberation rather than for political domination. The British, says *Dimokratia*, should have been more practical in their dealings with E.L.A.S.; they should have landed in the Peloponnese as soon as the Germans left. Why did they allow power to be handed over to the Communists? Without British support M. Papandreou and his Communist Ministers would fall; Great Britain should cease to intervene in their favour.

Albania.

Having to withdraw from Tirana in some haste the Germans left the chief installations there intact. Some three hundred Germans escaped to the north, but 1,200 are estimated to have been killed or captured and a battle group of Germans which advanced from Elbasan to the relief of Tirana was virtually annihilated by the R.A.F. and F.N.Ç. Both Elbasan and Durazzo have now been captured from the Germans. Small forces of quisling Albanians have been holding out at Tetovo and Gostivar, on the Yugoslav side of the frontier, but the main feature of the situation has been the attacks to which Allied bombers have subjected the German units by day and by night as they retreat slowly northwards.

Midhat Frasheri, the head of Balli Kombetar, has arrived in southern Italy with some thirty other fugitives who belonged to that now disbanded organisation or to the following of Abas Kupi.

Bulgaria.

The Government has made a change in the command of the militia, whose high-handed proceedings have, as reported last week, been partly responsible for the critical internal situation in Bulgaria. The Government evidently hopes that

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the new head of the militia, a Lieutenant-Colonel Dintzov, who is a lawyer and a Communist, will handle the situation with more tact than his predecessor. Meanwhile Fatherland Front delegates from the provinces have been conferring with their colleagues in Sofia on economic affairs and the conference has decided that private ownership shall be preserved and economic co-operation encouraged subject to a large measure of control by the people. In increasing the allowances of soldiers' dependants the Government, it may be noted, has introduced the principle of basing the increase not on the soldier's pay but on the number of his dependants. Similarly the allowances paid to the dependants of officers and men killed in action are to be equal, regardless of rank.

The Foreign Minister told the British political representative on the 21st November that the Government was determined that the Crown should be treated with proper respect so long as Bulgaria remained a kingdom. The Queen Mother was living with the infant King and the small princess at the palace at Vranya. Prince Kiril had been sent to Moscow for examination and Princess Eudoxie, the late King's sister, was kept more or less isolated near Sofia. Among people lately arrested are the president and council of the national bank who are apparently held largely responsible for the pro-German policy which is stated to have led to a Bulgarian loss of 42 milliard levas.

An article in the press claims the Bulgarian victories in Yugoslavia have only been possible thanks to the assistant commanders—*i.e.*, political officers—whom the Government appointed to effect the "ideological rearmament" of the army and make it fight against, and not for, the Germans. A Government broadcast declared that the army's victories had already improved Bulgaria's international status, but it called on army and people for still greater efforts since Bulgaria's place among the peace-loving nations was now being determined.

The Premier, M. Kimon Gheorghiev, in an interview on the 20th November, again emphasised his determination to co-operate with the Balkan peoples and in particular with Yugoslavia. Similarly a recent article on Macedonia by the Agrarian leader, Dr. G. M. Dimitrov, condemns chauvinism and repeats the demand that by agreement between Yugoslavia, Greece and Bulgaria Macedonia should become a member of a federal Yugoslavia. The Bulgarian Government, so the Foreign Minister told the British political representative, is withdrawing its troops from Yugoslav Macedonia in deference to Marshal Tito and intends henceforth to have no more to do with Bulgarians in Macedonia than the French Government has with Frenchmen in Canada.

Turkey.

In pursuance of our policy of supporting Turkish economy we have, in agreement with the United States, started on a programme of buying Turkish commodities, although we cannot embark upon large-scale purchasing until Turkey gives us some satisfaction regarding the present inflation of Turkish prices and the modification of our existing financial arrangements with her. On the 21st November a party of Turkish business men left Angora to negotiate in the United States for industrial plant.

£T.500,000 has been collected in Turkey for Greek relief and the Turkish Government proposes to complete this gesture of goodwill by sending a Turkish ship to the Piræus with foodstuffs. At the same time a deputation of Greeks has arrived in Turkey from Kalymnos in the Dodecanese where the remaining German forces are unable to provide for the civil population.

Although it would be in the Allied interest that Turkey should do as the United States, U.S.S.R. and many other countries have done, Turkey has refrained from recognising Syria and Lebanon. Her reluctance seems to be partly due to a claim to certain properties in Syria.

Turkey has constantly shown an intense anxiety lest we should let the Soviet Government have things all its own way in the Balkans and lest Turkey herself should be unable to play her part in a sphere which she regards as vital. She seems to have picked up heart from the Moscow Conference, on which Turkish press comment was uniformly favourable, and from subsequent developments in the Balkans in which the semi-official *Ulus* sees a promise of a return to order.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

The assassination of Lord Moyne is still widely discussed in Egypt, where it has caused considerable anti-Zionist feeling. But there is as yet no more news about the official enquiry that is being conducted in Cairo. Investigations are

proceeding, and important information on certain points is awaited from Palestine. Another crime occurred on the 20th November, when two British soldiers, while walking in Maadi, not far from Cairo, were fired at from a motor car by a person or persons unknown. One of the soldiers has since died. If, as seems possible, the car was stolen just before the attack, the methods adopted are similar to those followed in previous cases by the Stern Gang. But there is as yet nothing to prove that the assailants in this instance were Jews.

On the 20th November King Farouk attended a swimming competition, organised by the Minister of Education, and was photographed with the Egyptian Prime Minister on his left side, and on his right Nabil Abbas Halim and Mohammed Taher Pasha. It will be remembered that these two worthies, both of whom are related to the Royal family, were interned in July 1942 by the Wafd Government for their pro-German activities, and were only released by the present Government on condition that they lived in retirement and abstained from any publicity. Abdul Fattah Amr Pasha, who is now attached to the Palace, saw the King, at Lord Killearn's suggestion, and pointed out to His Majesty the undesirability of persons with such a bad record appearing in public in the Royal presence. The King agreed that neither of them should again be invited to gatherings of this kind. His Majesty added that Ali Maher, the Prime Minister's troublesome brother, to whose activities Amr Pasha also drew the King's attention, was in future to be confined to his country estate.

Although the general election in Egypt is due to be held within six weeks or so, the question of allocating the number of seats between the various parties has not yet been settled. Meanwhile the Government has somewhat relaxed the censorship by allowing Wafdist representatives to reply to charges made against them in the press. The reason for this may be that the Prime Minister, who seems inclined to resent Makram's efforts to play a dominant rôle in the Cabinet, regards with equanimity any refutation of Makram, who is chiefly responsible for the charges against the Wafd.

A violently-worded column about Ethiopia by Drew Pearson, a widely-read American writer, has appeared in the *Washington Post*. Drew Pearson declares that Haile Selassie is most anxious to see the British leave Ethiopia, as they had "agreed to do" two, and later three, years after the re-conquest of his country. He goes on to say that the British now propose to grab various Ethiopian territories, and that the Emperor had in consequence appealed to the State Department. He adds that the Emperor's efforts to communicate personally with him (Pearson) were foiled either by the British or by the United States censorship. His Majesty's Government are informing the press here that they have no knowledge of any such appeal; and that, so far from occupying Ethiopia, we have withdrawn from the country except from certain areas where we have remained in virtue of an agreement with Haile Selassie.

Mr. Churchill's statement in the House of Commons about Palestine (see *Summary* No. 268) has naturally received a good deal of attention in the Jewish Palestine press. *Haaretz* commented as follows: "Churchill's words were bitter and harsh. We are aware that he spoke not only as head of the Government, but also as a friend of Zionism, who remained loyal to it during the difficult testing period before the war, and did not abate his loyalty after assuming office. That is why his words are so pungent. The entire future of Zionism has been placed in jeopardy. Not only Britain, but all sections of the Zionist movement wait on our reply." *Davar* wrote: "Mr. Churchill's statement shows conclusively the gravity of the lurking danger to our undertaking and hope from the vile deeds of terrorists. . . . . It is our bounden duty to mobilise all powers and influence in our midst to prevent these individual outcasts from distorting our character and endangering our effort."

Mr. Shertok, head of the political department of the Jewish Agency, at a meeting in Haifa on the 18th November, called to speed up recruitment for the Jewish Brigade, appealed to all Jews in Palestine to use every means to stamp out terrorism and to give full assistance to the authorities; while Dr. Weizmann has also warned the Jews that, if acts of terrorism continued in Palestine, their effects on the future of the country would be disastrous. The Stern Gang, for their part, have publicly admitted, in proclamations distributed in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, their responsibility for the murder of Lord Moyne. (For American reactions to Lord Moyne's murder see under "United States of America.")

The Iraqi Government has now agreed to the appointment of a Russian Minister in Bagdad. The Minister nominated by the Soviet Government is said to

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be M. Grigory Titovich Zaitsev, who has recently been employed in the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs in Moscow.

M. Bayat, who, as reported in last week's *Summary*, was invited by the Shah to form a Ministry in succession to M. Saed, has now presented his Cabinet. It contains no personages of note, some indeed being as insignificant as M. Bayat himself. The weakness of the new Cabinet *vis-à-vis* Russia lies in the fact that it contains two Ministers who served under M. Saed; of whom, however, one, Mohammed Sururi, has had strong support in the Majlis, while the other, Khalil Fahimi, took no part in the recent crisis owing to absence on duty in Kurdistan. On the whole the Cabinet may be described as a collection of "decent" men—for Persia—who are not likely to go back on M. Saed's policy on oil concessions. It is, however, possible that, should Soviet pressure increase, the Government may resign rather than give a firm refusal to Russia.

The new Prime Minister has himself informed Sir R. Bullard that there will be no change in policy on the oil question, since that policy represents the views of the Majlis and of the general public. According to M. Ala, the Minister at Court, M. Bayat told the Soviet Counsellor that he would certainly give the same reply as his predecessor to the Russian demand. Public opinion in Persia remains firm, and the Tudeh party appear to have been entirely discredited by the pro-Russian attitude they have adopted. Meanwhile, the Soviet press campaign against Persia, based on quotations from the pro-Soviet Persian press, continues to be waged as it has for some weeks past; while a German broadcast in Persian has welcomed the new Persian Government as including "men whose integrity is beyond reproach," which made it unlikely that it would "let itself become a tool in the hands of foreigners."

The Persian Ambassador in London, who was in Tehran when the Russian demand was first made and was a spectator of some of the incidents that occurred there, saw Mr. Eden at the Foreign Office on the 23rd November, when the Foreign Secretary informed him of our surprise at Russian action in Persia, and of our representations to the Soviet Government on the matter. M. Taqizadeh expressed great relief at hearing of the action we had taken, and said that he would like to inform his Government that we were watching the situation closely. But though reassured by Mr. Eden's words, the Ambassador did not conceal his anxiety about the future, or his dislike of the way that Russia had behaved over the oil question.

THE FAR EAST.

Two raids by American "super-fortresses" have been carried out against Tokyo from a base in Saipan during the last week. According to the Japanese report about seventy took part in the first raid, and five were brought down; the American communiqué did not give the number sent out, but stated that two had failed to return. Brigadier-General Hansell, the Base Commander in Saipan, said that the attack had not come up to expectations so far as results were concerned, but on the whole it was profitable; too much must not be expected too soon of the big bombers. General Arnold, Commander of the 20th Air Force, was more optimistic; he said that the attack had "rocked the heart of Japan," that Tokyo's war industries had been "badly hurt," and that the "battle for Japan" had been joined.

It was also announced by the 20th Air Force that instructions had been given to bomber crews to avoid damaging the Imperial Palace, shrines or temples. This appears to indicate a decision of policy in high quarters on the question, long debated in the United States, as to what attitude should be adopted towards the Japanese Imperial dynasty. A section of opinion has urged that the Emperor should be held personally responsible for Japanese policy and atrocities and should be bracketed with Hitler as an arch-enemy, and that everything possible should be done to destroy the prestige of the monarchy and its religious cult in Japan. This school of thought has been supported from China by Sun Fo, who has contributed more than one article to the American press demanding the abolition of the Japanese monarchy—though the Chinese Government has otherwise been quite non-committal on this subject. Mr. Grew, however, the former American Ambassador to Japan, has made public, since the war began, his opinion that the monarchy might be made a factor for peace in post-war Japan, and since he has been at the head of the Far Eastern Office of the State Department his view has apparently prevailed.

With the approach of the air war to the homeland it has been possible to observe for some time an increasing concern in Japan for self-justification as regards the origins of the Pacific struggle. This propaganda campaign has now been carried a step further by a speech delivered by Kurusu, the Special Envoy to the United States in the autumn of 1941, on the 26th November, the anniversary of the delivery of the final American note to the Japanese representatives. The Japanese now call this note an ultimatum and affect to regard its date as the real beginning of the Pacific war. Kurusu alleged in his speech that Cordell Hull was anxious for a settlement, but complained to him of "the interference of a certain group which made it impossible to proceed with the negotiations as he desired." Kurusu also charged the Roosevelt Administration with repeatedly postponing the promised court-martial on the Pearl Harbour Commanders in an effort to prevent disclosures of the truth with regard to the origin of the war.

Along with this war-guilt apologetic Japanese propaganda is still trying to intensify its appeal to the sentiment for independence in Asiatic territories dependent on Britain or the United States. There is nothing further to be done in this respect for the Philippines or Burma, but a new gesture is to be made to India by the opening of formal diplomatic relations with Subhas Bose's "Provisional Government." Since the failure of the "Indo-Japanese" invasion of Manipur not much has been heard of the "march to Delhi," but Bose and his Japanese sponsors have been able to derive a certain satisfaction from the continuation of the political deadlock within India, and the purpose of the opening of diplomatic relations is probably, by giving Bose all the trappings of a fully sovereign régime, to emphasise further India's lack at present of such a status.

In China the Japanese forces (now under the supreme command of General Okamura, Field-Marshal Hata having been recalled to be Inspector-General of Military Training in Japan) have now reached the border of Kweichow and threaten an advance to Kweiyang, which would sever the only good road linking Chungking with Kunming. It is reported that General Ho Ying-chin, who has been relieved of his post of War Minister, but remains Chief of Staff, National Military Council (see last week's *Summary*), is to be given direct command of Chinese forces covering the approaches to Chungking. General Pai Chung-hsi, the Deputy Chief of Staff and Kwangsi military leader, who was recently sent to Kweilin to supervise Li Chai-sum and Chang Fa-kuei in the defence of that place, is now reported to have shared in their disaster and to be a fugitive in the mountains of western Kwangsi. There is no reason to suppose that the Generalissimo will have shed tears over the misfortunes of any of these generals; for himself the military situation is not catastrophic as long as the Japanese can be kept out of the Szechwan plain, which is his own "Fortress of China."

Tokyo radio has represented last week's changes in the Chungking Government as "a gesture to curry favour with the United States, clearly indicating that Chungking has lost most of her sovereignty." Chiang Kai-shek, said the *Domei* commentator, was dependent on American help in his "blind resistance" against Japan, and therefore had to submit to American demands; if Chiang did not abandon his anti-Japanese policy, he would have to make a second and third reconstruction of his Government, when Washington required him to admit the Communists to a share in political power. On the same day, indeed, the Communists in a broadcast from Yenan made it clear that they regarded the changes as quite inadequate; there had merely been a reshuffle of posts among members of the Kuomintang ruling clique, whereas the Communist Party demanded a coalition Government and the elimination of "all anti-democratic, defeatist and Fascist elements."

General Hurley has now been appointed American Ambassador to China in place of Mr. Gauss, who has resigned. Mr. Nelson is still in Chungking advising on the organisation of the new Chinese War Production Board, but will soon be returning to the United States. General Wedemeyer has announced at a Press conference that the Generalissimo has accepted his advice on dispositions of Chinese troops to meet the Japanese offensive. In general, there seems to have been a relaxation of tension since the recall of General Stilwell. There is still, however, a certain strain in Sino-American relations consequent on the Press outbursts which followed Stilwell's recall. The anti-Chungking blast even assumed an official character when Brooks Atkinson's violent *New York Times'* article was formally communicated to the *Ceylon Daily News* by the Office of War

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Information. But the Sinophiles have risen in defence of China in answer to the charges made against her, and the periodical *China at War*, which the Chinese News Service publishes in the United States, has been able to state Chungking's case entirely with articles and letters written by Americans. The most vocal Sinophile champion is the ex-missionary Congressman Judd of Minnesota, who, in a letter to the Union for Democratic Action dated the 20th July, denounced the "nation-wide, systematic, organised and co-ordinated propaganda campaign" against Chungking and hinted at ulterior motives for it. Judd claimed that China could not be blamed for failure to hold democratic elections in the middle of a war when even Britain, with her long parliamentary tradition, did not do so; as to the Chungking censorship, he alleged it to be no worse than that applied in the United States to news of race riots. On the Communist question he drew precedent from American history; Abraham Lincoln, he argued, had been able to co-operate with Jefferson Davis as long as he was simply a party leader, but could not do so when the latter headed a rebellion with a separate Government, army, currency and flag.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Ever since the election there have been rumours of impending changes in the Cabinet, and a week or two ago the President sarcastically thanked the press for "settling at least five posts." Speculation chiefly centred round the alleged impending resignation of Mr. Cordell Hull who has long been suffering from ill health. Various names were suggested as his possible successor, notably Mr. Byrnes, Mr. Stimson, Ambassador Winant, Mr. Stettinius, Ambassador Harriman and Mr. Grew. Speculation came to an end with the announcement by the President that Mr. Cordell Hull, who is 73, had, on the advice of his doctors, resigned from the post of Secretary of State and that his resignation had been accepted with "deep regret." His Deputy, Mr. Edward Stettinius, who is 44, has been appointed to succeed him. The President has been at great pains to point out, however, that Mr. Cordell Hull, who occupies a unique position in the esteem of his fellow-countrymen, will still continue to advise him in the field of foreign affairs. "I shall continue to pray," the President wrote to Mr. Hull, describing him as the "Father of the United Nations," "that you may preside over its first session. That is nothing to do with whether you are Secretary of State or not at the time but should go to you as the one person in all the world who has done the most to make this great plan for peace an effective fact." Mr. Hull, for his part, has spoken of the "supreme tragedy" to him personally that he finds himself unable to continue making his "full contribution to such great international undertakings as the creation of a post-war peace organisation." Lord Halifax, in expressing his own great regret at Mr. Cordell Hull's resignation, has fittingly paid tribute to Mr. Hull's "character, integrity and grasp of great issues."

Mr. Stettinius, who took part in the Dumbarton Oaks conversations, gave up his post as Lease-Lend Administrator to replace Mr. Sumner Welles as Under-Secretary of State in December 1943. His book, giving an account of the operations of Lease-Lend, has done much to clarify to his fellow-countrymen the issues involved, and he is well known and liked in this country.

It is also generally rumoured that the resignation can shortly be expected of Miss Perkins, the Secretary of Labour, who, it is to be recalled, was violently attacked by Mr. Dewey in his campaign speeches. Miss Perkins is one of the original members of Mr. Roosevelt's Administration, though her position as Secretary of Labour has grown more difficult by the creation of numerous agencies dealing with various aspects of labour. Other rumours of change are concerned with the names of Mr. Hannegan, the head of the Democratic party machine, who is mentioned as the possible new Postmaster-General; and Mr. Henry Wallace who, it is rumoured, would like to become Secretary of Commerce. Mr. James Fly of the F.C.C. (Federal Communications Commission), a veteran of innumerable Washington battles, has resigned and been succeeded by Mr. Paul Porter, who was responsible for the Democratic Party's publicity. Mr. Donald Nelson, who is now in China, has been appointed personal economic representative of the President and a member of the Cabinet. This appointment was referred to by the President's critics as another instance of his "propensity to boost his official misfits." Mr. Leo T. Crowley, the Foreign Economic Administrator also asked, on the 17th November, to be relieved of his duties as Administrator. The President has replied that while he appreciated Mr. Crowley's desire to return to

private industry, he could not accept his resignation. "You are doing a fine job," he wrote, "and I want you to remain at least until the elimination of Germany from the war"; to which course Mr. Crowley has now agreed.

The British White Paper on Mutual Aid and President Roosevelt's report to Congress on Lend-Lease issued at more or less the same time have created widespread interest in the United States, and the realisation of the full extent of Britain's aid to the United States has occasioned great surprise, not to say pleasure. In his report the President emphasised that in the past year reverse Lend-Lease had almost trebled the previous year's, and had been particularly heavy during preparations for the invasion of Europe. "In these six months United States forces in the British Isles received the equivalent of almost 3,851,000 ships tons of supplies from the United Kingdom, exclusive of construction materials and gasoline, compared with 2,950,000 tons in the preceding eighteen months. One-third of all the supplies and equipment currently required by United States troops in the British Isles had been provided under reverse Lend-Lease. It would have required a thousand ships to send across the Atlantic what we have received for our men from the United Kingdom," and the President pointed out that Americans had been able to use these thousand ships for carrying supplies and equipment that had to come from the United States. He gave as his opinion that the invasion of France would have had to be delayed many months without this help. Mr. Roosevelt also paid generous tribute to the supplies which had been made by other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. He took the occasion, however, to point out that, while the United States had benefited enormously from reverse Lend-Lease, they had benefited far more "and in a far larger sense, from the total fighting effort of our Allies. . . . . Neither the monetary totals of the Lend-Lease aid we supplied nor the totals of the reverse Lend-Lease aid we received are measures of the aid we have given or received in this war. That can be measured only in terms of the total contributions toward winning victory of each of the United Nations," and, he added, "there are no statistical or monetary measurements for the value of courage, skill and sacrifice in the face of death and destruction wrought by our common enemies." Finally, the President give it as his view that by this common pooling final victory had been brought many months closer than would otherwise have been possible. "Lend-Lease and reverse Lend-Lease are a system of combined war supply. They should end with the war. But the United Nations partnership must go on and must grow stronger. For the tasks of building a workable peace that will endure, we shall need all the strength that a permanent and stronger United Nations can provide in winning security from aggression, and in building economic foundations for a more prosperous world."

The President's reference to the death and destruction that had been faced by Britain led to many tributes in the press to Britain's ability to aid her Allies so much in view of the enormous hardships that she had borne at home. Several writers pointed out that, Britain's population being one-third of the United States, her *per capita* contribution was most impressive, and it was further noted that Britain had allowed the United States time to mobilise, a boon which could never be assessed. *P.M.* declared that Mr. Roosevelt had virtually eliminated the possibility of a dollar-for-dollar settlement from the Lend-Lease accounts, and also foresaw a United States lending programme to the United Nations in the immediate post-war period in order to enable them to purchase American products. The loan of a large sum to Great Britain was discussed, though several papers, such as the *Journal of Commerce*, welcomed the President's assurance that Lend-Lease would not be the instrument after the war.

The assassination of Lord Moyne, while it has been prominently reported in despatches, has received little newspaper comment, probably due to the fact that this event was overshadowed by the election news, but partly, no doubt, owing to a reluctance to discuss so delicate a subject. Even such pro-Zionist papers as the *New York Post* have condemned and deplored this atrocity. It is generally agreed that the murder constitutes "a serious blow to Zionism." One or two papers, however, while condemning the murder, have condemned also the British White Paper policy in Palestine, and the Junion Hadassah Convention, while denouncing the assassination, maintains that the British Colonial Office is partly to blame. The convention adopted a resolution praising President Roosevelt for his efforts towards establishing Palestine as the Jewish Commonwealth. Mr. Sol Bloom has said that the hearing of the Compton-White pro-Zionist Resolution in the House of Representatives has for the moment been shelved.

The press has shown great interest in the forthcoming talks between Mr. Churchill, Marshal Stalin and President Roosevelt. Earlier comment

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assumed that the meeting was likely to occur before the end of the year; it is now generally agreed that it is unlikely to take place before the end of January. The President, on Monday, increased the speculation on when the meeting was likely to take place by saying that he might go away on a vacation and that he might go to "almost any point" and that his plans were in a state of flux, adding without amplification that he might surprise everyone.

Among the first to join issue with the Political Action Committee of the C.I.O. was Representative Martin Dies, and his committee, who declared early in the year that he would be investigating the activities of this newly-formed committee. The investigations were still continuing at the time of the Presidential election though Mr. Dies had already announced his decision not to seek re-election, while two members of his committee, Representative Joe Starnes (Democrat) and Representative J. F. Costello (Democrat), had met with defeat in the Alabama and California primaries, largely, it is said, owing to the activities of the P.A.C. In the November election another member, Representative Busbey (Rep., Illinois), was also defeated. The committee for investigating un-American activities has met with growing criticism since its inception in 1938 (see *Summary* No. 160), though the vote to cover its expenditure has been passed each year with large majorities. Unless fresh funds are voted the committee will expire with the present Congress, and in view of its diminished prestige it is possible that it will not be set up again when the new Congress convenes, at least in its present form. The committee has maintained a fine reactionary fervour and has sought to prove that all its enemies are Communists. It is of interest that the American Legion Convention at Chicago in September passed a Resolution demanding a campaign against "subversive activities" and there was a call for the continuance of the Dies Committee, while the *New York Journal American* has maintained that a movement is under way to make the Dies Committee permanent. The *Chicago Sun*, however, has prophesied the demise of the Dies Committee with pleasure. According to *Time*, House leaders of both parties are now agreed that the committee should not be revived when its lease of life expires on the 3rd January, 1945.

[See also under the "Middle East," "The Far East," "Poland," "Vatican," "United Nations" and "Latin America."]

LATIN AMERICA.

Since the events recorded in last week's *Summary* there has been less public discussion of Argentine's proposal for a meeting of American Foreign Ministers, though Uruguay is reported to have proposed that the American Foreign Ministers should discuss the Argentine case before holding a general assembly to deal with post-war problems. On the 24th November, Mr. Stettinius declared that it was not yet possible to define the attitude of the United States Government, since consultation was still in progress. He added that he had every reason to believe that all the Governments concerned would be able to state their position before the next meeting of the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union on the 6th December, that the principle of free democratic discussion had been observed, and that the United States' part in this discussion had been thoroughly in accord with that principle. He declined to say whether any of the Latin American republics had proposed a place of meeting.

Meanwhile, in its actions and explanations, the Argentine régime remains as changeable as the chameleon. Apparently in an endeavour to counteract the bad impression caused by the recent army law (see *Summary* No. 268), the War Ministry has explained that almost half of a recent age-group called up were rejected as physically unfit. At the same time, according to an official circular of the 17th November, the Government has resolved to put into effect the highly nationalistic pensions decree of the 13th June, by which a number of British subjects are adversely affected.

In Bolivia the Minister of Defence has announced that the revolutionary movement referred to last week was crushed on the 21st November. The National Convention has, however, authorised the continuation of the state of siege. A number of executions have taken place and members of the former Peñaranda régime have been arrested.

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UNITED NATIONS.

Civil Aviation Conference.

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The United States have not only pressed the "Fifth Freedom," the right to carry passengers from one foreign country to another along the international routes (see *Summary* No. 268), but insisted that this traffic shall be counted in assessing the right of any country to increase its frequencies along the routes. It is possible that many advantages would accrue to the United Kingdom from such a clause, but, as Lord Swinton pointed out in a press interview, it would probably injure very severely the more limited air services of smaller countries with their immediate neighbours, particularly the European countries, since many Latin American ones are already included in the United States routes. Moreover, Lord Swinton has felt it necessary to protect the interests of those countries whose air development has been crippled by the war, by again insisting on a preliminary period of three years after the close of the war with Germany for European countries, and three years after the close of the war with Japan for Pacific countries, during which such countries shall be entitled to claim their full quotas.

Both the United States and United Kingdom delegations have tabled their proposals concerning the Five Freedoms and the frequencies, and laid them before the sub-committee. The Canadian delegation have made a proposal concerning the Fifth Freedom, which is described as a compromise between the points of view of the United Kingdom and the United States. It remains to be seen whether an agreement on all these questions can be attained.

Failure to obtain such agreement would still leave intact the technical side of the Convention which is an immense advance and will be especially important for those countries which desire to establish long-distance international air routes. Even so, it must be recognised that there is a political and strategic side to the problem, and that such great issues cannot be settled merely on commercial lines. It remains to be seen how far the United States will take this point into account in accommodating her "flying start" to the needs of the rest of the world.

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assumed that the meeting was likely to occur before the end of the year; it is now generally agreed that it is unlikely to take place before the end of January. The President, on Monday, increased the speculation on when the meeting was likely to take place by saying that he might go away on a vacation and that he might go to "almost any point" and that his plans were in a state of flux, adding without amplification that he might surprise everyone.

Among the first to join issue with the Political Action Committee of the C.I.O. was Representative Martin Dies, and his committee, who declared early in the year that he would be investigating the activities of this newly-formed committee. The investigations were still continuing at the time of the Presidential election though Mr. Dies had already announced his decision not to seek re-election, while two members of his committee, Representative Joe Starnes (Democrat) and Representative J. F. Costello (Democrat), had met with defeat in the Alabama and California primaries, largely, it is said, owing to the activities of the P.A.C. In the November election another member, Representative Busbey (Rep., Illinois), was also defeated. The committee for investigating un-American activities has met with growing criticism since its inception in 1938 (see *Summary* No. 160), though the vote to cover its expenditure has been passed each year with large majorities. Unless fresh funds are voted the committee will expire with the present Congress, and in view of its diminished prestige it is possible that it will not be set up again when the new Congress convenes, at least in its present form. The committee has maintained a fine reactionary fervour and has sought to prove that all its enemies are Communists. It is of interest that the American Legion Convention at Chicago in September passed a Resolution demanding a campaign against "subversive activities" and there was a call for the continuance of the Dies Committee, while the *New York Journal American* has maintained that a movement is under way to make the Dies Committee permanent. The *Chicago Sun*, however, has prophesied the demise of the Dies Committee with pleasure. According to *Time*, House leaders of both parties are now agreed that the committee should not be revived when its lease of life expires on the 3rd January, 1945.

[See also under the "Middle East," "The Far East," "Poland," "Vatican," "United Nations" and "Latin America."]

LATIN AMERICA.

Since the events recorded in last week's *Summary* there has been less public discussion of Argentine's proposal for a meeting of American Foreign Ministers, though Uruguay is reported to have proposed that the American Foreign Ministers should discuss the Argentine case before holding a general assembly to deal with post-war problems. On the 24th November, Mr. Stettinius declared that it was not yet possible to define the attitude of the United States Government, since consultation was still in progress. He added that he had every reason to believe that all the Governments concerned would be able to state their position before the next meeting of the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union on the 6th December, that the principle of free democratic discussion had been observed, and that the United States' part in this discussion had been thoroughly in accord with that principle. He declined to say whether any of the Latin American republics had proposed a place of meeting.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 270

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
6TH DECEMBER, 1944.

Copy № 183

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

SERIOUS administrative problems have been both caused and intensified by the unprecedented series of raids on the cities of the Rhine–Ruhr area. This area has now become strategically the most important part of the Reich. Not only is it directly in the path of an Allied advance, but its contribution to Germany's fighting power on three fronts is hardly more important than the morale and capacity of its people. Signs of a crisis in administration and of a dangerous decline in morale in this area now therefore possess increased political importance.

It is clear in the first place that German propaganda has had to lift its ban on news of conditions in the western cities. Official assurances that emergency measures will be adequate to the emergency have also recently been dropped. A broadcast on the Home Service of the 26th November described "the gruesome reality of a front town", and said that recent raids eclipsed in horror "vast earthquakes, national catastrophes and the battles of the first World War." Conditions of life in a town which had experienced nearly 2,000 alerts, in which people had to keep families in huts and shelters, those in the former case visiting shelters often more than once every day, were front-line conditions, and as such could only be understood by "the fighters of Monte Cassino and Avranches." Failure to appreciate this was said to explain the friction and misunderstanding encountered by evacuees.

More explicit evidence has been forthcoming in a series of articles published by the *National Zeitung*, the central office of which is in Essen, although many Ruhr towns have their separate edition of the paper. This has now openly complained that Reich authorities are not doing enough for West Germany. More workers from other districts must be made available to restore public services. Foreign workers have been sent, but these are, in most cases, not skilled workers. "Reich help has, unfortunately, not yet become effective"—

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such a sentence strikes a new note in the German press. The same paper states in another issue that "life in the ruined Rhine and Ruhr towns is becoming increasingly difficult . . . things which are a matter of course elsewhere become a problem here: water, electricity, gas, food, communications." Conditions are expected to get worse, so much so that compensation for being bombed out will soon, according to the *National Zeitung*, be no longer possible.

Among specific complaints made in such articles is first of all the lack of unified control. Craters, for example, have been filled in only to be reopened for work on cables and pipes. The transport situation would seem to be desperate. On the 23rd November the paper devoted a leading article to this, asserting that Essen had long ago asked for vehicles from other parts of the Reich, and indicating some exasperation not only with neglect of its request but with the quality of goods delivered: "Past experience induces us to exhort the authorities . . . . not to send just any old rubbish. If the front were supplied with inferior material this would be considered as sabotage."

Apart from the organisation of municipal services the most intractable problems are connected with the safety of the population. Re-housing is held up (still on the evidence of the *National Zeitung*) by lack of materials, which causes workers to "sit about idly on the sites." The shelter situation is causing increased discontent. Shelters are inadequate and discipline is difficult to enforce: "every attack increases the demand for security in the shelters." The present habit of giving space and seating to women and children while men stay outside is, says the local paper, no longer defensible. The solution recommended is more evacuation and in this matter the Gauleiter of Essen, on the 18th November, took the step of ordering old people, invalids and mothers with children to leave the city. (According to a recent report precisely the opposite evacuation policy is pursued in localities near the present front line: women and children stay, able-bodied men are sent eastwards.) It would perhaps be going too far to call this the first case of compulsory large-scale evacuation on account of air-raids: in previous cases people have been asked and advised to leave. But from a Gauleiter the difference between a request and an order cannot be very great. Press comment on the decision suggests that there are still about 400,000 people in the city, which had a pre-war population of 670,000. Even so, it is doubtful whether transport facilities will allow the order to be carried out. So far even the bombed-out have not been able to leave without long delay. A woman with young children who requested to be sent away was told that she could not be considered as long as she had a roof over her head. A major difficulty would seem to be the provision of an adequate reception area. The paper demands more billets in country districts and suggests that the problem needs stricter handling on a Reich basis. "The Reich population must move closer together so that the lives of their Volksgenossen from the front towns can be protected. If elsewhere standards are applied which are only half as severe as those long since applied in our bombed towns, results will be obtained." The suggestion is made that experienced billeting officers from the Ruhr towns should be sent with full powers to the reception areas.

It is this same Ruhr area which is stressed by German news agencies as the main objective of the Allied armies. The public are urged to believe that the Allied penetration through Alsace is of less consequence than the fighting east of Aachen. The double threat to the Eastern front is also reported to have become easier during the past week. The O.K.W. bulletin of the 30th November spoke of the "second defensive battle" of Kurland as successfully concluded. That of the previous day had reviewed the result of six weeks' fighting in central Hungary with figures of the considerable Russian losses. Agency comment has suggested, however, that more and bigger attacks are likely in the Hungarian theatre. Leaving out the bombing of Western Germany such comment can still present a fairly bright general picture of the war. Germans are told that they will have to accept local losses on all fronts but that no far-reaching military catastrophe need be feared. Indeed, the worst is over. "Germany has overcome her Dunkirk crisis." American material is being used up at an alarming rate—907 aircraft was the official figure of November losses—while German production is rising and a more equal contest is therefore in prospect for 1945. As Semmler told home listeners on the 26th November, "if the Anglo-Americans fail to achieve a decisive victory now with their maximum concentration of men and material, how do they think to defeat us in a few months' time when our own armament potential will have considerably increased and the present proportion of strength will have changed?" Even Dittmar, on the 28th November, despite an ominous reference to the Allies probing for "a second Avranches," emphasised

the value of a new supply of reserves now available. German distresses, too, form only one side of the picture; the other, diligently described by Goebbels, is that of war-weary and disunited nations who cannot wish to go on fighting Germany for ever. Canada was described on the 30th November as "on the brink of anarchy."

Recent trade telegrams throw some light on the difficulty of doing business in Germany. Stuttgart is not now in use as an airport. Goods from Hamburg are despatched abroad most directly through Berlin. Basle acts as clearing centre for goods in transit to Spain. Many German orders appear to be held up because of materials blocked in transit through Hungary.

In industry there is growing dislocation owing to the increasing difficulties of transport, of which there is much general evidence, and to the weakening of administrative control, due in part to the disruption of transport and communications. It is reported that skilled workers are being called up for the armed forces, regardless of the effects on production. The claims of the *Volkssturm* also conflict seriously with those of essential work, and it has been laid down as a general principle that war essential work takes precedence over *Volkssturm* training. The fight against absenteeism continues. A worker guilty of absenteeism can now be deprived of the supplementary rations due to him. In the mining industry, however, the monthly average of absenteeism is stated to have been reduced by more than 50 per cent. as compared with the previous year.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

The restoration of order in that part of Ruthenia administered by the Czechoslovak Government Delegate continues to progress reasonably well in face of the manifest difficulties. M. Nemec reports that three industrial plants are in working order, that the harvest is assured, the state of the forests is not as bad as had at first been supposed, the postal service has been restored and men are being mobilised for military service and labour. The medical situation has not proved serious; a medical mission, comprising doctors, nurses and equipment, which is due to leave London for Ruthenia shortly, will help to meet the existing staff deficiencies. Transport remains the chief stumbling-block.

Dr. Ripka's condemnation of Wenzel Jaksch's "Democratic Sudeten Committee" on the 31st August (see *Summary* No. 258) was followed on the 9th November by an even more strongly worded denunciation of Jaksch in the Czechoslovak State Council by Dr. Slávík, the Minister of the Interior. It is clear that in view of the uncompromising attitude of the Czechoslovak Government Jaksch's political position is now very weak and many of his supporters among the Czechoslovak Germans abroad are wavering and falling away. Dr. Lustig-Prean, the Christian Socialist leader, now in South America and a co-signatory of the Democratic Sudeten Committee's statement of policy in August (see *Summary* No. 258), has now revoked his signature from that document and is seeking to collaborate with Dr. Beneš.

On the 21st November the French and Czechoslovak Governments concluded an agreement on the repatriation of French and Czechoslovak citizens. Each Government undertakes to facilitate the return to their own countries of displaced nationals of the other country who hold the necessary repatriation visa, to accept such persons on its territory with a view to their repatriation and to permit the establishment on its territory of a National Mission of the other Government which will be given facilities to visit camps, &c., in order to investigate the identity of persons to be repatriated and to issue visas and documents.

POLAND.

President Raczkiewicz, receiving the new Polish Cabinet on the 29th November, expressed his regret at the absence of any members of the Peasant Party. General Sikorski's principle that the basis for a Government in temporary exile should be the widest coalition of movements in Poland must, he declared, be his own aim and that of the new Government. M. Arciszewski, the new Premier, stated in reply that his Government would base itself on the understanding reached between the parties in the Home Country in August 1943, and on the Declaration of the Council of National Unity in Warsaw of March 1944. Its foreign policy would follow that of General Sikorski. It would aim

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at a lasting understanding with the U.S.S.R. in accordance with the principles of international life fixed in the Atlantic Charter. His Cabinet would work unremittingly on the expansion of the Polish armed forces. Its immediate legislative proposals would concern the electoral laws, agrarian reform and a planned economy in industry and agriculture. The first task of the Parliament to be elected in Poland would be to frame a new Constitution.

The new Prime Minister, by appointing only "acting" Ministers of Labour, Finance, Education, and Defence, has left open the door to the Peasant Party to enter his Government. There hardly seems any great prospect of such a development; the more so as the members of the other three parties who have been working with M. Mikolajczyk are conspicuously absent from the new Government, except only his persistent opponent, M. Kwapinski, and the "acting" Minister of War. The strong points in the new Cabinet are the Premier and M. Berezowski, both until recently leading members of the resistance movement in Poland.

In Lublin the reaction to the crisis has been to speak of the London *émigré* Government as being "in process of disintegration" and the Arciszewski Cabinet as "reactionary and Fascist." A claim that the National Liberation Committee should now become a Provisional Government has been voiced by the Trade Union Council of Lublin Province and by a popular gathering in Praga, the liberated portion of Warsaw. Resolutions are stated to have been passed to this effect at "numerous meetings of the working people of Lublin"; and the Lublin Socialist Party is said to support this demand.

The comments of *Pravda* and *Izvestia* on the crisis make it clear that, by rejecting the policy agreed upon during the Moscow talks, the London Poles have in Russian eyes lost all claim to be treated as a serious factor in the dealings of the Soviet Government with the Lublin Committee. *Pravda* (28th November) pointed out that there was nothing surprising in M. Mikolajczyk's failure as he had been trying to reconcile the irreconcilable, and "bridge the gap between arrant reaction and democracy." It suggests, however, that there might still be a place in Poland for him personally and his supporters by appealing to "all genuine Polish patriots" to give "honest service to the Polish people, with the Committee of National Liberation at its head." A few days later *Pravda* criticised the new Polish Cabinet in detail, quoting extensive extracts from the British and American press which showed that it met with disapproval also from the Anglo-Saxon Powers. The formation of the Arciszewski Government, according to *Pravda*, exposed fully "the whole dirty game of the Polish reactionary *émigrés*" and made it absolutely clear that "the Polish reactionary clique in London has decided to go over to the offensive and completely and entirely disrupt the policy which Mikolajczyk had tried to carry out." *Izvestia*, commenting on similar lines, maintained that the question of who led the Polish *émigrés* was a matter of complete indifference to the Polish nation. Meanwhile, Moscow radio (30th November) has given prominence to the reports from Lublin that a mass movement was on foot for reorganising the Polish Committee of National Liberation into a "provisional Government of democratic Poland."

On the 27th November the trial began in Lublin, before a special Polish court, of six Germans accused of participating in the murders and tortures perpetrated in the concentration camp at Maidanek (see *Summary* No 259). More than 1,500 persons attended the trial, and according to one report a crowd of 5,000 infuriated people tried to lynch the prisoners on their way to the court. The defending counsel raised the question of the competence of the court, on the ground that the accused were prisoners of war and should be tried by a military court. The Polish prosecutor retorted that the prisoners were "executioners in military uniform called upon to destroy the civilian population," and not soldiers in the sense of the prisoners of war convention. The court decided that it was competent to try the case. The witnesses for the prosecution included twelve survivors from the camps. After the most appalling atrocities had been revealed—one of the defendants was charged with having murdered more than 2,000 internees—five of the accused were sentenced to death by hanging, the sixth having committed suicide during the trial. The sentence has already been carried out in public.

SOVIET UNION.

The Red Army has made great progress in Czechoslovakia and Hungary during the past week, and the guns of Moscow have saluted Soviet victories no less than five times. In Slovakia there has been a steady advance westwards, including the capture of Trebisov on the 30th November. Across the border in

Hungary, the town of Eger was captured by Marshal Malinovsky on the same day, followed by Sátoralja Ujhely and the important industrial centre and railway junction of Miskolc on the 3rd December. Further south it was announced on the 29th November that Marshal Tolbukhin, supported by the Danube Naval Flotilla, which has sailed up from the Black Sea, had crossed the Danube on a 90-mile front and had taken Pécs and Mohács. This important success was consolidated during the week and the breach extended northwards and westwards by the capture of Szekszárd, Dombovár, Kaposvár and Paks on the 2nd December. On the 5th December the Red Army reached Lake Balaton. Thus Budapest has been outflanked and the Soviet left flank secured: and a threat towards Vienna may be impending. "It is pretty clear to anyone with half an eye," a radio commentator declared on the 2nd December, "that Hungary will not be in the war much longer." In Yugoslavia Soviet and partisan forces occupied Kraljevo on the western Morava on the 30th November, whilst north-west of Belgrade Mitrovica was captured on the 4th December and Ilok on the 5th December.

There has been a good deal of comment on the western Allies recently, mainly friendly. An article in *Krasnaya Zvyezda*, broadcast in Russian on the 28th November, gave a very favourable account of the activities of the Allied air forces against Germany, a subject which does not normally receive much publicity in the U.S.S.R. Figures were given of the number of aircraft engaged, and the total tonnage dropped, together with details of new types of aircraft and bombs. Credit was given both for air collaboration with land forces and for the undermining of German war industry by bombing; and the whole was described as "a valuable contribution towards the common task of the United Nations—the defeat of Hitlerite Germany." A Moscow broadcaster in English on the first anniversary of the Tehran agreement referred to it as "Germany's diplomatic Stalingrad." He quoted Marshal Stalin's dictum that the anti-German coalition was based on "vitally important and lasting interests," and concluded: "It is just this common factor of fundamental interests that makes the successful solution of all differences possible, and which determines the common line in decisive questions relating to the organisation of victory over the common enemy."

On the 30th November, in passing through Stalingrad, General de Gaulle presented a memorial plaque to the city on behalf of the people of France. In a speech made on that occasion he said: "Stalingrad is not only a symbol of victory. It is a splendid lesson of what the Allies can do united together against detested Germany." Two days later General de Gaulle and M. Bidault arrived in Moscow, where their special train was met at the station by M. Molotov. General de Gaulle was received by Marshal Stalin for a two-hours' talk on the day of his arrival, and on the 3rd December Marshal Stalin gave a lunch to General de Gaulle and M. Bidault, at which M. Molotov, M. Mikoyan, M. Litvinov, M. Bogomolov (Soviet Ambassador to France) and other high Soviet personalities were present. On the evening of the same day General de Gaulle and M. Molotov attended a ballet at the Bolshoy Theatre, where they were greeted with prolonged applause.

Just before General de Gaulle's arrival in Moscow, on the 27th November, two officers of the Fighting French "Normandie" Squadron were awarded the highest Soviet decoration, the title Hero of the Soviet Union, accompanied by the Order of Lenin and the Gold Star Medal. Ehrenburg, commenting on this in *Krasnaya Zvyezda*, recalled that the "Normandie" unit, including the two officers now decorated, came to the assistance of the Red Army before Stalingrad, "while abroad they were guessing how many more weeks we should hold out." On the 26th November a Fighting French spokesman, in the course of a broadcast in French in the Soviet European Service, declared that: "It is the Rhine which must again constitute—not for five or fifteen years, but for ever—the solid barrier behind which the western European peoples will at last breathe freely." That goes a good deal further than Soviet commentators have ever done, and of course in no way commits the Soviet authorities.

Comment in the Soviet press on the crisis in Belgium has continued along the lines indicated in last week's *Summary*. Thus Hofman, in a review of international affairs broadcast on the 28th November, declared that "the situation which has developed in Belgium shows that certain reactionary circles in that country are trying to ignore the lawful demands of the Belgian patriots with regard to rendering harmless the fifth column. Such attempts disrupt national unity and impede the process of Belgium's rebirth." An article in *Pravda* of the 30th November entitled "What is happening in Belgium and Holland," stated that in Belgium "the leading posts in the Government are still held by

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men who were members of the Cabinet before the war and whose policy of appeasement of Germany called forth trenchant public criticism.'' The article concluded: "It is very doubtful whether reprisals against members of the anti-Hitlerite movement will enhance the prestige of either the Belgian or the Netherlands Governments. Still more doubtful is it whether such a policy will serve to further the struggle against Hitler Germany.'' Recent events connected with the Cabinet crises in Greece and Italy have been reported fully in the Soviet press, so far without comment, although *The War and the Working Class* has criticised the inadequacy of Allied relief measures in liberated Italy; the unfavourable exchange rate, and the alleged failure to combat the black market and to expose and punish Fascists.

Danish affairs have not been given any prominence in the Soviet press since M. Dössing took up his post as representative of Fighting Denmark in Moscow last July. This silence has now been broken by an article in *The War and the Working Class* of the 15th November, criticising, though with some reserve, the Danish Council in London, and contrasting it unfavourably with the Council of Freedom working inside Denmark. The writer, however, seems to be curiously misinformed both as to the composition of the London Council and its policy. He believes it to include the septuagenarian ex-Foreign Minister, M. Peter Munch, who may have been confused with a prominent supporter of the resistance movement with a similar name, though the latter is not resident in England and consequently not a member of the Council. This and similar misconceptions form the basis of a charge of "marked bias in its conception.'' The article allows that the Council is defending in its own way the interests of Denmark, but accuses it of not having sufficiently disavowed "those bankrupt cliques which led Denmark into the disastrous paths of a pro-Hitler policy," and treats it as little more than a link between two irreconcilable camps. The inclusion of the leader of the Council, M. Christmas Möller, in such an indictment is a fantastic misrepresentation of his policy, but it is fair to add that some of the charges are put in a hypothetical form and that the author of the article admits some lack of definite information. The article ends on a note of interrogation rather than denunciation, suggesting that the way still lies open for the London body to adopt a "progressive policy" of "peace, freedom and democracy" as advocated by the Freedom Council in Denmark. Shortly after the appearance of this article, *Tass* reported the recent arrival in the U.S.S.R. of the well-known Danish Communist and author, Martin Andersen Nexö, who was given a cordial reception in Leningrad by the Union of Writers, and announced his intention of making a tour of liberated Soviet territories to collect material for future books.

There are indications that the Soviet Government is endeavouring to direct the attention of the public to the Soviet stake on the Pacific seaboard. A 700-page novel on "Port Arthur," by A. Stepanov, extolling the patriotism of the Russian defenders of the "greatest Russian fortress on the Pacific" appeared a couple of months ago. The November issue of the magazine *Smena* printed a long and laudatory account of Admiral Nevelsky's operations establishing Russia's right to Sakhalin and Manchurian territory from the Amur to the borders of Korea. A recently issued Moscow postage stamp commemorates Sergei Lazo, a Bessarabian revolutionary active in Siberia in 1918–20, who was captured by the Japanese, tortured and boiled alive. Lazo has not hitherto figured prominently in Soviet annals, apart from the fact that his name was given years ago to the former village of Muraviev-Amursky, but he is associated with the bitterest memories of Japanese intervention in the Soviet Far East after the last war.

The Soviet press has briefly announced the arrival at Kobe of 2,000 tons of parcels for American prisoners of war. These parcels had been despatched from a Soviet port in accordance with a Soviet-Japanese agreement.

The latest number of *The War and the Working Class* contains a very strong indictment of the Chungking Government for its dictatorial policy, neglectful conduct of the war and mismanagement of internal economy. Referring to the recent reshuffle of the Chinese Cabinet, the review admitted that some of the most discredited reactionaries had been removed, but added that others working for capitulation to Japan have been appointed. The strong American dissatisfaction with the strategy of Chungking was mentioned. China was also the subject of a special article on much the same lines in *Izvestiya* of the 2nd December. It was stated that as long as the Kuomintang persists in its anti-democratic policy, the Communist Party and the guerrilla forces remain the only reliable guarantee against fascism in China.

A *Tass* message from Helsinki of the 2nd December reported that applications had been received from 60,783 Ingermanlanders who had been evacuated to Finland between March 1943 and June 1944, to return to the Soviet Union. According to Finnish sources, a total of 62,000 had entered Finland during that period. The *Tass* report stated that there had been 116,000 of these Ingermanlanders in the Leningrad region in 1926, and laid stress on their "painful feelings on being forcibly deported by Finnish and German troops.'' It was also asserted that Ingermanlanders who expressed a desire to return to the U.S.S.R. had been dismissed from their jobs and driven from their homes by the Finnish authorities.

The Præsidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. has released M. I. K. Sedin from the important post of People's Commissar for the Oil Industry of the U.S.S.R. and appointed M. N. K. Baibakov, the first Deputy Vice-Commissar, as Commissar. The new Commissar, a young man of 33, was born in Baku and has been active in the oilfields of the Soviet Union since he started as an engineer in the Azerbaidjan oil industry. After a successful career in Azerbaidjan he was sent to develop the newly discovered deposits of the "Second Baku" in the Volga region. Subsequently he was appointed head of all the Soviet Eastern oil trusts and became Deputy People's Commissar in 1939. This successful oil expert was twice awarded the Order of Lenin and received the "Defence of the Caucasus" Medal for his work in connexion with the evacuation and restoration of the North Caucasian oil industry during the war.

The Moldavian Republic, which has not come into the limelight since its liberation, has now appointed M. Rud as its Commissar of Foreign Affairs, as announced by *Tass* on the 4th December. Nothing is known of the new Commissar except that he is presumably the same as the C. A. Rud who was elected a member of the Council of Nationalities for Moldavia in January 1941, and was appointed deputy chairman of the Moldavian Council of People's Commissars in February of that year.

(See also under "Poland," "Roumania" and "Middle East.")

SCANDINAVIA.

On the 30th November Crown Prince Olav broadcast from London a message to the Norwegian home forces. After referring to the tragic situation in the North, he issued instructions to men capable of bearing arms, telling them to evade the evacuation orders of the enemy, and to hide when forcible removal was imminent. They were to endeavour to protect buildings from destruction, extinguish fires, and in particular protect harbours and power stations. In the absence of other legal authorities they should maintain order, having chosen a leader and collected in suitable localities. Enemy patrols remaining behind to carry out destruction were to be attacked, but the moment had not yet arrived for large-scale military action. At the right moment orders would be issued from England to definite detachments to break internal lines of communication in order to drive the enemy to sea, where they would be dealt with by Allied naval and air forces. The warning against premature rising was repeated and emphasised.

A further report on the situation in Northern Norway has now been issued by the Minister of Justice, M. Terje Wold, who has returned from his visit to that country. According to this account, the Norwegian authorities now have contact with the whole Varanger peninsula, and the peninsula of Nordkyn as far as Kjöllefjord on its western coast. Of the inhabitants of Eastern Finnmark, estimated at about 23,000, between 18,000 and 21,000 have succeeded in evading the evacuation. Local authorities have begun to operate in the liberated region. On the other hand, the German destruction is described as "catastrophic," and all dwellings in East Finnmark have been more or less destroyed. The same fate has been meted out to lighthouses and beacons, and all means of transport have been either removed or destroyed, while the telephone and telegraph services have been completely cut off. There is much diphtheria, and grave danger of epidemics. M. Wold emphasises the baselessness of the German excuse for the policy adopted, pointing out that the Russian armed forces do not need houses. He speaks highly of the consideration shown by the Soviet troops to the Norwegian population.

On the 29th November, the Swedish Premier and Foreign Minister announced in the Riksdag the rejection by Germany of the Swedish offers of relief for Northern Norway, on the ground that the evacuation had already been practically

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completed to the south of Narvik. This statement is in violent conflict with other reports received, which allege that the vast majoriy of the evacuees, some 70,000, were, at the time in question, still either crowded in Narvik or to the north of it.

Public opinion in Sweden, as voiced in the Press, is becoming increasingly aroused by the Norwegian situation, and action ranging from diplomatic pressure to the despatch of military aid is being advocated. A typical article which appeared recently in *Morgon-Tidningen*, after complaining of the fact that the frontier between Sweden and Norway should be under the control of Berlin, concludes with the following passage: "If the executioners of the Norwegian people will not allow our expeditions to pass, but open fire on us, then we are not to shoot back; no, we must submit to neutrality. Or shall we not?"

The feeling against Germany has been further exacerbated by the evidence of survivors from the sinking of the *Hansa* (see *Summary* No. 269), which appears clearly to establish that a submarine, rather than a mine, was responsible for the disaster. A searchlight of the kind used by U-boats was trained on the *Hansa* immediately before the explosion.

Following the loss of the *Hansa*, escorts have now been arranged for steamers running to Sweden from the Danish island of Bornholm.

Danish saboteurs have recently devoted their attention to German transport ships designed to remove troops from Norway to Denmark. In one day eight ships were sunk or damaged in Copenhagen harbour. Sabotage in general continues, together with the usual reprisals, which have included the murder of a popular clergyman, Pastor Johannensen, on the 24th November. It is reported that Pastor Sandbech, whose life was believed to be in danger after his arrest by the Gestapo, escaped on the occasion of the air raid on Aarhus and has arrived in Sweden. The journalist Peter Gudme, described as one of the best known Danish patriots, is said to have taken his own life after arrest by the Gestapo on the 28th November.

In consequence of protests, 200 of the Danish police deported to Buchenwald in Germany are now to be returned to Denmark. (For Russian press criticism of Danish Council in London, see under "Soviet Union.")

At a meeting of the new Finnish-Russian Society in a suburb of Helsinki on the 29th November, a resolution was passed demanding the trial as war criminals of MM. Ryti, Tanner and Kivimäki.

On the 28th November the reconstruction of the Finnish Social Democratic Committee was announced. M. Tanner had stated at the Party Congress that he no longer wished to be Chairman or even a member, and the chairmanship has now been conferred on M. Hiltunen. The anti-Tanner opposition, however, is now more weakly represented than before, retaining only three seats as against six held by M. Tanner's supporters. The three Opposition members are MM. Vuori, Pekkala and Fagerholm.

M. Walden, the veteran Defence Minister of Finland, is reported to have had a stroke on the 28th November.

LOW COUNTRIES.

The situation in Belgium is definitely quieter for the moment. Most of the workers who went on strike as a protest against the Government's firm attitude towards the resistance organisations (see last *Summary*) have returned to work. The strikers were condemned by the leaders of both the Socialist and the Catholic trade unions. The Socialist Party has been greatly annoyed by the conduct of the Communists and is ready to support the Government, provided it introduces certain reforms. The great majority of Belgians, too, whatever their political views, are glad that M. Pierlot has not yielded to threats, but has been firm in carrying out his policy of disbanding the resistance groups; that policy, indeed, is accepted by several of those groups: the principal opposition has come from the Independent Front, which is largely under Communist control.

The Chamber undoubtedly reflected the feeling of the country when, on the 28th November, it voted for the grant of wide extraordinary powers to the Government by 116 to 12, with six abstentions. This, however, does not necessarily mean that the Government is safe for any considerable period. Unemployment and shortage of food remain causes of discontent. Opinion has yet to be convinced that those industrialists who are widely believed to have collaborated with the Germans will be duly punished. The Walloons think they are inadequately represented in the Government. M. Gutt's coming proposals for a tax on war profits will probably be distasteful to right-wing opinion and

may not be sufficiently far-reaching to please left-wing opinion. It would not, therefore, be in any way surprising if fresh crises were to occur.

Meanwhile it is satisfactory to note that 25,900 members of the resistance organisations have volunteered for service in the Army. Most of these will be sent to Britain to complete their training. (See also under "France.")

FRANCE.

General de Gaulle and M. Bidault have arrived in Moscow accompanied among others by General Juin, the Chief of Staff for National Defence, M. Dejean, the newly-appointed Political Director of the Quai d'Orsay and M. Palewski. On the way the General was received in Tunis by the Bey, in Cairo by King Farouk and in Teheran by the Shah. The Paris press continues to extol Franco-Russian friendship, and to give prominence to a visit from which it expects great results. (For the General's reception in Russia and Russian press comment see under "Soviet Union.")

Allied troops continue to make headway in Alsace and Lorraine. The German bridgehead east of Strasbourg has been smashed, but the city is being shelled from the German side of the Rhine. Persistent sniping in Strasbourg caused General Leclere to give a rash warning that for every French soldier killed five German hostages would be shot. S.H.A.E.F., however, issued a declaration that the Allied Expeditionary Force was operating in conformity with the article of the Geneva Convention that forbids reprisals against prisoners of war, and a subsequent Sixth Army Group statement that General Leclerc and his men had left Strasbourg on further operations appeared to indicate that his proclamation was automatically cancelled since he had ceased to be in command in the city. Meanwhile a Foreign Office spokesman in the Wilhelmstrasse declared that the German Consulate in Geneva had been instructed to hand to the International Red Cross Committee a note denouncing the trials of "French adherents of Franco-German understanding" and the "persecution" of inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine by the French authorities and stating that they considered the Reich Government would be compelled to take "suitable measures" against the very large number of "Gaullists" in Germany. M. Pleven, Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, is reported by the Paris wireless to have informed the Consultative Assembly on the 5th December that he had no official knowledge of this note, but that the Government remained unshakably resolved to mete out justice to French traitors.

Neroni and Boero, who were recently convicted by the Paris Court of Justice of complicity in the assassination of M. Mandel, were shot on the 28th November. Angéli, the former Regional Prefect of Lyons, has been condemned to death and reports of sentences of death passed on militiamen, informers and others still come daily from the provinces. Nevertheless, criticism of the slowness of the purge continue and have been voiced not only in the press and at public meetings but also in the Consultative Assembly, where the Commission for Justice has urged that "épuration" should be swift and vigorous. These criticisms have received fresh impetus from two explosions in the south of France in which several members of the F.F.I. have been killed. The Ministers of Justice and Public Health themselves went to investigate the circumstances on the spot. The more serious of the two incidents was the explosion at the Château de Timone near Pertuis in Vaucluse, as a result of which the local Liberation Committee arrested thirty-seven suspected members of the "Fifth Column" who were promptly condemned to death by an *ad hoc* tribunal. Fortunately the Regional Commissioner's representative was able to intervene and M. de Menthon has since stated that there have been no summary executions. Although the Communists have attributed the incidents to the "Fifth Column," others, like the Director of the Sûreté Nationale, have inclined to the view that they were part of a Communist manœuvre to force the Government to retract its decision to disarm the Civic Guard (see *Summary* No. 266). In a statement to the press on the 1st December, after his return to Paris, M. de Menthon said that he was inclined to think that the explosion was due to foul play, but it is clear that no proof has yet been obtained. M. de Menthon added that in order to speed up trials four additional Courts of Justice have been set up in the Marseilles region. Another measure to accelerate procedure has been the grant of authority to the Criminal Sections of Regional Courts of Appeal to hear appeals *en cassation* against the verdicts of Regional Courts of Justice. Hitherto all such appeals have had to be referred to the *Cour de Cassation* in Paris.

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On the 29th November the Consultative Assembly concluded its debate on food (see last *Summary*) and voted a resolution demanding the liquidation of all Vichy organisations, the reorganisation of transport, a national plan for collecting food-stuffs, and the raising of agricultural prices.

On the 30th the Assembly began consideration of the supplementary budget estimates, amounting to 11 milliards, and voted those of the Ministries of the Interior, Information, Foreign Affairs, Health, Navy, Air, Merchant Navy, and Reconstruction and Town Planning. The debate on the Ministry of Information estimates was particularly lively as it followed on M. Teitgen's announcement that newsprint quotas, already small, would have to be cut by 25 per cent., and on the resulting protest from the National Federation of the Press. Speakers refused to believe that the comparatively small amount of coal needed to maintain newsprint production could not be transported, and urged that a uniform reduction of 25 per cent. would unduly penalise those papers which were most in demand. The measure has now been postponed till the 9th December pending a joint enquiry by the Federation of the Press and the Minister of Production.

The coal-mines of the Nord and Pas-de-Calais, the most important coal-fields in France, which were requisitioned at the end of September (see *Summary* No. 261) are now to be nationalised. On the 28th November the Government decided to create a State-controlled body, the "Houillères Nationales du Nord et Pas-de-Calais" with a director and assistant directors appointed by the Government, and a consultative committee composed of 8 representatives of the employees, 5 of the consuming industries, 9 of the State, and 2 of the former owners. The Treasury is to provide the working capital, but the undertaking will have the form of a commercial enterprise and its expenditure will not require prior Government authorisation. The methods of distributing profits between the State, the employees and welfare organisations, and of compensating the former owners will be decided later. Interest charges will provisionally continue to be paid. The press expects that the other coal-fields in France will also be nationalised.

The press reports that during their recent visit to Paris the Belgian Foreign Minister and Minister of Finance arranged for the loan to Belgium of a certain quantity of French wheat and for the exchange of Belgian coke against French iron-ore.

The Four-Party Advisory (Anglo-American-French-S.H.A.E.F. Mission) Committee in Paris has agreed to the French programme of civilian imports available for shipment by the end of June 1945, and S.H.A.E.F. have certified that it is within the anticipated capacity of French ports, and inland transport should be sufficient to handle the total tonnage involved. M. Monnet, whose task is to obtain the shipping for these supplies, gave an interview to the press on the 2nd December in which he referred to an import programme of 3½ million tons (excluding coal and oil) agreed on with the Allies, which would be met mainly from the French Empire, and which he hoped would be fulfilled before the autumn of 1945. The present lack of raw materials greatly adds to the difficulties of the French Government, and the Minister of National Economy has expressed the hope that when they again become available costs of production will fall, thus justifying the Government's present refusal to increase industrial prices, and that low-cost programmes of standardised consumer goods can be established.

M. Maurice Thorez (see *Summary* No. 267), who has been in Moscow since the dissolution of the Comintern, arrived in Paris from Moscow on the 27th November and spoke at a monster meeting in the Vélodrôme d'Hiver on the 30th. He urged support for the army, the need for speedy economic revival, for the intensification of the purge, and for the unity of all parties and resistance groups, but added nothing to these familiar themes.

(See also under "Czechoslovakia.")

SWITZERLAND.

The question of Russo-Swiss relations has continued to feature largely in the editorial columns of the Swiss press. While discussion, to a large extent, is based on party politics, the general attitude remains the same as before. Comment on *Pravda's* article dealing with Swiss deliveries of war materials to Germany has emphasised that this trade has resulted from Switzerland's isolation and her urgent need of indispensable war materials, that it has taken place with the full knowledge of the Western Allies, and that Russia itself made extensive deliveries of war materials to Germany before the outbreak of the Russo-German

war. It is vehemently denied that this traffic prejudices Switzerland's neutrality, and some commentators are asking what lies behind Moscow's persistent attacks against Switzerland.

The discussions arising out of the resignation of M. Pilet-Golaz have also tended more and more to follow the lines of party political controversy. The Socialists have passed a series of resolutions condemning the foreign policy of the retiring Foreign Minister, frequently including other members of the Federal Council in the criticism. They insist that the new Foreign Minister should not be a "discredited or compromised" member of the existing Federal Council.

Socialist resolutions and demonstrations, together with the pronouncements from the Right and Centre Parties, are generally considered, however, to be partly manœuvres for position, and the opinion is widely held that a compromise will be reached which will prevent any serious political land-slide. As the successor to M. Pilet-Golaz can be chosen only by Parliament, which does not meet until the second week in December, there is still time for successful confidential party bargaining.

SPAIN.

General Franco's letter to the Duke of Alba on Anglo-Spanish relations to which reference was made last week is a document of importance. It represents the most serious attempt yet made by the Franco Government to achieve friendship with Great Britain, and its purpose is to save the Falange régime from the collapse which the Allied victory will inevitably entail. The Ambassador was instructed to transmit "faithfully and with the utmost frankness" the Caudillo's ideas on Anglo-Spanish relations to "our good friend, the British Prime Minister." And Franco's ideas, though expressed most diffusedly and in a rather bruised syntax, are simple enough.

The Prime Minister's speech of 24th May and "that other gesture of his youth when, with such generosity of spirit, he served under the Spanish flag," are for General Franco a guarantee that the anxieties created in his mind by the European crisis will be sympathetically shared in London. With lofty comprehension, the Caudillo appreciates the differences of outlook between Great Britain, enslaved by the prejudices of war, and Spain, neutrally free from belligerent passions, but now feels that the identity of interests of the two countries is assuming a more definite shape. For the great danger to Europe is Bolshevism, and the ascendancy of Russia makes understanding among the peoples of Western Europe a vital necessity. Italy and France, both suffering internal disintegration, will be incapable for many years of building anything stable upon the foundations of defeat. And with Germany destroyed, Russian power consolidated in Europe and Asia, and the United States dominant in the Atlantic and the Pacific as the mightiest nation in the world, where is England to look for support save towards Spain?

The deduction, says Franco, is clear; Britain and Spain must be friends, and the greater the destruction of Germany, the closer must that friendship be. Having established the need for this happy partnership in a world of misery and ruin, Franco gives a frank review of present relations. He has no illusions about them, for in spite of Mr. Churchill's "generous sentiments" and the goodwill (*sic*) of the Spanish Government, there has been no dissipation of the atmosphere of hostility in Great Britain. He complains that the British press, including "governmental organs" (he means the *Times*!), and the B.B.C., have not ceased attacking in rude and peevish tones Spain, the régime, "and even her Leader." He naturally attaches greater importance to this attitude when it is discernible in official representations, and when it is justified in terms of what he calls "ideological differences." Here he points the lesson with a gentle reproach that the British, who are used to getting on with all sorts of people, really have no right to turn up their noses at the Falange ideologues. A monumental platitude, worthy to be quoted, then serves as a warning: "Great Britain should not forget that the relations of the present time are an immediate consequence of those of the past, and that such relations as we may now maintain are bound to have a considerable influence on those of the future."

Next comes the instruction to his Ambassador to tell us bluntly that the Spaniards know all about the nefarious activities of our Secret Service and Propaganda Agents; even the most confidential stratagems and manœuvres have been disjointed, with the aid of Providence, by the three most vital sections of Spanish national life, the Army, the Police and the Falange "with its three million active members." These machinations are really the cause of any passing

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discontent which may be observed among the Spanish people; "there has been no petty intrigue nor minor disorder brought to light which has not. . . . been traced back to British agents." But, with true Spanish chivalry (the other notable example was the refusal to stab France in the back in 1940), and in order to avoid embarrassing the employers of these omniscient, omnipresent but not omnipotent agents, the Spanish Government have avoided giving publicity to their frightful misdeeds. Looking to the future, however, and generously ready to forgive and forget the past, Franco insists that, the balance of strategic power having quite changed, ancient prejudices must be thrown overboard. Spain could not, of course, "act against her convictions and take advantage of other nations' misfortunes, thus failing in the principles of honour and chivalry that have prevailed throughout her history, giving it the stamp of nobility—principles summed up in the Spanish saying 'Nobleza obliga' "—but, naturally, as regards Great Britain, "it would be only fitting that we should strive to establish closer relations for common action in the future." Spain is a friend worth having, and "history shows that it is not so difficult to win Spain's friendship and her heart"; but there must be no more jealousy, and no trace of that "old spirit of domination" which would arouse suspicion of the increasing greatness of the friend and partner" (*i.e.* of Spain). And, finally, if Great Britain were to pay any heed to those "bad Spaniards outside Spain who think they could effect a rapprochement by giving Britain a better deal," any such hypothetical change of régime would serve the interests of Russia alone.

The document reads like the eager, incoherent rambling of a semi-educated demagogue whose mind cannot control even the clichés which are its only currency, and it is not surprising that the Spanish Embassy in their translation should have fallen back on a gallant paraphrase. Although the move for closer relations comes from Spain, there is little outward sign of any change in the very great complacency of its author. Franco may know that without our help his chances of survival are small, but he still values himself very highly. It is an impudent message, but no impudence was intended. The physical and mental isolation of her statesmen has been one certain cause of failure in Spain's history since 1900; this Spanish statesman is no less blinkered than the others,

> ". . . . from the cheerful ways of men
> Cut off, and for the book of knowledge fair
> Presented with a universal blank
> Of Nature's works, to him expunged and rased,
> And wisdom at one entrance quite shut out."

(See also under "United Nations.")

ITALY.

The Government crisis continues, mainly owing to the Communist and Socialist parties refusing to join the Government unless their terms are accepted. Signor Bonomi, on the other hand, did not see his way to cede to the Communist-Socialist demands for Count Sforza as Foreign Secretary and Signors Tarchiani and Nenni as Ministers of War and the Interior. It seemed possible that some sort of a compromise as regards the above might have been reached but the demand that the "Committees of National Liberation" should be the arbiters of this political crisis could not be accepted by Signor Bonomi. Although Signor Bonomi himself does not seem to be quite clear as to what is meant by this demand, he apparently translates this proposal as an attempt to hand over some of the powers of Government to the committees, a step Signor Bonomi considers to be quite unconstitutional. There is still hope that the six original parties will make another effort to forget their political differences and combine to form a Government, but if the Communists and the Socialists remain obdurate, Signor Bonomi may have to try to form a Government without them. Although a Government formed of the remaining parties may not have a very long life, the success or otherwise of this solution would appear to depend a good deal on the attitude of the Christian Democrat party. This large party, whose leader is Signor de Gasperi, a Minister without Portfolio, has not, as yet, really made its policy clear. The fact is that it has a right and left wing but which is predominant is as yet unknown, and this may hinder Signor de Gasperi from throwing in his lot with Signor Bonomi. The last development is that all the parties, with the exception of the Socialists, seem to be willing to co-operate under Signor Bonomi but Signor Nenni refuses to accept any compromise. The

chief bone of contention seems to be the position of the Committees of National Liberation in relation to the Government. Signor Bonomi, in his reply to the Communist and Socialist letter on this point, said that he interpreted their proposal as a desire that the Committees of National Liberation should have constitutional powers and also as a setting aside of Signor Bonomi's mandate from the Lieutenant of the Realm and he asked for further clarification.

This crisis has come about through the Left-wing feeling that they are entitled to stronger representation in the Government but whether there is any underlying reason why matters should have come to a head at this particular moment cannot yet be determined. A fear that the Right-wing's pro-Monarchy policy may have been gaining too much ground in a quiet way or that the Communists in the North were not as strong as had been previously thought may possibly have had something to do with it. But until it is known what the Communist-Socialist proposal regarding the "Committees of National Liberation" really means, it is difficult to guess. Signor Togliatti has apparently given way on this point but Signor Nenni has refused to compromise.

The Foreign Secretary's statement in the House of Commons regarding His Majesty's Government's attitude towards Count Sforza and towards Italy's position *vis-à-vis* the Allied Nations seems to have had, in general, a very salutary effect. Naturally some of the reaction is unfavourable but the more sensible shades of opinion have realised that Italy needed some sort of a lesson to bring her back to realities and have accepted Mr. Eden's statement as such. The State Department has publicly dissociated itself from what it regards as British intervention in Italian politics and many publicists in the United States have expressed themselves critically.

Mr. Alexander Kirk, the American representative on the Advisory Council, has been nominated Ambassador in Rome by President Roosevelt.

In the North, the Commission for the revision of officers' cadres in the Fascist Republican army, which was set up last August, has issued a report envisaging drastic reductions, though not, as was erroneously stated in some quarters, a total disbandment of the army. Personnel in the officer and n.c.o. categories is to be reduced by some 50 per cent.; a rigorous selection is to take place, some officers being dismissed outright and others placed on the reserve. Recruitment of officers is henceforth to be voluntary. The main reason given for these changes is that when the Fascist Republican army was set up in the autumn of 1943 many undesirable elements were included who were lacking in either technical skill or "political reliability towards fascism." The Fascist Under-Secretary for War has stated that after the "purge" the Fascist army will consist of four infantry divisions and two A.A. defence divisions, as well as 10,000 auxiliary troops fighting beside the Germans.

Both Pettinato, in the *Stampa*, and Farinacci, in the *Regime Fascista* have seized the opportunity to criticise the army, Pettinato blaming the lack of co-ordination and central authority, while Farinacci speaks of the apathy of the higher Fascist authorities with regard to the army, many units of which he describes as "entirely spineless" and lacking in discipline. This article of Farinacci's gives evidence of the continued breach between himself and the Fascist Republican leaders. Another malcontent is Renato Ricci, recently dismissed from the command of the Republican National Guard; and a third is Piero Parini, who resigned from the office of Head of Milan Province in August, and has lately written an article in the *Stampa* condemning the single party system.

Republican Fascist propaganda has seized with glee on the Cabinet dissensions in Liberated Italy, and likens the atmosphere in the South to that of 1919, which fascism "purified." *A propos* of the British intervention, the Fascist radio says it is now obvious that "Italy has become a British colony."

THE VATICAN.

When the Jews of Hungary were threatened with deportation and maltreatment, the European Division of the World Jewish Congress requested the Pope to make a public appeal, and asked Mr. Myron Taylor for his support. The Pope's reaction is an admirable example of the practical wisdom of the Vatican diplomacy and of delicate irony. He considered that a public appeal would not stop the Germans and might even make the position of the Jews worse. Besides, if he agreed to appeal for the Jews, he would have to agree to speak publicly on the Russian treatment of the Polish and Baltic peoples. Under these circumstances neither Sir D'Arcy Osborne nor Mr. Myron Taylor were inclined to press

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for a public appeal. Meanwhile the Pope continues to do what he can through diplomatic channels

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

As described elsewhere, the Soviet forces made further progress during the week in north-eastern Hungary, while in the south-west a spectacular advance took them up to Lake Balaton, threatening Budapest from the rear. Meanwhile refugees poured westward from Budapest and, although the fortifications of the city were hurriedly extended, the Government has already begun to evacuate the city and is said to have completed preparations for destroying installations, &c., when total military evacuation becomes necessary.

Most of the Hungarian army and population has obviously lost the will to resist. A special Field Security Police has been formed. Nevertheless, reports of desertions and sabotage increase. It seems likely that, when the time comes, the Germans will cut their losses as regards the majority of the population, but will try to salvage, with stores and machinery, such man-power as they may think reliable. Already a campaign has opened for recruitment in Hungarian S.S. Divisions, paid at the German rates. These are probably meant to serve as a Hungarian Legion after Hungary has been evacuated.

The leaders of the Hungarian National Socialist Party hase officially joined the Arrow Cross.

Roumania.

It is evident that Roumania's chances of internal peace and good order depend in a great measure upon the King, in whose opinion the best solution for the moment is a non-political Government which could hold office until it became possible to establish a party Government representative of the people. He has been considering with General Radescu, the Chief of the Staff, the composition of a new Council of Ministers. General Sanatescu's Government has resigned and General Radescu has been appointed Prime Minister. The former Ministers hold office until the details of the new Government are settled. The King is fully alive to the risk of the step he has taken, and to the possibility of Russian intervention in some form or other.

The matter of the removal of oilfield equipment without notice has now developed into a full-dress controversy between the British and Soviet authorities on the claim that the material removed was German property. The argument turns on the interpretation of certain clauses of the Armistice Agreement. The present position is that the stuff has been taken, and the decision of His Majesty's Government as to further steps to be taken is awaited. In reply to a question in the House of Commons on the 1st December, Mr. Eden stated that a claim is being made on the Soviet Government in respect of British property which has been confiscated.

The two Roumanian liners which were in Turkish hands and which have been taken over by the Soviet Government as part of the reparations payments are to begin a regular service between Odessa and Constanta this month. The request of the British authorities that one of these ships should be placed at the disposal of the British for the conveyance of troops, has been refused by the Soviet Government on the ground that their own need of transport will not permit of this.

The Ministry of Education has ordered that maps which show Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina as part of Roumania are to be suppressed, and until the issue of new school text books, passages in existing books which "contradict the Armistice clauses" are to be expunged. Russian language courses are to be arranged in elementary and secondary schools.

The Soviet authorities have refused permission for the regular R.A.F. service between Bucarest, Sofia and Athens, unless a separate permission for each flight is obtained through the M.A.F. and Moscow. The bi-weekly service has been at a standstill.

In an interview with one of the Communist groups, General Vinogradov appealed to the "workers" to liquidate factory officials whom they knew to be in sympathy with the Nazis.

Yugoslavia.

The Red Army has occupied Baranja (west of the Danube) and pushed on north and west.

In central Serbia Kraljevo has been taken. Further south the Bulgarians with partisan assistance have taken Rashka and Novi Pazar. The Germans are evidently retreating hurriedly and have only the inferior routes to Bosnia *via* Sjenica and Ivanjica available. On the former route they are being attacked by partisans on the Lim; near the latter partisans claim to have encircled the German garrison at Chachak.

The encircled German force in southern Montenegro is now reported to be trying to retreat northwards through the Sandjak.

Unity is being vigorously imposed in Serbia. Addressing the Yugoslav Council of National Liberation (AVNOJ) Tito alluded to political opponents, saying, "We must conquer all those who do not want the kind of Yugoslavia for which hundreds of thousands of the best sons of our land laid down their lives." And *Borba*, the Communist paper, writes "The Communists are the most competent to transfer their experience and . . . . spirit to the masses of the nation . . . . so that perfect unity between front and hinterland will be achieved." Among over 100 persons described as traitors and collaborationists who were recently court-martialled and executed in Belgrade were Veselinovitch and Djordjevitch, two of Neditch's Ministers, and M. and Dj. Jankovitch, former Ministers. On the other hand, about 2,000 chetniks are said to have been released under the amnesty.

The Banat is reported to have large stores of cereals, after an excellent harvest, and pigs and cattle in normal pre-war quantity. The area is being kept under partisan-military administration, and the inhabitants have been told to work regardless of hours and wages. The German minority, of both sexes, is being conscribed for forced labour. In the Banat and Bachka, where there was little fighting, the railways have suffered little; unlike Srem where the lines are much damaged. The great difficulty is the destruction of nearly all the bridges over the big rivers.

Partisan propaganda continues to ventilate the Yugoslav demand for Trieste and Istria.

Greece.

It was officially announced on the 26th November that discussions about the demobilisation of the guerrilla organisations between Generals Scobie, Zervas, and Saraphis had been begun in a very cordial spirit; at the same time there was said to be great eagerness to enlist in the new National Guard. On the 28th messages came in from Sparta, Corinth, Pyrgos, and Kalamata, saying that the call-up of the 1936 class had been completely successful in those districts; the news from Salonica was less reassuring. M. Papandreou had hoped on that day to obtain the signatures of the whole Cabinet to the demobilisation decree, a document which contained several concessions to the extreme Left and which had in fact been to a large extent drafted by the E.A.M. Ministers. According to this draft decree, E.L.A.S. and E.D.E.S. were to be disbanded on the 10th December, while military formations in the Middle East would be demobilised before returning; until the National Army was organised the Mountain Brigade and the Sacred Battalion would remain intact, while at the same time there would be formed one brigade of E.L.A.S. and a proportionate unit of E.D.E.S.; all those demobilised must hand over their arms; the Government alone had the right to raise an army; the gendarmerie would hand over its arms to the new National Guard, the E.L.A.S. National Guard would be demobilised, handing over to the new National Guard (1936 class) in some districts on the 1st, in some on the 17th, December. At the last minute the E.A.M. and Communist Ministers demanded further changes, notably that the Mountain Brigade and the Sacred Battalion be demobilised; they also wished to omit the clause by which all those who were demobilised had to hand over their arms. Meantime, recruitment for the new National Guard continued, and by the 1st December there were 10,000 of them under arms; the E.L.A.S. National Guard, however, refused to lay down their arms. With the approval of M. Papandreou, General Scobie issued a vigorous statement to the Greek people, pointing out that British troops had come to Greece for three reasons: to help to drive out the invader, to bring relief, and to help to restore the prosperity of the country; this third task depended on the restoration of public confidence and the establishment of the Government's authority throughout Greece. He stood firm behind the present constitutional Government, until the Greek State could be established with a legally armed force behind it, and until free elections could be held; until that time, he would help Greece to protect her present frontiers. Next day a statement was issued from 10, Downing Street, that General Scobie's message

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was issued with the knowledge and entire approval of His Majesty's Government. Meantime the Communist and E.A.M. Ministers had resigned from the Government.

On the 3rd December the Communists called a general strike in Athens and the Piræus. A mass demonstration, organised by E.A.M., which the Government had banned, ordering the city police to stop it by force if necessary, began to converge on Constitution Square. Firing occurred, and the following casualties are reported: police, one killed, three wounded; demonstrators, eleven killed, fifty-nine wounded. It has not yet been possible to fix the responsibility for this extremely unfortunate incident; reports differ as to who fired first; an enquiry has been opened by the Ministry of the Interior. It would appear that some, at least, of the crowd were armed with grenades, and it may be noted that the police have since liberation been subjected to constant provocation by the Communists. Most of the reports appearing in the British press do not give full weight to these factors and cannot, therefore, be taken at their face value.

The latest reports from Athens state that E.L.A.S. troops, well equipped with arms, are infiltrating the northern suburbs of Athens; a party of 800 entering the Athens–Piræus area have been disarmed by British troops. General Scobie has ordered all E.L.A.S. troops and police to leave the Athens–Piræus area by midnight on the 6th.

Albania.

After the capture of Tirana the F.N.C. reinforced their formations in Northern Albania, and on the 29th November they captured Scutari. Two German divisions have thus been completely isolated in Northern Albania and Southern Montenegro.

Bulgaria.

In spite of the uneasy internal situation in Bulgaria there is, and has been, no evidence that the Russian authorities have used their position to further the cause of communism. On the contrary, the indications are that they have cold-shouldered Bulgarian Left extremists, considering no doubt that Russian interest lies in maintaining the Fatherland Front Government in power so that it may continue to throw the military and other resources of Bulgaria into the fight against Germany. The Bulgarian Second Army is withdrawing from Macedonia now that area has been freed, but other Bulgarian troops are co-operating further north with those of Marshal Tito and entered Novi Pazar on the 30th November. From Government broadcasts, however, it would seem that the population are by no means entirely convinced of the need for going on fighting the Germans further to the north-west. These broadcasts condemned pacifist talk of demobilisation as virtually disarming Bulgaria at the very moment when she was regaining her international position. They warned the public that more sacrifices were necessary. They pointed out that there could be no return home before victory and no freedom short of marching to Berlin.

The Government has been taking steps to renew relations with various countries. Professor Mihalchev, who holds the chair of philosophy at Sofia University and was once Minister at Prague and later at Moscow, has been sent to be Bulgarian political representative in Russia. M. Peter Todorov, a veteran member of the Zveno group, a close friend of the Prime Minister and of Colonel Damian Velchev, and an old advocate of some sort of federation with Yugoslavia, has been made political representative with Marshal Tito. A new Minister has been appointed to Berne, and the Government hopes to establish relations with Italy.

Turkey.

The Turkish authorities seem to be finding their preoccupations somewhat diminished. In the first place, the Bulgarian armistice, when originally announced, had caused them anything but unmitigated satisfaction—for Turkish policy to-day turns upon Bulgaria as much as last century it turned on the Straits. But they have now realised that at the end of hostilities Great Britain and the United States will participate on an equal footing with Russia in the control of Bulgaria. Secondly, the Turkish authorities have at last felt able to discount the Reich so completely that last month they called off the Istanbul black-out, although the state of emergency which has existed throughout the war in that area has been prolonged for another six months. Thirdly, the economic situation seems to be getting easier for, as might be expected now that we are no longer

competing in the market with the Germans, a fall in the prices of food and even clothing has been reported from Izmir.

The Turkish Government has now invited the Syrian and Lebanese Foreign Ministers to visit Angora for discussions leading to Turkish recognition of Syria and Lebanon.

Turkish newspapers were impressed by the British war effort as disclosed by the White Paper, and they paid warm tributes to Mr. Churchill on the occasion of his birthday. About the disturbances in Greece the Turkish press not unnaturally evinced a good deal of concern.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

The four-day holiday ("Id al Adha"), held last week in all Moslem countries to celebrate the successful conclusion of the pilgrimage, withdrew Egyptian attention from almost everything else of interest. Even the political scene took second place, though, as is usual at feast-times, complaints were heard about the high cost of living, doubtless encouraged on this occasion by those interested in the forthcoming electoral campaign.

The Wafd has announced its decision to boycott the elections: this means of course that Ahmad Maher's coalition Government will have an overwhelming majority in the new Parliament. But it is probable that it would have won a victory in any case. More than a month ago reports from the provinces indicated general gratification at the dismissal of Nahas, even in those districts where a Wafdist majority might have been anticipated. This was no doubt due to the well-founded belief that the Wafd Government had become very corrupt, even by Egyptian standards, and had shown itself incapable of dealing with the acute problem of supplies.

What Ahmad Maher wants, however, is an absolute majority for his own Saadist Party. Whether he will succeed in this object appears open to doubt. The number of seats to be allocated to each party has been more or less settled. Fifty-five seats are allotted to the Saadists, Liberals and Makramites respectively; while the Watanists, who have been given 14, threaten to withdraw their support from the coalition unless they get 20. Fourteen seats are left to Independent candidates, while 65 are to be freely contested.

There is little further to report on the Lord Moyne case. The two Jews accused of the murder are to be tried by an Egyptian military court under the penal code, adopted when martial law was proclaimed in Egypt early in the war, which prescribes death as the punishment for a crime of this nature. As the military court is not a court-martial, the death penalty if imposed would be by hanging. Al Amin Abdallah, the Egyptian constable responsible for the apprehension of the culprits, has been awarded the British Empire Medal by The King in recognition of his courage and determination; while, as a token of their appreciation of the help rendered by the Egyptian police, His Majesty's Government are considering the offer of a substantial donation to the Egyptian Police benevolent fund.

Since the day of the crime, the murder of Lord Moyne and the consequences that may arise from it have absorbed public opinion in Palestine. Reactions naturally differ in the two communities. The Arabs for their part do not conceal their satisfaction at the blow to Zionism that, in their opinion, this latest and most flagrant example of Jewish terrorism is likely to cause; though they are also genuinely concerned at the reliance on force to gain political ends revealed of late by Jewish methods. Some surprise at the delay in taking strong counter-measures by His Majesty's Government has been caused among the Arab community, who do not fail to remember the prompt reprisals that were taken against them when Mr. Andrews was murdered by Arabs at Nazareth in 1937.

Jewish opinion, on the other hand, though at last aroused against terrorism, still tends to dwell upon the possibly disastrous consequences to Zionism rather than upon the duty of the community to stamp out the evil. It is true that since the murder of Lord Moyne there has been no cause to complain of the overt attitude of the Jewish Agency and the Vaad Leumi; but neither body has as yet shown any real proof either of the will or of the ability to regain control.

The future of Palestine is, of course, still keenly discussed by both sides, the Jews clamouring for a Jewish State, and the Arabs insisting on the full implementation of the MacDonald White Paper. No further outrages occurred in Palestine during the month of November, but a number of arrests of suspected

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persons has been made by the Government. The public and shameless acknowledgment by the Stern gang of its responsibility for the murder of Lord Moyne, "the arch-enemy of Jewish aspirations," is an index of the fanatical spirit that pervades the leaders of that body. (For Resolution on Palestine in the House of Representatives, see under "United States.")

The news of Sir E. Spears's recall from his post as His Majesty's Minister to the Levant States has, according to reliable reports, been unfavourably received by the Lebanese authorities, who regard this move, as do other prominent members of the local community, as due to French pressure.

The second session of the Iraqi Parliament, prorogued in June last, was opened by the Regent on the 2nd December. In his speech from the throne, in which the alliance with Great Britain was given prominence, the Regent welcomed in particular the Alexandria "protocol," the opening of diplomatic relations with Russia, and the recognition by so many countries of the Levant States' independence. Only in one short but pithy sentence did His Royal Highness refer to Palestine: "our Government has given and will give to Palestine special attention proportionate to the just rights of her Arab inhabitants." In domestic affairs, the usual promises were made of reform and development in every department of Government, including education, agriculture, medicine, aviation, &c.

The oil question is still to the fore in Persia. On the 2nd December a Bill was rushed through the Majlis providing that, under heavy penalties, no negotiations or agreement with a foreign Government or company concerning oil are to be undertaken by any Prime Minister or other member of the Persian Government. The Prime Minister and Cabinet may, however, discuss the sale of oil and the manner in which the Government should exploit its oil deposits, provided the Majlis is informed of all such conversations. This was followed on the 4th December by a vote of confidence in the Prime Minister with 72 votes in favour and only 9 against. Meanwhile, the Soviet authorities are continuing to exercise pressure in various ways, as, for instance, by ejecting persons whom they regard as hostile from the Russian occupied zone, by the tranfer of Russian funds from the Persia State Bank to the Imperial Bank of Persia, and by a demand for the suppression of five Persian newspapers that have opposed the oil concession.

Mr. Harriman, the United States Ambassador to Russia, stopped at Tehran last week on his way back to Moscow, and saw the Shah, whom he found firm but anxious. He told His Majesty that his Government had informed the Soviet Government of American concern and sympathy over the oil problem. Mr. Harriman added, however, that, in the American and presumably in the British view also, the question was one to be decided between Persia and Russia.

On the 28th November a marble plaque to commemorate the Tehran Conference was unveiled at the Soviet Embassy. The inscription on the plaque recalls the holding of the conference between the leaders of the three Great Powers, and ends with the words: "The conference adopted a declaration about joint operations in the war against Germany, and about post-war co-operation of the Three Powers, and also a declaration about Persia." The reference to the "declaration about Persia" was received by the Persians present at the ceremony with pleasure, not unmixed with scepticism. It was significant that the only member of the Persian Cabinet not invited to the ceremony was Sururi; while Fahimi could not, in any case, attend, owing to absence in Kurdistan. Both these Ministers, it will be remembered, were members of Saed's Cabinet.

THE FAR EAST.

On the 4th December it was announced that Dr. T. V. Soong had been appointed Acting-President of the Executive Yuan so that Chiang Kai-shek could devote himself entirely to the military direction of the war. On the previous day it had been announced that he had been appointed Acting Vice-President in place of Dr. H. H. Kung, who had resigned.

These changes in the Chungking Government have followed within a fortnight after those which were recorded in this *Summary*, No. 268. At that time Soong's only promotion was to be made a State Councillor—a position carrying no real power, though having some prestige value. Since then the Japanese advance towards Kweiyang has continued and numbers of refugees have reached Chungking spreading alarm and confusion; the Government has been seriously weakened by its inability to stop the run of military reverses and the power of the former ruling clique within the Kuomintang has been undermined. The changes made last month appeared to indicate an intention to keep

ultimate power still in the same hands, though bringing some new men into the Executive Yuan Ministries; the appointment of Soong to the Yuan Presidency, however, signifies a real shift of political authority. His elevation will be generally welcomed in Britain and the United States, as Soong has a high reputation both for political judgment and for financial capacity, and there is some ground for hoping that he may be successful both in bringing about a larger measure of political unity in China and in imposing some limit on the rake's progress of Chinese monetary inflation. On the other hand, it would be unwise to expect too much of a man called to power in such an extremely difficult situation as that which now confronts China or to ignore the factors adverse to Soong. The high regard in which he is held by foreigners is in part due to the thoroughness of his "westernisation," but the very qualities which make him so well fitted for the task of administrative and fiscal reform tend to make him unpopular with politicians whose ways of thought and practice remain essentially Chinese. Moreover, as a civilian in a country where civil control over military forces is so far from being established, he cannot count on direct armed support and for this will be dependent either on Chiang Kai-shek or on the backing of some other leading general. It remains to be seen whether Chiang (who remains Head of the State and Chairman of the Supreme Defence Council and National Military Council) can now work in harness with Soong to the extent required for an effective war effort.

One result of Soong's accession to his new office is expected to be a working agreement of some kind with the Communists. It is reported that a provisional agreement has already been reached with the Chungking Government by Chou En-lai and now awaits endorsement by the Communist Party leadership in Yenan. Soong's presence at the head of the Executive Yuan should make it easier to reach a *modus vivendi*; he has been less antagonistic towards the Communists than Chiang himself, and it has even been rumoured—though without substantial evidence—that he has been canvassing their support for his own leadership in Chungking against his political rivals. In the present military situation it is hardly possible for the Kuomintang to refuse to relax the blockade in Shensi or to reject proposals for military co-operation against the Japanese. It should be remembered, however, that an agreement for temporary co-ordination of military action, even if covered by phrases about the Communist armies being under the authority of the National Military Council, would not solve the fundamental political problem afforded by the existence of separate Communist armed forces and civil administrative organs; an alliance between two States is not the same thing as unity within one State, and as long as Chinese Communists claims are pitched at their present level, a Chungking–Yenan "United Front" must in practice resemble the former rather than the latter.

In the background of the Kuomintang-Communist conflict there is the problem of China's relations with the U.S.S.R. Before General Wu Chung-hsun, the new Governor of Sinkiang, left Chungking to take up his post he declared that one of his chief tasks would be to try to promote friendly relations with the Soviet Union, but the Soviet press and radio made no mention of this statement. The Governor is now facing a serious situation in the province. The Kazakh tribesmen have risen in revolt in areas of Western Dzungaria close to the Soviet frontier, and a force of well-armed "White" Russians has attacked and partly captured from the Chinese garrison the important town of Ining (Kulja) in the Ili valley. These Russians belong to the community of Russian exiles who congregated in Sinkiang after the Russian civil wars of 1918–20; many of them served the Sinkiang Government as mercenary soldiers, and in 1933–34 they took a leading part in supporting Sheng Shih-tsai against the Tungan-Turki rebellion, combining for this purpose with Red Army units sent across the frontier from Soviet territory. Under Sheng's rule, Russians black-listed by his Soviet advisers found it expedient to leave Sinkiang; the rest came more and more under Soviet influence, though they were formally declared to be Chinese citizens. To-day it is no longer possible to trace a line between "White" and "Red" Russians in this area, and Chinese citizenship is apparently regarded as no bar to Russian patriotism, as the Orthodox Patriarch in Moscow recently sent a message to the emigrant Russians of Sinkiang calling on them to support Russia's "Great Patriotic War" and making no mention of China. The Special Delegate of the Foreign Affairs Ministry in Urumchi has informed His Majesty's Consul that the Russian rebels in Sinkiang had been supplied with arms from across the frontier,

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though he admitted he had not been able to obtain actual proof of this. No public statement on the matter has so far been made in Chungking. At a time when the Japanese are marching up the road from Liuchow to Kweiyang, Chinese in the capital are unlikely to worry much about what is happening in Kulja, but the disorder in this remote region of Central Asia may, unless quickly checked, give rise to serious complications affecting the post-war relations of the Powers in the Far East.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

President Roosevelt has announced further important changes in the senior positions in the State Department. Mr. Joseph C. Grew, who was the United States Ambassador to Tokyo at the time of Pearl Harbour, has been appointed the Under-Secretary of State. Three Assistant Secretaries have resigned, Mr. G. Howland Shaw, Mr. Breckenridge Long and Mr. Adolf Berle, who is at present head of the American delegation to the Civil Aviation Conference at Chicago. Of the Assistant Secretaries appointed by Mr. Cordell Hull only one remains, Mr. Dean Acheson, who remains at his post in charge of international conferences and of relations with Congress. The new Assistant Secretaries are Mr. Will Clayton, now Administrator of Surplus War Property, who will be in charge of economic affairs, Mr. Archibald MacLeish, now Librarian of Congress, who will take charge of cultural relations and information, and Mr. Nelson A. Rockefeller, at present Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs, who will continue to deal with Latin America. Mr. Berle has stated that the President has already offered him another important post, but has not disclosed its nature, and the President has announced that he would shortly nominate Mr. Norman Armour, formerly Ambassador to Argentina, to another important diplomatic post abroad. The President also announced that other appointments to strengthen the State Department would be made in the near future. It is possible that this will concern two Additional Assistant Secretaries of State.

For some time reports have been current that the Anglo-American Oil Agreement would be revised before it was submitted to Congress, and Senator Connally, the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and a Democrat from Texas, the chief oil-producing State, has now predicted that the agreement will never be ratified. In his view it is " unfair to the American oil industry and is not necessary for the general welfare." He has also stated that he had opposed ratification ever since it was first submitted to his committee. When the agreement was announced in August, it was welcomed by Mr. Hull as an example of the type of arrangement through which international economic collaboration might be assured, and it was widely regarded as a prototype for other commodity agreements (see *Summaries* Nos. 254 and 256). But it has been strongly opposed by the " independent " oil producers, who have little interest in foreign oil development. The basis of this opposition is evidently a fear that the agreement will lead to Federal regulation of the domestic petroleum industry, of which it has long been apprehensive, and this fear appears to have been strengthened by the decision to submit the agreement to Congress in the form of a treaty. It is argued that ratification as a treaty might bind the United States to any interpretation that the International Oil Commission might put upon the broadly-worded provisions in the agreement. It had been hoped that a compromise satisfactory to the industry might be reached if the advisory nature of the proposed Commission could be made absolutely clear and if domestic oil policies could be specifically excluded from the agreement.

In an amended form the House of Representatives' Foreign Affairs Committee has now approved the Wright–Compton Resolution on Palestine. The Resolution urges that " the United States uses its good offices to the end that the doors of Palestine should be opened for free entry of Jews into that country and that there shall be full opportunity for colonisation so that Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic commonwealth." " I shall make every effort," said Mr. Sol Bloom, the chairman, " to see that the Bill is passed on the floor of the House during (this) session," though he pointed out that the Resolution might die in the Rules Committee unless it secured high priority to enable it to be considered before Congress adjourned on the 10th December (see last week's *Summary*). In the Senate Foreign Regulations Committee consideration of the analogous Resolution moved by Senators Wagner and Taft was postponed until the next meeting of the committee on the 6th December. Both these Resolutions are further evidence of the well organised

Zionist pressure-groups in Washington, which a week or two ago also persuaded the A.F. of L. (American Federation of Labour) and the C.I.O. (Congress of Industrial Organisations) to pass similar pro-Zionist Resolutions.

The Annual Convention of the A.F. of L. which concluded its proceedings at New Orleans this week reaffirmed Labour's no-strike pledge " to show the world how we stand." One of the most interesting events of the Convention was an invitation by Mr. William Green, who was re-elected president for the twenty-first consecutive year, to Mr. John L. Lewis and the United Mineworkers to rejoin the A.R. of L. Mr. Green said he was willing " to resign as president, if necessary," if this would forward Labour's interests.

A statement on the second phase of Lend-Lease to the United Kingdom was issued by Mr. Crowley, the administrator of the F.E.A., Mr. Morgenthau, the the Secretary of the Treasury, and Mr. Stettinius, the Acting Secretary of State. Since its inception, the statement pointed out, Lend-lease aid had been made available to the United Kingdom, solely as a contribution towards winning the war, and this combined supplies arrangement would continue until the unconditional surrender of both Japan and Germany. " Lend-Lease articles have from the beginning not been available for re-export commercially. That policy will be continued without change." It was not anticipated that the British need for Lend-Lease assistance following the defeat of Germany would be much more than half of that during 1944, and to some degree Lend-Lease aid to the United Kingdom would be reduced even before the defeat of Germany. " It is now expected that some raw and semi-fabric materials, such as iron and steel, will no longer be provided by the United States under Lend-Lease." After the defeat of Germany there would be no impediment, the statement continued, to the United Kingdom's exporting articles, which were no longer supplied under Lend-Lease and which had been obtained either from United Kingdom production or purchased for cash from the United States. " It is likely, however, that both the United Kingdom and the United States will be able to reconvert part of their resources on an equitable basis to meet essential civilian needs in the period between the defeat of Germany and the defeat of Japan," and some improvement in the conditions of life in England could therefore be expected. Since Lend-Lease and reverse Lend-Lease were concerned purely with war supplies they did not affect the problem of post-war foreign trade.

Testifying before a Sub-Committee on Foreign Trade and Shipping of the House Special Committee on Post-war Economic Policy and Planning, Mr. Dean Acheson, Assistant Secretary of the Department of State, urged the removal of the ban imposed by the Johnson Act on private loans to foreign Governments in default to the United States Government. Mr. Acheson revealed that the United States Government had before it requests for loans from several foreign Governments and he believed that the Export-Import Bank would be a most useful instrument to promote international trade and to counteract economic dislocations arising from the war. He announced that the United States shortly proposed to seek an understanding with leading trading nations in order to effect substantial reductions of all kinds of barriers to trade, such as the elimination of discriminatory treatment, the elimination of quotas, embargoes and prohibitions against exports and imports, reduction of import tariffs and the creation of an international trade organisation to study international trade problems and to recommend practical solutions.

The serious shortage of certain critical items of war production has led to the postponement of the plans for the reconversion of industry for civilian purposes. Authorisations which were granted to 126 cities to begin such schemes have been suspended for 90 days owing to the acute labour shortage. Further stress on the seriousness of the situation was given by General Somervell who commands the United States Army Service Forces. General Somervell appealed both to management and labour to recapture the sense of urgency and not to become over-engrossed in post-war planning. " The plain truth is," said the General, " that our requirements are becoming larger as more and more troops have become engaged, and the actual expenditures of these troops have been greater than was anticipated. The rest of the answer lies in the drift away from the production of essential industries of thousands of men and women." The President has appealed to everyone in a war job to stick to it, and it is understood that Mr. Krug, the chairman of the War Production Board, is considering the possibility of advocating bonuses to war workers who remain in their posts and who do not leave to seek permanent civilian employment.

An indication of the opposition which is likely to greet attempts to introduce some form of post-war military conscription in the United States can be seen

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from the resolution of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America that consideration of such legislation should be deferred until after the war. The Federal Council is an important Protestant body consisting of twenty-five national religious denominations with a constituency of about 25 millions.

(See also under "Far East.")

LATIN AMERICA.

The proposed meeting of American Foreign Ministers to consider the case of Argentina still remains in abeyance, and though the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union meets this week, it is possible that it will not have sufficient information at its disposal to take this proposal a stage further.

In reply to an enquiry addressed to His Majesty's Government by the United States Embassy in London on the limitation of Argentine exports and imports, His Majesty's Government have explained in a note of the 1st December that, while they entirely appreciate the importance attached to an early solution of the problems presented by the present Argentine régime, and are at all times anxious to assist the United States Government to the full extent of their powers and situation, their capacity to help in economic ways is nevertheless limited by severely practical considerations.

In Argentina itself broadcasting-stations have apparently been permitted to report that the Anglo-Argentine negotiations for the renewal of the meat contract are "still in a state of deadlock." A new civilian Minister of Agriculture has been appointed, Dr. Ricardo Riguera: and apparently to give support to Colonel Perón, who is said to have had difficulties with local military leaders, the whole Argentine Cabinet has been engaged in military junketings at the aviation school in Córdoba.

The incident between Bolivia and Chile (see *Summary* No. 268) has now blown over, the Chileans accepting the fiction that Colonel Meliton Brito (said to have been killed on Chilean soil) committed suicide, and the Bolivians returning prisoners captured in Chile. The situation in Bolivia is reported to be calm. But a brother of Dr. Carlos Salinas (who was Foreign Minister in General Peñaranda's Government and is reported to be among those Bolivians recently executed) has, from the security of Chile, described the present state of affairs as a reign of terror.

In Chile a statement of the National Executive Committee of the Radical Party criticising President Ríos appears to presage a definite break between the President and his party, and therefore a split in the party itself.

The Guatemalan Government, having hitherto supported the claims of Dr. Arévalo, a former Opposition leader till recently living in exile, as candidate for the presidency, now appears to be reconsidering its views. In a recent decree it has declared that the fundamental principles of the revolution were the abolition of presidential re-election (recognising the right of rebellion in cases of infringements), the replacement of presidential designates by a Vice-President, the reorganisation of the army "purging it of politicians and protecting it from them" and obligatory suffrage for all literate citizens. It announced that the present junta would remain in office until the 15th March, and that a new Constitution would be prepared by the 5th March.

The Salvadorean Government of Colonel Aguirre has taken over the property of all members of the exile Government of Sr. Molina set up in Guatemala. The Guatemalan radio has stated that Sr. Molina's Government "should be considered as the legitimate Government by all freedom-loving Central Americans." Other reports predict a meeting of the various exiled candidates for the Presidency of El Salvador. A shooting affray which occurred in the streets of San Salvador on the 30th November suggests that further trouble lies ahead.

UNITED NATIONS.

Civil Aviation Conference.

In spite of the efforts of the Canadian Delegation to find a formula, which both the United Kingdom and United States Delegations could accept, and of exhortations by Mayor La Guardia and others, it has been found impossible to come to complete agreement on the matters under discussion at Chicago. As

the Conference proceeded it became clear that there was a fundamental difference between the present point of view of the United States and that of the members of the British Commonwealth and some other countries. In presenting its plan for regulation by an International Air Authority the United Kingdom had in mind the successful working of the Civil Aeronautics Act (1938) of the United States. It had there been found that, in order to avoid excessive competition, some regulation of routes and frequencies were necessary, and the result had been much to the advantage of the travelling public. It was considered that if such regulation was necessary in the domestic field over an area as large as the United States, it would be still more indispensable in the interests of the public in all countries now that world-wide aviation was under consideration. But the United States Delegation, after making some attempt to find a formula that would meet its own views, abandoned the idea of international regulation of routes and frequencies. It considered that these would be best determined by the ordinary method of commercial competition which would thus supply the travelling public with the services it desired according to the law of supply and demand.

There was thus no possibility of compromise. The United Kingdom Delegation, indeed, came to recognise in the course of the discussions that it was difficult, if not impossible, to draw up regulations which applied equally well to the whole world. The small Latin American States, for example, were in a very different position to the highly industrialised European States. It suggested, therefore, that only the general principles should be laid down in the Convention and that it should be left to the International Authority to apply them to suit the needs of each area. The United States, however, could not accept this suggestion and it gradually began to insist on the disadvantages of all regulation except that purely technical.

The final stages, therefore, necessarily revolved mainly about the grant of the five freedoms. Without the first four of these there can be no international flying at all. But the granting of these freedoms is for some States the only bargaining weapon which they possess if the international aviation authority has no power to regulate routes in the interests of all States. There has consequently been a good deal of discussion as to the place where the grant of these freedoms should be made. It was at one time suggested that they should be placed in the main Convention to which States which wished to retain control over them would have had to make reservation. At the time of writing, however, it seems that the grant of the freedoms will be reserved to separate Conventions.

It would thus seem likely that there will come into existence an international organisation for technical matters, a comprehensive convention regulating these, and other agreements concerning the freedoms. Full details of these last have not yet been received.

The rest of the complicated process of establishing international air routes and services must in such circumstances be made by bilateral or multilateral agreements which may involve many countries. That, for example, issued during the Conference between the United States and Spain envisages air lines which necessitate the consent of France. The immediate negotiation of such agreements is obviously very difficult for countries that have for over four years been deprived by the war of all possibility of developing their own civil aviation. The new organisation will at any rate provide a centre where these problems can be discussed and it may be hoped that in the course of time some general principles of regulation will be found that are acceptable to all parties.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 271

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
13TH DECEMBER, 1944.

Copy No. 183

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

FOR some weeks now the subject of Hitler's death (*cf. Summary* No. 267) has been denied all publicity in Germany. Ley on the 18th November ridiculed extravagant rumours. No spokesman was appointed to deny that the Führer was ill. He would appear now to have recovered. He received last week several diplomats and with Szalasi of Hungary he is reported to have given close consideration to "all questions concerning political, military and economic collaboration between Germany and the Hungarian nation"—no small programme for a sick man. He has decorated a U-boat commander and congratulated a Field-Marshal. Goebbels' deputy Naumann stated on the 4th December, the date of the political talks, that Hitler was in excellent health and was acting "with the utmost optimism and energy."

It is not far-fetched to assume that the talks on Hungary—and in particular Szalasi's visit, which was not announced in the first accounts of Hitler's activities on the 4th—were prompted and informed by the now almost circular threat to Budapest. Although German propaganda has minimised the threat to the city and claimed (on the 9th) that the latest Russian attack has been "completely transformed within the past 24 hours by our counter-attacks," it has said enough to indicate considerable concern. The O.K.W.'s bulletin of Friday last (8th) reported "fighting of great ferocity along the whole Hungarian battle front," and made it clear that Russian forces were now both to the north and to the south of the city. An agency message on the following day said that Budapest had been isolated and must be considered as "a strongly fortified bridgehead." A decision in this area, said the message, could be expected soon, and to counteract the effect of such news, much space was given to the "slowing down" of the western Allied offensive against the Reich.

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In the official communiqué concerning the diplomatic talks with the Hungarians no indication of German policy is allowed to emerge. One may assume, in view of the impending fall of Budapest, that "political collaboration" at the moment is very much subordinate to military and economic. The Germans are chiefly concerned with the problem of defending Austria, since the Russians are already on the edge of the plain which extends to Vienna. The loss of the largest railway centre in South Eastern Europe will mean increased difficulties of supply and transport, and judging from Hungarian reports, Hitler has done his best to ensure the despatch to Germany of everything in the way of stocks, plant and workers that can be got out of Hungary in time (see further under "Hungary").

Ribbentrop's spokesman in the Wilhelmstrasse has had a good time this week in dealing with Allied policy. Neither he nor writers in the press found much difficulty in showing that de Gaulle's visit to Moscow fitted in to the German doctrine of the war, as did the British quarrel with Sforza and the outbreak of civil war in Greece. Such things were bound to happen, and to increase, said German comment. All such events, wrote Halfeld, "confirm the old German argument that the German armed forces stand as the guardians of peace and order between a Communist revolution and the continuity of European civilisation." Mr. Churchill's statement, said Dr. Schmidt in the course of a long comment, showed that the British Government had no single policy for Europe but was reduced to dealing with each country as if it were in a vacuum.

Meanwhile Goebbels has been concerned with the more difficult task of propaganda to discontented sections of his own people. His broadcast on the 8th had to admit that the enemy now raids the Reich from the air as and when he likes. All he could say on this point was that Germany's leaders were "working with fanatical zeal" to increase the enemy scale of losses. But he had stern words for the restive elements in the west, of whose complaints an account was given in last week's *Summary*. He insisted that the war must be waged as a whole, even though that seemed to ask too much of the homeless. Yet even they could hardly say that they had nothing more to lose. They had themselves; they had a national community which both stood by them now and guaranteed the rebuilding of their cities after the war, and finally they had the inestimable freedom of the Fatherland.

A very different note was sounded this week by the chiefs of the German Ministry of Transport, speaking on the occasion of Railwaymen's Day (7th December). Dorpmüller, in a broadcast, pictured the daily destruction of traffic arteries and "vital installations." Ganzenmüller, at the actual ceremony, after praising the achievement of organisation which had allowed German forces to retreat in good order and with negligible losses in rolling stock, attempted a defence of improvisation which, together with repair, was now the chief preoccupation of German transport. Improvisation did not mean inefficiency, but the discovery of ways and means of travel in spite of the dangers which threatened every journey. Those who travelled without urgent cause were told that they were saboteurs as much as any who lived comfortably at the community's expense. Speer, who followed Ganzenmüller, was more resolute than Goebbels had been regarding the German reply to attack from the air. Final victory, he said, depended on an increased war effort at home and this in its turn on relative immunity from direct attack. In order to secure this immunity, "we must and will sweep the German skies clear again." Speer further impressed upon the railwaymen that in their hands lay one prerequisite of German victory. This may correspond to a real anxiety on the part of the Nazi leaders that the strain of daily bombing is too great for the German railwayman. He is, according to a report so far unconfirmed, becoming restive and reluctant to work. There are as yet no signs, though there seems to be considerable fear, of a strike on the railways.

The most recent evidence of the German transport crisis comes from the now immediately threatened area of Austria. Delays in passenger traffic are said to be so great that many trains have for this reason to be taken off altogether. The express from Vienna to Budapest takes over twenty hours to do the journey. A troop train recently stood for days on end in Vienna until an engine could be found. Men returning from leave to Italy were delayed a week for lack of carriages.

From West Germany there is evidence that the risks to which transport of all kinds is now exposed are a factor in discouraging evacuation. A press article

deplores the shocking rumours which spread in Oberhausen concerning the fate of an evacuation train not heard of for many days. Similar reluctance to leave home is reported from the Saar, where the Gauleiter of Westmark has recently ordered a preliminary "thinning out of the population" in order to ease military operations. "Women not at work, children and old people" must depart when ordered to do so by the local Party leaders. Working women with children stay unless they can be replaced at work. Men in the *Volkssturm* (*i.e.*, between 16 and 60) must stay and are not allowed even to escort their families. Still further south, in Baden, people have been warned to expect similar measures and to resist all inducements to panic. In Austria, Blaschke has had to deny rumours of a quarrel between himself and Schirach as to whether Vienna should be declared an open city.

Now that the first phase of publicity regarding the *Volkssturm* is over, certain features of organisation are becoming clearer. The awkward question of exemptions has naturally not been given much publicity. An announcement in early November suggested that not only were members of defence and security forces exempt (Army, police, O.T., S.D., &c.) but also an unspecified category of those who could present at enrolment centres a red "postponement" card. As this is at the disposal of the Party offices, it may be that certain Party officials are exempt from training. There is some evidence too of a struggle regarding members of Party formations. It was at first announced that such people would not form separate units within the *Volkssturm*, but a recent order by a Leipzig Kreisleiter states that Party formations will be incorporated intact. It is further reported that both Himmler and Bormann have issued training manuals dealing with questions of leadership. The *Völkischer Beobachter* recently revealed that such questions are provoking "candid discussions," and warned the public that the leader principle is not invalidated by the shortage of leaders and the resulting "conflict between theory and practice." The article suggests that leaders have aroused criticism by their corruption as well as by their inefficiency.

A Women's Auxiliary Corps has this week been formed in Germany, launched by a broadcast from the Reich Women's Leader on the 9th December. Frau Scholtz Klink called upon German women "for military help to the nation." The new idea, as she explained it, was not "to create female soldiers indistinguishable from men" but to concentrate within a single corps all existing women's organisations serving the armed forces. There was no question, said a later statement, of sending women to the front. The aim was to release more men for front line service. A large-scale recruiting campaign was promised, to be carried out by Party authorities. The Corps itself is to be regarded as part of the Armed Forces, to be staffed and led by women, and to be placed under the supreme administrative control of Goebbels, Bormann and Keitel.

Reports from Reich territory recently occupied by the Allies indicate that the German authorities are evacuating the populations of the towns from which they must retreat. Forward areas east of Aachen and north of Metz have been discovered to be uninhabited. The Germans would seem reluctant to leave numbers of their own people as they did at Aachen. Whether in fact they can prevent this will only become clear when they again evacuate a town of some size. Such a policy implies a drastic reversal of the military tradition (which they have so far observed throughout the war) of keeping civilians off transport routes. In Mulhouse the local banks were found with records intact and personnel present. The offices and securities and personnel of the Reichsbank had, however, been systematically withdrawn, entailing a total of unrealised claims (by other banks against the Reichsbank) estimated as high as ten million marks. German propaganda has now started to give publicity to the punishment of German collaborators. A forces broadcast of the 8th reported that a label attached to the corpse of an Aachen merchant warned all traitors to mark his fate.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

The Russian advance in north-west Hungary has taken them to within 30 miles of Zvolen and less than 100 miles from Bratislava; in eastern Slovakia the Red Army is within striking distance of Košice; and in the interior of the country resistance continues. In these circumstances a conference of Hlinka Guard Commanders was held at Bratislava on the 7th and 8th December, at which the President, the Premier, the Minister of Defence and the German Commander in Slovakia were present. No details have been released beyond the

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statement that reports on the situation in the various parts of the country were heard and directives issued which would "completely clear Slovakia of the armed saboteur bands." Tiso made a speech on the usual lines pledging the Slovaks to remain loyal to Germany, and other speakers expressed their confidence in ultimate victory.

In London the Czechoslovak Government is drawing lessons from the experiences of other liberated countries. On the 7th December Dr. Ripka broadcast an appeal to his countrymen for a firm national front for the tasks after liberation, repeating the pledge that "all who have been given the honour of keeping the flag of the Republic flying in the free Allied world abroad will regard our mission and our work as having ended the moment President Beneš . . . . shall appoint a new Government on the liberated territory of the Republic." On the previous day M. V. Nosek, a Communist Vice-President of the State Council, had equally emphatically indicated that the administration of Czechoslovakia in the transition period would rest with the people at home. After surveying the preparatory decrees passed or planned by the present Government, he added that "the laws proclaimed on the liberated territory of Slovakia by the Slovak National Council also represent a valuable contribution to our preparatory legislation." The State Council, he said, would be dissolved the moment a Government was set up in Czechoslovakia, so that no member of that Council would return as such, but as an ordinary citizen of the Czechoslovak Republic. Speaking of the difficulties of reconstituting the apparatus of public administration, M. Nosek declared that it was "absolutely certain" that "in Ruthenia the officials will be Ruthenians, in Slovakia they will be Slovaks and in the Czech lands Czechs. All three peoples will share in the central administration of the Republic."

A group of twenty-four Czechoslovak technicians is now in Tehran ready to go to Ruthenia to assist in the repair of communications there.

POLAND.

The Polish Prime Minister, M. Arciszewski, broadcast an address to Poland on the 7th December, in which he repeated much of his statement of the 29th November, referred to in the last *Summary*. He affirmed not only that the basis of his Government was the agreement of "the four parties," but that even the Peasant Party "supported" it. It is true that the underground government representatives in German-occupied Poland include a member representative of the Peasant Party, but there has been little time for the new London Polish Cabinet to get in touch with its Homeland, and both the Peasant Party in London and other members of the late Government continue to hope for a return to power of a government in London that would support M. Mikolajczyk's policy of striving for agreement with the U.S.S.R. and for political unity in Poland. Meantime the strength of the Nationalist Party in the Arciszewski Cabinet has been increased by the addition of two under-secretaries belonging to the party's right wing, and by the support of "Polonia," a large Polish society of Nationalist sympathies in the United States.

In the Polish liberated provinces the agitation for recognition of the Lublin Liberation Committee as a Provisional Government continues to grow, and to find echo in the press and over the radio in Moscow. A full-dress reception has been given by the Moscow City authorities to a delegation of Polish Intellectuals from Lublin. Land distribution has made rapid progress; it is said to be "nearly complete" in Bialystok province, and "quite complete" in that of Rzeszow (*i.e.*, Lwow west of the Curzon Line). In the latter case it is stated that 254 estates, comprising 125,000 acres in all, have been parcelled out. Support will thus, presumably, be won for the Committee among the beneficiaries, who seem to be in the main existing smallholders and landless peasants. M. Jedrychowski, acting representative of the Committee in Moscow, took a recent opportunity to make a statement welcoming the Franco-Soviet Treaty and to draw a parallel between the French and Polish Liberation Committees, as also between the French General Assembly and the National Homeland Council in Lublin.

It is reported that the Liberation Committee is already arranging for transfer of Poles from Nowogrodek province and Grodno to places west of the Curzon Line; and that 644 Ukrainians from places west of that line have already arrived in Odessa.

SOVIET UNION.

Despite bad weather and heavy mud, the Red Army's advance in Hungary has continued. On the 9th December an Order of the Day announced that Marshal Malinovsky had broken through to a depth of 40 miles on an 80-mile front north of Budapest. Balassa Gyarmat, Nógrád and Vác were captured, the Danube being reached at the latter town. The same Order of the Day announced that Marshal Malinovsky's troops had crossed the Danube south of Budapest and joined up with Marshal Tolbukhin's troops near Lake Velenczei, south-west of Budapest. On the 10th December Soviet troops took Ipolyság and were reported 6 miles north of Budapest. The fall of the city appears imminent. Marshal Tolbukhin has now cleared the area between Lake Balaton and the Danube, and is advancing up the Drava. Barcs was captured on the 7th December. On the latter date it was announced that the southern end of Lake Balaton was completely cleared of the enemy. In Yugoslavia the Red Army and the partisans continued to advance between the Danube and the Save; Sid was captured on the 6th December.

In view of the approach of the Red Army to the Austrian frontier, it is perhaps worth recording that *The War and the Working Class* has stated its opinion that "there is no demand for the Habsburgs in Europe." "Plans of Otto and his 'court' do not conform to the decisions of the Moscow Conference for the restoration of an independent, democratic Austria."

On the 10th December *Tass* issued a Soviet-French communiqué on the sojourn in Moscow of General de Gaulle and M. Bidault. It declared that their conversations with Marshal Stalin and M. Molotov "dealt with a set of problems relative to the continuation of the war and the organisation of peace, and especially to the German problem. These conversations revealed the existence of a broad concord of views between the two Governments, as well as the most sincere basis for close collaboration. The two Governments again confirmed their decision to conduct hostilities until complete victory over Germany, and their will to take jointly all appropriate measures to safeguard Europe against fresh aggression. In the spirit of these decisions . . . . the two Governments have signed a treaty of alliance and mutual assistance," the text of which has not yet been published.

The previous day Marshal Stalin gave a dinner at the Kremlin in honour of General de Gaulle and M. Bidault, and on the 10th December General de Gaulle presented high French decorations to Marshal of Aviation Falaleyev and other Red Army officers. On the 10th December General de Gaulle and M. Bidault left Moscow. In a commentary on international affairs broadcast on the 5th December M. Yermashev took credit for the fact that "it was on the initiative of the Soviet Union that France was invited to participate as an equal member in the work of the European Advisory Commission." (See also under "France.")

In response to a query from a correspondent, *The War and the Working Class* has endeavoured to explain why the American Federation of Labour has refused to take part in the International Trade Union Conference (see *Summary* No. 261). The writer asserted that the A. F. of L. "does not seek friendly collaboration with the Congress of Industrial Organisation or the establishment of unity in the American trade union movement," and went on argue that the A. F. of L.'s support of the "virtually non-existent Amsterdam International reflects a striving towards a split rather than unity" in the international trade union movement. A desire for unity, on the other hand, was growing among the American workers. The A. F. of L.'s argument that the Soviet trade unions were not free and were more interested in political and economic problems than in trade union matters was dismissed as "nothing but an excuse." The writer concluded: "The unwillingness of the A. F. of L. leadership to co-operate with other trade union organisations, not only the Soviet, in the solution of vital problems relating to the life struggle of the working class, this manifestation of trade union isolationism should be regarded as an indication of great stagnation and profound reaction."

It was reported on the 5th December in the Swedish press that the Swedish Government had agreed to allow representatives of the Soviet Legation in Stockholm, accompanied by an official of the Swedish Foreign Office, to visit Baltic refugee camps in Sweden. The refugees, who are all regarded by the Russians as Soviet citizens since the incorporation of the Baltic States in 1940, were to be informed that they could return home without any risk of punishment. Some of

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them are stated (by Swedish sources) already to have expressed a wish to return to the U.S.S.R. The number of Baltic refugees in Sweden, apart from Estonian Swedes, is put by the paper at 24,000, the great majority being Estonians.

It was announced on the 11th December that diplomatic relations had been established between the U.S.S.R. and Chile, at a meeting between the Ambassadors of the two countries in Washington. There have been no diplomatic relations between the U.S.S.R. and Chile since 1917.

On the 7th December it was announced that M. N. M. Lifanov had been appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the U.S.S.R. to Australia, in succession to M. Vlasov, who was recalled to Moscow in August. M. Lifanov is a Far Eastern expert, having been head of a Soviet trade delegation in China from 1931 to 1934 and head of the First Far Eastern Department of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs since 1938.

For Marshal Stalin's insistence to M. Shubashitch that Yugoslavia must on no account try revolutionary experiments or ape the Soviet régime, but must have free elections, see under Yugoslavia. This line of Soviet policy tallies exactly with the damping down of the Bulgarian Communists by Dimitrov on the occasion of the recent visit of the Bulgarian delegation to Moscow (see *Summary* No. 262).

With the appointment of M. P. I. Rotomskis as People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Lithuanian S.S.R., the list of Foreign Commissars of the Union Republics is now complete. Nothing further is at present known of M. Rotomskis, who was not a member of the 1940 Lithuanian Soviet Administration.

The three years' struggle for the defence of Soviet northern lines of communication has been commemorated by the institution of a medal "For the Defence of the Soviet Arctic." The event was marked by several press articles, including one by Admiral Golovko, the Commander of the Northern Fleet. Tribute was paid to the bravery and success of the Soviet fleet in opposing German plans for the blockade of the port of Murmansk and for the capture of a long stretch of the Soviet Arctic regional. Impressive figures were cited in regard to the work of the Northern Fleet in destroying German submarines and other craft, thus enabling the convoys to reach port. The only reference made to the British and Allied convoys was indirect and meagre.

The Moscow Soviet has adopted a project for the construction of a pipeline from Saratov to Moscow which will supply the city with natural gas. Its construction is to be completed, under the auspices of the State Committee for Defence, by December 1945. It is estimated that the project will increase Moscow's gas supply five-fold. Despite the heavy capital expenditure, it is claimed that "the gas brought to Moscow over 800 kilometres will be twice as cheap as Moscow coal, one and a half times as cheap as oil and more than twice as cheap as timber fuel." The pipeline will cross 90 rivers, five lakes, thirteen roads and thirteen railways.

(See also under "Middle East.")

SCANDINAVIA

On the 6th December, Independence Day was celebrated in Finland under poingnantly ironical conditions. The occasion was marked by a broadcast from the new Premier, M. Paasikivi, in which he wisely made no attempt to minimise the gloomy prospects of the situation. He laid great stress on the necessity for friendly relations with the Soviet Union, which he said were "a prerequisite for a free and independent Finland." He also emphasised the close cultural and economic ties existing between Finland and the Scandinavian countries, especially Sweden, going so far as to say that the Finnish constitution and outlook were a heritage from the close connection with Sweden which had lasted for over 700 years. He held out hopes that economic conditions, which at first would be extremely hard, would begin to improve from 1947, though economic freedom would only be reached with the payment of the last instalment of reparations in 1950.

Addressing a Press Conference at the Ministry of Information on the 8th December, M. Terje Wold, the Norwegian Minister of Justice, gave his impressions of his recent visit to Northern Norway in terms which he has since substantially repeated in a letter to *The Times* (12th December). He was clearly even more perturbed by the possibilities inherent in further German withdrawals, accompanied by systematic devastation, than by what had already occurred in Finmark, though he drew a harrowing picture of the situation there. He said

that the one question everywhere asked was—"Can anything be done to stop this?" and indicated his personal view that the only effective remedy would be to cut off the German troops from the sea. He developed this point further in reply to questions, and though disclaiming military qualifications, expressed the fervent hope, which he attributed to every Norwegian, that the successful prosecution of the war would not exclude the rescue of Norway from the total destruction facing her, if the Germans conducted their evacuation according to plan.

M. Wold's remarks, interpreted as an appeal for naval and military operations, have been extensively discussed in the Swedish press which, however, mostly points out that they can hardly be expected to alter the strategic plans of the Allies. On the other hand, *Aftonbladet* asks what may be the psychological effect on the future if the British and Americans withhold assistance while the Russians are courting popularity.

A Home Front instruction under about twenty heads, said to have been issued locally on the 4th December, was broadcast to the Norwegian people from London on Sunday, the 10th December. It does not, however, add substantially to directives previously issued, but is presumably intended to keep them in mind by means of a fresh formulation.

A prominent enemy of Norwegian patriots, Police Inspector Reidar Vogt, was shot on the 6th December in Oslo, with a machine gun officially stated to have been of British manufacture. A similar liquidation was reported on the 8th December, the victim being Police Commissioner Wickström of Stavanger.

Some significant figures are now available to show the diminution of Swedish trade with Germany during the present year. This trade is to cease altogether from the beginning of 1945, but has already dropped to a very large extent. The 1944 figure for exports of ball-bearings to Germany is barely one-sixth of that for the previous year, though the grave deficiency thus incurred by the Reich seems to have stimulated considerable ingenuity in circumventing the embargo by smuggling and indirect purchase. The shortage has been increased by a useful piece of sabotage in Norway which destroyed the store of the Swedish company, S.K.F., in Oslo. Shipments of Swedish iron to the enemy in October this year amounted to less than one-tenth of the corresponding figure for 1943, and the export to Germany of this commodity for the first ten months of 1944 was reduced to about a half of that for the same period in the previous year.

As a sequel to the proceedings instituted by the Swedish paper *Dagsposten* against the Commander-in-Chief, General Jung, in respect of his allegation that it had received foreign financial support, it is now announced that a prosecution is to be started against the responsible managers of this paper, which is charged, on the basis of secret police investigations, with receiving German support from 1941 and, in particular, 3,000 Reichsmarks monthly during the past six months. Large anonymous gifts of a highly suspicious character are also alleged in a communiqué on the subject broadcast on the 7th December.

LOW COUNTRIES.

On the 4th the Dutch Prime Minister talked to a press conference at Eindhoven. The present Government, he said, would resign as soon as the Netherlands were entirely free. He was inclined to think that the Queen would not entrust the formation of the new Cabinet to a member of the present Government. After the liberation, too, a new Parliament would be chosen "by means which are not yet decided." That Parliament would remain in being until an election could be held. The resistance movement must have a say in its formation. The Prime Minister added that the whole spirit of the Dutch had changed and that he was not sure that the old parties would revive.

On the 4th M. Spaak made a long speech on foreign policy to the Belgian Chamber. Belgium would continue to fight by the side of her Allies until Japan, as well as Germany had been defeated. She was aware of the debt she owed to the United States, and could not disinterest herself from the war in the Pacific. M. Spaak then alluded to the economic agreements between Belgium and the Netherlands and declared himself in favour of new links—political, economic and military—between the two countries. But friendship with the Netherlands alone would not give Belgium unity and prosperity. A strong France was indispensable for the welfare of the world, and specially of Western Europe. Close co-operation between the Low Countries and France was highly desirable. Belgium, however, would never forget what she owed to Britain; friendship with Britain was an essential and constant element of her foreign policy.

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M. Spaak then paid a tribute to the Red Army and affirmed that a close accord between the great Allies was necessary for the maintenance of a desirable peace. Belgium hoped the terms imposed on Germany would be hard. He was not in favour of the artificial dismemberment of Germany, but if Germany should disintegrate and Western Germany should become separated from the other parts, then Belgium would have to modify her foreign policy and assert her rights.

Finally, M. Spaak explained that he envisaged the future international organisation as a three-storied edifice. The top story was collective security; the second, a European alliance, and the first, regional agreements. The function of a regional group would be to act as a local organ for carrying out a policy of collective security.

Certain changes have been made in the Belgian Cabinet in consequence of the resignation of three Ministers on the 16th November (see *Summary* No. 268). M. van Acker, the Socialist Minister of Labour, has also taken over the Ministry of Health, vacated by the resignation of the Communist Dr. M. Marteaux; M. Kronacker, a Liberal Senator, has become Minister without Portfolio; the latter appointment, however, is said to be due to M. Kronacker's special qualifications, and not to his political affiliations; his main duty will be to co-ordinate negotiations regarding imports and shipping space; in fact, he will spend most of his time in Britain or in the United States, where he will virtually act as Minister of Supplies.

FRANCE.

The announcement of the signature of a Franco-Soviet pact has caused lively satisfaction in France. In a motion expressing its pleasure at this return to the traditional policy of friendship with Russia, the *Conseil National de la Résistance* also hoped that analogous treaties might be signed with "the other Allies." According to the *Figaro* of the 9th December the French Government and French opinion expected any agreements reached in Moscow to give France substantial guarantees as to her eastern frontier; the French programme was thought to include the exploitation of the Saar by way of compensation for destruction on French soil, the neutralisation of the Ruhr and the creation of a Rheno-Westphalian State.

General de Gaulle's absence in Moscow has made people realise the extent to which all decisions on domestic and foreign policy ultimately rest with him. The importance of strong leadership in France has, moreover, been emphasised by the disturbances in other countries. These have in general caused both surprise and regret in the French press together with self-congratulation on France's more fortunate lot. It is widely recognised that General de Gaulle's disappearance from the scene would spell political chaos.

"In order to remove any possibility of ambiguity," a communiqué in the press of the 5th December explained that General Leclerc's threat to shoot civilian hostages (see last *Summary*) referred to "the tens of thousands of German civilians, officials, farmers, members of the Nazi party and 'cultural' elements" who were still in Alsace, and who had been sent there since 1940 to nazify the country and to replace genuine Alsatians who had been deported.

In his statement about the German menace of reprisals for executions in France of collaborators mentioned in the last *Summary*, M. Pleven declared that the Government would continue as hitherto rigorously to apply the rules of international law to German prisoners of war and civilians interned in France. He also said that its unshakable resolve to see that justice was done to French collaborators of course applied to General Dentz who had been mentioned by name in the German note. An inspired comment by the *Agence Française de Presse*, published on the 5th December, said that the German note was regarded by authoritative quarters as a piece of gross impudence and that if the German threat were carried out the French Government would reply appropriately.

In the course of the debate on the budget of the Ministry of Justice in the Consultative Assembly on the 5th December, several speakers expressed the wish that *épuration* should be more speedy and efficient. In his reply M. de Menthon mentioned that 210 magistrates had been suspended, three-quarters of them presidents of provincial courts, and that the number of indictments in the Paris region had risen from 8 to 4,250 between the 3rd September and the 4th December. The Assembly, however, was not satisfied with the Minister's explanations and marked its displeasure by a token reduction of 100 francs in the credits voted for his Ministry. Figures of sentences in the Lyons region since the 19th August

were given by Radio Lyons on the 8th December: they included 101 sentences of death and 16 of imprisonment or hard labour, 38 administrative internments, 30 house internments and 17 sentences of exile from France. The condemnation to death of Angeli (see last *Summary*) evoked some comment in the press, including a protest from M. d'Ormesson in the *Figaro* of the 7th December. He declared that such a harsh sentence was quite unjust since there was no evidence that Angeli had committed any treasonable act. The President of the Court had conducted the trial irreproachably, but the jury had committed a grave error in wishing "frapper symboliquement une fonction" by an excessively rigorous sentence. It has since been announced that the sentence has been quashed by the Lyons Court of Appeal on account of errors in procedure. All but two of the twelve members of the French Gestapo, known as "the gang of the Rue Lauriston," who have been on trial before the Paris Court of Justice, have been condemned to death.

Continuing its discussion of the supplementary budget estimates, the Consultative Assembly had a debate on agriculture on the 7th December. The Minister, M. Tanguy-Prigent, stated that 40,000 agricultural holdings had been ruined owing to the war and 100,000 hectares mined. As a preliminary measure loans were being made at a low rate of interest to those farmers who had suffered. While the Government could not envisage raising retail prices and the reduction of wholesale margins was difficult, it intended to help certain producers by means of subsidies. In an earlier speech at Limoges M. Tanguy-Prigent had warned the peasants that the old customs-barriers could not be retained and that they must therefore modernise and cheapen production. The peasants have also been urged in a broadcast appeal by M. Mendès-France, to deliver the full quotas of produce fixed for them at the controlled prices and through the regular channels. He warned them that selling on the black market would result in a fall in the valuo of the currency and hamper their future purchases of tools and equipment.

The Minister of Transport, M. Mayer, reported to the Cabinet on the 5th December that an agreement had been reached with the Allied authorities about the use of the French Mediterranean ports; this would allow the French considerable dock space for the unloading of colonial produce. Negotiations were also going on in Washington for the hire of a number of Liberty ships.

The most recent political Congress to be held in Paris has been that of the *Mouvement Républicain Populaire* (M.R.P.), the Resistance Movement which was founded by the Catholic Left and is now apparently to replace the old *Parti Démocrate Populaire* and the *Jeune République* party. It is represented in the Government by Mm. Bidault, de Menthon and Teitgen. The Congress, which took place on the 25th and 26th November, resolved to form a "revolutionary" political party which should unite "all those who wish for the fruitful reconciliation of the tradition of the Rights of Man with Christian thought." It declared its readiness to co-operate with other parties for the establishment of an economic and social democracy, and the Press has been full of discussions of a possible alliance between the Socialists and the Catholic Left. This Congress was followed on the 3rd and 4th December by that of the *Confédération des Travailleurs Chrétiens* (C.F.T.C.) which is closely linked with the M.R.P.; it resolved to continue its friendly co-operation with the far larger *Confédération Générale du Travail* but to preserve its separate existence.

The Socialist suggestion of a joint Committee to discuss eventual fusion (see *Summary* No. 267) was accepted by the Communists, and after negotiation a permanent *Comité d'Entente* has been set up to which each party has appointed ten leading representatives.

(See also under "Soviet Union" and "Vatican.")

ERRATA.

In last *Summary*, p. 9, l. 23 of "France" for "they considered" read "if they continued"; p. 10, l. 37 delete "it is within" and the comma after "ports"

SPAIN.

Lord Templewood returned to Madrid last week for a farewell visit. He saw General Franco to take formal leave on the 12th December, and is now back in London. It has just been announced that the United States Ambassador, Dr. Carlton Hayes, has also resigned, and is to be replaced by Mr. Norman Armour, the former United States Ambassador in Buenos Aires. In an interview on the 4th December His Majesty's Ambassador once more detailed to the Minister for Foreign Affairs the grounds for British dissatisfaction with the Spanish

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Government's behaviour, with special reference to the continued toleration of German agents. One nefarious practice of theirs mentioned by the Ambassador, which the Government has failed effectively to check, is the circulation of counterfeit British bank-notes. Señor Lequerica remained undisturbed by this tale of grievances, presumably in the mistaken conviction that, after the recent U.P. interview (see *Summary* No. 268), American sympathy for the Franco régime can be counted upon, and because, he claimed, Mr. Churchill had, in his speech last May, given the Government a clean bill of health. He was left in no doubt that this was a flagrant misinterpretation of the Prime Minister's attitude; Mr. Churchill himself, incidentally, in the Commons' Debate of the 8th December on the Greek situation, seized an opportunity of denying that he had spoken "praising words" about Franco. His Majesty's Ambassador concluded with a warning that the Falangist dictatorship, for very good reasons, was anathema outside Spain and had left the country in a position of dangerous isolation.

Pertinent evidence of the régime's black record, and British opinion of it, was forthcoming in a recent leader-page article of *The Times* (2nd December). This sober indictment is reported to have made a great impression on Spanish public opinion—which clings to the idea that *The Times* is a Governmental organ. (Not a word of the article, of course, was published in the Spanish press. But the B.B.C.'s Spanish Service had broadcast it *in extenso*, and His Majesty's Embassy had taken steps for a limited circulation of the text among friendly Spaniards.) Together with a series of articles by Mr. Vernon Bartlett after a visit to Spain, it establishes clearly that the principal (and indeed a very effective) reason for the survival of the Franco-Falangist régime is the nation-wide fear of another civil war. Señor Madariaga, too, has come out with an Open Letter to the General, which has been published in the *Spectator*—and is also no doubt circulating in Spanish America. It effectively demolishes every claim to the goodwill of the Democracies made by General Franco in his U.P. interview, points out that all the vital forces in Spain are opposed to the régime, and adjures him to perform now the patriotic act of taking himself off before the present phase of Spanish history ends in a catastrophic crash. Now, though so well-known outside Spain, Señor Madariaga is a prophet without honour in his own country. But, at any rate, this sally from an essentially middle-of-the-road Spaniard should dispel any illusions that Franco can turn away wrath by dressing up the Falange wolf as a sheep.

It will, of course, require more than reiterated statements about Franco's unpopularity at home and abroad to shake the almost mystical self-confidence of the Peer Gynt of El Pardo. And, certainly, Paris rumours of General Franco stepping down and making way for Señor Maura and a Government of reconciliation need not be taken seriously. "Don Miguel" is a sympathetic figure who has powerful friends among the Spanish *bourgeoisie*, and also commands esteem among the "Reds" for his unwavering loyalty to the Republic; he might, at a later date, fulfil a useful rôle in bridging the chasm between the malcontents inside Spain and the *émigrés*. But the Falange, and their Caudillo, have still plenty of fight in them. What does bear watching now is the behaviour of Franco's henchmen and, particularly, the Army leaders, whose attitude will be the decisive factor. His Majesty's Military Attaché was somewhat surprised when recently the Chief of Staff of the Army, General Garcia Valiño, asked specially for an interview with him, and after hearing of the intense dislike felt abroad for Franco and the Falange, intimated that the generals felt much the same way and would see to their removal from power in the near future. Now, one swallow does not make a summer, and Spanish generals are, we know, volatile as mercury. But the importance of this approach lies in the personality and position of General Valiño, an ambitious man who has hitherto been convinced of a German victory and has had no truck with other would-be contumacious generals.

The effect of the recent Allied successes on the Falange leaders has been two-fold, as it was in the panic days after the fall of Mussolini. Some are bound hell for leather for the Allied camp and seem to care little whether the Leader and the Party's principles go by the board in the scamper. The unconditional Party members, on the other hand, have restarted, especially in the provinces, their swashbuckling and terrorist activities, publishing the most militant leaflets designed to scare their opponents of all shades of opinion.

His Majesty's Ambassador confirms the reports of a marked increase in the number of political executions—and the Spanish "Gestapo" elements in the Ministry of War, still under German influence, have recently made a large number of arrests, most of the victims being Republicans and not Communists.

ITALY.

After a fortnight spent in conferences and the interchange of letters in an attempt to reconcile the six parties, Signor Bonomi has at last succeeded in forming a Government of four of the original six parties, namely the Communists, Christian Democrats, Labour Democrats and the Liberals. The Socialist and Action parties refused to compromise on the question of whether the Government should secure its mandate from the Lieutenant of the Realm or from the Committee of National Liberation. Signor Nenni, the leader of the Socialist Party, although he had as a member of the Committee of National Liberation made the same promise as the Cabinet to accept the constitutional prerogatives of the Lieutenant of the Realm until the "Institutional question" could be settled by a Constituent Assembly, insisted that Signor Bonomi should have handed his resignation to the Committee of National Liberation and not to the Lieutenant of the Realm. Further, Signor Nenni wished the solution of the Government crisis to be left to the Committees of National Liberation, to which Signor Bonomi could not agree, but as the implications of this step were not clear, Signor Bonomi asked for clarification. Whether Signor Bonomi has received any clarification of what was intended by this demand is not known, but it might be construed as an attempt to form an armed force capable of helping whichever party it favoured to seize power.

The present Government, which has formally acknowledged all the undertakings to the United Nations entered into by its predecessors, is made up as follows:—

President of the Council and Minister of the Interior: Signor Bonomi (Independent).
Vice-Presidents of the Council: Togliatti (Communist); Rodinò (Christian Democrat).
Minister without Portfolio: Brosio (Liberal).
Foreign Affairs: De Gasperi (Christian Democrat).
Justice: Tupini (Christian Democrat).
Education: Arangio-Ruiz (Liberal).
Finance: Pesenti (Communist).
Treasury: Soleri (Liberal).
Public Works: Ruini (Labour Democrat).
Industry, Commerce and Labour: Gronchi (Christian Democrat).
Agriculture: Gullo (Communist).
Posts and Telegraphs: Cevelotto (Labour Democrat).
Railways: Cerabona (Labour Democrat).
Aviation: Scialoja (Labour Democrat).
Navy: De Courten (Independent).
War: Casati (Liberal).
Occupied Italy: Scoccimaro (Communist).

The last is a new Ministry formed to help with economic and patriot problems in the North. There is also the possibility of another new Ministry being formed to help repatriates.

As can be seen from the above, all the Ministers, with the exception of Signors Brosio and Cevelotto, who are newcomers, have held office either under Signor Bonomi or under Marshal Badoglio.

Signor Brosio is believed to have succeeded Count Carandini as leader of the Liberal Party, while Signor Cevelotto is the Secretary-General of the Labour Democrat Party.

The idea of making two Vice-Presidents of the Council is a new departure, but has been done to satisfy the Left with a more prominent position in the Government. The appointment of Signor Togliatti as one of the Vice-Presidents is, however, balanced by the appointment of Signor Rodinò, a Christian Democrat and a man of some political experience.

What effect Signor Nenni's refusal to co-operate will have on the Communist-Socialist alliance remains to be seen. There has been a suggestion that Signor Nenni would be better occupied as editor of *Avanti*, and that another party leader should be chosen. Signor Togliatti probably has no wish to see the end of this alliance because although the actual strengths of the two parties in the North is not accurately known, there is probably not a great deal of difference so that a split at the moment might be disastrous. Signor Togliatti may, however, wish

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for a more amenable Socialist leader in order to achieve more practical co-operation. Meantime Signor Nenni is attending the Labour Party Conference which is being held in London this week.

The Prime Minister made His Majesty's Government's position clear as regards Count Sforza's nomination as Foreign Minister. Mr. Churchill said there had never been any question of a veto. If the Italian Government wished to appoint Count Sforza they were at liberty to do so, but the appointment of a man with a record of intrigues against both Marshal Badoglio's and Signor Bonomi's Governments, despite his explicit promises to the contrary, would make close co-operation between the Allies and the Italian Government extremely difficult. Count Sforza is not in Signor Bonomi's present Government, and he has also resigned the office of High Commissioner of the Purge.

Count Sforza has now issued a not very convincing denial of any intrigue against Marshal Badoglio. He appears to wish to blame Marshal Badoglio for not carrying out his promises to concentrate on the liberation of Italy and the casting-out of Fascism, but does not explain why, if these were his complaints, he did not make them public at the time.

The Government crisis in the South has provided the North with some useful propaganda material, and comparisons have been drawn between the disagreements of the South and the Republic of the North which "even in a state of so-called tyranny manages to exist with sufficient order." Farinacci has seized the opportunity to point the moral against Pettinato's and Parini's recent articles attacking the single-party system; while Ezio Mario Gray, in the *Gazzetta del Popolo*, writes of the "bankrupt balance-sheet of British foreign policy." Another article in the same paper deals with the two "nerve-centres of disagreement between the Anglo-Americans and the Soviets"—Greece and Poland.

The Committee of National Liberation in the North has issued an order of the day deprecating the dissensions in the Italian Government and expressing the view that only a Government formed by a nominee of the Central Committee of National Liberation could have valid authority.

Food, fuel and transport difficulties in the Milan district appear to be acute. Many trains have been cancelled on the lines radiating from Milan, and two new Italian army divisions recruited from German camps are said to be arriving in Italy only with the greatest difficulty, according to a Swiss report, owing to serious road and rail interruptions on the Brenner route.

News of partisan sabotage activities continues to appear, and though stern mopping-up operations are said to be going on in the Cuneo and Como districts, the partisans seem to be checking the Germans and Fascists in the Val Tellina and clearing the Val Malenco of Republicans. The Fascists have incorporated the "defaulters, rebels and bandits" who reported as a result of the amnesty in an auxiliary battalion which is to be used as a Civil Defence force.

There have been several changes among the local Podestà. The new nominees, in accordance with the Duce's recent policy, are drawn largely from the workers' organisations.

THE VATICAN.

Since France was freed, the conduct of the French Hierarchy under Vichy and the Germans has been widely criticised. With notable exceptions it has been considered weak and acquiescent, and in some cases unpatriotic. French Catholics have regretfully contrasted the supineness of their own Bishops with the courage of the German Bishops in face of Hitler. Demands have been heard that the Pope should make a purge. There is ample precedent for the Pope transferring Bishops whom political changes have made politically unwanted; but the initiative should come from the Government, and the latest Vatican information suggests that in this matter the Pope will not take the first step. Rumours of impending papal action increased after the 6th November when the French Cardinal Tisserant—the only non-Italian Cardinal in the Curia—reached Paris.

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

The Soviet advances reported elsewhere have three parts encircled Budapest and have made the city's remaining communications with the west precarious, as well as endangering its water supply. On the 11th December the Hungarian General commanding the area advised the civilian population, in their own interests, to leave.

Most of the Ministries have already gone; they appear to be scattered throughout western Hungary. Actually, although the Germans have been prophesying that the situation would change with the arrival from the Balkans of the much-heralded Weichs Army, a meeting which took place on the 4th December between Hitler and Szálasi, Kemény and Beregffy apparently decided on the complete evacuation of Hungary. On their return, the Hungarian ministers announced that Germany was going to take in "temporarily" the Hungarian army, with its appurtenances, the war industries, and the workers in them, together with the families of the soldiers and workers transferred. The transfer is, apparently, to be compulsory for all elements which Germany could use either as cannon-fodder or as slaves: these are men of military age, who are to form the army of the future, and more of whom have been called up, or invited to volunteer, skilled workers and all members of the Arrow Cross and the German minority; and, of course, the existing army, fighting as it retreats. A new Hungarian army is to be trained and equipped in Germany (this process has already begun) in special formations which are, according to plan, eventually to be led back to the Carpathians in a victorious counter-offensive. All available stocks and supplies, both industrial and agricultural, are being evacuated; Beregffy stated that most of the industry had already gone.

It is difficult to say how far these orders are being obeyed or, indeed, how far any attempt is being made to apply them to unreliable elements or to useless mouths. Probably these are being deliberately left behind, although it is reported that some Jewish workers are to make the move when Eastern Hungary was evacuated, only the armed forces, police, national guard and some civil servants were ordered to leave. Priests were ordered to stay. The rest of the population seems to have been allowed its choice. There are reports of a mass flight of *bourgeoisie* and Right Radicals, but among the workers, probably many will evade the order and in the army itself desertion is now widespread; both desertion to the Soviets and simple disappearance.

Meanwhile the Szálasi Government is exacting the oath of allegiance from all civil servants, including teachers (Cardinal Serédi's instruction to Catholic school-teachers to comply is now confirmed) and army officers. From the latter he is said to be encountering opposition, towards which, however, he and the Germans are proceeding ruthlessly.

A military court has passed sentences on a number of high officers for having participated, during October and November, in an anti-Nyilás and pro-Allied "liberation movement." Three officers have already been executed. The leaders of the movement were two well-known Smallholder Deputies, E. Bacjcy-Zsilinsky and Z. Toldy. The latter has escaped, but the former is under arrest, and Parliament has been "asked" to suspend his immunity in order that he may be brought before the court. The court also passed sentence of death *in absentia* on the Hungarian diplomats abroad (comprising practically the entire corps still serving at the time) who refused obedience to Szálasi.

A German-Hungarian court of summary jurisdiction has been set up in Budapest to deal with sabotage, incitement, contact with the enemy, &c.

Roumania.

The political situation in Roumania is a little puzzling to observers at a distance, but those on the spot appear to regard the position as satisfactory and hopeful. The change of Government is much more a change of direction than of personnel. The former Premier, General Sanatescu changes places with the Chief of the Army Staff, General Radescu, who becomes Prime Minister. The Minister of the Interior, Dl. Pennescu, who has been vigorously attacked from some quarters for his slackness in carrying out the "purge" of the pro-Nazi elements, is left out, and his place is taken by the new Premier, who combines the Ministry of the Interior with the premiership. The rest of the Council of Ministers remains unchanged. The King has contrived to call the bluff of the Communists. His Majesty and General Radescu had all ready a council composed of "technicians," and was prepared to set up this form of Government if the Communists refused to co-operate with General Radescu.

M. Vyshinsky has returned to Moscow after a very cordial send-off. He expressed approval of the new Government. Hopes were held out—it is impossible to say more at the moment—that outstanding questions between the British, American and Soviet sections of the Control Commission would be satisfactorily settled.

Roumanian citizenship has been restored to Dr. Tilea, formerly Roumanian Minister to St. James', and to members of his staff. They were deprived of

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citizenship in 1940 when they decided not to return to Roumania when the Roumanian Legation in London was closed. Their property, which had been confiscated, has also been restored.

Yugoslavia.

North of the Save the partisans, with Russian support, have advanced into Slavonia. A German force retreating from Zvornik, on the Drina, broke through northwards to Bijeljina in Bosnia, but another was repulsed from Tuzla. Further south the two German forces on their lines of escape from the Ibar valley are now respectively west of Chachak and around Sjenica in the Sandjak. The latter force detached troops to assist the escape of the group encircled in Montenegro, and fierce fighting is reported around Bijelopolje.

In western Yugoslavia the partisans have captured Knin and thus appear now to control the whole of Dalmatia. In Slovenia they have succeeded in keeping the main railway line Ljubljana–Zidani Most (Steinbruck) unusable.

A statement by the partisan officer in charge of river shipping gives a melancholy picture. Of 1,819 craft operating before the war, 1,292 were removed by the enemy. Allied and enemy mines in the rivers made navigation difficult. And for the salvage of sunk craft only one small crane was available.

The economic condition of most of Croatia, with the complete break-down of transport and the flight of much of the population, appears to be much more serious than that of most of Serbia. That Pavelitch has himself assumed command of the Croat armed forces can hardly encourage his supporters.

A new scheme of taxation, to be administered with the assistance of the local partisan committees, has been announced at Belgrade.

Dr. Shubashitch arrived back in Belgrade on the 4th December and was in London on the 9th. In Belgrade he professed himself encouraged by his visit to Moscow. Marshal Stalin, he said, there emphasised the need of true democracy in Yugoslavia and deprecated Communist experiments; he also said that the partisans ought to hold " proper elections " instead of elections by acclamation as hitherto and ought not to " cook up congresses " as they had done.

The shipment of Allied relief to western Yugoslavia is still held up by the unwillingness of the partisan authorities to accept the principles of impartiality in its distribution and of the presence of Allied observers.

Greece.

Speaking on the Amendment to the Address on the 8th December, Mr. Churchill pointed out that M. Papandreou had gathered into his Government no less than six E.A.M. representatives. M. Papandreou himself was a man of the Left, a democrat and a Socialist; he had trusted his E.A.M. Ministers, but meantime E.L.A.S., many of whom had devoted far more time to attacking Zervas' guerrillas than to fighting the Germans, were planning to descend on Athens and seize power by armed force; a number of Germans who had been left behind were fighting in their ranks. Faced with this prospect, the Greek Government, including the E.A.M. Ministers, had tried to arrange for general disarmament, to be followed by the creation of a National Army. Meantime, British experts were toiling to save the drachma and British ships were landing stores at the Piræus. The British had entered Greece with American and Russian consent, and at the invitation of a Government in which all parties were represented. His Majesty's Government had felt obliged to do what it could to help Greece, rather than abandon Athens to anarchy and misery. Democracy could not stand upon a violent seizure of power by unrepresentative men. When E.L.A.S. began to move on Athens, he had directed General Scobie to use whatever force was necessary to drive them out. He had also urged His Majesty's Ambassador to do his utmost to prevail upon M. Papandreou to remain in power. He would persist in his policy of clearing the rebels out of Athens.

Speaking on the same occasion, Mr. Eden said that the Greek people must be enabled to express its will through the ballot box, not the bomb. The present Greek Government was not a Right-wing Government; its members were Republicans. The differences that had arisen were not a quarrel between Royalists and Republicans. When he, Mr. Eden, was in Athens, leading members of the Communist party had assured him that they approved the Greek Government's policy. The E.A.M. Ministers themselves had drawn up the demobilisation decree, which provided that, in addition to the Greek regular troops, one brigade of E.L.A.S. and a smaller number of E.D.E.S. were to remain under arms; at the last moment they had demanded the demobilisation of the regular troops. The Greek guerrilla leaders had agreed to serve under General Scobie, and

E.L.A.S.'s action was a breach of this agreement. His Majesty's Ambassador had striven most loyally and truly to carry out his instructions.

E.A.M./E.L.A.S. are in complete control throughout Thrace and Macedonia, and have carried out large-scale arrests in Salonica, where a general strike continued until noon on Saturday. In Salonica E.L.A.S. have not initiated any hostilities against the British. In Athens the situation has deteriorated during the last week. The general strike continues, and unloading at the Piræus has stopped; food can be distributed only with considerable difficulty and danger. There has been constant shooting and sniping by E.L.A.S. in the Athens–Piræus area, and British troops have been attacked. They are gradually clearing E.L.A.S. out of the centre of Athens, but many of the rebels are in civilian clothes and can easily infiltrate again into cleared areas; regular Greek units are clearing the eastern suburbs. Meantime, further guerrilla forces are reported to be arriving outside Athens. Reinforcements are being sent to General Scobie; Field-Marshal Alexander and Mr. Macmillan arrived in Athens on Monday. On that day M. Porphyrogenis, the former Minister of Labour, was at his own request received by General Scobie; he stated that he represented the E.A.M. Committee, who were directing E.L.A.S. General Scobie made it clear to him that E.L.A.S. must obey his orders, as troops placed under his command by the Caserta agreement; these orders had been, and still were, that E.L.A.S. must evacuate Attica. All E.L.A.S. supporters in Athens and the Piræus must hand over their arms; the number of these supporters was known and, unless the surrender of arms was on a satisfactory scale, it would be considered that the condition had not been fulfilled. As soon as these requirements had been fulfilled, General Scobie would inform Field-Marshal Alexander, who would initiate the necessary steps to put an end to the present turmoil in Greece and restore to all Greeks their democratic liberties; the first step to this must be the disbandment of all private armies.

Albania.

Albania having been cleared of the Germans, the Government set up by Enver Hoxha—who is now styled Colonel-General—has been turning to the tasks of internal consolidation and reconstruction. At a congress held at Berat in October the partisans had decided on a democratic programme recognising freedom of all kinds, the equality of all, including women, private ownership, universal suffrage and the secret ballot. Besides these admirable principles the programme proposed to combat illiteracy and ill-health, to stamp out Fascism and to maintain close relations with the big Allies. Accordingly Enver Hoxha's Government has proclaimed an amnesty for the Balli Kombetar, the Legality Party, and other collaborationists. While denouncing King Zog in unambiguous terms, the Government declares the Communist Party to be a guarantee of true democracy. Moreover, with the evident purpose of consolidating its position the Government is creating a National Liberation Front with local committees throughout the country and convoked a women's congress at Berat and a teachers' congress at Korça.

Bulgaria.

On the 1st December the Government published a decree to the effect that officers, n.c.o.s and men charged with the less serious collaborationist crimes might go to the front and, according to their performance there, might make amends. This produced a violent Communist protest, which alleged that the decree had been issued without the concurrence of the Communist Ministers or—as if this were a condition of validity—of the Central Committee of the Fatherland Front. The decree, it was asserted, enabled the guilty to escape the jurisdiction of the People's Courts and would hinder the elimination from the army of the Fascist element which remained in it. The Communist paper denounced any tendency to deviate from the strict principles of the Fatherland Front, and it hinted that the Agrarians and the Zveno party—the other two main components of the Front—thought the purge had gone far enough and were trying to set opinion against the Communists. On the 6th December the Government announced that it had cancelled the offending decree, so that the incident might be considered closed and all malicious rumours stopped. Next day a mass meeting staged at Sofia by the Fatherland Front expressed satisfaction at the withdrawal of the decree, insisted on the need for continuing the army purge and for keeping up unity within the Front and chaired Colonel Damian Velchev, the Zveno Minister of War. The Agrarians, however, on the strength of a lame excuse, abstained from attending the meeting. The incident thus reveals considerable disunity in

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the Fatherland Front Government. Moreover in the country at large, now that the first enthusiasm caused by the Red Army's arrival has passed, the excesses of the Communist extremists and the reign of terror they have maintained in many places have alienated moderate public opinion. From this revulsion of feeling advantage must accrue to the Agrarians, who are reported to be rapidly reorganising their party under their returned leader, Dr. G. M. Dimitrov. Nevertheless, in spite of internal unrest the hold of the Red army on the country remains unquestioned. Bulgarian divisions are sent off reluctantly to fight against Germany and Russian divisions arrive in the country. The Soviet High Command has declared Bulgaria a military area and, while it intervenes little in the administration except for example in such matters as censorship, its will is law for the Bulgarian Government.

Turkey.

The concern shown by the Turkish press and wireless about the situation in Greece was an indication of the value which Turkey attaches to her alliance with that country and of her fear lest the triumph of Left extremists should lead to Russian predominance there. The occurrence of civil war was deeply deplored and sincere hopes were expressed that it would not last long. Due allowance was made for German machinations and it was recognised that while the big Allies refrained from interfering in the régimes of other countries, Great Britain was bound to suppress extremists whose activities could only spell disaster.

Press and radio referred sympathetically to General de Gaulle's visit to Moscow and the resultant Franco-Soviet treaty. The Turks doubtless feel that the more Russia re-enters the comity of nations, the less likely she is to threaten Turkey.

The Turkish authorities are reported to have at last ordered German banks, insurance companies and trading firms to close down.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

The names of the Government candidates who are to stand in the forthcoming Egyptian elections have now been announced. Public interest is naturally enough centred on these elections, for which all parties of the coalition are busily preparing. As indicated in last week's *Summary*, the Saadists, under the Prime Minister's leadership, intend, if possible, to get an absolute majority over all other parties. They want, in fact, to be in a position to stand up not only to the other sections of the coalition but also to the Palace, which is afraid that the Saadists may try to take a leaf out of the Wafdist book and create another parliamentary dictatorship. The Prime Minister has already sent instructions to the provincial governors, enjoining them to see that elections are freely held, and he has also issued a statement to the press expressing the Government's determination on this point. No great importance, however, need be attached to such assurances in Egypt, where freely conducted elections have seldom, if ever, taken place.

Another shooting incident occurred near Cairo on the 8th December, when a junior British army officer was mortally wounded at Maadi, close to the place where two British soldiers were attacked, one of them fatally, on the 20th November. There are indications that Mr. Shone, His Majesty's Minister at Cairo until a week or two ago, when he was appointed to succeed Sir E. Spears at Beirut, might also have been assassinated on the night following the murder of Lord Moyne had it not been for certain fortuitous circumstances. Persistent rumours of the intention by Jewish terrorists to kill Mr. Shone had been current in Cairo for some time, and it is even alleged that the two Jews charged with the murder of Lord Moyne stated that they had come to Egypt with the main purpose of murdering Mr. Shone first and Lord Moyne later. His Majesty's Government have given a donation of £500 to the Egyptian Police Benevolent Fund as a token of their appreciation of the help rendered by the Cairo police in the Lord Moyne case.

Nuri Pasha has now returned to Egypt, where it is said he will be joined shortly by other representatives from neighbouring Arab countries, for the purpose of discussing the formation of an Arab League. The two problems of Palestine and Syria may also have a high place on the agenda, having regard to the rumours about partition of the one and to the departure of Sir E. Spears from the other. Before leaving Bagdad, Nuri, who recently returned from a visit to Amman, told Sir K. Cornwallis of the despondency caused in Palestine

and Transjordan by the rumours of partition as a solution to the Palestine problem. Nuri affirmed that partition would not solve the problem, and that if it were introduced the Arab countries had decided completely to boycott the proposed Jewish State. He and the Arab leaders were well aware that their relations with His Majesty's Government might be adversely affected by such a policy of boycott, but they were nevertheless determined to carry it out if the decision to partition Palestine were put into effect.

Ibn Saud too is showing renewed anxiety over Palestine. He has asked for the views of His Majesty's Government regarding the future of that country, and from his communication it would appear that, unless he receives assurances satisfactory to the Arab cause, he may no longer be able to continue advocating patience without losing face in the Moslem world. (For Zionist policy in America see under "United States.")

The Syrian Government has selected Dr. Najib Armanazi as its Minister in London, and has asked for our *agrément* to his appointment. Dr. Armanazi, who was appointed Secretary-General to the President of the Syrian Republic in 1943, is a brother-in-law of Jamil Mardam, the Syrian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The first anniversary of the Declaration on Persia issued by the Three Great Powers on the 1st December, 1943, at the end of the Tehran Conference, has been made something of an occasion by the Persian Government. M. Bayat, the Prime Minister, gave a large party on the 1st December, when he referred in cordial terms to the Tehran Conference, and laid special stress on Persian independence and the respect shown by the Allies for Persia's status and interests. One satisfactory change in the Cabinet was made last week by the transfer of Nasrullah Intizam from the Ministry of Communications to that of Foreign Affairs.

The oil question still occupies pride of place in Persia. What policy the Russians intend to adopt on the matter is not yet clear, but, according to the new Persian Foreign Minister, the Soviet Ambassador and M. Kavtaradze called on M. Bayat on the 7th December, when M. Maximov stated that the Soviet Government was not satisfied with the relations now existing between the two countries, and that the situation had been made more difficult by the passing of the Oil Concession Bill (see *Summary* No. 270). M. Kavtaradze left Tehran for Moscow on the 9th December, and we may know more of his Government's intentions when he has had time to report to M. Molotov the negative result of his prolonged discussions with the Persian authorities. One thing alone seems to be certain; he is not going back to Russia, as he had doubtless hoped he would, with the oil concession in his pocket.

Some idea of Russian-inspired policy in Persia may possibly be gathered from a broadsheet recently published in Tehran by the Tudeh party. This document quotes a manifesto of a meeting held at Tabriz on the 1st December, and (wrongly) alleged to have been attended by 50,000 people, who demanded *inter alia* the creation of provincial councils, the trial of the late Prime Minister, the formation of a coalition Government, social reforms and the maintenance of good relations with the U.S.S.R. The manifesto further declared that the people of Azerbaijan would shortly take steps to give effect to it. While the numbers stated to have been present at the meeting are greatly exaggerated, it is probable that the Tudeh party seriously intends to set up provincial councils in Azerbaijan.

Some twenty-eight Persian newspapers have formed an "Independence Front," their alleged object being to preserve the independence and integrity of Persia, to defend Persian rights and laws, to oppose dictatorships and to see that Persia is represented at the "Peace Conference."

It now looks as though Dr. Millspaugh is not likely to remain much longer in Persia. There has long been considerable opposition to him in the Majlis and in the press, and the Prime Minister proposes that Dr. Millspaugh should go on leave and not return. M. Bayat nevertheless wishes to retain the rest of the American Mission.

THE FAR EAST.

The Japanese Prime Minister, General Koiso, broadcast to the nation on the third anniversary of Japan's declaration of war against Britain and the United States. He enumerated Japan's achievements in the three years of war: "the Filipinos and the Burmese," he declared, "have been liberated from the arbitrary rule of the Americans and the British respectively; the independence of the East Indies is imminent; all traces of Anglo-American rule in China have

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disappeared; Siam has been reborn as an Oriental State;; and a new moral order is thus assuming increasingly concrete shape in our living-space." He claimed that the Americans had begun to make "indiscriminate bombing attacks" on the Japanese homeland as the only way to bring about a speedy decision of the war; he stressed the decisive importance of the fighting in the Philippines and urged the Japanese people to be more energetic than ever in war production. He paid a tribute to the resistance of Germany in the European theatre of war.

Tokyo is now being subjected to repeated raids by American bombers from the Marianas. With the start of serious air fighting over Japan the question of Japanese treatment of Allied airmen who land and are captured on Japanese soil has again come to the fore. In response to enquiries on the subject addressed to Tokyo through the Swiss Legation by the British and American Governments, the Information Board spokesman, Iguchi, declared at a press conference on the 6th December that the Japanese Government would hold responsible under the stipulations of international law those enemy airmen clearly found to have deliberately broken the established practices of warfare. Two days later, in reply to comments by the Washington and Delhi radios describing this statement as an "official Japanese threat," Iguchi declared that the enemy should make a "deeper study of international law." It seems likely that the formula is intended to provide for cases of killing of airmen by the army or by civilians with army collusion, which the Japanese Government may not be able to prevent even if it wished to do so. The decisive factor in the situation is the Japanese army's attitude towards surrender by its own members—an attitude which renders it indifferent to the prospect of reprisals, as Japanese prisoners in Allied hands are in any case disgraced and disowned.

An interesting editorial on the resignation of M. Mikolajczyk as Polish Prime Minister appeared in the *Nippon Times*, the recognised mouthpiece of the Japanese Foreign Office, on the 3rd December. The writer declared that the Polish Government had now been abandoned by both Britain and the United States; by the former in order to clear the way for a division of Europe into British and Soviet spheres of influence, and by the latter because she was determined to appease the Soviet Union in every way in order to gain Soviet co-operation in the war against Japan. The Polish Government was the "orphan of Europe" and, having been abandoned by the Anglo-Saxon Powers, would soon be "crushed to death" by the Soviet-supported Lublin régime. The significance of this comment lies not so much in its application to Poland, whose fate is of little interest to Japan, as in its potential relevance to the case of China, for, if the United States is supposed to be buying a Soviet alliance against Japan at the expense of Poland, she can be represented as equally ready to do so at the expense of China. It is likely that a propaganda campaign on these lines is being prepared for the time when, and if, the Soviet Union makes a move hostile to Japan. At present there is nothing definite to exploit, and the Japanese are still inclined to walk warily and refrain from publicly attributing to the Soviet Union any aggressive designs in the Far East, but, pending further developments, their political warfare can work on the theme that Britain and the United States are always ready to sacrifice the interests of their weaker allies in order to gain the favour and support of the Soviet Union. The effects, if any, of such propaganda, may not be confined to China, for there are signs of a growing rift between Sinophiles and Russophiles in the United States, the former tending to become more and more identified with opposition to the Roosevelt Administration. Henry Luce, who continues to take a keen interest in the land of his birth, is said to be planning a vigorous campaign in his various magazines against suggestions that the Soviet Union should after the war be allowed to acquire a privileged position in Manchuria.

The Japanese forces which invaded Kwangsi from Hunan have now joined hands with units which crossed the frontier north-eastward from French Indo-China and Japan's overland corridor to South-East Asia has thus been completed, though there cannot be any through railway communication by this route in the immediate future. On the Kweichow front a Japanese vanguard, after penetrating rapidly to within 70 miles of Kweiyang, has been withdrawn to the Kwangsi border. It is at present uncertain how much significance should be attributed to this withdrawal, or whether the Japanese have any serious intention of pushing on to Kweiyang after their recent extensive conquests. Any attempt to overrun Kweichow must encounter great difficulties of terrain, and the advantage should be greatly on the side of the defence if the Chinese are at all resolute in resistance. The Japanese may, however, take the view that the capture of Kweiyang would be worth a great effort, as it would largely cancel

the gain to China from the prospective clearing of the western end of the Burma Road.

The success in Kweichow has for the moment steadied morale in Chungking, which was being undermined by the influx of refugees from the south. On the 7th December General Wedemeyer gave an assurance at a press conference that the United States would never abandon China, and declared he was confident that the Japanese could be driven back if there were determined unity of purpose throughout China, and solidarity between the Chinese people and army. According to an agency report Chiang Kai-shek has now agreed in principle to participation by the Communists in the Government, but it remains to be seen how far he is prepared to go in concessions which he can no longer make from strength but only from weakness. His political position now depends mainly on the course of military events; further disasters would reduce his prestige still further, but, if he can tide over the present crisis, he may be able to restore his power by sharing in Allied victory later on.

China has conferred upon President Vargas of Brazil the decoration of the Special Grand Cordon of Propitious Clouds.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

There has this week been a flood of criticism of His Majesty's Government for their alleged reactionary intervention in European affairs. The flood was let loose by Mr. Stettinius's statement about Count Sforza, in which he declared that the position of the United States Government "has always been that the composition of the Italian Government is purely an Italian affair except in the case of appointments where important military factors are concerned." Since Italy was an area of combined responsibility, he added that the United States Government had reaffirmed to both the British and Italian Governments that they expected the Italians to work out their problems of government along democratic lines without interference from the outside. "This policy would apply to an even more pronounced degree in regard to the Governments of the United Nations in their liberated territories." (There was considerable speculation on whether this last sentence referred to Allied policy in Belgium and Greece or whether it referred to Russia's handling of the Polish situation.)

Count Sforza, who has long resided in the United States, enjoys an exaggerated prestige in America as a symbol of Italian democracy and as a consistent anti-Fascist. The alleged British "veto" on his appointment was held to be due to his opposition to the House of Savoy. Newspapers and radio commentators alike accused Great Britain of trying to impose a reactionary pattern on Europe, and the brusque tone of Mr. Stettinius's statement was widely interpreted in the press and on the radio as a snub to Great Britain and as a reaffirmation of the libertarian position of United States. One or two papers, however, such as the *New York Times*, criticised both the matter and the manner of the Secretary of State's remarks. And although the statement obviously struck a responsive chord in the American heart, Mr. Stettinius himself had probably no sooner issued it than he regretted his impulse. He seemed at any rate to be sincerely conscience-stricken when taxed by a member of the embassy with having only made matters worse by drawing attention to differences between American and British policy. Moreover, the statement was in contrast with the way in which we had tried to support United States policy even when they had acted unilaterally, as in Sweden and Argentina; and furthermore, we pointed out, we had not placed a veto on Count Sforza but had, quite properly, expressed our disapproval of him. On the following day Mr. Stettinius went a little way towards improving the situation by expressing agreement with the Prime Minister's remark about Greece, that "whether the Greek people form themselves into a monarchy or a republic is for their decision; whether they form a Government of the Right or Left is for their decision; these are entirely matters for them."

Organs of Conservative and middle-of-the-road opinion tended, at the outset, to support British action in Greece more than they had done over the Sforza issue, but they trailed off into less favourable comment later. The Left-wing papers and the majority of the radio commentators have criticised British action in Greece without reserve, and the press in general have represented this as being the sharpest divergence to date on British and American policies. Raymond Gram Swing observed that "British prestige is at its lowest ebb." Lord Halifax later saw Mr. Stettinius and told the press that the British and United States Governments were "far from misunderstanding," though he admitted that there might have been a lack of consultation on both sides.

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Some uneasiness has been expressed that the policy advocated by Mr. Stettinius would result in enhancing Russian influence in Europe at Britain's expense, and the anti-Russian Hearst group in particular actually supported British policy on the ground that the Allies were not fighting "to provide a way for the extension of the Communist world idea." There was also some tendency in Conservative circles to take the view that, since the United States were apparently not prepared to assume military responsibility in places such as Greece, they are scarcely in a position to indulge in too much abuse of us. The *Denver Post* went so far as to maintain that Mr. Stettinius's "policy paradoxically is isolationist." Other commentators demanded further clarification of the State Department's "hands-off" policy, and asked whether Germany and Japan, after unconditional surrender, would also be told to form their own Governments "without American interference." But whether strongly critical or not, there has been a general demand that the rift between Great Britain and the United States clearly demonstrates the need for an early meeting between Mr. Churchill, President Roosevelt and Marshal Stalin, so that the Allies can arrive at a common political policy as they have successfully done in the military field.

After hearing the views of Mr. Stettinius, the Acting Secretary of State, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has decided by 12 votes to 8 to comply with the request of the State Department to defer action on the resolution advocating unlimited Jewish immigration into Palestine until the next Congress assembles, "in view of the present delicate international situation."

The President has now nominated two additional Assistant Secretaries of State to the State Department. These are Mr. James C. Dunn, at present chief of the European Affairs Commission in the State Department, and Brigadier-General Julius C. Holmes, chief adviser on civil affairs to General Eisenhower. After a prolonged debate in the Senate, the nominations of Mr. Grew as Under-Secretary of State and of the three other Assistant Secretaries (Mr. Rockefeller, Mr. Clayton and Mr. MacLeish) were sent back to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (on the motion of Senator O'Mahoney (Democrat, Wyoming) for further consideration). There is a certain feeling against Mr. Rockefeller, who is the son of one of the richest men in the United States, and to Mr. MacLeish, who is a poet; but it is the nomination of Mr. Clayton that has excited the most opposition, particularly on the part of the farm *bloc*. In the eyes of the Liberal press also, Mr. Clayton, one of the most powerful cotton brokers in the world, is suspected of representing reactionary big business. A number of Senators also are anxious to know more about his views on foreign trade and particularly on cartels, and Left-wing papers, such as *P.M.* and the *New Republic*, have consistently attacked Mr. Grew's "appeasement-minded" attitude towards Japan and Mr. Clayton's "big business" handling of the disposal of surplus property. They fear that the reorganisation planned by Mr. Stettinius will push the State Department over to the Right.

On balance, however, the changes in the State Department have been welcomed as indicating "real organisation." Senator Albert Chandler (Democrat, Kentucky), while expressing no objection to Mr. Grew, has declared that he wishes to learn more about the other nominations. "We ought to know," he declared, "where they stood on the war in Spain, their attitude towards Vichy, what they think about problems in India, and whether they think the Atlantic Charter is dead." In some quarters the action of the Senate is interpreted as an attempt to express its dissatisfaction at the part which Mr. Hopkins is alleged to have played in the selection of Mr. Stettinius and other members of the State Department. The public hearings began on the 12th December, but it is not anticipated that eventual Senate ratification will be withheld. (See also last week's *Summary*.)

Mr. Kent Cooper, the executive Director of the Associated Press, addressing the annual meeting of the National Association of Manufacturers, has pronounced in favour of "a free exchange of news throughout the world," adding that "such communication systems as there are between some countries have invoked either censorship or such heavy charges as to stifle news exchange efforts by agencies of the press"; and there is evidence that the newspaper lobby is conducting a vigorous campaign to secure the adoption of an official United States policy for the abolition of censorship, for the freedom of the press and for uniform cable rates. The Board of Directors of the American Society of Newspaper Editors has passed a resolution urging that all Governments should declare the right of people everywhere to hear news free from censorship restrictions. The Board is also reported to have appointed three members "to visit various world capitals to confer with appropriate governmental bodies, press associations, newspaper

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and radio executives." On the 18th November Mr. Paul Miller, Chief of the Washington Bureau of the Associated Press, announced that he was authorised by Mr. Stettinius to say that the United States Government would undertake explanatory talks with other Governments to try to secure an International agreement on world freedom of news exchange. It is understood that Mr. John Knight, the Chairman of the Association of Newspaper Editors and Publishers, will shortly visit Europe to investigate the international situation. (See also under "Latin America," "Soviet Union" and "United Nations.")

LATIN AMERICA.

The Governing Board of the Pan-American Union met on the 6th December under its new Chairman, Mr. Stettinius. Discussion of the Argentine question was, however, deferred, since insufficient replies had been received from member Governments, though a resolution was carried in favour of a special meeting of the Governing Board if a sufficient number of replies should have been received before the next regular meeting, on the 3rd January. A resolution was also moved in favour of a special conference of five or six Latin American countries to consider means of facilitating a solution of the Argentine problem before a meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs should take place.

On the 11th the Colombian press published an unofficial text of a reply of the Colombian Government apparently in response to Mexican soundings about Argentina's request. Two points were made: first, that Argentina had an undeniable right to be heard and to explain her attitude at a meeting of the American countries, and second, that the American countries had no right to prescribe the form of Government of any one of them, and in consequence no right to require Argentina to abandon her present system as a condition for being heard at such a meeting. The Argentine Government, whose hopes have been somewhat dashed of late, appears to have been encouraged by the action of the Pan-American Union on the 6th December, and it has taken fresh steps which may be interpreted as preparing the ground for a conference. These include the appointment of a committee of three distinguished judges to formulate regulations governing the conduct of political parties as a preliminary to the holding of elections; the reappearance of the democratic *Argentina Libre*, which has been suppressed since June 1943 (both these steps were taken on the 9th December); and the closure for a week of the pro-Axis *Cabildo* as a result of an article attacking intervention in Axis firms.

Further outbreaks of violence occurred in San Salvador on the 8th December, when several persons were killed. In the course of the affrays, armed police broke into the French Legation, and this incident, despite the fact that the Salvadorean régime has offered compensation, has caused some concern among members of the Diplomatic Corps who are giving shelter to numerous political refugees. Martial law has been proclaimed. In Honduras the atmosphere is equally overcharged: the attempted invasion by exiles who had gathered in Salvadorean territory failed (see *Summary* No. 264), and the Honduran Government is reported to have persuaded the Salvadoreans to take the remaining exiles into custody. Nevertheless, the tide which has already swept away General Ubico, formerly the doyen and model of the Central American dictators, has induced a state of alarm in the breasts of those still surviving. It is even reported that the Presidents of Honduras and Nicaragua and the Provisional President of El Salvador propose to establish a Tripartite Republic, with one of them as President of the whole and the others remaining as Governors of their respective countries. One purpose of this association, it is suggested, might be to proceed against Costa Rica and Guatemala! Territorial ambitions may well be entertained by the dictators, but it is difficult to see any of them acknowledging either of the others as Tripartite President and himself accepting an inferior position.

The Chilean Government has announced that an agreement has been reached for the establishment of diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. (see *Summary* No. 268). In Peru a number of resignations have taken place as a prelude to the elections next year: they include those of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs, War and Public Works, and of General Ureta, Inspector-General of the Army, and of ex-President Marshal Benavides, till now Ambassador to Argentina. Most or all of these entertain presidential ambitions.

The Office of the Co-ordinator for Inter-American Affairs has announced the expenditure of 10 million dollars on the provision of educational facilities in Latin America. Present agreements cover Peru, Bolivia, Haiti, and the five Central American Republics; partial agreements have been signed with Brazil, Chile and the Dominican Republic; and agreements are being negotiated with Ecuador and Paraguay.

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UNITED NATIONS.

Civil Aviation Conference.

The Conference held its final meeting on the 8th December after a session of 37 days, much longer than had been anticipated. The prolongation of the labours of the Delegates due to the difficulty of coming to full agreement on international control was reported in last week's *Summary*. But it resulted in documents of great value which have laid the basis for further advance when war is over.

There were five main documents. A Final Act embodied twelve resolutions of a rather mixed character which include the acceptance of a number of technical points and the reference of unsettled business to the Interim Council. All the participating States signed this Final Act, which is no more than a compendium of resolutions previously agreed. Provision has been made for rules as to pilotless aircraft, the most recent development in international aviation. There are also a Permanent Convention, superseding those of Paris (1919) and Havana (1928), and an interim agreement dealing in comprehensive fashion with the technical side of aviation and setting up an interim council. The first will need ratification by the signatory States and, since 26 are necessary, it is not likely to come into force for at least two years. The latter, which 26 signatories bring into force, will determine flying in the immediate future, so that the technical advances of recent years can be immediately brought into operation, while the interim council will provide a centre of discussion, and if the parties so agree, of decision. Its seat will be in Canada and at its last meeting the seat of the Permanent Organisation will be determined.

The other agreements concern the Five Freedoms, the first granting the first two, the second all five. These freedoms, of course, apply only to civil aircraft. The latter will probably be signed now by few States outside the western hemisphere, but the former is expected to be practically universal, though some States wish to reserve their assent until they see exactly what their position is. Thus, though the United Kingdom itself accepted the two freedoms, it was necessary to make a reservation as regards Newfoundland, whose Government had not yet convinced itself that immediate acceptance was in the interests of its ward.

The elections to the interim council threw an interesting light on the difficulty of producing a satisfactory Council by vote. A trial vote was so unsatisfactory that the elections were divided into three categories elected one after the other, (1) operators, 8 seats (one reserved for the U.S.S.R.); (2) States providing facilities, 5 seats; (3) States elected to give geographical representation, 8 seats. Both Mr. Berle and Lord Swinton exhorted the Conference to vote in an objective manner. The result was, however, in class 1, United States, United Kingdom, Netherlands, France, Brazil, Mexico and Belgium; in class 2, Canada, Cuba, Norway, Iraq and Peru; in class 3, China, Australia, Egypt, Czechoslovakia, Turkey, Chile, El Salvador and Colombia. There were thus many anomalies such as the preference of Mexico over Canada as an operator, while the Latin American States had one-third of the total of seats against six European seats and Asia was obviously inadequately represented. Some mitigation of the result was obtained by the action of Norway which offered to resign its seat in favour of India, thus moving Cuba to make the sacrifice in its place. The result is to make Latin American representation equal to that of Europe, while India receives her just recognition.

In the concluding speeches both Mr. Berle and Lord Swinton emphasised the immense importance of the agreements already concluded. "Chicago," said Lord Swinton, "is the first chapter in a new work of co-operation." Public opinion has tended to lay emphasis on what was not done rather than on substantial progress already made. But, though much remains to be done, the Conference has not only made important technical advances, set up an interim council and secured the practically world-wide acceptance of the two freedoms, but also by discussing with great frankness the issues of international control prepared the way for more comprehensive agreements in the future. It must be regarded as a good omen that the Conference has not been a place for the negotiation of special bilateral agreements between States, which will now have at least a body of principles to consult before such are made. The points of view of the different States on these matters were fully disclosed to the Conference and, though with some difficulty since the medium of communication was at times rather opaque, to the world public. The Civil Aviation Conference may rightly be said to have cleared the air.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary
No. 272

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
20TH DECEMBER, 1944.

Copy № 183

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

GERMAN propaganda has gratefully accepted what it calls the "entire trainload of ammunition" presented to it by the House of Commons debate on Poland. Several broadcasts of the 16th took points from Mr. Churchill's speech, which has been discussed in a tentative rather than an exultant manner. In view of the German insistence on "Strength through Fear," remarkably little use was made of specific points, such as the fate of East Prussia and Silesia and the transfer of population. No more important personality than Fritzsche was put up to speak on the subject. Schmidt was absent from the Wilhelmstrasse, and no use (for Germans in the Reich) was made of the British desire for an early three-Power conference. The Political Survey claimed that the frequency of Churchill's speeches was in itself a sign of weakness: "While Hitler worries our enemies by his silence, Churchill has the same effect by his continual speech-making." His last speech showed how absurd it had been for Britain to go to war for Poland; as the *Manchester Guardian* had observed, it disclosed a crisis, not of Poland only but of the United Nations. Fritzsche's commentary, delivered later on the 16th, was on the same lines, rubbing in what it called the British illusion of being able to dictate a policy to Europe. At the Press Conference of the German Foreign Office, von Stumm observed that Churchill had addressed his words "less to M.P.s and the Poles than to Britain's Soviet ally." He insisted on the close connexion between Churchill's last two speeches: "London has now sacrificed Poland—in order to retain Greece." The substance of this comment was reproduced for foreign information in a special statement, which drew from the speech five conclusions: that Britain was no longer interested in Poland, that a new meeting of the Big Three was unlikely, that the United States differed from Britain on the Polish issue, that the Atlantic Charter had been finally abandoned and that any compromise between Churchill's Britain and the German people was out of the question. A later statement (also for foreign listeners) was the only one of the day which sought to emphasise Mr. Churchill's attitude to

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Germany. His "plans for German dismemberment" would be taught in every German school, carried by every German soldier in his knapsack and posted in every factory. "A Churchill peace in Europe would mean that all European frontiers would be charged with high explosives."

The counter-attack launched by Rundstedt on the 16th was first announced by the O.K.W. on the 18th, and since then has been prominently featured in German war reports. It is very doubtful whether, in an order of the day of the 15th, Rundstedt did, as reported, call on his troops for a last effort. He assured them that their great hour had struck, that strong forces were attacking the Allied armies, that everything was at stake, and called on them "to achieve the utmost" for Fatherland and Führer. A Forces broadcast told the same troops on the 18th that they must not expect rapid and easy advance to Paris, and that their attack had been planned to the last detail by Hitler himself.

The information given here (cf. *Summary* No. 267) regarding the German police can now be supplemented. A *D.N.B.* announcement of the 15th December reveals that in future police pay will be on the same scale as that of the Armed Forces. The reasons given for this rise are that police units now operate increasingly with units of the Armed Forces, including the Waffen SS, and that in the South and East (*i.e.*, probably in occupied territories) administrative offices of Army and Police are now united, and that the pay system will be simplified. It is not yet clear how far Himmler, who is Chief both of the Police and of the Reserve Army, aims at the creation of a unified fighting force for home purposes.

There has been since July last a striking increase in press reports of attacks on policemen. Since cases reported can be assumed to be less numerous than the actual incidents the appearance of fifteen such reports in five months is worth remark. A confidential source, more precise on this point, circulated that six policemen were shot in Berlin in one week of November. Considerable rewards were offered. The Berlin press early in October reported the case of a Russian who on the 15th August had shot two Waffen SS men on police duty outside the Oranienburg Station in Berlin; on the 20th October it announced that the criminal had been caught and executed. A likely motive of attacks on policemen is to obtain possession of firearms, and attempts have been made in western Germany to induce civilians to surrender to the authorities any arms in their possession. In Baden and Bavaria these were requisitioned for the Volkssturm. In Lorraine it was stated that unlicensed possession of firearms would be punished by death. On the other hand it is clear that people are trying to obtain, or to keep, firearms. Army pistols are said to have been "systematically" stolen in Erfurt. Pistols are purchased from soldiers on the black market.

The difficulties of German industry under frequent air attack are illustrated by a report that an engineering works in Düsseldorf has started to transfer workshops and mechanics to a site only 15 miles away. Such short-range evacuation means that the workers affected need not leave their homes, but also that both workers and plant remain within a vulnerable area.

In some Berlin factories trouble is said to have occurred from workers complaining that their rations are inadequate for the long hours which they have to work. Reports from German areas now under A.M.G. state that food rationing under the Nazis has on the whole been efficient, the official ration having been in most cases met. Black market activities, though not so prominent as in France or Belgium, are said to have been considerable and sustained chiefly by smuggling across the Dutch and Belgian border.

A new call-up of medical personnel for the Armed Forces is said to have further restricted the number of doctors available to the civil population. An assessment of the position in September last gave one doctor for every 5,000 to 7,000 persons, and of these doctors some spent much time visiting military hospitals. Such a situation may prove serious in view of the fact that in so many towns living conditions are bad, vitality low and the worst of the winter still to come. A recent meeting of the Dortmund City Council listened to a report from the health officer the published version of which stated that the danger of epidemics should not be underrated in view of the conglomeration of so many people in unfavourable circumstances. The number of cases of diphtheria and scarlet fever has increased, the spread of disease having been probably favoured by the crowds in A.R.P. shelters. Cases of spotted typhus were said to have spread from eastern workers to Germans.

Traffic dislocation and movements of population have combined to cause confusion to the German postal system. The press frequently claims that letters do not arrive because they are inadequately addressed; envelopes which do not

bear the correct postal numbers of the district cannot, it is said, be dealt with by an overworked or temporary staff. A western newspaper in November reported, as not an isolated case, that of a letter sent from less than 50 kilom. away. "We could have walked the distance several times during the time it took to reach us." There was in September evidence of increased use of private messengers. Business firms in the Ruhr speak of the inconvenience of having only three deliveries per week. The Reich Minister of Posts has complained that many unimportant letters are sent by registered mail, thus causing the Post Office much unnecessary work.

Captured letters from Germany show some increase of apathy and listlessness, but still contain examples of "firm" morale and confidence in victory. Many such letters now bear the stamp of the Gestapo and not of the military censor. A woman factory worker writes of her joy at hearing of V 2 and of her disappointment that in spite of its use the war seems to have gone on just the same. "In moments of doubt," writes a Leipzig correspondent to a friend in the Forces, "take up *Mein Kampf* and think what the Führer gave us in 1933." Many write with horror of conditions in raided cities, of Bochum as a dead city, of the hungry people in flooded Cologne and of the endless troubles of those who try to travel. A soldier in Strasbourg writes that all the infantry think the war will be finished by Christmas. Another soldier suggests that Christmas festivities might well be scrapped altogether since Joseph and Mary have been called up, the Christ-child evacuated from German hearts and the manger, hay and animals (except the ass) requisitioned.

(For the pronouncement of the German Generals in Moscow see below, under "Soviet Union.")

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

The Red Army has continued to advance westwards along the Slovak-Hungarian frontier during the past week and as the threat to Slovakia increases conditions in that country clearly grow more chaotic. The propaganda from Bratislava seeks to explain away the disorganisation of administration, transport and communications, which it admits to exist and concentrates on the terrors of bolshevism more frenziedly than ever. The evidence indicates that these efforts are bearing little fruit. In the Protectorate, too, the Russian advance is having an effect. Executions of Czech resisters have increased in number and Czech farm-workers of the 1921–22 age-groups are being called up for ten weeks of labour service digging trenches near the Protectorate.

Two members of the Czechoslovak Government Delegation in Ruthenia, Dr. Drtina and M. Uhlír, recently returned to England to report on conditions there to President Beneš and his Government. The Delegate himself, M. Nemec, arrived in Moscow last week.

On the 7th December a delegation of Orthodox Clergy from Mukačevo in Ruthenia, headed by the Bishop of the Mukačevo–Prešov diocese, arrived in Moscow to request the support of the Russian Synod in their application to the Synod of the Serbian Orthodox Church for the transfer of the Mukačevo Orthodox diocese to the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarchate. (See also under "Soviet Union.") Mukačevo does not come within the area of Ruthenia handed over by the Soviet authorities to the administration of the Czechoslovak Delegate.

During M. Masaryk's illness Dr. Ripka is, as usual, deputising for him as Minister for Foreign Affairs. M. Masaryk's duties as Minister of Defence have been temporarily taken over by Dr. Slávík, the Minister of the Interior.

POLAND.

The Polish Prime Minister, M. Arciszewski, made a formal statement of his Government's policy to the Polish National Council in London on the 13th December, which he based on four points: (*a*) Its authority was derived, he said, from the Polish President, M. Raczkiewicz; (*b*) it considered the voice of the home country as decisive on all important matters of State; (*c*) the armed forces under its command were continuing to grow; and (*d*) it enjoyed the support of American Poles, particularly in matters of relief.

Mr. Churchill's speech on Poland in the Debate on the 15th December produced an immediate reaction in the great majority of the press and radio comments of the United States. This comment, written from the standpoint of

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those who themselves are committed to no guarantee or alliance with Poland, is sharply critical. The proposed readjustment of Poland's boundaries is represented as evidence of the abandonment of the Atlantic Charter, of the revival of power politics and the apportionment of Europe into spheres of influence. Several papers referred to the "inconsistency" of Mr. Churchill's stand, contrasting his support of the "legitimate" Government of Greece with his supposed disavowal of the "legitimate" Government of Poland, an interpretation which is quite unjustified by the text of the Prime Minister's speech. Mr. Churchill's appeal for an early meeting of the Big Three is regarded as further evidence of an apparent lack of understanding between the major Allies. There is, however, a mounting support for his plea that, despite differences, nothing must impair their basic unity. "It is painful to have differences of opinion and policy between Britain and the United States," declared the *Chicago Daily News*. "A serious division now over the treatment of liberated territory would be a catastrophe endangering not only the war effort but the future peace. The most obvious move is a meeting of the three leaders and an immediate show of unity."

In contrast to this spate of unofficial disapproval Mr. Stettinius on the 19th December issued a public statement of United States policy which is a watered-down version of President Roosevelt's letter to M. Mikolajczyk in November (see *Summary* No. 269).

According to an interview given to the *Sunday Times* of the 17th December M. Arciszewski's comment on the debate was that "the favourable statements made by Mr. Churchill and other members . . . ." "do not seem to justify the amputation of the eastern part of Poland." His Government was, he said, preparing new proposals for submission to the Soviet and other Allied Governments "after they have been approved by the Underground State in Poland itself."

In the meantime, although it seems that communication has been properly re-established with the Underground movement in Poland, it is reported that its leaders attach the greatest importance to the formation of a Polish Government in London which would include M. Mikolajczyk and his Party.

SOVIET UNION.

As for the previous five weeks, there has been no change on the Soviet-German front in East Prussia and Poland. In Slovakia, Sáhy, just over the border from Hungary, was captured on the 15th December, followed by Kamenec on the 18th December. In Hungary, after the rapid advances of the preceding fortnight, the pace has slowed down. The principal gains have been north of Miskolc, where the Red Army is pushing along the three railway lines leading into Slovakia. Szendro was taken on the 15th December, Putnok on the 17th December, Göncz on the 18th December. The ring is slowly tightening around Budapest, Gödöllö being captured on the 12th December. In Yugoslavia no change has been reported.

The text of the Franco-Soviet treaty was made public in Moscow on the 17th December (for an analysis of its terms see under "France"). The provisions of the treaty are very similar to those of the Anglo-Soviet treaty of alliance of the 26th May, 1942, and the Czech-Soviet treaty of the 12th December, 1943 (see *Summary* Nos. 141 and 219). The main differences between the new treaty and the Anglo-Soviet treaty are that there is no reference to the Atlantic Charter in the preamble; the resolve of the contracting parties to work together to create a peace and security organisation comes in the preamble and not as an article of the treaty, since this work has in fact begun at Dumbarton Oaks; nor do the contracting parties pledge themselves to "act in accordance with the two principles of not seeking territorial aggrandisement for themselves and of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States," no doubt in order to leave France free to annex German territory should she wish to do so.

Comments on the treaty in *Pravda* and *Izvestiya* has for the most part been highly platitudinous. *Izvestiya* emphasised the importance of uniting "the two largest States of the European continent" if German imperialism was to be resisted. *Pravda* gave a brief historical survey in which it was argued that "the Soviet-French treaty of mutual assistance concluded in 1935 could have been an active weapon against German aggression if it had not been cancelled by the notorious Munich policy directed against the Soviet Union, a policy which proved fatal in its ruinous consequences for Europe,

and first and foremost for France. Franco-Soviet collaboration was cut short as a result of the arbitrary actions of the traitors to the French people, the traitors who stood for collaboration with Hitlerite Germany." The present treaty was described, obviously enough, as "a document of great military and political significance," signifying "a new and important stage in the development of Soviet-French relations." M. Bogomolov, Soviet Ambassador in Paris, has announced that the Normandie Squadron in the U.S.S.R. will be expanded and that French airmen will be able to train in Soviet air schools.

Notwithstanding the friendly atmosphere which prevailed during General de Gaulle's visit, the Soviet press has been as swift as ever in reacting to any criticism of the Soviet war effort, even from France. On the 14th December *Izvestiya* and *Krasnaya Zvyezda* printed an article attacking Colonel Chassin, Director of the Military Department of the French Ministry of Information, for a review of the situation on the Eastern Front, in which he was reported as saying that in October there were 127 German and Hungarian divisions there, that the number was increased to 135 in November, and that by the 1st December there were 132 divisions on the Soviet-German front. The correct figures, the article stated, "which have been ascertained by the army reconnaissance service," were 204 German and Hungarian divisions on the Eastern front in October, 212 in November and 220 (including 200 German divisions) on the 1st December. Thus during October and November, allowing for 16 divisions put out of action, the number has increased by 32 divisions transferred "from other theatres of war, including Italy." "The question arises," the article concluded, "did Colonel Chassin fall a victim of his own ignorance and lack of information, or did he try to mislead public opinion deliberately?"

Little publicity has been given in the Soviet press to the doings of the National Committee of "Free Germany" since the adherence of Field-Marshal von Paulus (see *Summary* No. 255 under "Germany"). On the 8th December, however, all the Moscow newspapers published the biggest scoop which has yet been obtained from German prisoners in the U.S.S.R. This was an appeal to the German people and army, signed by von Paulus and no less than fifty generals—well over half the number of German generals captured by the Red Army. The appeal, which was restrained and dignified in tone, was alleged to be made on behalf of "many hundreds of thousands of officers." Its theme was: "There is no longer any hope for a change in the situation. No single Power in the world will negotiate with Hitler." Having thus proclaimed the indivisibility of the Allies, the appeal went on to assess coolly the consequences of surrender; "True, our Fatherland will be occupied by enemy troops, but an end will be put to the senseless sacrifices on the fronts and in the Fatherland, while the homes and enterprises which have so far escaped destruction will be preserved. True, the victors will demand punishment for all iniquities caused to their peoples, but only those will face the court who are guilty of crimes against the laws of culture and humanity. Certainly our future will not be easy, we shall work, we shall restore; but the road of progress will again open before us." The military situation was as hopeless as in 1918, when Hindenburg and Ludendorff demanded the discontinuation of the war. The German army and people must take the same action now "before the joint offensive of the united forces of the enemy destroys the German army and whatever has still remained in our Fatherland." This is a much more sober and realistic estimate of Germany's prospects than the "Free Germany" Committee has hitherto been in the habit of making.

Finland has come once more into the foreground in the Soviet press during the past week. *Pravda* (14th December) carried a long article discussing the recent Congress of the Finnish Social Democratic Party, strongly critical of the Party in general and Tanner in particular. Tanner, according to *Pravda*, had suffered no change of heart since the armistice, and acted at the Congress as "an undisguised mouthpiece of all chauvinist and Fascist circles in Finland." His demand for "a strong Government" was not, however, echoed by the masses of the Finnish people. Though the Administration remained "cluttered with agents of Hitlerism," the people were now demanding democratisation of the régime and prosecution of those responsible for the war and war crimes. Although the results of the Congress, where the Tanner point of view was mainly reflected, would suggest that the Finnish Social Democrat movement was incapable of developing politically, *Pravda* concluded that the ultimate stage in the Party's development had not necessarily been reached. The majority of the Party leadership could not indefinitely support Tanner, for if so the workers would finally turn their backs

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on them and on the Party. The Social Democratic workers were beginning to recognise that " a solid State is not a police State, but a democracy, and that the independence of the Finnish people is menaced not by friends but by enemies of co-operation and good neighbourly relations between the Finnish and Soviet peoples."

A cordial note was struck by General Zhdanov in his speech at a reception given by the Finland Soviet Union Society on the 11th December. He noted that there had developed in Finland since the Armistice " a truly historic process of consolidation of progressive and democratic forces in connexion with the task of establishing friendly and cordial relations with the Soviet Union," and among these forces the Society occupied an important place. He concluded on the note that the U.S.S.R. followed the work of the Society " with profound sympathy and attention, being convinced that the ideas of friendship of a free, independent and democratic Finland with the Soviet Union meet the vital interests of the Finnish people."

All the Soviet papers reported with approval on the 18th December that Finland had fulfilled within the time assigned Article 4 of the armistice, concerning the reduction of the Army to a peace-time footing. Three days later it was announced that the mixed Soviet-Finnish Frontier Commission in the Porkkala Udd area had finished its work, and that the Soviet delegation had left for Moscow.

For M. Vyshinsky's admonition to the Roumanian Communist leaders, given on the eve of his departure for Moscow, that they should " behave themselves," as he did not wish to hear any complaints of their behaviour, see under " Roumania." This attitude of damping down the ardour of local Communists is exactly parallel to that adopted by the Soviet authorities in dealing with Yugoslavia and Bulgaria (see last week's *Summary*).

The authorities of the Moscow Patriarchate, who have recently been showing considerable interest in the Orthodox Churches abroad, particularly in Bulgaria and Roumania, gave a cordial reception on the 7th December to a delegation of clergy of the Mukačevo–Prešov Orthodox diocese in Ruthenia. The delegates were applying for the transfer of their diocese from the jurisdiction of the Serbian Patriarchate to that of Moscow, and their petition received favourable consideration from the Acting Patriarch, Metropolitan Alexei, who promised to intervene with the Holy Synod of the Serbian Orthodox Church. Before their departure for Kiev, the delegates were received by M. Karpov, Chairman of the Council for Ecclesiastical Affairs in the Russian Orthodox Church (see also under " Czecholovakia ").

It was announced in Moscow on the 16th December that the Soviet Government had accepted Nicaragua's proposal for the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between that country and the U.S.S.R. Envoys Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiaries will be exchanged. On the same day Senor Quintanilla, Mexican Ambassador to the U.S.S.R., presented credentials accrediting him, in addition, as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Costa Rica.

The Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic celebrated its 20th anniversary on the 10th December. The occasion was suitably honoured by messages from high party and government organs of the U.S.S.R. and the R.S.F.S.R. These messages stressed principally the cultural and economic advances made in the republic during the twenty years of Soviet power. The new oil, chemical, sulphur, food, textile and silk industries were mentioned in these messages and in a broadcast talk by M. Berdiev, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Turkmen S.S.R. M. Berdiev stated that whereas in 1925 72 per cent. of the Republic's total production consisted of agricultural produce, now 76 per cent. of the production is industrial: this notwithstanding the fact that in the interim agricultural production has doubled. M. Berdiev and twenty-four others were awarded the Order of Lenin, and nearly 400 other persons were decorated. A delegation from the Horosan (Persia) branch of the Society for Cultural Relations with the U.S.S.R. attended the jubilee session of the Supreme Soviet of the Turkmen S.S.R., and was subsequently received by M. Aliev, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the republic (see also under " Middle East ").

The elections to the Supreme Soviet have again been postponed, this time until December 1945 (for the last postponement see *Summary* No. 220).

THE LOW COUNTRIES.

Political conditions in Belgium continue to be tranquil. Improvements in the supply and distribution of food have doubtless contributed to this, but, unless fairly substantial quantities of food can be imported in the near future, conditions will again deteriorate. Owing to an acute shortage of newsprint the main Brussels papers will now be published only three times weekly; a few weeks ago they were already compelled to appear four times a week instead of daily. As a result reports of Parliamentary debates have been drastically cut and the nation has hardly been able to form a proper estimate of the conduct of its representatives at this critical time. Meanwhile, the Right-wing Catholic press is already denouncing M. Gutt's coming Bill for a tax on war profits and M. van Acker's coming Social Security Bill. Such polemics will irritate the Socialists and may even imperil the survival of the coalition Government.

General Koenig has visited Brussels and has been received by the Prince Regent.

There is now more food in the liberated Netherlands. The Dutch News Agency announces that, while during November rations fell to an average of less than 900 calories daily per person, it was found possible to raise them to 1,600 for December. It is also hoped that the level for January will be 1,800 calories, or even 2,000, with extra rations for heavy workers and children. In the middle of December a consignment of food and medicines arrived from Switzerland as a gift from a Swiss relief committee.

Efforts are also being made to send food to the Occupied Netherlands; as a result of a request by the Dutch Government a Swedish ship laden with supplies is ready to sail to a Dutch port as soon as the necessary safe-conducts can be obtained from the belligerents. Meanwhile, the position in such towns as Amsterdam and Rotterdam is grim indeed.

FRANCE.

General de Gaulle and his party returned to Paris by air on the 16th December. On the following morning the General presided over a meeting of the Council of Ministers at which he and M. Bidault gave a detailed report of their negotiations in Moscow. It is understood that, apart from the Franco-Soviet pact, Germany, Poland and collective security were the main subjects discussed with the Soviet leaders.

The text of the Franco-Soviet pact was published later in the day. The treaty is modelled on the Anglo-Soviet pact (for points of difference and other comment see under " Soviet Union ") and contains eight articles. The preamble explains the resolve of the two Powers to pursue the war against Germany to the end, their conviction that, once victory has been achieved, the re-establishment of peace and its maintenance for a lasting future requires close collaboration between them and with all the United Nations, and their determination to co-operate with a view to creating an international system of security. In the first two articles the two Governments agree to assist one another in the war against Germany and not to undertake separate negotiations with Germany or to conclude an armistice or peace with any German authority except by mutual consent. In the third, they undertake to adopt by common agreement after the war " all measures necessary to eliminate any new threat on the part of Germany and to oppose every initiative liable to render possible a new attempt to aggression on her part." Article 4 states that, should one of the high contracting parties become involved in hostilities with Germany either in consequence of an aggression committed by Germany or through the application of Article 3, the other will immediately give it all the support and assistance in its power. By the fifth article the two Governments undertake not to conclude any alliance or join any coalition directed against one of them and by the sixth they agree to give one another all possible economic assistance after the war. Article 7 states that the Treaty in no way affects commitments previously entered into towards third parties by virtue of published treaties and Article 8 declares that it will come into force immediately on exchange of the instruments of ratification and last for twenty years; it also makes provision for prolongation. The pact has been hailed in France as a realistic document effectively designed to procure for both Powers the greatest possible security against a revival of the German menace.

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General de Lattre de Tassigny, commander of the French First Army, has been put in charge of the operations in the Alsace sector south of Strasbourg and now has with him an American division as well as a division under General Leclerc. His troops have had to meet severe German counter-attacks south and west of Colmar. Further north General Patch's men have advanced after stiff fighting and liberated Hagenau and Lauterbourg.

The first Assembly of the Departmental Committees of Liberation (C.D.L.) met in Paris at the Hôtel de Ville on the 15th and 16th December under the chairmanship of M. Saillant, President of the C.N.R. A large majority approved motions calling for a rapid purge among the chief collaborators, confiscation of the property of the trusts, nationalisation of key industries, commercial treaties between France and the three other Great Powers, and a new press freed both from private influence and State tutelage. Although many speakers urged the postponement of the local elections, the restriction of the General Councils to an administrative rôle, and the maintenance of the political responsibilities of the C.D.L. as advisory committees to the prefects, together with a statutory extension of their powers, at least until the minimum programme of the Resistance had been achieved and a new constitution adopted, a motion was finally approved favouring the holding of provisional local elections pending the return of prisoners and deportees. The Assembly also unanimously approved an address to General de Gaulle expressing entire confidence in him for the conduct of the war and "the reconstruction of a just and free France," and great satisfaction at the signing of the Franco-Soviet Treaty as "an affirmation of our returning power and as a precious guarantee of security."

The first congress of French peasants since the liberation was held in Paris on the 14th, 15th and 16th December and marked the first step in the creation of a new Confederation of Agriculture to replace the Vichy Peasant Corporation dissolved two months ago. The Minister, M. Tanguy-Prigent, himself a farmer, had already set up a provisional National Committee for Agriculture and committees in each department representing all trends of opinion; while representatives of the main pre-war peasants' organisations had met in Paris and established a National Commission for Peasant Unity. At the Congress, which was attended by delegates from 82 departmental committees, this Commission decided to form itself into a temporary bureau of the future General Confederation of Agriculture and to organise a Congress of Peasant Unity to be held next February. The paper *Libération Paysanne*, which appeared clandestinely under the occupation as *Résistance Paysanne*, is to be the organ of the movement.

After a two-day debate the Consultative Assembly approved the Government's scheme for setting up factory committees in industry (see *Summary* No. 266), but recommended that the committees should be made compulsory in all undertakings of 50 or more employees (the limit proposed by the Government was 100) and that their powers should be extended. The Assembly also approved the procedure already agreed between the C.G.T. and the C.F.T.C. (Catholic trade unions) for electing workers' representatives to the committees. M. Parodi promised to consider the Assembly's proposed amendments.

The Assembly then debated the transport situation and the Minister, M. Mayer, made an effective speech describing the difficulties involved. While the position on the railways was improving, largely through the repair of locomotives, the road transport situation was still very serious. The Assembly voted a resolution acknowledging the results already achieved, but asking that a census of all road vehicles should be taken and that Allied help should be secured, particularly in allowing empty vehicles to travel loaded and in allocating shipping to restore communications between France and her Empire.

The ordinance nationalising the coal-mines of the Nord and Pas-de-Calais (see *Summary* No. 270) has now been published. The preamble states that only the Government can carry through the technical reorganisation and create the psychological conditions necessary for maximum production. It claims that a new system of operational ownership and management has been adopted to allow flexibility and initiative. The Miners' Federation has, however, declared its dissatisfaction with the ordinance and demands the nationalisation of all the French coal-mines without compensation for "the owners who betrayed their country," and their management by tripartite committees representing the miners, the State and the consumers.

Paul Chack, the writer of sea stories who became a contributor to *Aujourd'hui* and president of the Anti-Bolshevik Action Committee, has been

sentenced to death by the Paris Court of Justice. Recent arrests include those of Raymond Patenôtre, former Minister of National Economy in the Daladier Government of April 1938, Pierre Gentin, Minister of Commerce in the same Government, Clamamus, former Senator of the Seine, and Lucien Rottée, former *Directeur des Renseignements Généraux* at the Prefecture of Police.

(See also under "Vatican.")

SWITZERLAND.

The Federal Assembly met on the 14th December to elect the Federal President and Vice-President for 1945, and at the same time to choose a new Federal Councillor to replace M. Pilet-Golaz, head of the Political Department, who resigned last month. Federal Councillor Eduard von Steiger, head of the Department of Justice and Police, was elected President of the Confederation for 1945, and Federal Councillor Karl Kobelt, head of the Military Department, Vice-President. Herr von Steiger, who is a member of the Farmers' Party, is a lawyer in Berne, and has held important municipal and cantonal posts. Dr. Kobelt (St. Gallen) is a member of the Radical Democratic Party.

The main nominees for the vacant seat on the Federal Council were Dr. Petitpierre (nominated by the Radical Democrats, Catholic Conservatives and Farmers' Party); M. Perret (Social Democrats); Dr. Vodoz (Liberal Democrats); and Professor Rappard (Independent Party). Dr. Petitpierre was elected in the first ballot. Of the 227 valid votes, Dr. Petitpierre received 122; M. Perret, 67; M. Vodoz, 26; and Professor Rappard, 9. Dr. Petitpierre, who represents Neuchâtel in the Council of States, is an authority on International Law.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

After four and a half years as His Majesty's Ambassador in Madrid, Lord Templewood has resigned his post. The Secretary of State, in acceding with regret to Lord Templewood's request to be relieved of his charge, has expressed his appreciation of the manner in which he discharged his difficult and important task in Spain. In his farewell interview with General Franco, though unable to prejudge the Prime Minister's answer to the Caudillo's letter, the Ambassador did attempt to dispel the many misconceptions under which Franco is labouring. In this he was helped by the Prime Minister's reference to Spain in his speech in the House of Commons on the 8th December, when he described the statement that he had praised Franco in his earlier speech of the 24th May as a "gross misrepresentation." Lord Templewood told Franco bluntly that the Anglo-Soviet alliance was one of the foundations of British foreign policy, and that it was futile to imagine that we should take part in any anti-Russian *bloc*. He also said that Franco was making a very big mistake in assuming that France was no longer a factor in European politics; she was, in fact, destined to play a very important part. As to Anglo-Spanish relations, which certainly were not all that could be desired, the trouble lay entirely with Spanish Fascism, which was continually impeding our conduct of the war and preventing Spain from being neutral. Franco's reply to this plain truth was the inevitable claim, upon which more than one newspaper campaign has been windily waged, that Falangism had nothing to do with either Nazism or Fascism. To this very shop-soiled distinction Lord Templewood's answer was that, if Falangism adopted Fascist methods, it was not surprising that the British public should regard Spain as a Fascist stronghold and a potential centre for Nazi intrigue. The Ambassador then attacked General Franco on the Military Courts and the repressive measures generally adopted by the Government, particularly the number of political executions carried out in recent months. It was clear from Franco's reply that executions had indeed increased (which we know already: see *Summary* No. 266), but he told Lord Templewood that he was about to launch a series of reforms, *e.g.*, institution of a Cortes elected on a regional basis, greater freedom of local government, projects of social security, &c. This is, presumably, the shaping of Franco's "organic democracy." The recent syndical elections show how much life there is in it (see *Summary* No. 266).

It cannot be claimed that this interview succeeded in shaking Franco out of his happy and serene complacency. He remained quite unruffled, and showed no resentment even at Lord Templewood's most pungent criticisms. He gave no

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REPEAT
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The official broadcast comment described the tremendous enthusiasm with which this speech, "to be known in the history of Italy as the Speech to the Milanese," was greeted. A Fascist rally also took place "spontaneously" at Turin to express enthusiasm after the speech. Later in the day Mussolini toured Milan, which he had not visited since the events of September 1943, and, after inspecting a workers' canteen, addressed a huge crowd in the Piazza San Sepolcro, the original home of Fascism.

This Milan visit and speech were undoubtedly timed to rally the faint-hearted forces of Fascism at a time when, with the imminent capture of Faenza and the approach to Bologna, the threat to the Po Valley draws steadily nearer. It may also be seen in relation to the present German all-out effort on the Western Front. Milan was probably chosen, not only as the main town of Republican Italy, with an enormous industrial population, but also as a town which is suffering both bombardment and great privations of all kinds during the present winter, and which is known to be a centre of seething discontent and disaffection.

It must be admitted that in this speech Mussolini has staged yet another of his come-backs. The speech shows the old sureness of touch, the old trick of carrying the war into the enemy's camp by an apparently frank admission of some criticisms and an apparently honest answer thereto. And in his later speech in the Piazza San Sepolcro the familiar voice of the demagogue was heard again saying, "Comrades, now I feel myself in direct touch with you, I speak to you while we can see into each other's eyes and feel our hearts beat together, fired by the same enthusiasm—profound love for our Italy."

THE VATICAN.

Cardinal Tisserant, a convinced de Gaullist, was sent to France to report to the Pope on the condition of the Church now and during the Occupation. He travelled widely and spoke to people in all walks of life. He concluded that the Church had not pursued a consistent policy in France, and that the higher clergy tended to be out of touch with the people. This was due partly, perhaps, to lack of direction from Rome, partly to weakness in the French Cardinalate, and the retiring habits of the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris. He thought that nothing would be gained by changing the membership of the Hierarchy. It would be better to put new life into present members.

Two events followed close on Cardinal Tisserant's visit. On the 9th December the Vatican recognised the Provisional Government, and on the 14th December Brazzaville wireless gave out that Mgr. Roncalli had been appointed Papal Nuncio to France, in place of Mgr. Valerio Valeri. In 1929 Mgr. Valeri was Apostolic Delegate for Egypt, Palestine, Cyprus and Transjordania, and His Majesty's Minister to the Holy See reported that he spoke English well and had always shown a friendly disposition to British institutions. He became Nuncio to France on the 3rd June, 1936. After the liberation the citizens of Vichy made him an honorary citizen of their town; but the French Government declines to accept diplomats who have been accredited to the Pétain régime. Mgr. Roncalli has been Apostolic Delegate in Turkey and Greece since 1934—a position which comes under the jurisdiction of the Congregation of the Eastern Church, whose Head is Cardinal Tisserant.

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

In Hungary, the Soviets have made some gains in the north-east, towards Košice, and in the north-west, on the river Ipel. In the south and in front of Budapest the front remained practically stationary, although the capital is now under shell-fire.

Although more promises have been made to make of Budapest a "second Stalingrad" the evacuation of industrial plant, raw materials and agricultural produce is going on apace, as is the recruiting of young and fanatical volunteers for training in Germany. But in spite of frenzied efforts to pep up morale by means of atrocity stories, the population generally is reported sullen and apathetic, and "only waiting for the Russians to take over." There have been more cases of desertion, especially among the infantry; some of sabotage of communications, and some indications of a more definite resistance movement among pro-Horthy elements.

Parliament met in Sopron and passed the annual Budget and Appropriation Bill without debate. The city was afterwards bombed. There are reports that Jewish labour formations are being moved to Germany. Hungarian official sources have stated that if any Jews go out of Hungary, they will do so only as part of the general evacuation and will remain under the supervision of the Hungarian authorities.

Roumania.

Reading between the lines of German comment on the new Government, it can be inferred that Vyshinsky's visit to Roumania has done good, and that the country may be entering on a period of comparative calm and be able to make some progress. Vyshinsky appears to have realised that the local Communists, with their mania—which it must be admitted is shared by other parties—for organising street demonstrations, have been responsible for a good deal of disorder, and he has instructed them to conduct themselves in such a way as not to provoke trouble.

The new Prime Minister, Radescu, has addressed a meeting of press representatives and has broadcast to the public. The tone and content of these utterances is excellent. In particular, he has declared that neither he nor his colleagues desire anything for themselves. If this is true, it strikes a new note in Roumanian politics, and promises well for the future.

The air service between Athens, Sofia and Bucarest has been resumed.

Yugoslavia.

North of the Save there has been little change. The Germans' retreat from the Balkans continues. They have evacuated all Serbia except a small area near Zvornik on the Drina, and the partisans have entered Pozhega, Uzhice and Ljubovija. The German group in Montenegro is slowly fighting its way northwards and may succeed in joining the Germans in the Sandjak, who are now west of Sjenica. In Bosnia the Germans are moving steadily towards Brod on the Save.

The new President of the Belgrade City Council is Dr. S. Stankovitch, who is also President of the Presidium of the Serbian legislature. So the carpenter Ratkovitch (see *Summary* No. 266, 8th November, p. 15) has quickly returned to obscurity. In the city the food situation is better than it has been for the past three and a half years. Coal production in east Serbia is said to be nearly up to the pre-war level and there is plenty of wood in the villages, but there is no means of transport. Much denunciation of each other by Serbians has led to many arrests. The commercial and official classes tend to watch events with reserve or passive hostility. Amongst the arrested is Irinej Chiritch, the Orthodox Bishop of Novi Sad, who was given a seat in the Hungarian Upper House.

The partisan press has refrained from editorial comment on British policy in Greece. But a leading article in *Borba*, the Communist paper, denounced Papandreou and his supporters as a minority seeking to dominate the Greek people and to press imperialist claims on the territories of Greece's neighbours. British policy in Greece, the non-recognition of the partisan National Committee as the Government of Yugoslavia, and the difficulties over relief (see *Summary* No. 271, p. 14) combine to arouse partisan antipathy to Great Britain.

Partisan leaders have been putting out numerous territorial claims. In London General Velebit, according to *The Times*, claimed all Venezia Giulia east of the Isonzo, and the district of Klagenfurt in Austria. The official news agency, *Tanyug*, gave prominence to suggestions of claims on the Roumanian Banat and on Baja in Hungary. General Nadj has spoken of claims on Hungarian Baranja. At the recent Youth Congress the chairman, in his closing speech, exhorted Yugoslav Youth to "fight for its brothers in Bulgaria and Greece."

A brigade of Macedonians from Greece has been formed at Bitolj. Its purpose is not yet clear. But the report of the general mobilisation of men under 30 in Macedonia is disquieting.

Greece.

Reports from Athens indicate that it is fairly generally believed there that the only hope of any political solution lies in the appointment as Regent of Archbishop Damaskinos, the Archbishop of Athens. The Archbishop is a figure greatly esteemed by all Greeks for the courageous part he played during the

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occupation; he was active in organising relief, and on several occasions protested strongly to the German authorities over the shooting of hostages. As head of the Church of Greece he set a high standard of conduct which was imitated by most of his clergy, who showed great courage in resisting and obstructing the Germans. His record should make him acceptable even to the extreme Left. M. Papandreou approves of the proposal to appoint the Archbishop as Regent, but it appears that his Cabinet is not unanimous on the point. The main objection, however, appears to come from the King of the Hellenes, who presumably feels that the appointment of a Regent would weaken his own position; he is, however, prepared to agree to the appointment of the Archbishop as Prime Minister, a post which the latter has no wish to fill, as he desires to remain outside ordinary politics. The question has been under discussion for more than a week, and the need for a decision is urgent.

General Plastiras arrived in Athens on the 13th December, and at once offered to place himself at the disposal of the State in any capacity; he has not yet received any official appointment, but it is known that M. Papandreou recently had it in mind to use him as Commander-in-Chief of the new National Army. A recent (unconfirmed) report from Athens suggests that there may be a danger of both Communists and Royalists attempting to exploit for their own ends General Plastiras' reputation for absolute integrity.

Meantime, fighting in Athens continues. E.L.A.S. delivered their reply to General Scobie's demands (see last week's *Summary*) on the 16th; they agreed temporarily to withdraw from the Athens–Piræus area, but stipulated, *inter alia*, that the Greek regular forces must also withdraw, and that British troops must cease to intervene in the internal affairs of Greece. In reply General Scobie pointed out that no mention had been made of E.L.A.S. troops handing in their arms, a condition on which he must insist. British troops, he added, had scrupulously adhered to the Caserta Agreement; at the same time he published the full text of the agreement. A further reply is expected from E.L.A.S. Professor Svolos is known to have urged M. Zevgos to persuade E.L.A.S. to accept General Scobie's terms. It is, indeed, reported that some of the more moderate elements in E.A.M. have broken away; these include the Union of Popular Democracy (E.L.D.), with which M. Tsirimokos is associated.

There has as yet been no fighting in Salonica, and a big E.A.M. demonstration on the 17th took place without either disturbances or enthusiasm.

Albania.

A certain amount of co-operation has been evident between Enver Hoxha's organisation and E.L.A.S. On the one hand, E.L.A.S. handed over to the Albanian partisans Koço Kotta, who was King Zog's Prime Minister in 1938. On the other hand, the Albanian partisans are reported to have allowed E.L.A.S. troops to cross Albanian territory on their way from Florina to attack E.D.E.S. troops, and two E.A.M. officers are said to have reached Tirana.

Bulgaria.

It is no doubt with the purpose of fostering a public desire for vengeance that details have constantly been published about the preparation of the case against those responsible for leading the country into war on Germany's side and about the constitution of the People's Court for trying them. The opening trial has now been fixed for the 20th December, and one of the presidents has stated that the Court will act quickly, not a single guilty person escaping punishment nor a single innocent one being convicted. The indictment states that King Boris and Professor Filov, his Prime Minister, decided early in January 1941 to let the Germans through Bulgaria and to join the Tripartite Pact, and that this decision was formally adopted by the Cabinet on the 28th January, 1941, and by the Sobranje on the 2nd February. The Opposition was suppressed. The press was controlled. The people were deceived. Thousands were interned. Resistance groups were formed and partisans were slaughtered. For all these crimes responsibility is laid on the ex-Regents, Professor Filov, General Mihov and Prince Kiril, on the two Filov Cabinets and on the succeeding Cabinets of MM. Bozhilov and Bagrianov, and even on that of M. Muraviev, which is charged with failing to take effective steps to throw off the German yoke in the six days of its existence before the Red Army's arrival. Members of the Sobranje who supported collaboration are also accused.

On the 13th December General Damian Velchev, the Minister of War, issued another order of the day praising the achievements of the army against the

Germans in Yugoslavia and insisting on the need for continuing the fight. The truth is that Bulgarian troops have been reluctant to go to the front and the Government has only sent them in deference to strong Russian insistence. Mutinous incidents which have occurred have been partly due to bitter feeling between the army and militia. The militia are exempt from service at the front. There is therefore a lot of riff-raff among them. But they are under the Minister of the Interior—a Communist—and are virtually S.S. troops of the Communist Party and in the absence of the army units at the front exercise almost sole internal control. A recent curfew order, for example, was issued by the director of the militia. In these circumstances it is not surprising that the Government is reported to have doubled the pay of army units serving outside Bulgaria.

Turkey.

The economic situation is—temporarily at any rate—far from satisfactory, and M. Saraçoğlu, the Prime Minister, made a rather gloomy reference to it when opening the annual "Buy Turkish" week at Angora. He claimed that gold stocks were ample but he admitted that the note circulation had quadrupled during the war. Revenue was falling and since Turkey broke with Germany foreign trade had stagnated. The United States and United Kingdom were now the only markets where Turkey could sell or buy, and the Government was doing its utmost to cultivate them. If British and American promises—to support Turkish economy as far as possible—were fully carried out the situation would soon improve, but in any case Turkish foreign policy would continue to be based on the Anglo-Turkish alliance.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

In Egypt, the Government's election campaign was opened on the 14th December with a speech by the Prime Minister. After calling upon the electors to go to the polls in order to "prove their love for the constitutional and democratic régime proper to a civilised nation," and referring to the collaboration of the coalition parties, which had made "heavy sacrifices" in the interests of the fatherland, Dr. Ahmed Maher expressed regret that the Wafd had decided not to enter the contest. Evidently they realised that the Government intended the elections to be conducted "with full freedom and justice," and were afraid to reveal the measure of the popular disfavour into which they had fallen. The administrative authorities had been instructed not to interfere in the campaign, except for the prevention of demonstrations.

Behind the scenes the Government's position was less impressive. Despite the agreement on the numerical allocation of seats, the organisation of the elections continued to raise issues on which the party leaders were sharply divided. Makram Ebeid Pasha is understood to have threatened to resign, taking with him two of his colleagues in the Cabinet, and to have been dissuaded by means of concessions to his point of view. It is also reported that a small number of workers, demonstrating in front of the Abdin Palace, threatened a general strike if Makram were allowed to resign, and that his alleged influence among the workers played a part in the Prime Minister's decision to compromise with him. The four leaders have now issued a statement in which they severally disown any of their followers who stand in constituencies earmarked for one of the other parties. Nevertheless classes are said to have taken place in some constituencies between groups of Saadists and of Makram's supporters.

Some surprise has been caused by the candidature of Ali al-Birair, who, as a Sudanese resident in Egypt, is not eligible under the provisions of the Egyptian Electoral Law. Dr. Ahmed Maher's attention has been drawn to this anomaly.

Two of the sub-committees established by the Preparatory Committee for the General Arab Conference—those dealing with cultural matters and with propaganda—are reported to have met in Cairo on the 13th December. An Arab Feminist Congress assembled there on the previous day, under the Presidency of Madame Sharawi. Ali Maher Pasha attended a reception for the delegates, but the proceedings are said to have taken an unexpectedly pro-British turn owing to the influence of the Syrian and Lebanese delegations.

Sir Edward Spears left Beirut on his way to London on the 15th December. He is succeeded by Mr. Terrence Shone. Despite the official statement that "the return of Sir Edward Spears to this country does not indicate any change in British policy, and is solely due to his desire to resume his duties in Parliament,"

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and despite other assurances in the same sense, Syrian and Lebanese leaders apparently regard his departure as further evidence for their belief that the policy of His Majesty's Government is undergoing modification.

The second postponement of action on the pro-Zionist resolution in the United States Congress (see last week's *Summary*, under "United States") has naturally caused disappointment in the Palestinian Jewish community. Their newspapers connect the intervention of the State Department against the passage of the resolution with the outrages recently committed by Jewish terrorists. The *Palestine Post* consoles its readers with the reflection that "the President hardly needed the support of the Congress resolution for giving effect to the policy to which he stands committed by a series of statements, the most specific being the one he made shortly before his re-election."

At a meeting held in Jerusalem to celebrate Dr. Weizmann's 70th birthday, Mr. Shertok is reported to have said: "Every sign of enmity towards England is . . . . deadly poison and should be considered as national treason . . . . England remains the main centre of decision, and there we shall have to wage the struggle for a Jewish State in the whole of Palestine . . . . The day of decision is not yet known. But when it comes it will not bring an immediate final solution. It will make renewed efforts necessary. We have not brought forward the slogan of a Jewish State in order to annul gradual development and construction. We shall be judged not by words but by deeds, and these are: numbers and area."

The Persian Government are anxiously awaiting some definite indication of the attitude which the Soviet Government will now adopt on the oil question. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs failed to draw M. Kavtaradze into a further discussion of the problem before he left for Moscow. But an account has appeared, in the Persian paper published by the Soviet Embassy, of some remarks which he made to a group of Persian Deputies. The passing of the oil concessions Bill, he is reported to have said, was the outcome of pressure exercised by such enemies of Persian-Soviet friendship as the late Prime Minister and Sayyid Zia. He added that it was inconsistent with the existence of foreign concessions in Persia. The Soviet Government were confident that the Majlis would correct its mistake. The concession for which he had asked did not resemble a capitalist concession: it would help to develop the Persian economy and to prevent unemployment, and when the concession expired its equipment would become Persian property. M. Kavtaradze concluded by saying that he was returning to Moscow because the difficulties of his mission had been aggravated by recent developments, particularly by the activity of certain Deputies who had created an atmosphere of hostility to the U.S.S.R.

According to the Persian Prime Minister, M. Maximov has told him that the Soviet Government expect the oil concessions Bill to be amended; as an alternative the ambassador suggested that the Shah might refuse to ratify it. He also observed that the Persian Government could not itself exploit the oil for lack of capital, to which M. Bayat retorted that they had built the railway with their own money. At the same time he reminded the ambassador that the Bill passed by the Majlis did not forbid the Persian Government to discuss the sale of oil to a foreign Power. (In this connexion, it is to be noted that the terms of the Bill also do not preclude the formation of a company nominally Persian but operating under effective Russian control.)

Meanwhile the dispute between the Tudeh Party's organs and other newspapers continues unabated. Both sides are drawing morals from events in Greece—the one portraying the E.A.M. as a small minority incited from abroad and trying to seize power, while the other draws parallels between the behaviour of reactionary imperialists in Greece and that of M. Said, Sayyid Zia and their "masters" in Persia. It seems important, if the Persian Government wish to postpone a resumption of oil negotiations until after the withdrawal of foreign troops, that they should meanwhile draw the sting of the internal opposition by carrying out measures of social reform.

THE FAR EAST.

The Allied landing on Mindoro on the 15th December opened a new phase in the Battle of the Philippines, bringing the Allied offensive through the inner waters of the archipelago to the shores of the South China Sea. A Tokyo broadcast for Europe just before the landing declared that "signs of a great new development in the military situation in the Philippines have now become apparent after a month's stalemate on the Leyte front"; a new enemy task

force had passed through the Mindanao Strait into the Sulu Sea, and, while the objective of this operation still remained to be seen, it was evident the enemy were trying to extend the front further to the west.

After the landing on Mindoro had been officially admitted, Japanese publicity strove to minimise its significance by representing it as an attempt at diversion following on the "failure" to subdue Leyte. In support of this, great stress was laid on the alleged recapture of two airfields on Leyte and it was claimed that the Americans would find it difficult to maintain reinforcements and supplies for their expedition to Mindoro while the Japanese still held bases in the eastern Philippines. There was no disposition to represent the struggle in the Philippines as of anything less than crucial importance for Japan. "The Battle of the Philippines," declared the *Asahi*, quoted by Tokyo radio, "has entered a decisive stage and holds the key to the entire war in the Pacific. Now is the time when we must rise as one man to exert our utmost effort to produce supplies and ammunition and rush them to our forces in time for this grave battle."

The announcement of the creation of a British Pacific Fleet was held by Japanese publicity to be a confirmation of Japanese claims to have inflicted enormous losses on the United States Navy in recent actions off Formosa and the Philippines. The United States Navy, it was alleged, had previously considered itself able to carry on the sea war in the Pacific without British aid, but heavy losses had compelled Washington to ask for it. A *D.N.B.* report from Tokyo quoted Japanese naval circles as saying that the principal object of the formation of the British Pacific Fleet was to protect British interests in that ocean against American encroachment and to secure for Britain a favourable position at the post-war conference table when territorial aspirations in East Asia would one day be settled—a notion which seems already to diverge considerably from Japan's official hopes of expelling both British and Americans completely from the whole region.

Partly as a consolation for depressing news from the oceanic fronts and partly also perhaps as a propaganda reinsurance against the eventuality of defeat in the Philippines, great prominence has been given in Japan to the link-up of Japanese forces on the "overland corridor" to Indo-China via Kwangsi. Apart from the line of communication from Manchuria and North China via Hankow, it was claimed that Shanghai could be linked with the corridor by the railway through Kinhwa and Nanchang, the total distance between Shanghai and Singapore by this route being 5,500 kilom.; 840 kilom. of railway remains to be completed, but this would take less than a year. Regarded as a line of communication to Singapore this route can hardly be a substitute for naval command of the South China Sea, as its long stretches on the coasts of Annam and Lower Siam would be extremely vulnerable to interception by hostile sea-power; as far as Hanoi, however, it is a good inland route for moving troops to Indo-China and one of the main consequences of the Japanese link-up in South China may be an increasingly tight hold by the Japanese Army on the French territory. With the elimination of the Vichy régime in France the French administration and armed forces in Indo-China are left without the cloak of Pétainist legality to cover their submission to Japan; on the other hand, any defiance of Japan before Allied forces were ready to give effective support could only lead to disaster. Admiral Decoux is thus in a situation of great embarrassment and danger. The Japanese attitude has been made quite clear in recent Tokyo broadcasts: Indo-China is "sovereign" and "an integral part of East Asia," quite separate from France, which has become a "parasite" of the Anglo-Americans, "hoping to steal from Asia whatever spoils there would be forthcoming from the Pacific war." After the precedents of Darlan, Badoglio, King Michael and Horthy, it is unlikely that the Japanese have any confidence in the "loyalty" of Decoux, and it may be assumed that they have a plan for taking over control in Indo-China as and when a military emergency develops.

Mystery still surrounds the Japanese withdrawal from Kweichow, which does not seem to have been imposed by Chinese arms. It is possible that the Japanese outran their supplies or lacked clothing suitable for campaigning in winter in the Kweichow highlands. But there have also been rumours of collusion, and some colour is lent to this version by a report that the removal of the threat to the capital has made the Kuomintang less inclined than a fortnight ago for a compromise with the Communists. The *Mainichi* of the 13th December asserted that the recent changes in the Chungking Government had been due to

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American pressure and that this pressure would increase with every military setback Chungking suffered—from which it might be argued that the way to reduce American influence in Chungking was to spare Chungking military setbacks beyond those absolutely necessary for Japanese strategy in the larger war. Japanese political warfare now appears to be concentrated on China more than ever before. Japanese diplomatic representatives in various parts of China have been recalled to Tokyo for a special conference, while Wang Ching-wei's successor, Chen Kung-po, has been received on a visit there with every formality, being entertained by General Koiso at a banquet on the 16th of this month.

On the 14th December Chiang Kai-shek gave an interview to the *News Chronicle* Special Correspondent, Stuart Gelder—the first interview he has granted a foreign journalist for two years. In answering a series of questions put by Gelder he declared that the Government was seeking a solution of the Communist problem with the greatest patience; the Kuomintang, he claimed, had never prevented non-members from participating in the National Government, and in fact welcomed co-operation from other parties. As to Japan, he said that she must be thoroughly disarmed, but that Japanese domestic problems would be better left to the Japanese people to solve for themselves. Finally he declared that "what China expects most just now from her Allies is better understanding, more sympathy and closer co-operation."

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

This week there is a mounting wave of serious anti-British feeling in the press and radio of the United States. According to the columnist, Samuel Grafton, the United States "are being flooded with anti-British pronouncements, manifestos, declarations and cartoons. Some are put out by the Liberals, who object to British policy in Italy and Greece, but some of it comes from the publicists, who have always been anti-British, and from isolationists, who see an opportunity to get in their own particular anti-British blows. . . . . There seems to be a torrent of comment unfavourable to Britain." All sorts of charges, some quite absurd and trivial, are being concocted. They vary from accusing Great Britain of responsibility for the cigarette shortage in the United States (because of Lend-Lease supplies) to sabotaging the Civil Aviation Conference at Chicago by placing national above world interests. On the one hand, Mr. Myron Taylor is reported to be opposed to the "British idea" that Italy as a beaten foe must pay, and, on the other, U.N.R.R.A. in Greece is reported to have declared that they cannot fulfil their tasks through being "unavoidably associated with an organisation of force and discrimination."

But the focus of this criticism is the alleged reactionary and nationalistic policy of this country towards Europe. In Italy, indeed, the joint statement recognising the Bonomi Government is said to have ended the rift which began over a minor divergence which was exaggerated into a major issue by the State Department's press release (see last week's *Summary*). But criticism of our policy in Greece continues on familiar lines. The situation lends itself to demagogic appeals, and it is disturbing to observe that so much of the criticism of British policy in Greece, despite clear statements by Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden, is based on false assumptions, unfounded suspicions and unsupported prejudices.

As to Poland, the Prime Minister's speech did nothing to remove the anti-British sentiment. It met, indeed, with general disapproval, more gloomy than indignant. There is now evidence of a genuine perturbation about post-war settlements in general. It is even said that Mr. Churchill's treatment of Poland "has driven another nail into the coffin of Dumbarton Oaks." [For a detailed account of American reception of the Prime Minister's speech, see under "Poland."]

The one point on which American reaction has not been hostile is the demand for an early meeting among the Three Big Powers. Before this meeting takes place, however, Congress and the press are alike insistent that American policy must be clarified and that a clear statement should be issued by the President and the State Department. Mr. Stettinius's statement concerning United States policy with regard to Poland was only couched in very general terms. There is evidence, however, that the Senate is demanding a more clear-cut statement from the President. As Senator Vandenberg (Republican, Michigan) declared, "only the President can give us, the world at large and Poland the reassurances which now seem to be called for." He asked if it was not time for the President to state what is the foreign policy of the United States. Several speakers, such as Senator Pepper (Democrat, Florida), supported this demand.

All this, of course, plays into the hands of the ex-isolationists in the United States, who are once more beginning to raise their voices, and it is disturbing indeed that it should still be so easy to whip up the traditional anti-British prejudices and suspicions, though, despite the violence of the criticism, it is by no means certain that it will last or leave any deep mark.

The Franco-Soviet Pact has been widely interpreted as further evidence of the resurgence of France as a Great Power and General de Gaulle's prestige is considerably enhanced. But, in view of the general misgivings about European policies, much uneasiness is expressed lest this pact should portend the revival of balance of power politics, and in certain quarters it is criticised as inconsistent with the proposals at Dumbarton Oaks. Some radio commentators, however, have pointed out that the pact destroys any chance of an exclusive western *bloc* designed to offset increasing Soviet power in Eastern Europe.

Mr. R. K. Law, Minister of State, has arrived in Washington and has been received by Mr. Stettinius. Mr. Law is discussing with the United States authorities supply questions which are now arising in liberated territories in North-West Europe and the Mediterranean, and he is also discussing similar questions in relation to Italy.

In reply to a question regarding freedom of news, at his recent press conference Mr. Stettinius stated that "the whole question of freedom of information is now under study in the Department of State. I shall support any practical measure to give international recognition to the principles of freedom of news." He earnestly hoped that it would be possible to have this subject brought up at the United Nations Conference when it meets (see last week's *Summary*).

Mr. Leon Henderson, the former head of the Office of Price Administration, has arrived in England "to make a survey of the economic problems involved in the future control of Germany, and especially that part relating to Germany's power to make war in the future."

The Treasury Department have refused the request made by Finland through the Swedish Embassy to use part of her frozen funds in the United States to pay her war debt instalment. It is said that use of the money for this purpose would establish the United States as a preferred creditor of Finland.

[See also under "Spain" and "Poland."]

LATIN AMERICA.

Central America continues to indulge in its own particular war of nerves and the tense situation now turns upon events in El Salvador. On the 12th December a number of opponents of the *de facto* Government of Colonel Aguirre seized several towns in the north-west of El Salvador, and fighting broke out with Colonel Aguirre's forces. Colonel Aguirre's Government protested to the Guatemalan Government on the grounds that the revolutionaries had made use of Guatemalan territory. Guatemalans, however, repudiated the protest in strong terms, apparently maintaining that the revolutionaries left Guatemala some time ago and began their rising in El Salvador. Meanwhile, the Guatemalan press accuses the Honduran air force of helping the Aguirre régime in El Salvado, and the Guatemalan air force is reported to be patrolling the frontier. The Salvadorean police, after their raid on the French legation (see last week's *Summary*), have now violated the Peruvian, and removed a number of political refugees. The right of asylum has admittedly been abused; but the Salvadorean Government's method of remedying this abuse is unlikely to prove good evidence in favour of its recognition, even if it should survive.

The commission set up by the Argentine Government to draft an Organic Statute for the political parties (see *Summary* No. 268) has announced its resolve to uphold democracy and complete freedom of suffrage and political self-determination.

It is announced that the new Chilean mission in Moscow and the new Russian mission in Santiago (see last week's *Summary*) are to have the status of embassies.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 273

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
27TH DECEMBER, 1944.

Copy № 183

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

FIRST place in all war reports has naturally been given this week to the German counter-offensive in the west. The *O.K.W.* announced on the 22nd the fall of St. Vith, and heavy fighting around Stavelot. Strong Allied relieving attacks in Central Luxemburg were mentioned on the 24th. The bulletin issued on Christmas Day mentioned a concentric German attack on American forces in the area of Bastogne. Much has been made of the point that Rundstedt has forced the Allied Command to relax pressure at other places on the Western Front. The German attack has acted, said the agency message, like a magnet in attracting American strategic reserves. It had compelled the withdrawal of strong formations from previous points of attack, in particular from the Aachen area and the Saar. The German recapture of Dillingen was instanced as a result of this process. The public were told that the time was not yet ripe for a detailed account of operations, and were encouraged to think of the German offensive as proof of strategic superiority, as a surprise blow by which the German Command had definitely "seized the initiative." They were told that "the German Army in the east is also quite capable of producing surprises," and that "the occasional evacuation of a few localities" in Hungary had no decisive influence on the situation. The *Transocean* agency, for foreign consumption, was somewhat more explicit. It gave the total of American prisoners taken as 25,000. It quoted a military spokesman as holding the view that the set objectives of the western attack had been everywhere reached and in some cases surpassed. One report included mention of heavy Allied air attacks, but all comment was confined to generalities. Fritzsche, on the Home Service of the 22nd, struck the note of relief tempered with cautious optimism. He described military success as due to months of patient preparation and endurance. "The German people has not given in and to-day it reaps the harvest of its tenacity." Some later messages suggest a change of policy after the first successes; they treat the attack as a full-scale winter offensive; all mention of limited objectives has been dropped. Reports now talk of "a German victory" and "a turning point in the war."

Christmas week has brought to the German people a double dose of encouragement from Goebbels. On the 22nd he refurbished his well-worn theme

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of Britain fighting a war that only her allies can win. Everyone in Britain, he said, must now be aware of the present "alarming tendency in the political development of the war," apparent in British inability to prevent "the foreign legions of Bolshevism" from spreading over Europe as and when Stalin should direct. In a broadcast on Christmas Eve, the Minister painted the other side of the picture, the heroic sufferings and achievements of the Germans. He spoke to the "great German community of the lonely," emphasising that language could not express the surge of feeling felt by all Germans, especially by those away from home, on reaching a sixth war Christmas. He congratulated the nation on displaying "a degree of moral resistance" which deserved nothing but admiration. He had words for the bereaved, the homeless and a special final reference to the Führer, who, he said, was, "as always, full of the greatest intellectual and spiritual vitality," and, indeed, had never been so occupied with plans and ideas for the future.

Although Hitler's health has recently improved it is still not clear how much he actually can and does accomplish in the direction of affairs of State. A Basle paper recently quoted "well-informed sources" for a highly-coloured account of his being surrounded by a staff of architects, and occupying himself with horoscopes and giant models of rebuilt cities. For the rest he is said to live in a completely unreal world, full of the illusions cleverly chosen for him by an inner circle of advisers, who withhold all bad news and present him with no uncensored papers. Whatever be his state, it is clear that Goebbels and Himmler are still determined to keep up his prestige, if only as a curtain behind which they may plan the conduct of operations.

Master of the German internal situation, Himmler appears to be now manœuvring for control of foreign policy. He is said to have reached an understanding with the leading German generals, to have come round to their view that negotiation is more possible with the Western Powers than with Russia, and to have ensured that Guderian and Rundstedt should not be interfered with in their conduct of strictly military operations. He is said also to believe that his chief bargaining weapon is Hitler himself, whom he would give up in order to secure a reasonable compromise, but whom he now keeps as a potent but mythical figure in the background. Opposition to such plans is said to come from the German Foreign Office, who hold that there is no likelihood of any of the Allies negotiating at all with Himmler. Himmler's answer to this is reported to be a plan to replace Ribbentrop by someone, such as Neubacher or Seyss Inquart, more amenable to his plans. There are persistent reports that Weiszäcker recently put tentative proposals to the Pope, presumably acting on Ribbentrop's orders. The coincidence of political unrest in Europe and the German western offensive may well induce Himmler either to press such proposals or to embark on a different line of approach to the Allies. But no evidence of such a change in German foreign policy is as yet visible.

Following the terrorism reported in this *Summary* (No. 271) the *Kölnische Zeitung* is said to have contained reports of death sentences passed by a German "Fehme" court on four burgomasters in the Aachen district for collaboration with the Allies. A copy of the paper has not yet been received, but this *D.N.B.* on the 20th confirmed, and gave wide publicity to these first signs of the treatment which was practised by secret courts and the Freikorps in Germany after the last war and which is being systematically prepared by Himmler's underground organisation.

Since the Channel Islands were last mentioned in this *Summary* (*cf.* No. 268), further information has been received from both Guernsey and Jersey as to the shortage of essential supplies on the islands. In the course of a detailed memorandum submitted to the Command of the Occupying Forces in Jersey on the 31st August, the Bailiff asserted that stocks of the most essential foods would be exhausted by mid-November, that the lack of soap and anæsthetics was considered to be specially alarming and that "unless fuel and medical supplies can be obtained soon this island faces conditions involving the most serious consequences." This memorandum, which on the face of it would seem to show commendable energy, has been criticised by an organisation called "the Jersey Democratic Movement" as a belated attempt to whitewash a bad official record and to impress the public of Jersey. A similar account was given in answer to a question at the States meeting in Guernsey on the 1st November. No ration of grain, soap or meat had been possible since August. The stock of clothing was almost exhausted. The standard bread ration was 4½ lb. per week. The fuel position was reported to be even more serious than that of medical supplies. No news is yet to hand of the arrival of the ship-load of supplies despatched to the Islands.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

This year, as usual, the Slovak leaders all issued Christmas messages to their countrymen, but on this occasion they had nothing cheerful to say. The keynote in every case was one of anxious foreboding. President Tiso, after a gloomy reference to the death and destruction being wrought to "apocalyptic Bolshevism unleashed by capitalists," went on to compare the present Christmas with the first Christmas, when people did not realise, in the misery which beset them, that the Messiah was standing at their doors; even now, he insisted, it was possible, granted faith and hope, "to trust that we shall see the recognition of our right and victory." The other speeches and articles provided the same compound of solidly based apprehension and vague hopefulness. Gaspar's message contained the frank admission that "the Slovaks are divided into two camps: the camp of life and that of decay"; while the newspaper *Napred* spoke of "the sword of Damocles hanging over Bratislava and all Slovakia."

In the Protectorate President Hácha spoke to the Czechs on Christmas Eve. Once more he praised his listeners for their common sense and appealed for continued patience, tolerance, discipline and order.

Mr. L. A. Steinhardt has been nominated as the new United States Ambassador to the Czechoslovak Government. Mr. Steinhardt has previously served in Sweden, Peru, Moscow and Angora. A Czechoslovak Consulate was opened at Marseilles on the 11th December to look after the interests of the estimated 7,000 Czechoslovak subjects in Southern France.

POLAND.

The French Foreign Minister, in his statement on the 21st December, said that in negotiating the new Franco-Soviet Treaty the French delegates had raised no objection to the Soviet plan for handing over Pomerania and Silesia to Poland (see under "France"). The French delegates also agreed, while in Moscow, to an exchange of delegates with the Lublin Committee; the French delegate, M. Fouchet, has been serving in the Embassy in Moscow, while the Lublin delegate, M. Jedrychowski, has represented the Committee in Moscow and acted as propaganda chief.

The Polish Peasant Party in London, whose head is M. Mikolajczyk, has begun the issue of a weekly paper, *Jutro Polski*, in the first issue of which the attitude of the party is defined in sharp opposition to M. Arciszewski's Cabinet, which is described suggestively as "Nationalist-Socialist," and as being unrepresentative. A statement is attributed to M. Mikolajczyk to the effect that he would not join any new Government unless President Raczkiewicz resigned.

It has been foreshadowed that the Lublin Committee, which is holding a meeting on the 31st December, may use the occasion to declare itself as Polish Provisional Government of Poland, with M. Bierut as President and M. Osobka-Morawski as Premier. Further messages of support for this project are reported as coming from Poles in South Africa, the United States, Palestine, London and Mexico; and notably from France, where an appreciable proportion of the Polish workers have been working with Left-wing resistance organisations during the German occupation.

It has been announced that General Berling, who has been in Command of the Polish Army fighting with the Red Army in Poland, has been replaced by General Korczyc, hitherto Chief of Staff to the Polish Commander-in-Chief at Lublin, General Rola-Zymierski. General Korczyc, who comes of a Polish landowning family, has served for a long time with the Soviet forces.

SOVIET UNION

Again no change has been reported from the Soviet side on the Soviet-German front north of Czechoslovakia. On both sides of the Slovak-Hungarian border between Levice (captured 24th December) and Košice there has been a steady advance and consolidation. The most striking advance, however, took place south-west of Budapest, where a break-through by troops of the Third Ukrainian front led to the complete encirclement of Budapest. In this advance Székesfehérvár was taken on 24th December and Esztergom on the Danube on the 26th December. On the same date several of the western suburbs of Budapest fell to the Red Army. (For political developments in Hungary see under "South-Eastern Europe.")

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A British all-party parliamentary delegation of ten members (two from the House of Lords and eight from the House of Commons) is to visit the Soviet Union early in the New Year. Meanwhile the Soviet press has been following the German offensive in the west, but comment has on the whole been optimistic: emphasis has been laid on the local surprise attained by the Germans, and—with heavy sarcasm—on the "propaganda offensive" for German home consumption which has accompanied military operations. *Pravda* of the 24th December expressed regret that "at a time when the Germans are invading Belgium, the fighters of the resistance movement are actually forbidden to participate in the defence of the country," and asked: "Does not this mean that in Belgium there are still people who fear the anti-fascist activities of the resistance forces more than a repetition of German occupation?"

A Soviet trade union delegation has departed for France, at the invitation of the French General Confederation of Labour. The head of the delegation is M. Soloviev, secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, and its object is described as being "to establish personal contact with the French trade union movement and to discuss the possibilities of establishing friendly relations and organisational links between the trade unions of France and the U.S.S.R." Meanwhile the Franco-Soviet Treaty (see last week's *Summary*) was ratified by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet on the 25th December.

On two previous occasions recently articles of great interest have appeared from the pen of M. N. Malinin—one on war aims (see *Summary* No. 199) and one on the organisation of international security (see *Summary* No. 252). Now the same author has flown another kite in the shape of an article contributed to *The War and The Working Class* on regional organisation under the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. M. Malinin observes that the League of Nations spent more time over the Chaco war than over the threat from Hitler. The Dumbarton Oaks proposals try to remedy this by providing for regional agencies: but these proposals still remain vague. In particular it is important that there should not be too great a divorce between the regional agencies and the central security organisation, since this might lower the prestige of the latter and encourage major divergencies of principles and policy in different regions. Regional *blocs*, implying hostility to other *blocs*, must be avoided. But present-day needs demand "zones of security," since the security of one country can be threatened from the territory of weak neighbours. "Could anyone object," M. Malinin asks, "if England should find it necessary to make a special agreement with Belgium and Holland so as to make it impossible for these territories to be used as a springboard for attack on Britain? Equally, nobody would object if the Soviet Union, with the same purpose, wished to establish particularly friendly relations with its nearest neighbours." Such agreements benefit small Powers even more than great. But two conditions are essential: there should be no infringement of the sovereignty of the States concerned, and the borders of the "security zones" should be defined only by agreement between the leading Powers of the continent concerned. M. Malinin tentatively suggests dividing the general assembly of the world security organisation into four sections, dealing respectively with Europe, America, Asia and the Pacific, and Africa. States with interests in more than one continent would participate in the work of all the sections concerned. This article was written "as a basis for discussion," and it will be interesting to see if further comment is forthcoming.

Another article in *The War and the Working Class* has stated the Soviet case against Persia. The writer alleges (incorrectly) that American and Anglo-Dutch concessions in Persia include parts of the Russian concession voluntarily relinquished by the Soviet Government in 1921 on condition that the Persian Government should not transfer that concession to third States or individuals of other States. These concessions, therefore, represent a violation of the 1921 agreement and of "the minimum guarantees for the security of the Soviet southern border." Further, the article accuses the Persian Government of discriminating against the U.S.S.R. in favour of British and American oil companies, and declares that negotiations for new concessions were initiated by the Royal-Dutch Shell and the Standard Oil and Sinclair companies, with diplomatic backing, a year ago, without the Soviet Government ever having been consulted by its Allies. The article asserts that the objection to granting a concession to the U.S.S.R. was based solely on political prejudice, and instanced the bill recently introduced in the Majlis to prevent negotiations for further concessions as yet another act of discrimination, since it would leave the present concession-holders, among whom the Soviet Union does not figure, in a position of effective monopoly.

The Extraordinary State Commission for the investigation of German war crimes has produced a report on atrocities committed in the Lithuanian S.S.R. The details are sickeningly familiar, including the massacre of 165,000 Soviet prisoners of war and 300,000 civilians, and a systematic attempt to eradicate Lithuanian culture. Those named as responsible include Reichskommissar Zohse, Deputy Reichskommissars Esse, Mattissen and Freundt, Generalkommissar of Lithuania von Renteln, and 110 other officials, army and S.S. officers.

It was announced in Moscow on the 21st December that M. Lazar Kaganovich had been released from the post of Peoples' Commissar for Railways of the U.S.S.R. and appointed a Deputy Chairman of the Council of Peoples' Commissars. He has been succeeded by Lieut.-General I. V. Kovalev, who was previously Deputy Peoples' Commissar for State Control of Railway Transport and before that Deputy Peoples' Commissar of Transport and Communications. When M. Kaganovich was last relieved of this Peoples' Commissariat (which he has held with brief intermissions since 1935) in April 1942 it was to undertake an important job in reorganising transport in the Caucasus. His present assignment is unknown, but it is most unlikely that the man mainly responsible for the brilliant functioning of Soviet transport during the war will be left for long without important work.

For the signature of the Finnish-Soviet Indemnity Agreement see under "Scandinavia."

SCANDINAVIA.

The carrying out of the Finnish Armistice terms seems to be proceeding on the whole satisfactorily. A report has been received from General Valve, the new Minister of Defence, that demobilisation had been completed by the 5th December, and the army reduced to its peace-time level. On the 8th December the Soviet-Finnish Commission dealing with the territory handed over at Porkkala Udd was stated to have concluded its work. The question of reparation, which for some time caused difficulty, owing to the Russian insistence on valuing Finnish deliveries at 1938 prices instead of at those now prevailing, which are twice as high, was settled on the 17th December by the signature of an agreement which embodies a concession of an additional 15 per cent. for ships and machinery and 10 per cent. for consumption goods. A favourable impression has been produced by the release of two prominent Finns charged with war crimes—Generals Pajari and Palojärvi. The Swedish paper *Göteborgs Posten* (21st December) maintains that no one could have complained if these persons had been punished, since both had been responsible for the shooting of prisoners of war. Finnish public opinion is, however, depressed by its own estimate of the post-war prospects of national independence, and mild treatment at the present juncture has not disposed of gloomy forebodings as to the ultimate fate of the country.

There have been further violations of the Swedish frontier by the German forces in Finland; in an incident of this kind on the 14th December a trespassing German soldier was shot after an ineffective warning. Arrests were reported on the 18th December of persons said to be involved in an extensive smuggling of ball-bearings from Karlskrona and other ports; according to *Aftonbladet*, which alleges that one of the gangs concerned made a profit of over 40,000 kronor on a single transaction, further developments are expected which may make this case the biggest of its kind since the outbreak of war.

Permission accorded to a Russian delegation to visit the Baltic refugee camps in Sweden has been criticised in the Swedish press, on the ground that it implies a premature and servile recognition of Soviet sovereignty in the Baltic States.

A Swedish Norwegian volunteer union was formed in Stockholm on the 12th December, as a preliminary step towards the recruitment of a force which, it was admitted, could not be enrolled without Government sanction. The step is approved by *Dagens Nyheter*, on the ground that preparations must be made in time, if such assistance is to be effective when required.

In a broadcast to the people of Norway on the 26th December M. Nygaardsvold, the Norwegian Premier, stated that the Germans must be punished for the calculated crime which they had committed in the devastation of northern Norway. He dealt with the steps being taken to provide relief in the liberated area, and associated himself with the disappointment expressed at the absence of an Allied attack from the west directed to cut off the German line of retreat. He disclaimed knowledge of the plans of the responsible Allied authorities, but said that his Government had impressed upon them as strongly as possible the humanitarian and military advantages which they considered such an operation would secure,

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and expressed sympathy with the impatience felt in Norway at the delay in liberation. With regard to post-war plans, M. Nygaardsvold repeated and defined his earlier pledge to tender the resignation of the Government, saying that this would be done at the first Cabinet meeting in Oslo Palace after the liberation of the country was completed. He also touched on the difference of opinion existing as to whether the present Storting should be convened again, and tended to minimise the objections raised to such a course. A final decision, however, he urged, should wait until after the return of the Government to Norway and after conference with the representatives of the Home Front.

There have been no new developments in Denmark, where sabotage, liquidation of informers and the counter-measures of "schalburgtage" and "clearing murders" continue as usual.

LOW COUNTRIES.

The German offensive has given the Belgians a sharp reminder that the war is not yet over. Public opinion has swung round to the view that Party differences are as nothing compared to the importance of displaying national unity in the face of danger. Papers of all political shades have been in emphatic agreement on this point. It was in such a spirit that M. Pierlot broadcast on the 23rd. Proclaiming his robust confidence that the desperate adventure undertaken by the enemy would be his downfall, he declared "to-day all Belgians are in the service of the nation," and directed that all orders given by the Allied military authorities were to be obeyed both by civil servants and by ordinary members of the public.

On the 24th General Erskine also broadcast a message of hope and exhortation. He praised the spirit of the Belgian working men and stated that "Belgium is destined to play an increasingly important part on the battlefield, in the factory, in the mines, in the workshops, in the docks, on the railways and canals." It was no use pretending that life was easy for the Belgians, but they had a great opportunity to serve their country and the common Allied cause and he was confident that they would do their duty and that conditions in Belgium would gradually improve.

The policy of disarming members of the Belgian resistance organisations is being continued and reminders that all arms must be handed in have been published. On the 18th M. Demany, who until recently represented the Independence Front in the Cabinet, offered to reconstitute the armed formations of that body and to place them at the disposal of General Erskine, but his offer was politely refused.

M. Gutt has now published his proposals for a tax on war profits. Briefly, they are that all capital increases since the 9th May, 1940, with certain exceptions, be absorbed by taxation. So drastic a plan will certainly be disliked by those affected, but there seems to be little doubt that it will be popular with the masses and the present emergency may moderate the opposition of the wealthy, who may well shrink from jeopardising the life of the Government.

FRANCE.

The Franco-Soviet pact was discussed by the Consultative Assembly on the 21st December. The debate, which was given an excellent press by the Paris papers, was opened by M. Bidault, who was in better form than when he spoke on the 21st November, but still did not give the impression of being likely to become a forceful Parliamentary figure. After describing the purpose of the pact, M. Bidault emphasised that there could be no question of an alliance or *bloc* with which Great Britain and the U.S.A. were not associated. The Government had just set up a committee under the chairmanship of M. Paul-Boncour to examine the Dumbarton Oaks Agreement with special reference to the manner in which France, Great Britain, the United States and the U.S.S.R. could combine to ensure true peace and security. This should answer the criticisms of a section of the American press. Turning to the German question, M. Bidault confirmed that France did not wish the Reich to retain control of the Rhineland and Rheno-Westphalian basin. The forces of the free countries, those of France above all, should mount guard on the Rhine and the factories of the Rhine and Ruhr should work first to repair the damage caused by the Prussian war machine and then for the well-being of the world. M. Bidault also said that the Government had agreed to the Soviet Government's proposals for the cession to Poland of East Prussia, Pomerania and the Silesian industrial basin. France held dear her traditional friendship for Poland and deplored the failure of the Polish Government in London to reach agreement with the Soviet Government, and that of the

Lublin Committee to agree with the Polish Government in London. Conditions clearly did not yet allow the Polish nation to express its wishes and the French Government would therefore continue to recognise the present Polish Government. In an interview with a representative of *Carrefour* he said, however, that the solution of questions concerning liberated French prisoners might necessitate contacts with the Lublin Committee. It is understood that unofficial representatives have in fact now been exchanged.

The debate was wound up by General de Gaulle in a brief but forceful speech. His statement that France could not conceive either of victory or of an organisation of security "without an effective alliance with London" met with tremendous applause. It was no less obvious, he said, that "specific links" were necessary "with those continental States which have been, are, and may again become the chosen victims of German ambition, such as Poland, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Holland and Luxemburg" .... The common ordeal must not come to an end without the establishment of a general system of co-operation and security at least from the strategic and economic points of view and such a system would obviously have to include the United States of America, without whose aid victory and lasting peace would alike be impossible. France would contribute to it to the full extent of her capabilities. In conclusion General de Gaulle reminded the Assembly of the present German offensive. The war was not yet won and it seemed that "the same conjunction of circumstances which is gradually convincing everybody that world affairs cannot be settled without France shows at the same time that the victory on which such settlement depends cannot be achieved without us." In this field, too, France accepted full responsibility.

The Assembly adopted with acclamation a resolution congratulating the Government on the conclusion of the Franco-Soviet pact and expressing the hope that it would be followed by a series of similar agreements confirming the close solidarity of France with the other United Nations. The pact was ratified by the Council of Ministers on the following day. It is noteworthy that the German offensive in the west and the Consultative Assembly's debate have given the Paris press fresh cause to demand arms for the French forces and a further mobilisation of French resources in the war effort.

In a broadcast on the 22nd December M. Pleven announced that the results so far received showed that the Liberation Loan (see *Summary* No. 266) had raised more than 155 milliard francs. He claimed that this was a success achieved in very difficult conditions. At the same time the procedure for tracing and confiscating illicit profits had been quickened and more than 6,000 corporate bodies had been arraigned before Committees of Confiscation since the 15th November. As a further part of its financial programme the Government intended to take a census of all holdings abroad and to mobilise them.

The Resistance group known as *Ceux de la Résistance* has held a congress in Paris and passed a resolution in favour of the creation of *Commissions d'entente paritaire* with the object of co-ordinating and unifying all French Resistance movements as soon as possible. Another motion forbade all members of the executive committees of the movement to apply the directives of any political party within the movement or to allow their action to be influenced by party ideology. A Congress has also been held by the Radical Socialist party. Thirty Deputies and Senators were expelled from the Party and the assembly passed a vote of confidence in General de Gaulle.

Georges Albertini, who was Marcel Déat's *directeur de cabinet* at the time of the Liberation of France, has been condemned to five years' hard labour by the Paris Court of Justice. Roger Bertrand, also a former *directeur de cabinet* to Déat, has been arrested at Agen and Angelo Chiappe, former Vichy Prefect of the Gard and brother of the former Prefect of Police, has been sentenced to death at Nîmes. (See also under "Poland" and "Soviet Union.")

SPAIN.

Lord Templewood's speech in the debate in the House of Lords on the 19th December was given prominence in the Madrid press, which gave, from the Spanish point of view, a fair summary of it. Those parts of the speech dealing with Spain were of course glossed over, with the remark that Lord Templewood gave "excessive importance to supposed foreign influence during the first years of the war, and to details of police methods." In complete consistence with this attitude, the passages on the liberties of speech and the press were omitted; moreover, Lord Samuel's speech was not mentioned at all, while Lord Cranborne had the unusual honour of being specially censored by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs itself. It is interesting to note in a new-proclaimed

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"organic" democracy this tenderness for the susceptibility of the Spanish conscience, which must be protected against the vicious temptations of free thought, free speech and free writing. But Franco has always been a conscientious father to his flock.

Christmas is a time of peace and goodwill, and is not usually, even in Spain, the occasion for political conspiracy and upstirring. But it looks as if the Spanish authorities were nervous lest there should be trouble this year, for the series of preventive arrests which have been carried out during the last few weeks culminated on the night of the 22nd December, when about 300 Republican and Monarchist sympathisers, mostly of the professional classes, were taken into custody. Dr. Marañón, a leading Republican physician and one of the few opponents of the régime previously allowed to return, was visited by the police at 2 a.m.—socially the equivalent of 10.30 p.m. in England—but refused to leave his house. The Minister of Justice and the Minister of the Interior were at a dance at the Pardo given in honour of Franco's daughter, and apparently knew nothing about most of the arrests. On their return, trying to repair what they seem to have recognised as a blunder, they gave instructions for Dr. Marañón not to be molested any further, and since then most of the people arrested have been released. Dr. Marañón is the father-in-law of the British Press Attaché.

There has been, too, a certain amount of unrest throughout the country which has provoked a number of minor disturbances in different places. For the moment, the effect of these incidents is not likely to do more than strengthen the belief of the middle and conservative classes, who are living quite comfortably, that Franco, with all his faults, still stands as a bulwark against anarchy. What the masses think is not so well indicated, but it is to be noted that not all the persons responsible for these little commotions are terrorists. Although the Spanish people have a high capacity for endurance—they need to have—there is a limit to the practice of the most austere philosophy, and there is no question but that the ordinary, poor, working people, who have looked up and have not been fed, have had enough of the Falange. And, with encouragement, they would give vent to their repressed feelings with some violence. But only given sufficient encouragement to break the grip of the Gestapo-trained Falange police.

In Tangier, Señor Tomás Súñer, after acting as Delegate of the Spanish High Commission in Morocco during General Uriarte's absence on leave, has left the Zone. General Uriarte, who was Military Governor and who was believed not to be returning (see *Summary* No. 263), has in fact gone back to resume charge of his regiment, but it appears that the Spanish Government have evaded the issue of reappointing a Military Governor. Their intention seems to be to continue to identify the "Delegación" with the Spanish Consulate-General, which still exists in its own right by virtue of its status under the International Régime. The present policy of associating the office of Delegate with the Consulate-General may well be calculated to appease those foreign Powers who dislike dealing with a "Delegación" which has no legal status, and perhaps, optimistically, to accustom the Tangerine public to normal dealings with an eventual Spanish Administration.

ITALY.

The Italian Council of Ministers has decided to set up a Consultative Assembly to advise the Government on technical and political problems. The Assembly, it is stated, will act as liaison between the executive and the people. The decision has been favourably commented on in the press, but *Italia Libera* (Action Party) voices the opinion that the Assembly should not be limited to a series of technical and scientific advisory commissions, but should assume the wider responsibilities which the Committee of National Liberation wishes to be entrusted to such an Assembly.

Count Sforza has addressed a letter to Signor Bonomi declining the post of Italian representative in Washington lest, he states, his arrival there might give rise to fresh dissensions. He declares that he still stands for a fruitful understanding between Italy and the two Great English-speaking democracies. Signor Bonomi, it is understood, is now endeavouring to find a successor to Count Sforza, and has in view one or two candidates for the post.

L'Italia Nuova (Democrat) of the 16th December reports an interview with Signor Scoccimarro, the new Communist Minister for Occupied Territories, in which he gives his views as to the activities which should be embraced by the new ministry. Although Signor Scoccimarro complained in *Unità* of the 17th December that he had not been accurately reported, and that the field of the new ministry's activities must be settled by the Government, it is not unlikely

that the scheme outlined in the interview bears some resemblance to the wide powers which Signor Scoccimarro would like to wield. According to the interview as published in *L'Italia Nuova*, the Ministry will be divided into Political, Economic, Military and International Political Departments which, among other functions, will interest themselves in underground political activities in the north, make plans to control those industries whose owners have collaborated with the enemy, care for and compensate those who have suffered for political reasons at the hands of the enemy, and help to regulate relations with neighbouring countries when problems arise out of the actions of partisan groups. It is clear that such far-reaching powers if entrusted to an ardent Communist of Signor Scoccimarro's brand might easily be given a political twist to facilitate a favourable reception to the Communist Party on the liberation of the north.

On the 22nd December Generals Pentimalli and Del Tetto were both sentenced by the High Court of Justice to twenty years' imprisonment for abandoning their command in Naples. They were found not guilty of treachery or of collaborating with the enemy.

There is little news from the Italian Social Republic this week. Mussolini stayed on for four days in Milan after delivering his speech of the 16th December (see last week's *Summary*). During this time he toured the city and reviewed troops. He was greeted everywhere with tremendous enthusiasm, according to Fascist-controlled reports, which included an eye-witness account broadcast by John Amery. Swiss papers, however, say that the visit was preceded by 7,000 preventive arrests, and account for Milan's apparently enthusiastic welcome by the fact that the city and its surroundings contain at least 40,000 refugees from liberated Italy, including the most fanatical Fascists who fled thither from Rome and the south. According to these neutral reports, the real people of Milan took no interest in the spectacle. Indeed, a general apathy and misery would seem to have descended on the city. Enthusiasm for the war has waned in the face of disappointment at the slow Allied advance, and living conditions grow daily worse. Ration cards are practically worthless, whereas anything can be obtained at fantastic prices on the black market.

The Turin *Stampa*, whose editor, Pettinato, has recently published articles critical of the single-party system, made Mussolini's speech and his defence of the Fascist régime the occasion for some further observations on the value of free criticism within the State. *Popolo di Alessandria* has even gone so far as to propose a monarchist party centring round the Aosta branch of the House of Savoy.

Marshal Graziani, who accompanied Mussolini to Milan, has broadcast a Christmas message to Italian and German troops urging them to fight on side by side.

THE VATICAN.

Vatican wireless in Spanish of the 12th December carried the address of the Bishop Gonzalas of Colombia on the Feast of Our Lady of Guadeloupe. He sang the praises of Spain and Spanish-America "united in race and Catholic tradition" and of Spain itself, "as Franco revived it, the application of whose laws is based on purely Christian principles, whose civilisation, based on the Rock of the Catholic Church, is founded on work, the family, respect for old age, on science and art, and which even includes the convicts in the prisons." (See *Summary* No. 266, "Spain," for the unconscious irony of the last remark.) The broadcast reflects the negative or red bogey influences in the Vatican outlook, which are, however, fast yielding to the new importance given to social problems and the rights of man. The more positive outlook was seen in the Pope's address of the 15th December when he received in audience members of the Military Affairs Committee of the United States House of Representatives. The questions legislators will have to decide "reach down to the roots of human society, to the inviolability of the human person, to those individually god-given rights which are antecedent to the State and which no State dare infringe without jeopardising its own existence" . . . . "The war will end, but the peace that men will clutch at will crumble in their hands unless God has first place in the Councils of the Nations."

The Pope will sing the Christmas Midnight Mass in St. Peter's, instead of in his private chapel where he sang it the last two years before the Allies freed Rome.

The Argentine gave a considerable tonnage of supplies to the Vatican for its relief work. At present Vatican supplies come from Allied sources, and the

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greater part is devoted to relief. It was agreed recently that the Argentine goods should be allowed to enter the Vatican. One problem, however, still remained to be settled. Should the tonnage of Argentine supplies be deducted from the deliveries the Allies had promised. In that case the Argentine would be relieving the Allies of a burden, and the Vatican of some financial liability since the Vatican will pay for its supplies, without in any way adding to the Vatican's capacity to give relief: or should the Argentine gift be used merely to enable the Pope to relieve more persons?

Following the papal appeal on the subject of the numerous hospitals at Imola, the Allied Command has now agreed to take precautions to ensure, as far as possible, that these buildings and their inmates be preserved from harm. The Vatican has communicated to both belligerents the terms of the appeal made by the Bishop of Verona in which he asks that the city of Verona may be spared from becoming a battlefield.

In a long broadcast on Christmas Eve the Pope discussed democracy and the problems of an effective peace.

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

During the early part of the week the Soviet forces made small advances on their right flank, following these up by a swift movement on the left. Székesfehérvár was taken on the 24th December, Esztergom on the 26th December. Budapest was now completely encircled and fighting was reported in its suburbs, several of which were captured. Its surrender seems imminent. There was a further hurried last-minute evacuation of Government offices, &c., and of stocks, from Budapest. Among the persons ordered to leave were all officers—active, reserve, retired, &c.—and their families. Many civilians have fled also, but most of the population, especially the workers, have remained, even resisting appeals to go. It is confirmed that large numbers of Jews—according to some accounts, 40,000—have been marched to Germany, to the accompaniment of brutal treatment, and there set to work digging fortifications. The remainder are being collected in a central ghetto.

Meanwhile, under Soviet auspices, a Provisional National Assembly has been constituted in Debrecen and a provisional Government formed. The latter is composed of officers who went over to the U.S.S.R. after Admiral Horthy's proclamation of the 14th October; these include the Premier, Colonel-General Miklós and the Minister of Defence (Colonel-General Vörös), independent personalities (including some members of the Armistice delegation from Moscow, among whom is Count Géza Teleki, son of the late Paul Teleki, as Minister of Education) and representatives of the small-holders, National Peasants', Social Democrat and Communist Parties. After its composition, the Premier read out a declaration, which in its terms embodied, amongst other things, acceptance of the preliminary armistice conditions previously presented to the Hungarian Armistice delegation in Moscow. While referring to Admiral Horthy as Head of the State, he emphasised the democratic character of the new Government, which would break completely with Germany, ask for a definite armistice with the Allies, work for the closest friendship with all democratic countries, the United States, Great Britain and above all the U.S.S.R., and join with the U.S.S.R. in completing the liberation of the country by mobilising all forces against the Germans and their quislings. Democratic rights and institutions were guaranteed and reforms, including land reform, promised. Private property and initiative would be respected. Discriminatory legislation, including anti-Jewish laws, was abolished. The Arrow Cross and kindred organisations were disbanded. Hungary would compensate the U.S.S.R. and her neighbours for material damage caused by the war. A special appeal was issued to all officers and soldiers still on the German side of the line to join in the struggle for liberation.

The new Foreign Minister has announced that "we are breaking with Germany immediately and shall, if possible, engage in the war on the side of the Soviet Union and the Allies."

Roumania.

The threat of the Soviet authorities to remove to Russia the Astra-Româna plant for the production of 100-octane benzine is occupying the attention of the British authorities in London, Bucarest and Moscow. A respite of four days

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before the dismantling of the plant begins has been obtained. The plant is claimed by the Soviet as war booty, and the British authorities contend that it is the property of the Astra Company. It has been pointed out that, if left where it is, the production of 100-octane spirit can begin within three months, while if taken to Russia it will be over a year before it can be got going. The widening of the railway track for its removal (which seems to be undertaken by the Russians quite lightheartedly) will also interfere with other transport and put a severe strain on labour. At the moment of writing the matter is still under discussion, but the dismantling of the plant had been begun before the expiration of the four days of grace.

Permission has been obtained for the entry into Roumania of a British specialist to treat Russian soldiers with penicillin. In reply to a reminder that the return of forty petroleum experts had been promised by Christmas, it was pointed out that the Russian Christmas falls thirteen days later than the Roumanian.

An attempt—fortunately unsuccessful—on the life of the Vice-Premier, Dl Petre Grozea, has been made at the Athene Palas Hotel. It is stated that the assailants were "two landowners." The description is intriguing. A considerable majority of Roumanian peasants are "landowners," so it by no means follows that the would-be assassins were representatives of the capitalist class who desired to rid themselves of a Communist Minister.

Yugoslavia.

There has been little change in the military situation. The Partisans have entered Zvornik. Thus Serbia appears completely evacuated by the Germans, who are fighting their way northwards down the Drina and the Bosna. Their extreme rearguard in central Montenegro is slowly struggling to effect contact with the German force still in the western Sandjak. In western Bosnia the Partisans have pushed forward, occupied Srb, at the head of the Una valley, and were reported to be fighting in Banjaluka.

The Partisans are rapidly constructing a single-party régime. Tito is said to desire the widest possible basis of support and therefore to retain the services of as many technical and administrative officials as possible. Past records, short of activity against the Partisans, are covered by the amnesty. But there must be no opposition to the new régime. Thus the newspapers all speak with the same voice. And a decree of the National Liberation Committee, of the 19th December, requires judges and civil servants to take an oath to respect the law, the interests of the people and the achievements of the National Liberation struggle. Zechevitch, the Orthodox priest who is Commissar for the Interior, was reported in the press as saying: "There are no politics outside the Unified National Liberation Front." And Neshkovitch, the Secretary of the Front in Serbia, as saying: "The National Liberation Front is not an instrument of State or of authority, but an all-national political organisation of national liberation."

Presumably, thanks to the energetic intervention of Tito there have lately been no manifestations of a Partisan intention to intervene in Greek Macedonia. To the same source appear attributable the much-improved British relations with the Partisans in Dalmatia and Montenegro.

The terms on which Tito will accept the agreement with the Allied military authorities on the supply of relief have now been received and it appears probable that a formal agreement will soon be concluded. Meanwhile, in anticipation of the actual agreement, 500 tons of food and medical equipment are reported to have been sent to Dalmatia on the 18th December.

The consideration of the latest Tito–Shubashitch agreement on the formation of a United Yugoslav Government proceeds in London.

Greece.

E.L.A.S.'s reply to General Scobie (see last *Summary*) did not reach the British authorities until the night of the 22nd, and it was decided to consult Field-Marshal Alexander, who was due to reach Athens on the 24th, before replying to this communication. Briefly, E.L.A.S. made the following points: The Caserta Agreement did not justify the "blood-stained intervention" of the British; the Greek people was master in its own country and must have a free and independent Government, which would deal with collaborators, organise a regular National Army, and guide the country to free elections; the Mountain Brigade and any other Greek Units from the Middle East must be withdrawn to the Cyclades and the gendarmerie must be disarmed, disbanded and purged;

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the disarmament and imprisonment of former members of the Security Battalions must be further verified; on general agreement being reached, E.L.A.S. would withdraw from Athens and Piræus and would accept disarmament "simultaneously with that of the supporters of the opposite Party"; surrender of arms could be made only to "a Greek Government of mutual confidence."

Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden arrived in Athens on Christmas Day, and, after consultations with Field-Marshal Alexander, Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Leeper, they informed M. Papandreou that they proposed to convene a conference, as far as possible representative of Greek political opinion, under the presidency of Archbishop Damaskinos (for whom see last *Summary*). The Central Committee of E.L.A.S. were invited to send three or four delegates, whose safe-conduct was guaranteed; this invitation was accepted. The Conference opened in the late afternoon of the 26th; those who attended were: British representatives—Mr. Churchill, Mr. Eden, Mr. Macmillan, Mr. Leeper, Field-Marshal Alexander, General Scobie; Greek political leaders—MM. Papandreou, Sophoulis, Kaphandaris, Maximos, Dragoumis, and General Plastiras; E.L.A.S. Central Committee—M. Siantos, Secretary-General of the Communist Party; M. Partsalidis, Secretary-General of E.A.M.; and General Mandakas, none of whom had held office under M. Papandreou; there were also present as observers the United States Ambassador, the French Minister, and the Soviet military representative. After a speech of welcome by the Archbishop and speeches by Mr. Churchill, Field-Marshal Alexander, and M. Papandreou, the British representatives withdrew, leaving the Greeks to continue the discussions. Before the British withdrew, M. Partsalidis expressed his surprise at the absence of representatives of those political parties of which E.A.M. was composed, whereupon Mr. Eden explained that the Conference could invite anyone it liked to attend. The Conference is proceeding.

Albania.

Albanian partisans—who now call themselves the National Liberation Army of Albania—have been continuing the fight in Yugoslav territory alongside the Yugoslav partisans. The Tirana radio broadcast a message received from Marshal Tito on Albanian Independence Day congratulating the Albanians on their heroic fight for freedom and assuring them that the union of the Albanian and Yugoslav forces to-day was a symbol of future brotherhood between two free nations.

The "Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation," as Enver Hoxha's provisional Government now styles itself, has decided to set up a special court in every prefecture to try war criminals, and it is now explained that the amnesty does not cover the organisers of Balli Kombetar, the Legality Party, the Fascist Militia, the Skanderbeg S.S. Division or the gendarmerie.

The provisional Government is finding the economic problem difficult. It has banned exports, it is requisitioning professional services for reconstruction and supplies for the forces, it denounces black marketeers, and proposes to take industrial and business concerns under control.

Bulgaria.

Although the Bulgarian Government professes to have given orders to prevent Bulgarians from taking part in the Greek conflict, there are indications of Bulgarian reinforcements and supplies finding their way to E.A.M.

Two divisions of the People's Court duly opened proceedings in Sofia on the 20th December. In each division the bench consists of four professional judges and five "People's judges," the latter of whom, like the officers of the court, have all suffered from the previous régime directly or through their relatives. The Prime Minister, M. Gheorghiev, recently described the purpose of the People's Court as being to impose a sentence which firstly would punish those guilty of plunging the country into the war against the people's will, and secondly would prevent such a recurrence. But the spirit in which the trial has been approached may be gauged from passages in a manifesto broadcast before the trial by the local Fatherland Front committee: "The people demand death for the traitors and murderers. . . . . Citizens! *En masse* to the trial! . . . . Support the People's Court in Order to finish the purge once and for all!" Recent history having shown that political opponents who are merely imprisoned have an inconvenient way of reappearing in power, it seems as if the Government would take the chance of making a fairly clean sweep of those in its hands. The trial is expected to last two or three weeks.

Turkey.

The Turks make no secret of their desire to see an end put to disorder in Greece. Their concern is understandable enough, for were the extreme Left to triumph in Greece the Turks would have no further use for the Greek alliance which is one of the pillars of their foreign policy.

With regard to the German offensive in the west the Turkish press in general assumes that it is a desperate venture undertaken by the army rather than by Hitler or the Party in the hope of obtaining tolerable peace terms from the Allies. The general view is that the offensive can only prolong the war but not enable the Germans to avoid ultimate defeat.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

A new temporary Agreement between the United Kingdom and Ethiopia, superseding the Agreement and Military Convention of January 1942, was signed in Addis Ababa on the 19th December. Lord De La Warr and other members of the British delegation left Ethiopia on the following day, after a stay of nearly three months.

By this Agreement, that part of the "reserved areas" which lies on the north-western side of the Jibuti–Addis Ababa railway is returned to Ethiopian administration. The remainder of the previous "reserved areas," together with the Ogaden territory as defined in the Military Convention of 1942, are to remain under British military administration for the duration of the present Agreement, without prejudice to the Emperor's sovereignty over them. His Majesty's Government agree to relinquish the control and management of the section of the Jibuti–Addis Ababa railway lying in Ethiopian territory "within three months of receiving from the Imperial Ethiopian Government a formal assurance that satisfactory arrangements have been made for its continued efficient operation." The Ethiopian Government, for their part, agree that priority shall be given to any traffic for which it is requested either by M.E.S.C. or by the British military authorities, and they undertake that their arrangements for the operation and management of the line will not be such as to prejudice the rights of the Franco-Ethiopian Railway Company.

His Majesty's Government have relinquished the right to diplomatic precedence accorded to them by the Agreement of 1942, and the Emperor is also released from the obligation of consulting them before appointing foreign advisers of other than British nationality. The British Military Mission will remain in the country, with its expenses borne by His Majesty's Government, unless either of the High Contracting Parties, after consultation between them, desires its withdrawal. There is also provision for reciprocal civil aviation facilities, and for the operation of regular services to, in and over Ethiopia by one or more British air transport organisations. Freedom of navigation is safeguarded for the Air Forces of the Allies as well as for British military aircraft.

The Agreement entered into force on its signature, and is to remain in force until it is replaced by a Treaty, with the proviso that either party may give three months' notice to terminate it at any time after the 19th December, 1946.

A British offer to include in the Agreement provision for further financial assistance to Ethiopia was rejected. The proposal was for a development fund, to be administered by an Anglo-Ethiopian board, and to be supplied by His Majesty's Government with £500,000 every half-year during the currency of the Agreement, up to a maximum of six contributions. The Ethiopian negotiators would not agree to the element of foreign control involved in this proposal, which, however, was left open to their acceptance until the signature of the Agreement. They have been informed that His Majesty's Government will be ready to consider sympathetically any future representations on this subject, though we are no longer bound by the terms of the rejected offer.

It is hoped that this Agreement will regulate Anglo-Ethiopian relations to the satisfaction of both signatories until a more permanent and general settlement in the Horn of Africa can be considered.

The *agrément* of His Majesty's Government has been granted for the appointment of Dr. Armanazi as Syrian Minister in London. A *Times* editorial of the 12th December, on British policy towards the Levant States, has provoked the Damascus paper *al-Kifah* into sharp rejoinder. The writer declares somewhat obscurely that the terms used by *The Times* are those which it used after the last war on the subject of the "Sykes–Picot agreement," which was the cause of all Syria's subsequent miseries. The Syrians refused to have their future made a subject of secret bargaining.

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The demonstrations which broke out in Cairo on the 23rd December involved some 15,000 students and showed a more bitter feeling against Great Britain than has been observed for many years. The demonstrations centred on the question of the Sudan and seem to have been organised by the Wafd. The students tore down pro-British posters in shops and pictures of Mr. Churchill but were finally dispersed without serious conflict. The Prime Minister himself went to the University and told the students that he had King Farouk's orders to suppress all forms of disorder and that it was not for them to settle the question of the candidature for Parliament of the Sudanese, Ali al Birair (see last *Summary*.)

THE FAR EAST.

Japanese publicity has shown great satisfaction at the news of the German counter-offensive on the Western front. "The new German thrusts," declared the *Domei* political correspondent on the 22nd December, "have wrecked Eisenhower's winter offensive schedule .... The entire Japanese nation is stimulated by the German counter-offensive and follows it closely. They are happy that their confidence in the Germans has not been in vain."

In the Japanese Cabinet Shigeru Yoshida has now replaced Ginjiro Fujiwara as Munitions Minister, and at the same time Admiral Seizo Kobayashi has been added to the Cabinet as Minister without Portfolio. Fujiwara, according to the *Nippon Times*, had "carried out his heavy task well," but had been relieved of his post on account of advanced age—he is 75—and ill health. Yoshida, who succeeds him, is 59; he has had a career in the civil service and has been a Cabinet Secretary and Welfare Minister. The *Nippon Times* asserts that the organisation of war production requires the "scientific handling of labour" and that Yoshida is specially competent for this task. The appointment of Admiral Kobayashi, on the other hand, is of political rather than administrative significance. After being for several years Governor-General of Formosa he was appointed President of the *Yokusan Seijikai* in place of General Abe, when the latter was sent to take over Koiso's post as Governor-General of Korea. The *Seijikai* was organised by Tojo in 1942 to act as an *élite* of the earlier *Taisei Yokusankai*, organised by Konoye in 1940, which had proved too complex and unwieldy to be of much use to the Government politically; in particular, the task of harnessing the politicians of the "defunct" parliamentary parties was felt to need a smaller and more compact body than the older organisation provided. The *Taisei Yokusankai*, however, was not abolished on the creation of the *Seijikai;* it has remained as an auxiliary of the State bureaucracy in supervising and co-ordinating all sorts of "national service" associations. Under Tojo it seems to have retained a formal supremacy over the *Seijikai*, for its head—at first General Ando and later Fumio Goto—was taken into the Cabinet as a Minister without Portfolio, whereas the head of the *Seijikai* was not. Now the positions have been reversed, and this appears to indicate an increase in the importance of the *Seijikai* relative to the parent organisation.

On the 22nd December *Domei* triumphantly announced that Japan had found in pine roots "a new source for unlimited supplies of excellent high-octane aviation petrol" and that a national campaign for collection of pine roots had been instituted. Whatever the practical possibilities of this particular *ersatz* device, it is significant that Japan should be thus talking about self-sufficiency in aviation petrol at a time when the Netherlands East Indies oilfields are already being subjected to bombardment from the air, the tanker fleet is seriously depleted and the American advance in the Philippines threatens a complete severance of the sea lanes to Sumatra and Borneo. The Japanese are being gradually introduced to the idea that they may be deprived (but without fatal results) of all the more bulky products of the South Seas supposed to have been secured to them by their conquests, just as they have for some time been taught not to expect any considerable addition to Japan's food supply from the rice surpluses of Indo-China, Siam and Burma. On the other hand, it is not admitted that the cutting of communications with the homeland means the end of Japanese power in the areas which have been, or may be, cut off; on the contrary, Japanese propaganda now devotes considerable attention to the capacity of the local and regional garrisons for carrying on by themselves. The garrison of Truk was recently described as dividing its time between strenuous military training and the cultivation of the allotments by which it supported itself, and a university professor is said to have been giving expert advice to an isolated garrison "near Australia" on the raising of food plants. There is a substantial basis of fact

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for this propaganda; although in some places Japanese units have been worn down by hunger, bodies of troops remain, subsisting somehow, not only in the Carolines but also in New Guinea, the Bismarcks and the Solomons, and the mopping-up of such troops, based on inland mountain and jungle strongholds, is a matter of great difficulty. Similar intractable pockets of resistance may be expected in parts of the Philippines, the Netherlands East Indies and South-East Asia until Japan's final collapse, and even then some of the ex-conquerors may continue as local bandits. The tentacles of this octopus may be severed from the body, but they show a remarkable power of independent wriggling.

Japanese propaganda to China has naturally made the most of the disclosure that the Atlantic Charter never existed as a formally signed document. A broadcast in English for China declared that "this so-called Charter was never meant to be implemented either in Europe or Asia, but the exposure of it by one of its own authors would not have come so early if the Soviet Union were not already treating it as a ridiculous scrap of paper"; the same broadcast quoted Senator Wheeler as having said in the Senate debate on the new American State Department appointments that the United States could not prevent Russia from taking Finland, Poland, the Dardanelles or "a large bit of China."

Marshal Stalin's speech of the 6th November in which he classified Japan as an aggressor nation was not reported in the Chungking Press except by the Communist organ, the *Hsin Hwa Jih Pao*, and by the *Ta Kung Pao*, which complained that he had mentioned only Japan's aggressions against Britain and the United States and had said nothing of her invasions of China. On the 15th November the *Tass* correspondent, who had never before asked a question at a Chungking Government press conference, caused a sensation by enquiring why it was that the speech had not been published by any other newspaper. Dr. K. C. Wu, the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, could only produce the somewhat lame explanation that the translation into Chinese had probably been too late for printing. In comment on the speech, he said that in branding Japan as an aggressor Marshal Stalin had expressed the sentiment of all the United Nations, and that he (Dr. Wu) fully agreed with the statements issued from Washington and London that the speech would result in closer co-operation with Russia in winning the war in the Far East and in establishing a durable peace. Dr. Wu rather pointedly avoided expression of any hope that the Soviet Union would participate in the Far Eastern war, and it is indeed notorious that the prospect of such participation is not regarded with enthusiasm in Chungking official circles.

General Wu Chung-hsin, the new Governor of Sinkiang, has now been at his post in Tihwa since early in October, and Liu Tse-yung, who has recently been serving in the Chinese Embassy in Moscow, has been sent there as Special Delegate for Foreign Affairs in place of Chaucer Wu, whose tenure of that difficult office has not been a happy one. The province remains in a disturbed condition, with raids by Kazakh and Kirghiz tribesmen from both the tribal areas of the province itself and from Soviet territory, but so far no determined attempt to overthrow the existing régime appears to have been made. There is no further news of the situation in Kulja.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The 78th Congress ended on the 19th December. One of the last acts of the Senate was to ratify the nomination of the new Under-Secretary (Mr. Joseph Grew) and the five Assistant Secretaries of the State Department. Mr. Roosevelt is reported to have summoned the four Democratic Senators of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, to have insisted that they should break the deadlock over the acceptance of his nominees, and to have stated that if they persisted in their filibustering tactics he would present the same names to the new Senate when it met in January. The battle over the confirmation of the appointments is seen by many well-informed commentators as symptomatic of the Senate's uneasiness and dissatisfaction over the present course of America's foreign policy and as evidence of its determination to assert its prerogative in this field (see *Summaries* Nos. 270 and 271).

Consternation over the turn of events in Europe has been heightened by Mr. Roosevelt's revelation that the Atlantic Charter was not a formally signed document. The President has remarked, however, that "the objectives of the Atlantic Charter were as valid to-day as when they were announced in 1941," and has compared them with the Ten Commandments and with Wilson's

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Fourteen Points, pointing out that, although all the objectives might not be achieved, they were worth striving after.

The wave of criticism against the alleged power politics of Russia and Britain still continues, and Senator Ball (Republican, Minnesota), a pronounced internationalist who supported Mr. Roosevelt because of his dissatisfaction with Mr. Dewey's stand in foreign affairs, joined the isolationist Senator Wheeler (Democrat, Montana) in expressing his fear that if this trend continued in Europe the Senate might reject the Dumbarton Oaks plan for the organisation of peace.

Several editorial writers have pointed out that Germany is "fighting for time" in the hopes that a deterioration in Allied unity will lead to a negotiated peace, and while there is no dilution of certainty in ultimate victory there is to-day no easy confidence in its early consummation. The German counter-offensive in the West, which took the American people completely by surprise, is regarded with extreme concern. Indeed, American opinion, always tending to be mercurial, was plunged into the deepest gloom by an operation everywhere regarded as calamitous. The reverse to American arms was a shock almost as great as Pearl Harbour and a set-back thought to be as serious as Bataan. It is now asked why was Allied intelligence caught unawares, and in general it is believed that the German advance may upset General Eisenhower's plans for an all-out offensive and may win for the Germans a breathing-spell over the winter. Complacency on the home front has received a nasty jolt and talk of reconversion is no longer the order of the day. The need for increased production is generally recognised. This was underlined by Mr. J. A. Krug (the Chairman of the War Production Board), who stated that the German spearhead would inevitably destroy large quantities of Allied supplies, and expressed the view that it might be necessary entirely to re-equip the American First Army.

The publication of statistics showing the increased expenditure on civilian goods and services in conjunction with the military developments on the Western Front has also increased the feeling of disquiet. It is felt that this may have contributed to the shortage in certain spheres of war production which in turn have to some extent been responsible for the present military position.

LATIN AMERICA.

In Argentina the doldrums continue, with slight breezes now from the right, now from the left. The resignation of General Sanguinetti, Interventor of the Province of Buenos Aires, together with some forty other officers who have been occupying civilian posts there, is presented as part of the programme for returning soldiers to the army, and is welcome. But the suppressed *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung* has reappeared as *Die Zeitung*—without its Gothic type—and *Cabildo* has recovered from its temporary suppression (see last week's *Summary*), and is now twice its former size and price. A recent attempt to seize a military aircraft for the purpose of scattering anti-Government leaflets over the capital ended in several arrests of "Communists." It has been denied that the imprisonment of ex-Senator Santamarina had anything to do with this, though the Chief of Police declares him guilty of "offences of an ideological nature" of which "irrefutable proof can be produced." A sidelight is thrown on the position of the Government by two recent strikes (at the Y.P.F. distillery at La Plata and an air base in Paraná), which, though they were declared illegal and military action was threatened, only ended when the demands made were granted: these included the release of a dozen workers arrested on political charges. Disillusionment with the ambitions of Colonel Perón would appear to be increasing among Argentines, and Dr. Palacios, speaking in Montevideo, has declared that "if we allow this (dictatorship) to continue we are not worthy of being Argentines," and he has urged his compatriots to reconquer their liberty by "organising ourselves secretly and all becoming soldiers."

In Central America, the Guatemalan election resulted in the overwhelming victory of Dr. Juan José Arévalo, the Liberal candidate, over Dr. Adrián Recinos. the former minister in Washington. Dr. Arévalo, who had lived abroad for some time before the recent revolution, will take office for four years from the 15th March. The situation in El Salvador is still obscure, but reported incursions or insurrections are by supporters of Dr. Molina or Dr. Romero, appear to have been suppressed. Reports that the Molina régime has been recognised by Guatemala and Costa Rica appear to be premature.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary
No. 274

Copy No. 183

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
3RD JANUARY, 1945.

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

THE slowing-up of the German western offensive has produced increasing reticence in official reports and caution in comment. Since the 23rd December the O.K.W. has rarely referred to a definite German advance. The troops which were then said to be in strong pursuit of "dislodged American formations" were on the 28th reported as "making slow headway against tough enemy opposition." The growth of Allied resistance has been the main feature of German reports of the battle over the turn of the year. The German advance, said the O.K.W. bulletin on the 28th, had led to a head-on battle "on the largest scale" against forces withdrawn from other sectors. The bulletin of the 31st said that such strong forces had been brought up by both sides that "about half the divisions in the western theatre of war" were now involved. Strong Allied counter-attacks were reported at Rochefort and Bastogne, but news of the capture of the latter place was withheld from the German public.

So was the critical nature of the situation at the most threatened point of the German eastern front. Fierce attacks on Budapest from three quarters were admitted by the O.K.W. on the 28th, but it claimed on the 31st that the Russians were still held on the outskirts of the city. As if to compensate for this paucity of information, the official bulletins contained several items of an encouraging nature, such as the intervention of the Luftwaffe in the west, the long-range fire directed at Liége and Antwerp, a German advance in the Saar and northern Alsace, an unsuccessful Allied coastal landing in Italy, the new "Storm Vikings" or midget submarines which had attacked Allied shipping in the Scheldt.

A home broadcast on the 27th declared that the German western offensive was the most discussed topic of the Christmas season and that it had "steeled the confidence of the nation." Sertorius wrote on the same date for *Transocean* that Eisenhower had not yet been able to regain the initiative, but comment for home consumption has been meagre. Dittmar has not broadcast for a fortnight.

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An article by him in a soldiers' paper concentrated almost entirely on the encouraging effect of such an offensive on morale; the "moral repercussions of this evident defeat on our western enemies" could hardly be rated too highly. The blow had been launched, most successfully, at a moment when "crisis spread its gloomy shadow over us."

The end of the year has occasioned a remarkable chorus of messages from the German leaders to their people. They show something approaching surprise that the German nation has withstood the strains of 1944 and some of them do not hide the fact that even harder trials, "the most tempestuous storms of this war," lie ahead. In the forefront of Göring's New Year message was pride that 1944 should have seen the armies of the Reich not only beat off all attacks made upon it but themselves take the offensive. He used Allied "liberation" as a spur to nerve Germans to greater sacrifice: "Never has the general confusion in Europe been greater than to-day." Herbert Backe said that German resistance depended on "the utmost effort of the rural population"; only by the greatest economy could Germany's food requirements be met. Hierl, Dönitz and Ley extolled the leadership of Hitler; Speer and Himmler hardly mentioned his name. Rundstedt encouraged soldiers in the west without specially referring to the German offensive. Guderian saw "through the flickering flame of the battles" the beacon of victory.

On New Year's Eve the Germans heard a lengthy discourse on the "German miracle" by Goebbels and a half-hour speech from Hitler himself. Goebbels argued that the war could not be understood from the standpoint of the average man: it was fluid in every respect and its historic meaning would only later emerge. The more fortunate for Germans was it therefore that in Hitler Germany had found a leader surpassing in stature any other figure of the war, a man worthy of his time and destined to conquer. Goebbels combated the ideas that the war was as good as decided already and that a negotiated peace was possible. "War is only decided in the last round." It was vain, he said, to hope for Germans to give up fighting unless they had secured victory.

For once perhaps the Führer has not disappointed the hopes of his followers. He gave them a speech which not only came as a surprise (he has not spoken since 21st July and never before during this war at the New Year) but, although it contained little rational ground for hope, was sufficiently firm in tone and vigorous in argument to inspire those who ask nothing better than to follow any lead he will give. Hitler began by explaining his silence as due to the overriding demands of the direction of the war and to "the events of the 20th July." If, he said in a later passage, he now spoke less frequently, that was neither because he did not wish to, nor because he could not, but because his whole time was given to mobilising the nation, and to improving the weapons and quality of its fighting troops. He claimed for his own work and devotion "some share of the credit in turning the tide of fate."

The first third of the speech consisted of an attack in the old manner, on Allied propaganda and plans to enslave Germany. This showed the Allies to be ignorant of the fact that the last 300 years of German history were no true picture of the character of the German people, which was destined to be an increasingly decisive factor in European history. He wished in reply to let the world know that "this State and its leaders are unshakable in their will and unwavering in their fanatical determination to fight this war to a successful conclusion," which might, he said, come before 1946. The leaders shared the fate of the people and would never capitulate "on account of suffering and sorrow." They not only highly appreciated the effort of every dutiful German, and promised him that service of the State would not be forgotten, but were determined to annihilate everyone who became "a tool of foreigners." He knew how his people were suffering; no leader in the world knew his people better than Hitler knew the people and homes of Germany. He assured them that the National Socialist State would in a few years rebuild all that to-day lay in ruins. He admitted that "many unforgettable documents of art and culture," and many sacrificed lives, could not be replaced. Yet such a struggle for national existence gave to him, more than to any other German, the strength to carry on undismayed. Not only had his appeal for national mobilisation been more than met but the foreign workers in Germany were coming to appreciate the value of the social community around them. As leader of Germany's fate he thanked men, women and children for what they had achieved and exhorted them to have faith in their leader and "fight to the end with extreme fanaticism." The speech closed with the customary thanks to the Almighty and the promise to Him that Greater Germany would do its duty until victory.

In his Order of the Day to the armed forces Hitler made some additional points. To give the whole of Eastern Germany to Poland, as Mr. Churchill wished to do, was to give it in effect to Russia. Although German fronts had been shortened, Hitler protested that he had made no step backwards without offering resistance to the last. His attack on Allied policy was even sharper than in the speech: "where the Allies come, order collapses and chaos ensues. Democracy is incapable of solving even the smallest problems on the Continent." He finally assured his soldiers that 1945 would witness "a turn of fortune of historic import."

More interesting than the actual New Year messages were certain assessments of the situation broadcast on the 30th December. Scharping described the past year as one of great crises which "touched rock bottom on the 20th July." Fritzsche admitted that burdens and sacrifices were engraved on the hearts of the people as "the characteristic feature" of the year. A broadcast to troops in Italy reminded them that "in the sixth year of war there is hardly anything to be bought other than the absolute necessities of life," and that the nation was invincible as long as it remained united. Seyss Inquart told German-speaking listeners in Holland that all opponents would ultimately be worn down by German resistance and "constantly renewed German miracles." Most interesting of all was Dr. Schmidt who described the great change in the European political situation during the past six months. British policy had met with nothing but failure in every quarter. The present conflict between East and West was seen to be really a struggle between Russia and Germany. Schmidt ruled out the possibility of a negotiated peace, since the Allies were at least united in their determination to destroy Germany. But "Germany is sure of herself; she will fight in 1945, and in 1946 and 1947; and never will she surrender." The common purpose inspiring the Allies would not enable them "to fight to the last."

Evidence as to the condition and temper of the people to whom the New Year appeals have been addressed is fragmentary and difficult to control, but certain points emerge with some frequency. It is clear that many Germans are too tired to respond to demands for yet greater endurance. "We cannot," says the writer of a letter, "remain perpetually an anvil." In districts of the Reich where raids are heavy and living conditions worse than elsewhere, the constant presence of death seems to rule out both hatred and hope. To some, death seems preferable to such a burdensome life; the terror at home could only be exchanged for slavery at the hands of the Allies. The coming of the Russians would seem to be greatly feared, yet many people see little difference between National Socialism and Communism. Protests, like that of Göring in his message quoted above, that Germany was not responsible for the war, would appear to find fairly general acceptance. A business man of some standing recently admitted that he knew of no Germans who regarded Germany or Hitler as guilty of starting the war, although a few people would admit that Germany was possibly somewhat more to blame than the other nations. Some say, on the other hand, that Hitler is at least responsible for losing the war, but such people are thought not to be very numerous, the majority having ceased to regard Hitler as the effective controller of the nation. Very many people seem to fear and to detest Himmler. This feeling is intensified by the terror, the more impressive for being silent. Men say that no organised resistance is possible as long as individuals or groups are liable to disappear from any factory or office, with no questions asked or explanations given.

These would seem to be the chief elements of the mood of the German people as it faces the prospect of 1945, fear of its leaders; almost indistinguishable in many cases from fear of the enemy, fatigue, scepticism, yet a certain receptivity to main themes of propaganda; inability to discern an alternative to the unrelieved succession of defeats, burdens and privations. Recent assessments by qualified judges agree that the proportion of people with a policy or with definite views is very small, either for or against the régime. The mood of the majority would seem to be compounded of a desire to end the war at all costs, and a sense of complete impotence to bring it to any end. On the most favourable interpretation this has been described as "disciplined apathy."

Recent reports from Austria say that factory machinery is being dismantled at Graz and Government offices moved away. Many administrative offices are said to have been transferred to the Sudetenland. Reich Germans are apparently trickling back to Germany while German settlers from Hungary are still pouring into Niederdonau and Styria.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

The latest progress of the Red Army in Slovakia has taken them to within 2 miles of the junction of Lučenec (on the way to Zvolen) and, in the west, across the territory between the Ipel and the Hron, so that the Russian troops now stand on the edge of the great fertile plain stretching to Bratislava 75 miles away.

President Beneš's Christmas broadcast to the Czechoslovak people was a warning to his countrymen not to be misled by German propaganda and especially by its exploitation of recent events in newly liberated countries; in restored Czechoslovakia there would be great changes—a new Constitution, a decentralised administration, a national front Government making possible the participation of all political representatives from Left to Right, a radical solution of the German problem, a new approach to economic and social problems "with regard to our relations both with the East and with the West"—and this would inevitably cause discussions and disagreements; but "if we all act in a truly democratic manner and if we, those at home and abroad, struggle together for freedom and the new State, against nazism and for democracy, and stand honourably and loyally by one another, then there cannot arise any serious conflicts, any civil disorders, nor even any street fighting."

A speech by Moravec broadcast from Prague on the 30th December, which was largely a reply to Dr. Beneš, followed rather markedly those lines against which the latter had warned the Czechs. The Western democracies had been forced to capitulate to Moscow and Beneš found himself forced to play Stalin's game; Czechoslovakia would be sovietised (there would even be a Moravian Soviet Republic) and the Czechs, under a "dictatorship of the proletariat," would be at the mercy of the Bolsheviks.

In a New Year message broadcast from London on the 31st December, M. Jan Masaryk affirmed with particular emphasis that Czechoslovakia's foreign policy in 1945 would be based on her friendship with the Soviet Union. Everything that followed from that basis would be carried out to the letter, without hesitation and without compromise, and Czechoslovakia's relations with her neighbours would be determined from the standpoint of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Treaty. "We want a democratic and strong Poland but only a Poland which will collaborate with the Soviet Union, we want a decent and democratic Hungary which will let us live in peace and, again, only a Hungary which will collaborate with the Soviet Union."

POLAND.

The National Homeland Council of (liberated) Poland celebrated the first anniversary of its formation by meeting in Lublin on the 31st December and passing a law providing for the setting up of a Provisional Government in place of the National Liberation Committee. Immediately afterwards the Council proceeded, in accordance with this "law," to declare M. Bierut to be Provisional President of Poland. M. Bierut, having then nominated M. Osobka-Morawski as Prime Minister, M. Morawski submitted a list of 17 members for the Provisional Government, which was also approved. The new Government consists, at least in name, of 5 Socialists, 5 Peasant Party members, 5 members of the (Communist) Workers' Party, two Democrats, and one non-party member. Eight members are former members of the National Liberation Committee, who retain their former departments. M. Morawski also retains the department of Foreign Relations. General Rola-Zymierski keeps that of National Defence, in addition to his post of Commander-in-Chief. The Prime Minister, being a Socialist, has two Deputies, namely M. Gomolka (Communist) and M. Janusz (Peasant Party).

The proclamation of the Provisional Government was received with acclamation at the Municipal Theatre at Lublin, where, it is reported, 1,500 Peasant Party delegates from liberated Poland were assembled for a party meeting. The session of the National Council itself was attended by the Soviet delegate and by M. Fouchet, French "Delegate in Lublin"; as well as by seven British, American and French press correspondents. The ceremonies ended in a salute of 124 guns, a firework display, and a night on which the curfew was temporarily suspended. The occasion was also marked by a review of the Liberation Committee's achievements, which were said to include the completion

of agrarian reform in all the liberated areas. A parade of the Second Polish Army, newly formed in liberated Poland, was also held.

In one sense the change is one of form rather than substance. The Provisional Government has taken over from the Liberation Committee State machinery for an area containing a population of about 8 million, with its central and local government organs, schools, posts, railways, industries and finances; together with responsibility for reconstruction and for foreign policy; and with an army which, if less experienced and in some ways less well equipped than the Polish forces in the west and in Italy, is probably more numerous, and is definitely Polish in all but a few of the higher posts. All this was already in existence. What is new is the sentiment which the change appears to have produced in the people present, namely, that here at last, after five years, was something that, whatever its faults, could be called a Polish Government on Polish soil.

The London Polish Government has denounced the change as an "attempt against the sovereign rights of the Polish nation." The United States Government, through Mr. Stettinius, has followed the lead given by Mr. Churchill in the House of Commons on the 15th December, by declaring that it will continue to recognise the Arciszewski Government.

SOVIET UNION.

Again there has been no report from the Soviet side on fighting north of Czechoslovakia, and further south there has been no change of great note. The Red army continues to advance slowly northwards from Hungary into Slovakia, whilst around Budapest extremely bitter fighting has continued. On the 27th December the Soviet communiqué announced that "our troops have split the encircled enemy grouping the two parts, one of which has been driven into the hilly and wooded area in the Danube bend north of Budapest, while the other has been tightly gripped in a vice in the city." Meanwhile the Red army is also pushing westwards from Budapest.

One commentator has observed that "encircled Budapest is symbolical in miniature of the position of all Germany and the European territory still under her control," whilst *Izvestiya's* International Observer, *à propos* of German operations in the west, declared that "even if the Hitlerite command wanted to, it would be unable to transfer reserves to the western theatre."

On the 30th December the Soviet Information Bureau issued a communiqué on the shooting of Soviet negotiators, covered by the white flag, by the Germans in the Budapest area. According to this communiqué, "throughout the night of the 28th–29th December and the morning of the 29th December powerful Soviet transmitters in the forward lines of the front incessantly broadcast to the enemy command and troops encircled in the Budapest area an announcement of the forthcoming despatch of Soviet negotiators to present an ultimatum, as well as of the time and route to be taken by the negotiators in their ride to the positions of the German troops. Red army troops along the route of the negotiators' ride completely ceased fire." Nevertheless, the Soviet officer despatched on the 29th December from the left bank of the Danube in a car flying the white flag was fired on and killed; the officer despatched from the right bank was taken to the German headquarters, where the German command refused to accept the ultimatum or to enter into any negotiations. On his return journey the Germans opened fire on him and he was killed by a shot in the back, his interpreter only just escaping. The ultimatum, signed by Marshals Tolbukhin and Malinovsky, after pointing out the hopeless position of the encircled troops, offered, "in order to avoid unnecessary bloodshed and to preserve from ruin Budapest, its historic riches, cultural and artistic monuments and the population," generous terms. These included a promise that any Hungarians who surrendered should be allowed to disperse to their houses after registration and interrogation: Germans surrendering would be allowed to choose after the war whether they would be repatriated to Germany or any other country.

Soviet press comment has greeted the formation of the new provisional Government in Hungary with approval, and has quoted many messages welcoming it from Hungarians outside Hungary. (For the arrival in Moscow of an armistice delegation from the provisional Governments see also under "South-Eastern Europe.")

It was reported by *Tass* on the 28th December that the Soviet Government, with the consent of the Governments of Great Britain and the United States, had

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acceded to the request of the Bulgarian Government to hand over persons detained by the Soviet Command, who were the chief culprits in involving Bulgaria in the war against the United Nations. The persons handed over, besides the three Regents, included most of the ex-Ministers, among them the former Prime Ministers Bozhilov and Muraviev. *Izvestiya*, discussing the Sofia trials of the war criminals, praised Bulgaria for setting an example to other countries in that she was the first to bring to the dock not only Hitler's secondary agents and accomplices, but the chief culprits. Bulgaria alone appeared so far to understand the necessity of the detention and sentencing of war criminals, not only as condign punishment for the calamities they had brought on their country, but also to forestall the recurrence of a pro-Fascist and pro-German régime. *Pravda* (31st December) also issued a warning that fascism had been scotched and not killed, pointing out that the poison left behind in the minds of different groups of people in countries which had been directly or indirectly included in the Hitlerite New Order implied a real risk that a Fascist régime might return. "The moral and political destruction of fascism is a more difficult task than the expulsion of the Germans from a country."

(For a *Tass* report concerning the fulfilment of the Roumanian Armistice Agreement see under "Roumania.")

The arrival in Moscow of a Uniate delegation from Lvov, and its reception by Polyanski, chairman of the Council for Matters connected with Religious Denominations (other than the Orthodox Church), was announced in *Izvestiya* of the 30th December. This is the first mention from the Soviet side of the Uniate Church since the announcement of the appointment of Metropolitan Slipij as its administrator on the death of Metropolitan Szeptycki (see *Summary* No. 266 under "Poland").

The opening of relations between the U.S.S.R. and the Vatican would, however, appear to be no nearer, judging by *Izvestiya's* comment on the Pope's Christmas message. The Pope's failure to include in his lengthy address any word about the "villainous crimes of the Hitlerite bandits," or to discuss Mussolini and his Fascist band, could not be put down to forgetfulness, but was an indication of his "definite policy and definite sympathies." The Pope's declaration that in a State governed by the will of the masses liberty becomes a tyranny showed how far removed are his conceptions from the horrors and sufferings of the peoples who have passed through Hitlerite slavery. His statement, according to *Izvestiya*, was "an obvious violation of the basic and vital interests of the people and of true democracy." (See also under "Vatican.")

Yet another communiqué from the Extraordinary State Commission on German atrocities was published on the 23rd December, this time on crimes committed in the Lvov region. The communiqué declared that in concentration camps in this region the Germans massacred nearly 700,000 Soviet citizens of all ages and both sexes, as well as subjects of France, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland, Holland, Great Britain and the United States, who had been transported to Lvov from concentration camps in Germany, and a number of Italian officers. Among those who gave evidence before the commission were several Frenchmen, formerly German prisoners of war. The Hitlerite Government, and especially Himmler, were denounced as responsible for these crimes, together with Dr. Frank, head of the General Govérnment, and 116 others. Himmler is reported to have visited the camps on several occasions and "personally instructed the executioners." He could no doubt have been held responsible for almost any of the countless atrocities already reported by the Extraordinary Commission, so that (in addition to his personal interest in these camps) it is just possible that some particular significance attaches to the singling out of Himmler now that he has assumed effective control in Germany. It seems a little superfluous, but the Kremlin may even have thought it desirable to put him publicly beyond the pale as a person with whom there can be no negotiation.

His Majesty The King has conferred an honorary C.B.E. upon M. V. N. Pavlov, interpreter in the Soviet People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, in recognition of his valuable assistance to the British delegation at the Tehran Conference and other meetings with Marshal Stalin and M. Molotov.

(See also under "Middle East.")

Amendment to *Summary* No. 273: The following corrections should be made in the names of those cited by the Atrocities Commission as responsible for crimes in the Lithuanian S.S.R.: for Zohse read Lohse; for Esse read Essen; for Mattissen read Matthiessen; for Freundt read Fründt.

SCANDINAVIA.

The date for holding the elections for the Finnish Diet has now been fixed. They will take place on the 17th and 18th March. Owing to the time which has elapsed since the last elections, held in July 1939, it is estimated that about a quarter of the electorate will be voting for the first time. This in itself makes any forecast difficult, but the position is rendered still more uncertain by the split in the Social Democratic Party and the recent formation of a number of new political groups, which express the intention of courting the electorate independently. Of these the most important appears to be the "Democratic Front," the formation of which was announced on the 29th December, ostensibly to rally all sections of opinion which disapproved of the policy pursued during the war. The Social Democrat Party Committee has issued a declaration repudiating these new formations, and stating that persons joining them will forfeit ther membership of the party. Another uncertain factor is introduced by the resurrection of the Communist Party, after 15 years of complete legal suppression. It will certainly be resuming its constitutional existence under specially favourable circumstances. In these conditions, the forthcoming elections should be of quite unprecedented interest and importance.

The Swedish pro-German paper, *Dagsposten*, has expressed great indignation concerning the formation of the Norwegian Volunteer Association referred to in last week's *Summary*, declaring it to be a violation of Swedish law, and the paper appears to have extracted from the Minister of Justice an admission that the matter must be investigated. On the general question of enlisting Swedish volunteers for service in Norway, a recent Gallup Poll has recorded on the whole an adverse opinion. Forty-five per cent. of the votes were opposed to the idea, 29 per cent. neutral, and only 26 per cent. favourable. The prevalent opinion seems to have been that Sweden would best help Norway by keeping altogether clear of the war.

Some Norwegian refugees in Sweden have founded an organisation called the Association of Norwegian Patriots, which has been accused of being to some extent under Communist influence and of showing tendencies hostile to the present Norwegian Government. A *Tass* message from Stockholm published in the Russian *Pravda* for the 30th December describes the composition of the Association as Left Wing, and asserts that it has sent a message to the Government in London demanding more active participation in the War and the "establishment of democracy in Norway," which would seem to imply an endorsement of the imputation of reactionary tendencies recently made against the Government and the recognised home-front leadership by the Communist leader Furubotn, as well as of the activist line advocated by the Communists. The organisers, however, have repudiated these suggestions in a statement issued on the 31st December, which asserts that all parties are represented, and denies opposition to the Nygaardsvold Government.

M. Jens Bull, the Norwegian Minister in Stockholm, whose tenure of the post has been by no means generally popular, is now being succeeded by the former Minister in Reykjavik, M. Esmarch. M. Bull's departure was at first attributed to illness, but it is now announced that he is going to Rome.

The command of the German forces in Norway appears to have been definitely taken over by General Rendulic from General Falkenhorst. The army headquarters are being transferred from Oslo to Lillehammer, partly for reasons of security, though no doubt the central position of Lillehammer, with good communications with Tröndelag and Western Norway, has also played a part in the decision.

The Germans in Denmark made a conciliatory gesture at Christmas by the release of 175 political prisoners. Christmas Eve is reported to have passed off quietly, but on the following day a Dane was shot in Copenhagen by a German sentry, and others were fired upon. Boxing Day saw the elimination of a member of the Schalburg corps, and almost simultaneously the usual "clearing murder" was perpetrated by one of his colleagues. A Copenhagen factory was blown up by saboteurs on the 28th December.

THE LOW COUNTRIES.

A correspondent of the London *Vrij Nederland* in the liberated Netherlands has written an interesting account of the problems that arose immediately after the liberation. He candidly admits that mistakes were made and that a number of arbitrary acts were performed by members of the resistance organisations,

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some of whom, indeed, only joined such organisations after liberation; he notes that a man is not necessarily fit for a public post because he has been good at sabotage. But he points out that mistakes were inevitable in the circumstances; prompt action involved a risk of error, but it was better than doing nothing. As time passed, moreover, conditions had improved and experience had been acquired by the Dutch authorities which would be invaluable when the rest of the Netherlands were freed. Then, the difficulties would be even greater, for, whereas in the now liberated Netherlands a steadying influence had been exerted by the Catholic Church, to which the great majority belonged, in the rest of the Netherlands the majority were either Protestants or agnostics. The writer, however, had faith in the sense and courage of his fellow-countrymen and believed that the Dutch Government was aware of the difficulties that lay ahead.

The overrunning of part of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg and of Belgium by the Germans has been attended by numerous atrocities. Prince John of Luxemburg said in an interview "isolated villages in the Ardennes . . . . were taken entirely by surprise. In many cases evacuation was impossible, and I have heard of places where the invader has carried off to Germany all the men between 15 and 70 still fit for forced labour. Ruin and distress in the northern part of the country are indescribable. Nothing can be more horrible than reoccupation by an enemy who thinks only of wreaking vengeance." The Germans, indeed, are making no attempt to conceal their cruelty; rather do they seek to publicise it, in order to spread terror. A German-controlled "Belgian Freedom" radio station is striving to make Belgians leave their homes and flee from the supposedly advancing Wehrmacht by broadcasting atrocity stories. For instance, listeners were told that in a village on the Rochefort–Marche road all the inhabitants had been ordered into the square by S.S. troops and shot forthwith.

The Belgian and Luxemburg Governments have maintained a firm attitude in the face of the German threats. The Luxemburg Government remained in the Grand Duchy; the Belgian Government ordered all officials to remain at their posts. The Belgian Minister of Defence announced in a broadcast that some of the units raised since liberation were now at the front and appealed for large numbers of volunteers, whom it was now at last possible to equip and train. In Luxemburg a decree introducing conscription had been promulgated on the eve of the German offensive and had met with the hearty approval of the inhabitants, who were eager that their country should play its part in the defeat of Germany.

The new Belgian social security law came into force on the 1st January. The Right-wing Catholics do not much like it, but it was certainly demanded by the great majority.

Broadcasting to the Belgian people on the 1st January the French Ambassador in Brussels spoke of the "close solidarity in ideas, aspirations and destiny" between France and Belgium, and went on to say that "on General de Gaulle's return from Moscow, our Foreign Minister broached the problem of the Rhineland and Westphalia in our Consultative Assembly. France and Belgium, like the Netherlands are interested in this problem both from a military and an economic point of view, which calls for a still closer co-operation between us within the framework of our unshakable alliance with Britain. It is not a case of counting one's chicken's before they are hatched if we now advocate a readjustment of our respective economic systems, with a view to bringing them into line with the requirements we shall have to meet after the settlement of the problem of the Rhineland."

(See also under "Germany.")

FRANCE.

General de Gaulle broadcast to the nation on the 31st December. After reviewing the position of France at the end of 1944 he referred to the decision to mobilise the 1943 class at the end of January 1945. This mobilisation was, he said, naturally being co-ordinated with the supply of arms and equipment by French factories and by the Allies. He was happy to announce that the Allies had promised enough to equip "a large number of new units within a satisfactory period of time." Victory would find France in the first rank, arms in hand. It would also find her free and he confirmed M. Tixier's statement to the Consultative Assembly (see below), saying that "unless the circumstances of war prevented them," municipal and departmental elections would be held in the spring. They would, of course, be provisional, holding good "until the return of the absent." Turning to the economic situation, he expressed a guarded

optimism. 1945 should bring slow but steady progress. "We may hope that next spring our harbours will welcome an appreciable number of ships which are no longer laden exclusively with troops, arms, ammunition and military rations. To-day we must make do with what we have and bravely endure all hardships and shortages." The speech ended with a fresh appeal for unity and with words of remembrance to all those fighting for France and her allies and to those in the hands of the enemy.

The economic situation referred to by the General is in fact causing the French authorities great anxiety. The Director-General of Economic Affairs at the Quai d'Orsay, M. Alphand, has spoken of the grave situation developing through lack of supplies of imported food-stuffs, raw materials and coal, and through the gradual deterioration of the inland transport position. He told a British representative that General de Gaulle and M. Bidault considered that this was the most urgent problem now confronting the Government, and that the early restoration of a reasonable level of rations and the resumption of a minimum of industrial production in France were of vital military importance to the Allies. Mr. Duff Cooper agrees that the lack of raw materials and consequent increase in unemployment at a time when food and heating are seriously deficient are bound to cause discontent and render the Government's task more difficult. M. Alphand, however, spoke with great appreciation of British assistance given during M. Monnet's recent visit to London, and the Ministry of National Economy announced on the 28th December that France is to receive from Britain before the end of June 300,000 tons of wool, cotton, non-ferrous metals, sulphur and food and that the first ships are already being loaded. This is part of the French civilian import programme (see *Summary* No. 270) for which M. Monnet has been negotiating. The press has announced that the ports of Dieppe and Boulogne have now been handed over in working order to the French by the British Navy, and that the Mediterranean port of Sète has been cleared of mines.

The decision to mobilise the 1943 class referred to in General de Gaulle's speech (see above) responds to a widespread demand for a larger army and a greater war effort. This was voiced in the Consultative Assembly as well as in the Paris press, and inspired partly by the desire to see France's enhanced status among the nations backed by a corresponding force, partly by the wish to put a speedy end to German resistance on the Atlantic coast and partly by the German offensive in the Ardennes. On the 20th December the Assembly's Commission for National Defence held a meeting and demanded the mobilisation of several classes of young men, a vigorous purge of cadres and an intensification of the war effort, and on the 26th December the Assembly itself debated national defence in secret session, only its final resolution being made public. This again asked for the mobilisation and military training of the youth of the country so as to enable all Frenchmen to take part in the war. It also demanded "total unification" of the Army and the establishment of a unified Command. It has since been announced that the Government has allotted 43 milliard francs for national defence in the provisional budget for the first quarter of 1945, and 58 milliards for civil expenditure.

On the 27th and 28th December the Consultative Assembly proceeded to a debate on general home policy, which more than one Paris paper criticised as too discursive. The debate was opened by the Minister of the Interior, who touched on many aspects of internal affairs. He claimed that the purge in his own administration had been rapid and vigorous. Five thousand police had been promptly dismissed, arrested or suspended. Thirty-two thousand people were still interned, 5,000 of whom had not yet been examined, and it would not be possible during the war wholly to dispense with administrative internment. Several thousand Fifth Columnists had been arrested each month. He reaffirmed the Government's intention to hold local elections, but said that it had not yet been decided whether the departments should vote one after the other or whether they should wait until the end of April, when they should all have been able to complete their preparations. He also said that the Departmental Committees of Liberation would be maintained in being and that a new ordinance would redefine their powers in such a way as to avoid conflict between them and the *Conseils Généraux*, whose rôle was essentially administrative.

The chief feature of the debate was an unexpected attack by M. Noguères, Socialist Deputy for the Pyrénées-Orientales, who accused M. Jeanneney of having acquiesced in the muzzling of the opponents of the grant of full powers to Pétain in the National Assembly on the 10th July, 1940, and said that it was scandalous that he should now be in the Government. M. Noguères' onslaught

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some of whom, indeed, only joined such organisations after liberation; he notes that a man is not necessarily fit for a public post because he has been good at sabotage. But he points out that mistakes were inevitable in the circumstances; prompt action involved a risk of error, but it was better than doing nothing. As time passed, moreover, conditions had improved and experience had been acquired by the Dutch authorities which would be invaluable when the rest of the Netherlands were freed. Then, the difficulties would be even greater, for, whereas in the now liberated Netherlands a steadying influence had been exerted by the Catholic Church, to which the great majority belonged, in the rest of the Netherlands the majority were either Protestants or agnostics. The writer, however, had faith in the sense and courage of his fellow-countrymen and believed that the Dutch Government was aware of the difficulties that lay ahead.

The overrunning of part of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg and of Belgium by the Germans has been attended by numerous atrocities. Prince John of Luxemburg said in an interview "isolated villages in the Ardennes . . . . were taken entirely by surprise. In many cases evacuation was impossible, and I have heard of places where the invader has carried off to Germany all the men between 15 and 70 still fit for forced labour. Ruin and distress in the northern part of the country are indescribable. Nothing can be more horrible than reoccupation by an enemy who thinks only of wreaking vengeance." The Germans, indeed, are making no attempt to conceal their cruelty; rather do they seek to publicise it, in order to spread terror. A German-controlled "Belgian Freedom" radio station is striving to make Belgians leave their homes and flee from the supposedly advancing Wehrmacht by broadcasting atrocity stories. For instance, listeners were told that in a village on the Rochefort–Marche road all the inhabitants had been ordered into the square by S.S. troops and shot forthwith.

The Belgian and Luxemburg Governments have maintained a firm attitude in the face of the German threats. The Luxemburg Government remained in the Grand Duchy; the Belgian Government ordered all officials to remain at their posts. The Belgian Minister of Defence announced in a broadcast that some of the units raised since liberation were now at the front and appealed for large numbers of volunteers, whom it was now at last possible to equip and train. In Luxemburg a decree introducing conscription had been promulgated on the eve of the German offensive and had met with the hearty approval of the inhabitants, who were eager that their country should play its part in the defeat of Germany.

The new Belgian social security law came into force on the 1st January. The Right-wing Catholics do not much like it, but it was certainly demanded by the great majority.

Broadcasting to the Belgian people on the 1st January the French Ambassador in Brussels spoke of the "close solidarity in ideas, aspirations and destiny" between France and Belgium, and went on to say that "on General de Gaulle's return from Moscow, our Foreign Minister broached the problem of the Rhineland and Westphalia in our Consultative Assembly. France and Belgium, like the Netherlands are interested in this problem both from a military and an economic point of view, which calls for a still closer co-operation between us within the framework of our unshakable alliance with Britain. It is not a case of counting one's chicken's before they are hatched if we now advocate a readjustment of our respective economic systems, with a view to bringing them into line with the requirements we shall have to meet after the settlement of the problem of the Rhineland."

(See also under "Germany.")

FRANCE.

General de Gaulle broadcast to the nation on the 31st December. After reviewing the position of France at the end of 1944 he referred to the decision to mobilise the 1943 class at the end of January 1945. This mobilisation was, he said, naturally being co-ordinated with the supply of arms and equipment by French factories and by the Allies. He was happy to announce that the Allies had promised enough to equip "a large number of new units within a satisfactory period of time." Victory would find France in the first rank, arms in hand. It would also find her free and he confirmed M. Tixier's statement to the Consultative Assembly (see below), saying that "unless the circumstances of war prevented them," municipal and departmental elections would be held in the spring. They would, of course, be provisional, holding good "until the return of the absent." Turning to the economic situation, he expressed a guarded

optimism. 1945 should bring slow but steady progress. "We may hope that next spring our harbours will welcome an appreciable number of ships which are no longer laden exclusively with troops, arms, ammunition and military rations. To-day we must make do with what we have and bravely endure all hardships and shortages." The speech ended with a fresh appeal for unity and with words of remembrance to all those fighting for France and her allies and to those in the hands of the enemy.

The economic situation referred to by the General is in fact causing the French authorities great anxiety. The Director-General of Economic Affairs at the Quai d'Orsay, M. Alphand, has spoken of the grave situation developing through lack of supplies of imported food-stuffs, raw materials and coal, and through the gradual deterioration of the inland transport position. He told a British representative that General de Gaulle and M. Bidault considered that this was the most urgent problem now confronting the Government, and that the early restoration of a reasonable level of rations and the resumption of a minimum of industrial production in France were of vital military importance to the Allies. Mr. Duff Cooper agrees that the lack of raw materials and consequent increase in unemployment at a time when food and heating are seriously deficient are bound to cause discontent and render the Government's task more difficult. M. Alphand, however, spoke with great appreciation of British assistance given during M. Monnet's recent visit to London, and the Ministry of National Economy announced on the 28th December that France is to receive from Britain before the end of June 300,000 tons of wool, cotton, non-ferrous metals, sulphur and food and that the first ships are already being loaded. This is part of the French civilian import programme (see *Summary* No. 270) for which M. Monnet has been negotiating. The press has announced that the ports of Dieppe and Boulogne have now been handed over in working order to the French by the British Navy, and that the Mediterranean port of Sète has been cleared of mines.

The decision to mobilise the 1943 class referred to in General de Gaulle's speech (see above) responds to a widespread demand for a larger army and a greater war effort. This was voiced in the Consultative Assembly as well as in the Paris press, and inspired partly by the desire to see France's enhanced status among the nations backed by a corresponding force, partly by the wish to put a speedy end to German resistance on the Atlantic coast and partly by the German offensive in the Ardennes. On the 20th December the Assembly's Commission for National Defence held a meeting and demanded the mobilisation of several classes of young men, a vigorous purge of cadres and an intensification of the war effort, and on the 26th December the Assembly itself debated national defence in secret session, only its final resolution being made public. This again asked for the mobilisation and military training of the youth of the country so as to enable all Frenchmen to take part in the war. It also demanded "total unification" of the Army and the establishment of a unified Command. It has since been announced that the Government has allotted 43 milliard francs for national defence in the provisional budget for the first quarter of 1945, and 58 milliards for civil expenditure.

On the 27th and 28th December the Consultative Assembly proceeded to a debate on general home policy, which more than one Paris paper criticised as too discursive. The debate was opened by the Minister of the Interior, who touched on many aspects of internal affairs. He claimed that the purge in his own administration had been rapid and vigorous. Five thousand police had been promptly dismissed, arrested or suspended. Thirty-two thousand people were still interned, 5,000 of whom had not yet been examined, and it would not be possible during the war wholly to dispense with administrative internment. Several thousand Fifth Columnists had been arrested each month. He reaffirmed the Government's intention to hold local elections, but said that it had not yet been decided whether the departments should vote one after the other or whether they should wait until the end of April, when they should all have been able to complete their preparations. He also said that the Departmental Committees of Liberation would be maintained in being and that a new ordinance would redefine their powers in such a way as to avoid conflict between them and the *Conseils Généraux*, whose rôle was essentially administrative.

The chief feature of the debate was an unexpected attack by M. Noguères, Socialist Deputy for the Pyrénées-Orientales, who accused M. Jeanneney of having acquiesced in the muzzling of the opponents of the grant of full powers to Pétain in the National Assembly on the 10th July, 1940, and said that it was scandalous that he should now be in the Government. M. Noguères' onslaught

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provoked a sharp reply from General de Gaulle, who said that opinions might differ about the drama of 1940, but that now only one thing counted: deeds and the service of the country. There was no one present who had not served the country and the republic.

At the conclusion of the debate, the last of the session, the Assembly voted a comprehensive resolution which, among other things, expressed the hope that the Government would continue to collaborate with the Resistance organisations, that it would effect a real monetary and fiscal reform, that it would see the need to evict "les grandes féodalités économiques et financières" from a dominant position in the national economy, and that it would proceed to socialise the principal means of production, sources of power, mineral deposits, insurance companies and, first and foremost, the big banks.

The new French Ambassador in Washington, M. Henri Bonnet, presented his letters of credence on the 1st January and signed the United Nations Declaration on behalf of France. In a message, read by Mr. Stettinius, President Roosevelt expressed his "profound gratification" at France's adherence and his admiration for her unconquerable spirit. She was now "a strong ally once more in the first rank of the free and peace-loving nations of the world."

Henri Béraud, the notoriously anti-British contributor to *Gringoire*, has been sentenced to death by the Paris Court of Justice. Other recent condemnations include those at Paris of Lucien Combelle, director of the weekly *Révolution Nationale*, and at Poitiers of General Vergnaux, director of the munitions factory of Châtellerault. Both were sentenced to fifteen years' hard labour.

(See also under "Low Countries" and "Middle East.")

SPAIN.

It is not an Iberian custom to eat at the Christmas season richly spiced fruit puddings, after having first made careful search for those touching tokens of hypothetical happiness so dear to the pragmatic English heart. The Spaniards pledge the future in a different way, when, on New Year's Eve, they come together in the open spaces of their villages and towns, and, holding in their hands bunches of Almería grapes, each containing exactly twelve, wait for the clocks to strike. As the midnight chimes ring out, the crowd, with a sense of urgency, begins to eat the fruit, stroke by stroke, grape by grape, for luck will hold only so long as you keep pace with the clock. There must have been, among the governors of Spain to-day, more than one who, risking both decorum and digestion, hastened to synchronise the twelfth stroke with the last grape in the knowledge that, if the past five years have been critical for Spain, the year of 1945 will be full of hazard for her present rulers. General Franco and the Falange régime have done very well out of the war. They were able to avoid the danger of being drawn into the conflict, and they had begun to accumulate credit with the Allies—for which the Caudillo owes more to the late Minister for Foreign Affairs, Count Jordana, than he has ever acknowledged. Then they allowed the wilful irresponsibility so typical of Spanish leaders to imperil what could have been a fairly smooth passage through genuine neutrality and a modified régime to post-war prosperity in an Allied-controlled Europe. Too often, during the last two years, have the Spanish Government yielded to German pressure, hedged with the Allies and generally allowed backsliding to mar the course of their foreign policy. And pretentious claims made recently for an important part in the peace won by others have only irritated the United Nations in whose hands lies the future of the Falange régime.

But if Franco, in seeming blindness, considers that the vaguest lip-service to the Allied cause will guarantee him a passage home, some of the Falange hierarchs are far from sharing his complacency. That they have done very well for themselves is shown by the Spanish budget for 1944, which gives an interesting indication of the financial position occupied by the Falange. The Party Vote, including the Militia, amounts to 181 million pesetas as against 1,972 million for the Army, 341 million for the Navy, 432 million for the Air Force, 502 million for Education and 113 million for National Health. This is perhaps not excessive, but the Treasury Vote is only a small part of the Falange income, the most important part of which is the quota of 2 per cent. deducted from all salaries in Spain. It is impossible to estimate the total amount of this source of income, but a reliable estimate gives a figure of about 900 million for the Province of Madrid alone. Even allowing for the work done by the "Auxilio Social," which is paid for out of Party funds, it is clear that the amount allotted

to the Falange by the Spanish State is out of all proportion to that granted for public services. Over and above the Treasury Vote and this 2 per cent. quota, there are two other, less official sources, (*a*) the premium often paid to the Syndicates by traders anxious to obtain import licences and (*b*) the difference between the cost price paid by the syndicates and the price they charge the traders. 100 per cent. is not an unusual margin in this operation, which is a source of much satisfaction to the Party chiefs.

In matters of finance Franco is an honest man; he has nothing to fear but political destruction, and that, as has been said often before, is not one of his bogies. The Party notables, who interpret the national interest less conservatively, have much more reason to be sensitive to any factors which might affect the stability of the régime and their enjoyment of power. That is why some of them are showing much greater nervousness about Allied opinion than their Leader, who, in his incorruptibility, fears no man.

ITALY.

Relative calm seems, for the moment, to reign in Italian political circles, but how long it will last is another matter. Whether Signor Nenni, the leader of the Socialist Party, can be more obstructive within or without the Government remains to be seen, but the Communist-Socialist Alliance appears to be getting into a rather involved situation. When the present four-party Government was formed Signor Togliatti, the Communist Party leader, stated that his Party would now have the added responsibility of representing their friends, the Socialist Party, in the Government, but Signor Nenni is hardly likely to agree to this for long. In the Socialist paper *Avanti* Signor Nenni speaks of the Communist Party as being the opposition within the Government whilst the Socialist Party is to represent the opposition without. But up-to-date the Socialist Party policy has been more extreme and revolutionary than the Communist so it seems more likely that the real opposition will come from the Socialist Party outside the Government and will be directed as much at the Communist Party as at the other three parties forming the Government. Signor Nenni may, however, come to the conclusion that he can be more effective inside the Government than outside and such a decision may be hastened by the Socialist Party itself which does not always seem to be in complete agreement with Signor Nenni's extremist views. But if the Socialist leader elects to stay outside the Government and the Party agrees, the Communist-Socialist Alliance looks as if it might be strained to the utmost. In any case Signor Bonomi seems likely to have the same trouble as formerly in trying to get his team to pull together. In a broadcast on the 17th December Signor Bonomi again reminded the Italian people that winning the war was the most important fact and the nation should direct its entire effort to that end. In a tribute to the Partisans in Occupied Italy Signor Bonomi spoke of the powers which had been granted to the Committee of National Liberation in Northern Italy in carrying on the struggle against the Nazis and the Fascists and mentioned the new Department which had been formed to deal with all problems arising from the situation in the North. Signor Bonomi finished by saying that nearly 200,000 Italians were about to finish their military training and that the division, which the Romans had lately seen parading through the streets of the city, would soon take its place beside the Allies, at the battlefront.

News from the north has been particularly scanty over the Christmas period. The Committee of National Liberation in North Italy has issued a statement reaffirming its own unity for the war effort, noting the declarations of Socialist and Action Party representatives on the Northern C.N.L., in which they affirm their solidarity with the Italian Government's actions towards prosecuting the war and welcoming the creation of a Ministry for Occupied Italy.

Rumours of Farinacci's death persist. Swiss reports suggest that he has been assassinated by the clandestine Patriotic Action Group, or, alternatively, that he was killed by an Italian S.S. squad acting under Mussolini's orders. There has been no official confirmation of Farinacci's death, the only reference to the rumours being a brief comment on the Fascist-controlled radio, which ridicules the whole matter as an Allied invention. No Farinacci editorials, however, have appeared in the *Regime Fascista* for some days.

Ezio Maria Gray has published a long article in the *Gazzetta del Popolo* eulogising the spirit of Bologna in the front line. The town would seem to be

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virtually cut off from communication with places further north, but, according to Gray, who bases his information on some recently obtained copies of the Bologna paper, the *Resto del Carlino*, life goes on there much as usual and, " as regards the food supply, it makes one want to go and live in Bologna."

Mussolini has sent a New Year message to Italians in Germany urging them to work loyally with the Germans during the coming year.

THE VATICAN.

The Pope made three points in his yearly address to the Cardinals. Firstly he noted the fever for reform which has seized mankind, and wondered whether it would give the world civil war after world war. Secondly he showed how the Church embraced all her children—" all those who have erred from the path of righteousness." Thirdly he upheld the Church's duty to proclaim truth, and expose error, especially the misuse of words " Freedom, Independence, Democracy." These three points formed the basis of his notable Xmas Eve broadcast to the world. " The war had awakened the peoples and made them critical of their Governments, and convinced them that if they had not lacked all possibility of criticism and amendment, the world would not have been dragged into war." To avoid future wars the people must have effective guarantees. Is it strange that a democratic tendency dominates the peoples? After basing democracy on the rights and dignity of men, he said that it could exist in monarchies and well as in republics—a passage designed to cover British democracy. He then distinguished between a people, in the democratic sense, and a mass, " which is inert in itself and can only be moved from outside," and which, " is the mortal enemy of true democracy and its ideals of liberty and equality." True democracy rejects State absolutism.

The New World Order must include all peoples. Its authorities must be supreme, but " all member States must retain an equal right to their own sovereignty. Only thus can a spirit of free democracy pervade the evil ground of foreign relations." No injustice must be done to victor, vanquished or neutral, and vanquished must have the promise of ultimate association. Finally, the " Church's mission is to announce to the world, which is looking for more perfect forms of democracy, the highest and most needed message, the dignity of men called to be sons of God."

The message is regarded as a warning against pseudo-democracy. *Pravda* attacks it for not condemning " Hitlerite Bandits," and for belittling the will of the people (see under " Soviet Union "); but the Pope does not condemn by name: if he did, he could not stop short at Hitlerite Bandits. (The Papal position was explained in *Summary* No. 270, under " Vatican.") The Papal distinction between People and Mass was missed by *Pravda*. The broadcast is the most notable pronouncement the Pope has so far made on Catholic Democracy and the Rights of Man, and illustrates a growing Catholic tendency to look beyond Governments to the people, " to man as such, who, far from being a passive element in social life, is and must remain its subject, its foundation and its end. . . ." " Of no form of government which secures the well-being of its citizens will the Church disapprove."

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

The Provisional Hungarian Government in Debrecen has declared war on Germany, and has promised to begin hostilities as soon as resources are mobilised. The Allies are being formally requested for an armistice, and a delegation headed by General Voros in Moscow to receive terms. The National Assembly has claimed to be, at present, the exclusive repository of the nation's sovereignty, which is exercised through the officers of the Assembly. The question of its relationship to Admiral Horthy, now detained in Germany, seems to be left in suspense.

The composition and programme of the Government are warmly praised by the Soviet Press. Elsewhere, the reception has been generally favourable. Practically all Hungarian organisations abroad, whatever their political colour, have welcomed it and have promised to co-operate with or to serve it; most Hungarian Legations have recognised its authority.

The full composition of the Government is as follows: Premier, General B. Miklós (recently General Officer Commanding Hungarian First Army, went over to Soviets after the 15th October); Foreign Affairs, J. Gyöngyössy (Left-wing publicist, Smallholders' Party); Interior, F. Erdei (Left-wing Sociologist, champion of agricultural labouring class); Defence, General J. Vörös (Horthy's Chief of Staff, went over to Soviets after the 15th October); Finance, Dr. I. Vásáry (administrative and financial expert, seven years Mayor of Debrecen, prominent Calvinist, Smallholders' Party; Education, Professor Count G. Teleki (Member of Hungarian Armistice delegation to Moscow, son of late Premier who committed suicide in April 1941 when Germany and Hungary invaded Yugoslavia); Industry, F. Takács (*bourgeois* industrialist); A. Valentini, Justice (lawyer, prominent Social Democrat); Supply, General G. Faragó (headed armistice delegation to Moscow); Social Welfare, E. Molnár (Left-wing Sociologist, Social Democrat); Agriculture, I. Nagy (locksmith, Communist); Trade and Communications, J. Gábor (workman, Communist).

The Germans and Hungarians have launched a counter-attack against the advanced Soviet positions near Komarom. Round Budapest the ring has been tightened. Many suburbs are now in Soviet hands, the penetration having been, apparently, most rapid in the outskirts of Buda; the latest reports, however, speak of fighting in the very heart of Pest. The Germans and such Hungarian allies as they possess are resisting desperately, house by house. Some Hungarians are reported to be fighting on the Soviet side. The destruction in the city appears to be on a very large scale.

On the 30th December the Soviet wireless announced that Marshals Tolbukhin and Malinovsky had addressed to the Commanders of the German and Hungarian troops in Budapest (naming four German divisions and one artillery brigade, and four Hungarian divisions and three auxiliary regiments) a demand to surrender under honourable conditions in order to avoid further bloodshed and destruction. The lives and security of those surrendering were guaranteed; Germans might return to Germany after the war and Hungarians return to their homes after registration and interrogation. The Soviet wireless stated that the two envoys bearing the ultimatum were shot, one on his way into Pest, the other during his return, the German Command having refused to accept the ultimatum or to conduct negotiations of any kind. The Soviet statement ended by saying that the entire responsibility for civilian casualties and for the destruction of Budapest would fall on the Hitlerites. The Germans issued a denial of the shooting three days later. Meanwhile, the carnage continued. The population of Budapest, swollen by the influx of refugees to a number stated, perhaps with some exaggeration, to amount to 2 million persons, was reported to be reduced to starvation rations and deprived of essential services, including its water supply.

Roumania.

The Roumanian Prime Minister, General Radescu, besides impressing favourably those who come in contact with him, is making progress in his efforts to satisfy the Soviet demands for a more wholehearted compliance with the Armistice terms. While some enemy nationals are still unaccounted for, 10,000 Germans and Hungarians have been interned. Out of 55,000 Soviet citizens deported, 36,000 have been repatriated. A large amount of industrial equipment has been returned and over 2,300 head of livestock. 386,000 tons of petroleum products have been shipped to Russia. At the same time the Soviet authorities are dissatisfied at the slowness of the " purge " or " war criminals." No satisfactory definition of this term has been arrived at. It appears to be applied to any defeated enemy. The censorship of the press, periodicals and theatre and radio performances set up by Article 16 of the Armistice is strictly enforced. Eighty-six provincial papers and publications have been suspended. This, combined with the censorship of school books and maps, indicates a new technique designed to prove that certain historical events did not actually take place. Requisitioning proceeds on a scale which suggests either that the Roumanians are being forced to non-compliance with the demands made, or that the Soviet are seeking an excuse for commandeering the whole of certain supplies. A requisition of medical supplies is quite fantastic. It includes 1,300,000 pairs of forceps of different kinds, 3 million needles for syringes, 53,000 pairs of dental forceps, 50 tons of lysol, 50 tons of lanoline, 5 tons of quinine, and 100,000 tubes of penicillin, of which commodity Roumania possesses none at all. And these are only a few of the 103 items in the list!

Nothing has been heard of Mareşal Antonescu for more than three months when he was removed from custody in Roumania and taken to Russia. It was announced that he was to be tried by an Allied Court. On the 29th December an

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attack was made upon him in the Soviet European broadcast service in the course of a talk on "Who are the Antonescus?" Amongst his "scandalous deeds" are specified wholesale corruption at home and transfer of currency to banks abroad. Whatever may be said of Mihai Antonescu, conduct of this kind is entirely foreign to all that is known of the Maresal. "Our correspondent" claims to have visited his former homes and described the "palatial character" of his surroundings. In point of fact the Maresal's house in Bucarest is quite a modest establishment, and the villa at Predeal is a comfortable, moderate-sized place such as would be owned by any well-to-do professional man. This bolt from the blue inevitably suggests a question as to what may be the object of it at this juncture.

Yugoslavia.

Heavy fighting has continued in east Slavonia, where Bulgarian troops have been brought up. The Germans continue to retreat down the Bosna and from the Drina across north Bosnia. Their force in Montenegro has joined up with the Germans in the Sandjak, but has been severely punished by Allied aircraft. East of Slovenia the Germans seem now to control only the coast of Croatia, the communication lines north from Mostar, Banjaluka, Bihatch and Fiume, and their main east-west line along the Save.

Macedonian Slav Partisans appear to be in control on both sides of parts of the Greco-Yugoslav frontier. The Macedonian Partisan Assembly (Asnom) began its second session at Skoplje on the 28th December, in the presence of Kardelj, Tito's chief political assistant.

An editorial article in the Belgrade *Politika* has broken silence on the Greek crisis. It considered that British intervention was ill-advised, since, if successful, it would give the management of the elections to the Papandreou Government, and would alienate the sympathies of the Greek people from Great Britain.

In Serbia the Partisans have conscribed all able-bodied men and many women. The population is thus brought under control and the conscripts are subjected to the full force of the Partisan propaganda. Some of the recruits, after three or four weeks' training, are sent to the Slavonian front where the Partisans are fighting pitched battles for the first time and casualties are heavy.

Serbia is afflicted with grave monetary difficulties. Eight different currencies are circulating. Owing to lack of transport prices vary enormously in different localities. On the black market dinars are 8,000 to the pound, 2,000 to the dollar. The official rate in Belgrade has been fixed at 800 to the pound and 200 to the dollar. The Partisan administration speak hopefully of obtaining foreign exchange, through remittances from Yugoslavs in America. Meanwhile, there is virtually no backing for the vast amount of paper money in circulation, commercial and financial activities are at a standstill, and the problem of paying State employees without causing inflation is acute.

Greece

Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden left Athens on the 28th December. On the 27th Mr. Churchill had made a statement to press correspondents saying that, the British had entered Greece by agreement with Mr. Roosevelt and Marshal Stalin and at the invitation of an all-party Greek Government. There would have been a massacre in Athens had British troops not intervened. The British sought nothing from Greece except her friendship. They had contracted grave responsibilities, and were absolutely determined to clear Athens and its environs; he hoped some sensible settlement would be reached, but, if there was no agreement, the guns would go on firing. If it proved impossible to obtain a satisfactory democratic foundation, it might become necessary to create some sort of temporary international trust.

The Conference convened by Mr. Churchill on the 26th met again on the 27th. In addition to the original Greek political representatives, the second meeting was attended also by MM. Canellopoulos, Peter Rallis, Stephanopoulos, Mylonas, Sophianopoulos, Gonatas, Alexandris, Theotokis and Tsaldaris; E.L.A.S. had not increased the number of its representatives, nor were there present any representatives of the parties, other than the Communist Party, which constitute E.A.M. According to Athens wireless, the E.L.A.S. delegates announced that they would disarm only if parties of the Left were given 40 to 50 per cent. of the seats in the Cabinet, including the Ministries of the Interior and of Justice and the Under-Secretaryships for War and Foreign Affairs; if the

Mountain Brigade, the Sacred Battalion, and the National Guard were disbanded; if a plebiscite on the King's return were held early in February and elections for a Constituent Assembly took place in April. General Plastiras refused to accept these terms, as did the representatives of the Populist Party, who left the Conference. The Archbishop thereupon adjourned the proceedings *sine die;* he subsequently reported to Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden that the "overwhelming desire" of those present had been that a Regency be established immediately, and the British Ministers undertook to advise the King of the Hellenes to accept this course. On the 30th a Royal Declaration was issued, addressed to the Archbishop, which stated that the King, being resolved not to return to Greece unless summoned by a free and fair expression of the national will, appointed the Archbishop as Regent. The Archbishop was sworn in on the 31st, and on that day the Papandreou Government resigned. The Regent immediately held consultations with leading politicians; it is understood that he will offer the Premiership to General Plastiras.

Meantime, the Central Committee of E.A.M., in spite of the terms their representatives had put forward at the Conference, sent a memorandum to Mr. Churchill, in which they asserted that they had accepted "the basic points" of General Scobie's terms. Acknowledging this communication, General Scobie said the Central Committee had never made it clear that his terms had been accepted, and asked that a plenipotentiary be sent to his headquarters to confirm it. In consequence, a delegation, headed by M. Zevgos, came to confer with General Scobie, but it has been officially announced that no agreement was reached.

In fact, the E.A.M. delegates brought no confirmation of acceptance of General Scobie's conditions, and the object of their visit appears to have been to persuade him to undertake commitments regarding the future of the Greek Armed Forces before the new Greek Government had been formed.

Albania.

The general attitude of the Albanian partisans towards the Greek and Yugoslav partisans has always been one of co-operation, and recent reports from Athens indicated a considerable infiltration of Albanian partisans into Greece. However, on the 24th December Radio Tirana denied categorically that any Albanian partisans had joined E.L.A.S. or that any Albanian partisan units had entered Greece. While continuing to fight alongside the Yugoslav partisans in Montenegro, the Albanian partisan forces are trying to mop up such armed opposition as they find in their own country. How general the acceptance of Enver Hoxha's Provisional Government is remains to be seen. Although a youth congress at Tirana is reported to have adopted communism, the average Albanian, having only the vaguest ideas on the subject, probably wants, above all, to be left in peace to repair the ruin which war has brought on him.

Bulgaria.

The Soviet Government has returned to Bulgaria for trial those whom it considered the chief war criminals and had removed to Moscow, viz., the ex-Regents (of whom Filov was wrongly reported in *Summary* No. 258 to have escaped from Bulgaria), Bozhilov, Muraviev, four other ex-Ministers and Generals Lukash and Hadzhi-Petkov. Proceedings have gone on in the two divisions of the People's Court sitting at Sofia. Half a dozen of King Boris's confidants have been heard, and radio and press comment has not failed to point out that the monarchy had surrounded itself with men so decadent that their only defence to-day was to shift responsibility onto the King. Former Cabinet Ministers and Deputies mostly pleaded either that they were kept in ignorance of the Government decisions to join the Tripartite Pact, to allow German forces into the country and to declare war on Great Britain and the United States, or else—what seems nearer the truth—that any opposition on their part would have been futile.

The partisans and Militia are now reported to be fully armed. Ordinary police functions are entrusted to the Militia. It is the Militia, for example, which authorises public meetings, which grants Bulgarians permits to leave or re-enter the country, which—under the Soviet High Command—exercises the censorship and which claimed to have proof that the recent firing of a petrol tank at Ruschuk was Fascist sabotage. According to broadcast announcements the Militia discovered at Ruschuk a military organisation promoted by Fascist industrialists to fight the Fatherland Front. This revelation has been used as an

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incentive for the public to extirpate Fascism which is alleged to be again raising its head. The Prime Minister, M. Gheorghiev, himself claimed that there was no question of a serious Fascist threat, and it is no doubt true that the Fatherland Front—so long as it sticks together—has little to fear. But the Communists must be aware that their terrorism has made them unpopular and they seem to be bent on getting power into their own hands before the Agrarians, their more moderate partners in the Fatherland Front, capture popular support. Through the Communist Minister of the Interior the Communists already control the Militia and the secret police, and as a result there have been arrests of Agrarians all over the country on one excuse or another. The Communists appear now to be aiming at the control of the Ministry of War and the army. Two Russian-trained Generals have been made Chief of Staff and Adjutant-General, and a partisan Colonel has become Director of Military Intelligence. But whatever signs there may be of a crack in the Fatherland Front, the Soviet High Command's control over the Government and the country is complete, so much so that one of the causes of an economic crisis which is brewing is that Soviet war requirements are exhausting the resources of the country.

Turkey.

The information which emerged during the trials of war criminals at Sofia that the Filov Government asked Berlin for Turkish Thrace up to the Enos–Midia line was probably already known to Angora. It has been treated with commendable silence by Turkish commentators—except M. Yalçin, who insists that Turkey can have no faith in Bulgaria—and a Turkish Minister is being sent to Sofia.

The Turkish press continues to support British policy in Greece wholeheartedly. Reviewing the past year in the semi-official *Ulus* M. Atay made the absurd claim that Turkey's break with Germany led to Germany's withdrawal from the Balkans, but he repeated the promise that, having no territorial ambitions, Turkey would continue to co-operate with the Allies. As regards the home situation, he said, Turkey was at ease. The cost of living had gone down and there was enough food and clothing. M. Atay ended with the assertion that confidence in the Prime Minister, M. Saracoğlu, was greater than ever. It is probably true that the Government's position has become firmer, for, while many people are tired of the Popular Party, no one has yet emerged able and willing to lead a genuine opposition, and the malcontents seem perforce to have resigned themselves to a continuance of M. Saracoğlu's administration.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

The Egyptian Prime Minister has expressed to His Majesty's Ambassador his regret for the anti-British demonstrations that took place at the university on the 23rd December. Ahmad Maher Pasha explained that only irresponsible youths had taken part, and that they had not realised the gravity of their action. The Prime Minister also made a statement to the press, in which he said that he had gone unattended to the university, and had told the students that the incitement leading to the troubles, in which they had taken part, had been based on false reports, spread by paid and lying agents. He urged them not to listen in future to such would-be deceivers, and gave them a special message from King Farouk himself asking that calm should be preserved.

The Prime Minister's visit to the university seems to have had the desired effect. Except for minor unrest on the 25th December, which was promptly suppressed, the situation in Cairo has since been quiet, and the few other disturbances that took place in Alexandria and elsewhere were effectively dealt with by the Egyptian authorities. The main source of the demonstrations, which, according to the Prime Minister, were factitiously worked up by the Wafd, was popular sympathy with Ali Bereir, the Sudanese candidate for the Egyptian parliamentary elections. Fortunately Bereir was prevailed upon by the Prime Minister to withdraw his candidature, and on the 26th December he issued a statement to the press, explaining that his withdrawal was due to "high national and political considerations." Nevertheless, Bereir affirmed his "adherence to Egyptian unity of the Nile Valley, which cannot be broken, since every Sudanese has the same rights and obligations as every Egyptian." The elections are due to take place on the 8th January, and the new Parliament will meet on the 14th January.

The trial of the two Jews accused of the murder of Lord Moyne has been arranged to begin in Cairo on the 10th January. They are to be defended by Tawfiq Doss Pasha, an Egyptian Senator and well-known advocate, and another Egyptian lawyer, assisted by a British-Jewish lawyer practising in Egypt.

Mr. Shone, until recently Minister at His Majesty's Embassy at Cairo, took up his duties as His Majesty's Minister to the Levant States on the 22nd December. In their instructions to him His Majesty's Government have emphasised once more that our policy in the Levant States, while supporting the States' independence, aims at a final settlement of all questions still outstanding between them and the French by an agreement, or series of agreements, to be negotiated between them. It is, of course, realised that the fulfilment of this object will require time and patience. Since Mr. Shone's arrival he has gained the impression that the opposition to a treaty with France is even stronger than he had reason to suppose. Despite the announcement that the change of British Minister implies no change in the policy of His Majesty's Government, the feeling prevails locally that we intend to put pressure on the Levant States, and that sooner or later we shall acquiesce in the French having a privileged position in those States that is incompatible with their complete independence.

In fact, however, while it is true that we admitted in 1941 "that France should have the dominant privileged position in Syria over any other European Power," this does not mean that we favour a state of affairs in which the French would have predominance over the Syrians and Lebanese themselves. The French authorities may, of course, tend to interpret our undertakings in a sense more favourable to themselves. They certainly have in mind the Anglo-Iraqi and Anglo-Egyptian Treaties, but it looks as if they would now find much difficulty in achieving any agreement so favourable to France as those treaties have been to Great Britain.

When some weeks ago we learned that the French intended to send a cruiser to Beirut, it was feared that such a visit at this time might be provocative of trouble in the Lebanon, and we asked the French to postpone it. They, however, decided to proceed with the project, and the cruiser *Emile Bertin* duly arrived at Beirut just before Christmas. Though the arrival of the cruiser was accompanied by the despatch to Damascus of 20 French tanks, coupled with a stiff note to the Syrian Government protesting against the attitude of the press, the visit passed off without any untoward incident.

Ibn Saud is paying a visit to Mecca, where he arrived on the 28th December. On the 30th December he was to receive Abdul Rahman Azzam, the Egyptian *Amir al Hajj*, and head of the newly-created Department of Arab Affairs in the Egyptian Foreign Office.

The Persian Prime Minister is preparing a bill to provide for the formation of a Persian company to exploit the oil deposits in the north. Meanwhile the situation in northern Persia remains uneasy. Persian citizens to whom the Russians object are still being deported; there has been a clash at Shahi, in Mazanderan, between workers and gendarmerie, in which Russian troops are said to have intervened; and leaders of the "Workers' Union" have complained, at a demonstration in Tabriz, of the indifference of the central Government to the affairs of Azerbaijan.

Seyyid Zia has recaptured the limelight with an article in *Raad-i-Imruz*, repudiating the accusation that he is anti-Soviet, but making a spirited counter-attack on M. Kavtaradze. The decision of the Majlis had been made necessary by the threats and other mistakes of the Soviet representative; he (Seyyid Zia) had wished the oil concessions bill to apply only so long as foreign troops remained on Persian soil, and it would certainly not be amended during that period, or while the fate of Cabinets depended, not on the Majlis and the Shah, but on foreign Embassies and synthetic demonstrations. The Government should threaten to move the capital from Tehran if relations with foreign Powers were not clarified in the near future.

ERRATUM.

Summary No. 272, "Middle East," page 15, 2nd paragraph, last line but one: for "classes" read "clashes."

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THE FAR EAST.

With the American forces astride the central Philippines and threatening Manila, Japanese publicity continues to express confidence in the outcome of the struggle for the archipelago. On the 29th December the Government spokesman, Iguchi, told foreign journalists that, although the Americans had penetrated the "inner circle" of Japanese defence, "they will soon find that they have entered a large trap prepared by us." On the other hand, the possibility that the Americans may reduce Japanese resistance in the Philippines and make a landing on the coast of China is apparently no longer regarded as remote, for Singapore radio broadcasting to China has been at pains to tell the Chinese that, even if the Americans do invade China, they will only meet with disaster, because "Japan's best men are in China."

If the Americans were to capture Manila while Formosa still remained in the hands of the Japanese, they would not yet be in a position to threaten the China coast north of Amoy, but with naval command of the South China Sea, they could launch attacks against either French Indo-China, the island of Hainan or the Hong Kong–Canton area. Overland contact between the Japanese forces in Indo-China and the main Manchuria–China area of Japanese continental occupation has been achieved by the recent campaign in Kwangsi, and Canton is also in communication with the army in Kwangsi via the West River, but a section of the Hankow–Canton railway in northern Kwangtung is still held by Free China troops under Yu Han-mou, preventing direct support for the Canton and Hong Kong garrisons from the Yangtse valley. A Japanese offensive to clear this last main obstacle seems to be the logical conclusion to recent Japanese strategy in China. If it were successful, it would have a political, as well as a military, importance, for it would break up the remaining military power of the old Kwangtung–Kwangsi provincial combination, which in spite of its own internal dissensions has long been a factor limiting the authority of the Central Government. As a matter of long-term political calculation, the weakening of the semi-independent power of such military-political leaders as Li Chai-sum, Chang Fa-kwei and Yu Han-mou will be greatly to the advantage of the Chungking Government (if it can itself survive intact), for, whereas Allied arms can be expected in time to reverse the Japanese conquests in the two Kwang provinces, it will be difficult for the provincial leaders to restore their shattered military and administrative power as it was before.

The Chungking Government itself will escape this kind of disintegration as long as the Japanese do not invade Szechwan. At present there is no immediate prospect of this; there are no signs of a fresh advance into Kweichow and the front in north-west Kwangsi has lapsed into inactivity. With the recession of the threat from the south spirits have risen again in Chungking, and Chiang Kai-shek has issued a New Year message to the nation in which he not only reaffirms emphatically his confidence in victory over Japan, making the most of the Chinese successes in Yunnan and Burma as evidence of what Chinese troops can do if "given proper equipment and co-operation," but also launches a political counter-offensive against the Communists by proposing to summon a People's Congress for adopting a Constitution "as soon as the military situation has become stabilised."

As far as is known, the negotiations between the Chungking Government and the Communists which have been going on for several months have now definitely broken down. Chiang Kai-shek has rejected the Communist terms for a settlement, objecting particularly to Yenan's sweeping demands for autonomy of Communist administration in areas outside the so-called "Border Region." Even more fundamental has been the divergence of views with regard to the formation of a coalition Government at the centre. On this subject the Communist leader, Mao Tse-tung, told the correspondent of the *New York Times* at Yenan in October that the Communists were unwillingly to join such a Government merely by invitation, because this would be "too much like attending a political banquet." What they wanted was to participate in the selection of the Government "on a democratic basis," and for this purpose they demanded the summoning of "an emergency convention composed of delegates from all political parties, people's associations, cultural organisations, universities and other representative bodies in China." This convention would consist of "from 40 to 100 delegates"; its first business would be to "abolish all existing laws and ordinances that infringe on civil rights," and then it should elect a Government "capable of carrying out the new principles." After the war this

Government would be charged with the responsibility of convoking a People's Congress to adopt a Constitution.

The aim of such a proposal was clearly to make the coalition Government responsible not to the Head of the State or the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee (which would mean that the Communist Ministers could at any time be pushed out, leaving the Kuomintang with the legal executive power), but to a body which, consisting mainly of delegates from "people's associations," "cultural organisations" and what not, might be expected to be refractory to Kuomintang control. Such a body, however, would not necessarily be "democratic"; whether it could be rightly so called would depend on the extent of membership of the electing bodies and the manner in which their representatives were chosen. Moreover, this electorate has had hitherto no legal existence, and as there is no general principle by which it could be formed, it would have to be created by an agreement between the Kuomintang and the Communists, who would have jointly to decide what organisations were to send delegates, what voting power should be allotted to them, and how their representatives should be elected. But, as goodwill between the Kuomingtang and the Communists is the one thing lacking at the start, a scheme which depends on their agreement on so complex an issue can hardly hold out the prospect of a solution of the conflict between the two armed factions.

Nevertheless, any such proposals are embarrassing to the Kuomintang, which has recently been made to feel acutely aware of its lack of democratic legitimacy. It is not merely that its present régime is that of a one-party State (which would not make China unique among the United Nations), but it has not so far supported itself by even the formality of popular elections. In these circumstances Chiang Kai-shek's response to domestic and foreign criticism of his rule as undemocratic and to the Communist proposals for an "emergency convention" has been to announce the convening of the postponed People's Congress at an earlier date than he had previously promised. The People's Congress was to have been held in November, 1937, and "elections" for it were going on during 1936–37, but it was postponed owing to the outbreak of the war with Japan. It was again scheduled to assemble in Chungking in November 1940, but was again postponed on the ground that it was impossible under war-time conditions for some of the delegates to reach the capital. Recently the Generalissimo promised that it would be convened within a year after the end of the war. The new announcement certainly advances the date, but is still somewhat indefinite. What the Generalissimo said, as reported by Chungking radio in English, was: "We must prepare for the convening of a People's Congress this year to promulgate a Constitution. . . . . I do not feel the necessity to wait until the end of the war to call a People's Congress. I am ready to propose at once to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang that, as soon as the military situation has become stabilised enough for us to launch counter-offensives with greater assurance of victory, we should convene a People's Congress and adopt a Constitution which would enable the Kuomintang to transfer the power of government to the people." Since this announcement was made, however, Dr. T. F. Tsiang, Counsellor to the Executive Yuan, has stated that it does not give a guarantee that the Congress will be convened this year.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The 79th Congress convened on Wednesday, the 3rd January, with fateful problems before it. They include the question of universal military training; the broadening of the social security programme; wage stabilisation, price controls and revision of the tax structure; the reconversion of industry to civilian needs to secure full employment after the war; the strengthening of the labour laws, particularly those dealing with the War Labour Board, and, above all, the groundwork to establish an international security organisation to ensure "lasting peace." The President will deliver his traditional message on "the state of the Union" on Saturday, the 6th January, and, according to press reports, either then or in his inaugural address on the 28th January, will deal with Anglo-American relations. It is expected also that he will deal not only with international political relations, which have obviously deteriorated, but also with international economic relations, since the rest of the world is waiting to know the policy which is likely to be pursued by the world's leading creditor nation.

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Without any doubt 1944 closed upon what, if American public opinion were taken as a guide, had all the appearance of being the lowest point in Allied unity since the war began, and with a painful resurgence of Anglophobia and, to a slightly lesser extent, of Russophobia in the United States. Perturbation about European political affairs is, no doubt, genuine, but there is also a general, if temporary, feeling of cynical disenchantment, and a quite deplorable tendency to attribute to this country the lowest motives. Both Britain and Russia are regarded as pursuing "power politics" (itself an emotional phrase), and the mood in the United States is now one of baffled disillusionment and pessimism rather than of anger. All this, though serious, should not be taken too tragically. An article in the *Economist*, describing American complaints of Britain as "intolerable" and calling upon the Prime Minister to stop "appeasing" the United States, has been widely quoted and commented on, and Mr. Elmer Davis, Director of the Office of War Information, has appealed to the American people not to inflame differences among the Allies. They could not, he maintained, reasonably expect all the principles of the Atlantic Charter to be put into force at once or even at the end of the war.

Criticism of the Allies, however, shows a tendency to give way to a demand for a clear-cut statement of American foreign policy itself. Mr. Walter Lippmann, for example, has asserted that American foreign policy has been "based on a radically false conception of war diplomacy." Up to date, says Mr. Lippmann, the United States have taken the position that the settlement of all political problems should wait until after the war, when the international security organisation may be established. But this position, he argues, is neither possible nor desirable. "All great strategical decisions of war are political as well as military." The United States must cease to evade "the practical issue" and must recognise the error of "the policy of postponement"; otherwise it will be unable to assume "leadership." In Congress, on the radio and in the press there is some echo of these views, or at least a demand for a clarification of America's position.

Meanwhile, Mr. Churchill's high courage in visiting Athens has again captured the American imagination. Even the Scripps Howard Press, which has condemned British policy in liberated territories, expressed the view that "Mr. Churchill has again turned weakness into strength and once more proved himself a remarkable statesman." There is no enthusiasm for United States intervention in Greek affairs if Mr. Churchill's mission fails; on all sides, however, hope is expressed that the establishment of a Regency may lead to an early solution of the Greek problems.

As noted in these *Summaries*, during the last two or three weeks, the old isolationists have again raised their heads and voices with warning cries against European entanglements. Senator Wheeler (Democrat, Montana, and an arch-isolationist) has now taken a surprising step by tabling a resolution advocating a far greater degree of American participation in current European problems and calling for the "immediate creation of a United Nations political council to provide for the democratic settlement, in harmony with the principles of the Atlantic Charter, of territorial questions that have arisen in Europe, and that may arise elsewhere." This has been greeted in some quarters as a gratifying indication of a real change of heart, or at least as a realisation by Senator Wheeler that isolationist opinions are a political handicap. Others, looking back over the past twenty-five years, perceive rather the opening move in a new isolationist policy, argue that Senator Wheeler is convinced, for instance, that the attitude of Russia towards the Polish settlement makes the immediate acceptance of such proposals impossible, and foresee that the Senator may ingeniously attempt to justify a policy of isolationism by the argument that the major Allies have failed to live up to the terms of the Atlantic Charter.

Meanwhile, the news from the Western Front has been received with cautious optimism, though, as noted in last week's *Summary*, the German offensive has had a most sobering effect on the home front and there is a general recognition of the need for increased output in certain critical items of war production and for further restrictions in civilian consumption. There has been no grumbling, for example, over the ban on horse-racing, increased rationing, or the imposition of sanctions against employers who violate the War Man-Power Commission's regulations. In this connexion, by order of President Roosevelt, the War Department has for the second time seized ten stores and the factories of Montgomery, Ward and Co. (one of the largest department and mail order firms) for refusal to accept the directives of the National War Labour Board issued last

spring, requiring it to impose the "closed shop" principle and to deduct trade union dues from wages. Mr. Sewell Avery, the chairman of the company, is a bitter opponent of the New Deal, and the action of the Administration was no doubt hastened by reports that a strike in Montgomery Ward's in Detroit was likely to spread to other workers in war production factories in this important area. In his order the President stated that "strikes" in war time cannot be condoned, whether by workers against their employers or strikes by employers against their Government. All our energies are engrossed in fighting a war on military battle fronts. We have none to spare for war on industrial battle fronts."

(For details of previous clashes between the Administration and Montgomery Ward's, see *Summaries* Nos. 239 and 241. See also under "Latin America" and "France.")

LATIN AMERICA.

On the 27th December a report appeared in the United States Press that the Mexican Government would call a conference of American Ministers for Foreign Affairs to deal with post-war problems: no representative of Argentina would, apparently, be present, though the Argentine case might be raised at the conference. On the next day the Mexican Foreign Minister denied the accuracy of this statement and expressed his surprise that it should have been made. Nothing, he said, had so far occurred beyond an exchange of views between those Latin American States which were members of the United Nations to discover whether a conference to study post-war problems would be feasible at present. If agreement were reached on the place and agenda of such a conference, it would be called, and Mexico City would be available as its seat. According to Sr. Padilla, the question of inviting Argentina would depend on the unanimous vote of all interested American States. The conference would in any case be an extraordinary one and outside the series of which the Rio de Janeiro Conference was the third.

The Uruguayan Minister for Foreign Affairs has stated that Uruguay would attend such a conference, and mentioned that no other Governments had favoured the suggestion of Uruguay and Colombia for a preliminary informal meeting. He himself thought that a conference would do little good. Even if Argentina participated, it was unlikely that a real decision on the Argentine question would be reached, and any attempt to coerce Argentina or to treat her discourteously would be most undesirable.

The full effect of this in Argentina is difficult to gauge. It may well be interpreted as proof that the State Department will accept nothing less than the overthrow of the present régime, and General Peluffo's position will obviously be weakened as the result of the collapse of his original plan for a full Pan-American Conference. The question is now whether the international situation will play into the hands of the Nationalists, or whether the writing on the wall is plain for all to read. Colonel Perón, it is interesting to note, has lectured a group of Chilean journalists on the democratic nature of the Argentine Government. He took credit for the fact that there were not more than a thousand political prisoners in Argentina—even these, he added, were being gradually released. As for rearmament, he favoured disarmament, but he could not accept it when at the frontiers "each Argentine soldier was faced by five soldiers on the other side" (apparently a further instance of the Colonel's celebrated tact). He could not give a definite date for elections because it would take at least six months to prepare electoral lists. Asked whether he himself would run for the presidency, Colonel Perón professed to leave this matter entirely to destiny. No man, he added, could escape his destiny.

The Brazilian police have arrested about a dozen prominent civilian opponents of the régime, including Dr. Medeiros Netto, president of the Federal Senate until the dissolution of Congress in 1937. About 100 other persons have also been arrested for making "Communist," left-wing, and pro-Russian speeches. These arrests appear to have been of an admonitory nature. President Vargas's reception on a recent visit to São Paulo was markedly cool. But there are no clear signs of union among the left-wing opposition, and the military opponents of Dr. Vargas are generally thought to be unwilling to move while the war lasts. Without them, little or nothing can be accomplished.

Central America remains in a state of tension. The report that the surviving dictators (of Honduras, Nicaragua and El Salvador) have been planning to form

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a Tripartite Republic (see *Summary* No. 271) has now been amplified: representatives of the three countries are said to have met in Buenos Aires six months ago to discuss the matter, and the Guatemalan Foreign Minister has stated that this report has been verified and that the three dictator-presidents met at Amapala about Christmas. This is as it may be. What is certain is that there is now trepidation in Guatemala about the repercussions of the unsuccessful revolt in El Salvador (see *Summary* No. 273), the opponents of the Aguirre régime having received more help than was discreet from the Guatemalan junta. Sr. Toriello, a member of this, has departed for Washington, apparently to ask for arms in case of an attack from El Salvador.

On the 29th December the President of Panamá issued a decree suspending constitutional government, and convoking a national convention for the 15th June. This measure, which provoked an immediate storm, was due to the action of ten members of the National Assembly who had issued a manifesto that they would call for the election of Vice-Presidents, contrary to the understanding that there should be no pressure for a change of President until the end of the present term. The press has been gagged, and Opposition members of the National Assembly have taken refuge in the canal zone. No violence appears to have occurred, but the situation is confused, and the President, subject to pressure from all sides, is in a state of great indecision. It remains to be seen whether that arch-intriguer Arnulfo Arias is implicated in this state of affairs.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 275

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
10TH JANUARY, 1945.

Copy No. 183

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

THE German communiqués and war reports in the first week of the New Year have been concerned to show that Germany has not lost the initiative, in spite of evidence that she has been forced on to the defensive in the Ardennes sector. On the 5th January, a Front report said that "although the fighting during the last few days has changed from its originally offensive character to a stage of grim defensive fighting against the bulk of the Anglo-United States divisions assembled in the west, this fighting is fundamentally different from the defensive fighting of the last few months. Then we fought to prevent the enemy advancing further on German soil. To-day the fighting aims at repelling manœuvres to eliminate the acute danger represented to the enemy by the German offensive." The severity of the fighting is stressed, with emphasis on the heavy American losses. On the 7th January the Ardennes battle was described as "the most terrible battle of attrition of the war." Houffalize was mentioned on the 2nd and 4th January as the centre of Allied attempts to "break through." On the 2nd January the news from the western front was dominated by descriptions of a "surprise attack" by the Luftwaffe on Allied airfields in Belgium and Holland. The O.K.W. claimed heavy Allied losses. On the 3rd, Krull asserted that "the absolute air supremacy which was regarded by the enemy as their greatest trump card will be challenged if surprises of this kind are repeated."

First references to the German offensive in the south gave the impression that there were only local attacks in weakened sectors. On the 5th January the O.K.W. indicated that it was a bigger matter by saying, "the front between Sarreguemines and the Rhine is on the move." On the 6th the O.K.W. referred to the surprise thrust of German forces north of Strasbourg, and this crossing of the Rhine was said by a D.N.B. commentator to be "as much of a surprise to the Anglo-United States strategists as the beginning of the winter battle on

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the 16th December.'' On the 7th January the O.K.W. opened with the claim that '' during the last few days our troops have established a bridgehead across the Meuse at Wanssum in East Holland.

The O.K.W. has dealt only briefly with the fighting in and around Budapest. On the 6th January it announceed that the Budapest garrison continued to hold out, and front reports spoke of street fighting. For publication abroad, Schmidt called the fighting '' the fiercest and most costly since Stalingrad.'' German efforts to relieve Budapest were first mentioned on the 8th. Krull said that the gallant resistance of the garrison was tying down Russian forces and '' thus creating the basis for a turn in the situation.'' The recapture of Esztergom was announced by the O.K.W. on the 8th.

General Dittmar returned to the microphone on the second day of the New Year in order to present a profit and loss account of the military events of 1944. He was frank about critical times and situations on both the eastern and the western fronts, and in the forefront of his survey referred to the '' ever more ruthless '' air attacks on the Reich. After dealing with the collapse of the central eastern front in July he said that it would be regarded as a masterpiece of German generalship that this gap, seemingly beyond repair, was gradually closed. He insisted that only at the last moment had Germany decided on radical measures of concentration and the mobilisation of the entire resources of the nation, and suggested that such measures should have been enforced much earlier. He attributed the internal crisis of the 20th July to the impression caused by the military threat on east and west. On the credit side he used Italy, claiming that it had been '' a bright spot '' of German strategy throughout the year, although he adopted Mr. Churchill's phrase about the '' soft underbelly '' in order to say how much German stiffening the southern front had required. Among other welcome events of the year had been the emergence of a new European consciousness, presumably in Vlasov's forces), the defence of Warsaw under the very eyes of the Russians on the opposite bank of the Vistula, and the consolidation of the main fronts, which had in the west led to an actual German offensive.

Himmler, the most energetic of Germany's present masters, does not court publicity, and it is instructive to follow his activity in the sphere of appointments. Leading positions in the Reserve Army, for example, were filled late in 1944 by men taken from high posts in the Waffen S.S. Early in November General Osterkamp, since 1940 head of the Administration Office in the High Command of the Army, was decorated, retired (to be subsequently appointed to command Wehrkreis XII) and succeeded by August Frank, promoted two days later to the rank of S.S. General. Similarly, Hans Jüttner, chief of the Central Appointments Office of the S.S., was made chief of the Army General Division and permanent representative of the Reich Leader S.S. as Commander of the Reserve Army. The tendency in such appointments is fairly clear, which is more than can be said of recent changes in administrative posts. The most important of these is possibly the removal of Hans von Helms from charge of a Department in the Ministry of the Interior to be acting Landeshauptmann of Westphalia. In normal times this latter would not be thought an important post, since the Landeshauptmann, being in charge of provincial self-administration, is under the supervision of the Oberpräsident, who is the Gauleiter of Northern Westphalia. In the adjacent province of Hanover the Gauleiter, incapacitated by a car accident, has appointed as Oberpräsident in his place, not his deputy, Bredow, but a younger man, Binding, hitherto Regierungspräsident of Hildesheim.

Propaganda regarding the Volkssturm continues to run well ahead of the known facts. It is reported that in central Germany west of Berlin the numbers of volunteers have been exceedingly small and that some conscripted men have not received any drill. The Deputy Gauleiter of Vienna recently described the formation of the Volkssturm as the final stage in the National-Socialist revolution, whereby the people had become sovereign. Rightly regarded, the Volkssturm was the Führer's greatest political creation; it proved his confidence in every citizen. Evidence of the lack of such confidence has increased of late, particularly as regards the careful selection of officers according to their political reliability. A recent directive, emanating from Hitler's Headquarters, reveals that men with actual military experience can only be considered for appointment as battalion commanders if they have already proved themselves good Party members. The same point emerges from a verbose press agency account of the 28th December, 1944, which endeavours to explain that mere military ability does not make a good Volkssturm leader: the first prerequisite is loyalty to the Führer. A man '' may have been a good superior officer in the army and yet in the Volkssturm be best suited for a place in the ranks.''

Germany is exporting to Sweden textiles which are badly needed by both the soldiers and the civilians of the Reich, whose needs cannot be met by her own industries, some of which are crippled by bombardment. Nothing is done for civilians, but they are asked, as every year, to contribute clothing for the army. Last week's appeal for garments '' of every description '' was more urgent and circumstantial than usual. It was signed by Bormann, Funk, Goebbels and Himmler, and pointed out that military demands were heavily increased by those of the People's Grenadiers and the Volkssturm. The tone recalled that of the appeals for winter clothing to be sent to the eastern front in 1941 and 1942. It did not disguise the fact that in this sphere, as in so much else, the front depends on the efforts of those at home.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

Despite the increased German pressure on the south bank of the Danube, which has forced the Red Army to yield up Esztergom, the Russians have continued to press forward to the west on the Slovak side of the river. Having crossed the Hron they have advanced some 15 miles towards Komárno and the River Nitra, which represents the last natural obstacle before Bratislava, now about 65 miles distant.

The chief event of the past week in Slovakia was a visit to Bratislava by General Dittmar, who delivered an address there on the 4th January. The Premier and other members of the Slovak Government were present as well as the leaders of the German Ethnic Group. The speech was typical of current German propaganda, its themes being Germany's marvellous recovery from the set-backs of 1944, the fissures appearing in the Allied coalition, the chaos in the liberated countries and the indications of Allied war weariness.

Czechoslovak official circles in London have made no comment on the action of the Lublin Committee in declaring itself the Provisional Government of Poland. The current issue of the Communist weekly, *Nové Československo*, however, contains an editorial article acclaiming the step and calling for Czechoslovak recognition of the Lublin Provisional Government.

POLAND.

The proclamation of the '' Provisional Government '' in Lublin, reported in the last *Summary*, was quickly followed by a request from its President for recognition by the U.S.S.R. This recognition was given on the 5th January, and ambassadors were exchanged; M. Victor Lebedev, formerly Soviet envoy to the Allied Governments in London, being appointed to Lublin, while the Lublin envoy in Moscow is M. Zygmunt Modzelewski (see also under '' Soviet Union ''). The Polish Government in London has issued a statement in which it is urged that '' Soviet recognition is a direct violation of the fundamental rights of the Polish nation.'' In Washington a spokesman of the State Department said that his Government had nothing to add to Mr. Stettinius' new year statement reported in the last *Summary*.

The Polish Peasant Party in London (M. Mikolajczyk's party) has stated that '' if the Allied Governments were to recognise the Lublin administration, they would thereby make themselves accomplices in an attempt to impose a Communist Government in Poland as a preliminary to the complete absorption of Poland by the Soviet Union.''

The National Homeland Council's meeting in Lublin last week, at which the change of title was proclaimed, is reported to have been attended by 105 members, including a number from German-occupied Poland and one Pole from East Prussia. M. Morawski made a long speech in the Council, outlining, among other things, plans for taking over the rest of Poland when liberated; for settling Poles from outside Poland there; for land reform, social reform and training of teachers; for rebuilding industry; for extending the use of tractors with the help of peasants' co-operatives; and for enlarging the army. General Zymierski also spoke at length on the Polish army in Poland and the need for completely reversing the foreign policy of the late Colonel Beck. The army, he said, now contained 10 infantry divisions, an armoured corps, two armoured brigades, an air force, 12 independent divisions and brigades of artillery, one cavalry brigade, engineers' and sappers' brigades, and a medical corps. It now had 30,000 officers and 15,000 cadets undergoing instruction. He was confident, he added,

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"that those who covered Polish arms with glory in the battles of Italy, France and Holland will, by breaking with their reactionary command, contribute through their struggle to the attaining of a free and democratic Poland." This phase is characterised by the Polish Government in London as a direct incitement to mutiny.

The attitude in Lublin towards M. Mikolajczyk has hardened. M. Morawski has said of him that although he has not joined M. Arciszewski's Government he has not declared himself against M. Arciszewski, nor broken off relations with the "Polish reactionaries" in London. "By this attitude he has condemned himself to isolation from the masses of the Polish people." "In such circumstances," M. Bierut observed on the 1st January, "I assess negatively any chances of agreement." M. Mikolajczyk's name is even reported to have been included in a list of London Polish leaders in favour of whose exclusion from Poland the "Peasant Party Congress" in Lublin passed a resolution last week.

Comment in the Soviet press has been copious on the transformation of the Polish Committee of National Liberation into the "Provisional Government of Poland," and its subsequent recognition by the U.S.S.R. *Izvestia* hailed the change as "the most important event in all Poland's history," and all papers claimed that it had been achieved on the unanimous demand of the population of the whole of liberated Poland. Both *Izvestia* and *Pravda* were unsparing in their castigation of the Polish Government in exile, which by "its anti-national anti-democratic policy had brought about its own utter isolation from the Polish people." Its "criminal political intrigues" aimed at undermining the unity of the anti-Hitler coalition, at destroying "the tender roots of the democratic sovereignty of Poland," had, however, been brought to nought; and even circles still openly sympathising with the Polish reactionaries had now to admit that "the emigré cabinet was only hanging by a thread."

The decision to recognise the Lublin Committee's new status, taken by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on the 5th January, was treated by *Pravda* as a natural and logical consequence of the Soviet policy of maintaining and consolidating friendly relations with democratic Poland. *The War and the Working Class* maintained that the "Provisional Government" would soon "take its merited place among the Allied Governments and be accorded recognition by them." Mihailov, in a broadcast from Moscow, claimed that the new democratic Poland had become an important factor in European politics, and treated the case of Poland as only "one of many instances of the establishment and organisation of the democratic forces of the European peoples which were making themselves more and more actively felt."

On the 8th January a statement was put out by the secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. M. Gorkin, decrying rumours circulating in the foreign press that M. Bierut, President of the Polish National Council of the Homeland, had been arrested under the Pilsudski régime and exchanged for a certain Pole in custody in the U.S.S.R. by agreement between the Governments of the U.S.S.R. and of Poland. The issue of such a statement from the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet is highly unusual.

ERRATUM.

In *Summary* No. 274, under "Poland" line 10, the number of members of the Workers' Party was wrongly given as 5, instead of 4.

SOVIET UNION.

The main interest of the fighting on the Soviet-German front this week has centred round the battle for Budapest. Inside the city the Red army is slowly but methodically advancing block by block, against stubborn resistance. To the north-west a German counter-attack south of the Danube has met with some success, and on the 7th January the Soviet communiqué announced the abandonment of Esztergom. No further withdrawal has been announced, however, and on the other side of the Danube the Red army has crossed the Hron and advanced more than half the distance between that river and Komarno. The continuance of this push suggests that the Soviet High Command is confident of its ability to hold the German thrust in the opposite direction on the southern bank of the Danube.

M. Zaslavsky has reviewed Sir Edward Grigg's book "British Foreign Policy" at length in *Bolshevik*. The review is favourable, and Sir Edward Grigg's chapters on the British Government's European policy between the two

wars are described as the writing of a realist with a clear understanding of his country's vital interests. M. Zaslavsky quotes with approval the author's rejection of a western *bloc* as a repetition of the errors which gave rise to the second world war. M. Zaslavsky's main criticism, in line with current Soviet utterances, is that Sir Edward Grigg underestimates the tenacity of Fascist ideas and crypto-Fascist organisations, and that more determined action will be needed to lay the foundations of peace than the author envisages.

The full text is now available of the article on the plans of the Habsburgs in Europe noted in *Summary* No. 271. In connexion with alleged Papal support for the schemes of Otto and his uncle, Prince Rupert of Bavaria, for setting up a new Catholic State in Central Europe, *The War and the Working Class* repeated the note of hostility to the Vatican sounded last week in *Izvestiya* (see *Summary* No. 274). Basing itself on foreign press reports that both Prince Rupert and his nephew were to be received at the Vatican, the article claimed that they had found in the Pope "a producer who would stage their monarchical farce as if it were a solemn mystery." *Pravda*, in its international review of the 8th January, also returned to the charge, maintaining that the Pope was attempting to prevent Hitler's accomplices from having to answer for their crimes. The fact that certain American newspapers had taken up the Pope's theme of a "just peace" which, according to him, implied no distinction between victor and vanquished, showed that his Christmas message had been directly used by those to whom it was addressed, *i.e.*, by pro-Fascist elements attempting to cover up with the authority of the Church the wicked deeds of the Hitlerites. Such elements, according to *Pravda*, were hoping at least to save Hitler's legacy if they could not save Hitler himself.

For the Soviet decision on the 5th January to recognise the Provisional National Government of the Polish Republic, see under "Poland." M. Victor Lebedev, appointed as Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to Poland, is a man of 44; he was Counsellor at the Soviet Legation in Belgrade in 1940–41, and in 1943 was made Ambassador to the Allied Governments in London. For the appointment of General Catroux as French Ambassador in Moscow, see under "France."

It was reported on the 4th January that M. Molotov had received M. Janos Gyöngyösi, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Provisional National Government of Hungary.

The recent celebration in Tashkent of the 20th anniversary of the Uzbek S.S.R. was marked by the attendance of a delegation of 11 Persians (accompanied by the Soviet Consul-General in Meshed, M. Abramov) representing the Persian Society for Cultural Relations with the U.S.S.R. The Persian guests are reported as paying tribute to the progress made by Uzbekistan under the "constant solicitude of Marshal Stalin." They were received by the President of the Moslem Ecclesiastical Board of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, Ishan Babakhan Abdumadjidkhanov, who talked to them about Moslem affairs in Central Asia and the part played by Soviet Moslems in the war against Hitlerite Germany. The delegation was entertained to dinner by the new Uzbek Commissar for Foreign Affairs, M. Aliev. Some weeks ago a Persian delegation attended the celebration of the 20th anniversary of the Turkmen S.S.R. (see *Summary* No. 272). These visits are no doubt not unconnected with the Soviet-Persian oil conflict and the Soviet effort to play the Moslem card in this affair. (See also under "Middle East.")

Following a very belated announcement by *Tass* of the departure of a group of Soviet Moslem pilgrims for Mecca (which they had not visited since 1926), the Mufti of Russia, Abdur Rahman Zainullah Raisuli, made a public statement recalling the hardships imposed on Moslems in the Tsarist Empire, and their progress under the Soviet régime, concluding with a vivid picture of Moslem sufferings during the war with Germany.

SCANDINAVIA.

In spite of the correct behaviour of the Soviet authorities in Finland, widespread fears are reported to exist in that country that its independence is ultimately threatened. But while the new situation undoubtedly affords encouragement for the growth of domestic Communism—hitherto suppressed, but probably always possessing considerable latent strength—there seems no reason to suppose that fears of absorption have any serious foundation. The analogy of the Baltic States is fallacious, since the occupation of these small countries had an

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obvious strategic motive which in Finland is adequately satisfied by the terms at present imposed, while the economic incentive presented by the Baltic ports hardly applies to Finland.

There are, however, signs that events in other countries liberated from German occupation or hoping shortly to be so, and the expectation—well-founded or not—of Soviet support, have encouraged Scandinavian Communists to adopt a more intransigent attitude *vis-à-vis* the more moderate elements in the local resistance movements. Norwegian and Danish Communists have commented on the Greek situation in extremely tendentious terms: the secret broadcasting station, "Norges Frihet," which is obviously under Communist control, speaks of fights "between the Greek Quislings and reactionary forces, on the one hand, supported most energetically by the British troops, and the Greek army of liberation on the other." An even more violent expression of Communist opinion was voiced in a recent issue of the Danish-language paper *Kurer*, published in this country as the organ of the Danish Seamen's Union. This paper went so far as to suggest a refusal by Danish seamen to carry supplies to Greece. The opposition to the post-war plans of the Norwegian Government, of which the formation of the Union of Norwegian Patriots referred to in last week's *Summary* appears to be a symptom, is probably a further instance of growing Communist assertiveness and ambition, and the same characteristics are becoming noticeable in the relations between the Communist elements of the Danish Freedom Council and the more moderate side of the resistance movement represented by former members of the Rigsdag. Attempts are, however, continuously being made to reconcile these opposing forces.

These internal conflicts, however, have in no way interfered with the useful work being performed by the resistance movements. In Denmark, an outstanding success was achieved on the 2nd January, when a band of about eighty saboteurs, armed with a 20-mm. automatic gun, stormed and wrecked the Torotor factory in Copenhagen, which was said to be used for the manufacture of essential parts of the steering mechanism for German V2 rockets. A successful raid was also made recently on the Horsens prison, from which fifteen political prisoners were liberated, including the captain who was responsible for the escape of M. Christmas Möller from Denmark. In Norway, too, the destruction by fire, following an explosion, of the headquarters of the Borgervakt in Oslo, towards the end of the year, has obviously contributed to minimising the response to summonses to attend for service in this organisation; those who have complied are now estimated to be no more than 1 per cent. of those called up. The police are also reported to have refused in a great many cases to seek out and arrest the recalcitrants.

A recent Gallup Poll in Sweden on the question which two events in 1944 had created the strongest impression appears to throw an unfavourable light either on the intelligence of average public opinion or on the trustworthiness of this form of enquiry. By far the highest proportion of votes—49 per cent.—went to the sinking of the *Hansa*, the invasion of France being a bad second with 36 per cent., while the surrender of Paris and the crossing of the German frontier each achieved no more than 1 per cent. The murder of the Danish poet Kaj Munk attracted 23 per cent. of the votes, while the attempt on the life of Hitler only received 11 per cent. The distress in North Norway achieved 12 per cent. and the Russo-Finnish armistice 10 per cent. Interest in bomb incidents diminished, perhaps naturally, with distance from the centre; Russian bombs on Stockholm attracted 6 per cent., but on Haparanda only 2 per cent., while the latter figure tied with that occasioned by the flying-bomb attacks on England.

LOW COUNTRIES.

A long speech by Seyss-Inquart was broadcast to the Dutch on the 7th. The Reich Commissar explained at length that the Germans had done all they could to make the Occupation as little of a burden as possible to the Dutch. Until September they had seen to it that the rations were adequate. But afterwards things had deteriorated and now the situation in the Netherlands was characterised "by hunger, cold and misery." Transport difficulties were, of course, largely responsible for the shortage of food and coal. The railway strike, however, was not causing the German authorities any anxiety, though it was injuring the Dutch. Seyss-Inquart was at pains to state that none of the strikers had been persecuted, and to add that the strikers had been dismissed, and would obtain work again only to the extent which the Occupation authorities decided; certainly, those who had been in responsible positions would not be reinstated;

they would be called to account, but there was no hurry about that. On the other hand, the Reich Commissar showed more anxiety in his references to the "standstill of inland shipping"; if the Dutch were to receive supplies of food and coal a tonnage of 100–150,000 would be required; in point of fact, a far greater tonnage was available. The German authorities had declared that ships so employed and furnished with proper certificates would not be requisitioned. When, therefore, a Dutchman saw a ship hidden in a small side-canal he should ask himself whether that craft and its skipper were not partly responsible for the shortages. If the Dutch would co-operate, the Germans would ensure the distributions of food and coal. If, indeed, the latter were not made available, the pumping stations would cease to work for lack of power and large parts of the country, including Rotterdam, would be flooded.

Certain other points in Seyss-Inquart's speech also deserve mention. He admitted that quantities of industrial equipment were being exported to the Reich and that Dutchmen aged 17–40 were being called up for labour, many of them for labour in the Reich; the call-up had unhappily been attended by painful circumstances, very distressing to the "sentimental" Germans. But Germany must do all she could to strengthen herself in a total war, and conditions for persons called up would have been much better had they been willing to do what they were told. Finally the Reich Commissar alluded to the Dutch resistance organisations in terms which showed that he regarded them as dangerous and declared that all who joined them placed themselves outside the laws of war.

If Seyss-Inquart's speech be considered as a whole, it is a fair inference that the Dutch are causing the Germans a lot of trouble. His references to inland water transport are particularly illuminating, while his nonchalant treatment of the railway strike looks very much like bluff.

M. R. Motz, President of the Belgian Liberal Party, has written an article in the Brussels *Soir* on the food shortage in his country. He says that while Belgium must make the best use of such resources as she possessed at home, she is in great need of imports from the Congo, particularly of vegetable oils. The Congo had made a great contribution to the Allied war effort and it would be a measure of pure justice to make available a part of Belgium's merchant navy for the importation of food from the Congo to Belgium. At the present moment the hearts of the Belgians were full of affection for the British. It would be a thousand pities if that affection were to be diminished by the belief—albeit false—that Belgium was not being fairly treated.

The Belgian Minister of Supply (see *Summary* No. 271) subsequently stated that during his recent visit to London he had obtained promises that some sardines and oil for margarine would forthwith be sent to Belgium from Britain and that during the present month shipping would be made available for the transport of food from the Congo and from the United States.

See also under "Vatican."

FRANCE.

A communiqué published in the French press of the 6th January stated that General de Gaulle conferred with Mr. Churchill and General Eisenhower at Allied Headquarters on the 3rd and that at the end of the Conference the General had a talk with the Prime Minister.

President Roosevelt's cordial references to France in his Message to Congress have given great satisfaction, not least his statement that "we are now about to equip large new French forces with the most modern weapons for combat duty." It and the conference just mentioned have been interpreted by the Paris correspondent of *The Times* as pointing to the recognition of a larger French share in the direction of Allied military operations, which are now, as the result of the German thrusts, taking place to a wider extent than expected upon French soil.

The French desire for a strong army has become all the stronger since the launching of the new German offensive in Alsace which has led to the Allied evacuation of Wissembourg and to a German crossing of the Rhine a few miles North of Strasbourg. The French home service radio of the 8th January admitted a "momentary panic"—transformed by German propaganda into a mass evacuation—but asserted that the people had been reassured by the promise from the United States General commanding the sector that "Strasbourg and Alsace will be defended."

In an interview with a representative of *Résistance*, M. Diethelm, Minister for War, said that if the war lasted a few months longer France would by the end

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of it have an army of more than 650,000 men. The post-war army of the future would, however, have to be very different from the old one; it would be a limited army of specialists, technicians and tacticians, always ready to strike hard and promptly at any time and place, should the defence of the Empire and of international conventions demand it. At the same time, however, training centres should be set up where the entire class mobilised could during a short period of military service receive "the fundamental military and patriotic training indispensable to all citizens of a great nation." In a later statement M. Diethelm gave details about the new call-up recently announced by General de Gaulle (see last *Summary*). The mobilisation of the 1943 class would proceed regionally and in groups according to the accommodation and equipment available. The 1944 class would be called up in the same way, at the end of March, and the 1945 class would follow at the end of April as soon as barrack-space, clothing and equipment allowed.

General de Larminat, Commander-in-Chief of the French Forces in the West, has told a correspondent of the *Aube* that traffic in almost all the Atlantic ports save Brest and Bayonne is entirely paralysed. For the moment the situation on the front had been stabilised and his duty was to see that the German garrisons continued to be surrounded. In spite of being ill-clad and ill-shod, his men showed a remarkable spirit.

Following upon the last debate of the Consultative Assembly, the Minister of Finance has obtained approval for a draft ordinance on fiscal charges. Though the measures proposed involve the raising of the level at which income tax becomes payable from 10,000 fr. to 20,000 fr., revenue from this tax is not expected to decrease in view of the general rise of wages. There is also to be an increase in the amounts of the taxes which local authorities can impose, in particular the entertainment tax. On the 3rd January the Council of Ministers further approved a 40 per cent. rise in passenger railway fares and a 70 per cent. increase in freight charges; an ordinance reducing the number of judges in courts of first instance from three to one—a measure intended to speed up the course of justice; and an ordinance restoring and extending the principle of free secondary education, which had been reversed by Vichy.

The Council of Ministers on the 30th December approved an ordinance announcing important reforms covering salaries and pensions in the civil service to take effect as from the 1st February. To overcome anomalies and meet hardships caused by the present rise in the cost of living, all posts have been classified in one or other of 62 new categories, each of which will carry a minimum salary representing an increase above the present rates. The new basic salaries will range from 36,000 fr. per annum to 450,000 fr. in the highest grade (*e.g.*, President of the Court of Appeal). Family allowances are to be increased and a new system of compulsory savings will be introduced for all officials drawing more than 100,000 fr. per annum.

It was officially announced in the French press of the 31st December that General Catroux, Minister Delegate for North Africa, had been appointed French Ambassador in Moscow. His post in North Africa will not necessarily be filled, as questions concerning that area can be handled with less confusion by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs and of the Interior.

By a Government decision Oradour-sur-Glane, near Limoges, the scene of the German mass-outrage of the 10th June last (see *Summaries* Nos. 249–251) is to be kept uninhabited and unchanged as a memorial to the victims. A new village will be built near.

On the 5th January the press announced the arrest in Paris of MM. Lemaigre-Dubreuil and Rigaud (see *Summary* No. 245). The death sentence on Henri Béraud (see last *Summary*) was the subject of an article of protest in the *Figaro* by M. Mauriac, who said there had been no evidence that he had been a collaborator and that bad causes should not be provided with martyrs. Béraud's appeal has since been rejected. Paul Chack (see *Summary* No. 272) was executed on the 9th January (see also under "Italy" and "Middle East").

SWITZERLAND.

As is customary, the Federal Council, at is first meeting in the New Year on the 4th January, allocated its members to the various Departments. The Political Department which deals with foreign affairs, was assigned to Dr. Petitpierre, of Neuchâtel: he thus takes the place of M. Pilet-Golaz who resigned from the Federal Council in November. It is understood that

M. Pilet-Golaz's departure is not primarily due to the failure of his negotiations with the U.S.S.R. but to his feeling that the new situation which Switzerland will have to face in liberated Europe needs to be handled by someone who does not suffer under the disability of having been in relations with the Governments of Hitler, Mussolini and Pétain. Though, as stated in *Summary* No. 272, Dr. Petitpierre was nominated for the Federal Council by the Radical Democrats, the Catholic Conservatives and the Farmers' Party, he is considered to be more acceptable to the Social Democrats than his predecessor, and his appointment is therefore likely to improve the relations between the Social Democrats and the *bourgeois* parties. Dr. Petitpierre is 45 years of age and has been Professor of Private International Law at the University of Neuchâtel since 1939.

Prognostications in the United States press of an intensification of Allied pressure against Swiss-German trade relations led, on the 5th January, to a statement by M. Hotz, Director of the Commerce Division of the Federal Department of Public Economy. As regards the export of Swiss products to Germany, M. Hotz said these had been reduced to the "strict minimum" needed to secure from Germany materials vital to Switzerland, cut off as she was from the sea. As regards transit traffic, Switzerland had loyally observed her international engagements and had at no time during the war permitted the through transport of war materials. The Swiss people were unanimous in feeling that there was no need for pressure to be put upon them and they would not give in to it.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

Some publicity has been given to the refusal to Dr. Negrín, the former Republican Prime Minister of Spain, of facilities for broadcasting from London last week to a Spanish democratic meeting organised in New York by the American periodical the *Nation*. The Foreign Office informed Dr. Negrín that he could send his message by telegram to the meeting, which he did. The decision was made for two reasons. First, the radio telephone service (by which the broadcast would be made) is available only for Government or Government-sponsored calls, press calls, or approved broadcast messages: it is heavily burdened, and its use is very strictly controlled. To grant Dr. Negrín the use of it for political purposes would certainly bring legitimate complaints from others who have been refused permission in the past. Secondly, Dr. Negrín was allowed to come to Great Britain as a refugee on the understanding that he would not indulge in any political activities. Since a London weekly has stated that Dr. Negrín's stay in England was not conditional, it may be said that on the 22nd November, 1939, Señor Azcárate, ex-Republican Spanish Ambassador in London, who had enquired whether a visa could be granted to enable him to come to England from France, was informed that a visa for three weeks would be granted provided he gave an undertaking that Dr. Negrín would not indulge in any political activity. As Dr. Negrín's sponsor, Señor Azcárate accepted that condition in a letter dated the 24th November, 1939. Dr. Negrín did not avail himself of the visa until the fall of France, when his departure had become a matter of personal urgency. He arrived in this country, in fact, as a political refugee, and was bound by the conditions on which the visa was granted to him.

When the Portuguese Cabinet was remodelled last September, the change was summarised in the words "all Dr. Salazar seems to have done is to fit a set of new tyres: the engine remains the same." (See *Summary* No. 258). Since then the new men have shown themselves as firm in their Nationalist faith as their predecessors, and quite as subservient to Dr. Salazar in spirit and action. It may be said, however, that the Ministers have displayed an intense preoccupation with the problems of economic and social reform and an ostensibly strong desire to combat the abuses that flourish so abundantly in the Portuguese Corporative State. Acting upon the principles of discipline and intregity, they have bestirred themselves to travel the country, investigating the conduct of their various administrations, agriculture, public works, education, police and public health. The press are giving full support to the commendable activities of these brave new brooms, and abuses are incessantly ventilated and reforms demanded in the columns of the newspapers. The effect of such publicity is healthy, and many a shady local official has been temporarily shaken back into the straight path of duty.

But whether the efforts being made by the Government and the press will achieve solid results in the field of social reform is questionable. This is a country where imaginative idealists, "putting the will for the deed and aiming

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of that nation, among whom we lived many years '' (*i.e.*, Germany, where he spent fifteen years). '' Then came to us from every continent the sons of the other side. We receive them conscious that the Catholic Church embraces all nations and that the Vicar of Christ belongs to all.''

The Pope's Christmas Eve Message was the basis of an article on International Affairs in the Dutch Catholic paper *Eindhovensch Dagblad*, of the 28th December, where it was argued that, since the New League of Nations must have a spiritual foundation, the Pope must be a member of it, and that other Christian Churches must be represented too. It mentioned by name the '' Œcumenic Movement.'' The Message provoked no reaction in Germany; but the German Ambassador to the Holy See expressed his shocked surprise at its attitude to the Peace Settlement. The shock probably came from the Pope's assumption '' that peoples to whose Governments, or perhaps even partially to themselves, the responsibility for the war is attributed, should have for a time to undergo the rigours of security measures.'' (See *Summary* No. 273, under '' Germany,'' for von Weizsaecker's recent activities at the Vatican.)

Vatican Wireless on the 2nd January condemned the Italian Christian Left Party, the Sinistra Christiana, pointing out that it was the former Communist Catholic Party, and that, despite its name, its principles and tendencies did not agree with the teaching of the Church.

Any hopes of granting a regular monthly quota of entry and exit permits for visitors to the Vatican have been dashed by the greatly increased activity of the Enemy Intelligence Service.

SOUTH-EAST EUROPE.

Hungary.

A curious military situation has developed in Hungary, as while the Soviets have advanced further north of the Danube, the German counter-offensive south of that river met with some initial success. Esztergom was recaptured, and heavy fighting went on west and south of that city, reaching a point only some 15 miles from Buda. Meanwhile, in the capital, Soviet and Roumanian troops have made considerable further progress, in hard fighting, towards the heart of the city, the greater part of which they now hold.

The armistice delegation sent by the Debrecen Government is still awaiting in Moscow. In Liberated Hungary, the administration is being restored and reorganised.

Roumania.

General Radescu has broadcast to the Foreign press an appeal to the Allies and the Soviet Government in particular for understanding and assistance in carrying out the obligations imposed by the Armistice, and especially asking that compliance with the terms will not be made impossible by depriving Roumania of the means of production. In a statement to the Roumanian press the Prime Minister's argument is stated with somewhat greater emphasis, but this statement has not been allowed to become public. As a result of strong representations by His Majesty's Government, the Soviet Government have instructed their authorities in Roumania that the removal of oilfield equipment is to cease, and the Astra Ruat plant is to remain and to be put into operation in Roumania. The Soviet Government have not accepted our contention that the material concerned is not legitimate war booty a view which was strongly upheld in an article in the *New York Times* on the 28th December, and further reply is being sent to them on this and other aspects of the problem.

In Moldavia as a result of Communist activity combined with the fact that the province has been cut off from communication with the central authority, there has been some disorder and setting up of unauthorised local administrations in an irregular fashion. The trouble is now at an end, and the officials nominated by a special mission which had been sent to Moldavia had been confirmed in their appointments.

The question of shortage of railway transport is being dealt with by a commission in Moscow headed by the Minister of Communications.

The Soviet Government has decided to deport to Russia a large proportion of the Germanic population of Roumania to provide labour during the continuance of the war. Men between the ages of 16 and 40, and women between 18 and 35 are involved. Children are not to accompany them, and only nursing mothers are exempt. They are to be well treated and allowed to write letters home!

By way of keeping up the '' musical comedy '' character of Roumania of which so much is heard, 107 members of the former Iron Guard who had been imprisoned have been allowed forty-eight hours' Christmas leave!

Yugoslavia.

Wintry conditions have rendered operations difficult. There has been no change in Slavonia. The Germans have continued their retreat in the Sandjak and Bosnia, and are making efforts to eliminate the Partisans from a defensive zone in Slovenia.

The Macedonian Partisan Assembly (A.S.N.O.M.) sat on the 28th–30th December. Representatives of the Bulgarian Government and Fatherland Front and of Bulgarian Macedonia spoke. Kardelj, Tito's political expert, exhorted his hearers, having achieved military victory, to win political success as well. With thinly-veiled reference to Greece, he said that '' solemn undertakings not to interfere in the internal affairs '' of small countries were being '' treated as scraps of paper.'' He made no reference to territorial claims on behalf of Macedonia outside the frontiers of Yugoslavia. The Assembly elected to its Presidium, unanimously by acclamation, the candidates proposed by Vlahov, President of the Macedonian Liberation Front.

Mosha Pijade, a Vice-President of the Partisans' Supreme Council, published an article dwelling with satisfaction on the beneficent spread of the Pax Sovietica to the States of South-Eastern Europe. Another article claims the whole of Venezia Giulia, including Trieste and, for the first time, the plain west of the Isonzo, for Yugoslavia. Claims are also being made to the coal-producing area of Pécs in Hungary.

An official committee has been set up to reorganise the Yugoslav Trade Union movement, which is evidently to be a State-run organisation.

The Presidium of the Liberation Front of Serbia has issued a declaration on the Front's political basis. Its ten points are concerned with general mobilisation of all in the service of the State and include '' that the young shall be educated in the spirit of unity . . . . regardless of political convictions,'' '' that all groups and parties constituting the Front shall work in mutual agreement,'' and '' that the decisions of the Presidium of the Front are binding for all members of the Front.''

The arrival of a ship with 500 tons of food and medical stores at Split has greatly improved relations with the Partisans there. Their arrangements for distribution are reported to be good.

Radio Zagreb asserts that the Catholic Archbishop of Belgrade has been condemned by a tribunal in the Banat and executed.

Greece.

On the 3rd January General Plastiras took the oath as Prime Minister and Minister of War, Marine and Mercantile Marine. Among other new Ministers who took the oath were M. Sophianopoulos (Foreign Affairs and, temporarily, Press), an important figure in Greek politics, who was one of the delegates to the Lebanon Conference; in 1932 he founded his own Agrarian Party, with Socialist tendencies; he has, on several occasions, visited Soviet Russia, and is believed to be anxious to improve relations between Greece and the U.S.S.R.; M. Pericles Rallis (Interior), a Populist Deputy of strong Left-wing tendencies; M. George Sideris (Finance, Supply, and Labour), a former Minister of the Interior under Venizelos, who, though a leading member of the Liberal Party, has entered the Government without any party ties. The new Government definitely inclined to the Left, though the Communist Party is not, and is unlikely to be, represented, nor, at present, are there any representatives of the more moderate parties which helped to constitute E.A.M. It has, in fact, been confirmed that there is a definite split in the National Liberation Front; in Salonica the Socialist Party and the Union of Popular Democrats have announced that they are in '' full and complete disagreement '' with E.A.M. over the resignation of the E.A.M. Ministers and their subsequent anti-British policy. In Athens, E.L.D. has severed its connexion with E.A.M., though M. Tsirimokos has thrown in his lot with E.L.A.S. Professor Svolos is known to have disapproved of the revolt, though he had not sufficient courage to come out with a public statement to that effect, when asked to do so by General Plastiras. It is also reliably reported that there is a split among the Communist leaders, Siantos, Ioannidis, and Partsalidis wanting to fight to a finish, Zevgos, Porphyrogenis and Mandakas counselling moderation.

The new Premier has defined the aims of his Government as the imposition of law and order, the return of the public services to duty, the punishment of

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those who genuinely committed crimes during the occupation, and the swift satisfaction of urgent needs such as housing and relief. In a message to the Greek people (4th January) he said that the personality of the Regent and the guaranteed Left and democratic composition of the new Government should be enough to allay hesitation and suspicion. He therefore begged " those who had been misled " to trust him and lay down their arms forthwith. On the same day M. Sophianopoulos made a statement to the press on the same lines, adding that Greece ought to appear united in the ranks of the Allies, not only to preserve her integrity, but to obtain satisfaction for her national claims.

By the 5th January the Athens–Piræus area was reported to have been cleared of E.L.A.S., and on the 8th Cairo Wireless stated that British forces had now advanced 40 kilom. from Athens. There has as yet been no truce. On the 6th January, with the approval of the Regent and the Premier, General Scobie issued a statement recalling the terms he had previously laid down for a truce and pointing out that recent events had made these terms no longer applicable. Despite repeated requests by himself and the International Red Cross, E.L.A.S. had refused permission for prison camps to be visited; they had also taken a large number of civilians as hostages. It would be intolerable if a truce did not cover this situation. He was therefore withdrawing his original conditions, though he was always prepared to meet E.L.A.S. leaders to discuss new terms.

Albania.

The political and military system which Enver Hoxha is setting up in Albania corresponds even in small details with that of Marshal Tito. The high praise bestowed on it by Belgrade commentators indeed suggests that public opinion is being prepared for a closer connexion between Albania and Yugoslavia. At the same time the Albanian provisional Government's newspaper, in an article denouncing the Zogist Legality Party for selling the country to the Fascists, declares that such days cannot recur, because Albania has a great alliance with Yugoslavia and Greece, who fought for the same ideas as herself.

Bulgaria.

The People's Court at Sofia has continued to hear the charges against former Cabinet Ministers and Deputies. Against Bagrianov, who was Prime Minister for three months until a few days before the arrival of the Red Army, the gravamen of the indictment was that he had promised to recall Bulgarian troops from Yugoslavia, to grant an amnesty, to admit Soviet Consuls and to purge the army and police, but that he had failed to carry out these promises. His defence was that he had to proceed cautiously. The proceedings were simple and orderly. He was allowed to put his case at length with all the arts of an advocate. The court was overflowing but there were no demonstrations.

The meeting of A.S.N.O.M., the Macedonian partisan assembly, at Skoplje on the 28th December, called forth more manifestations of Bulgarian goodwill towards Yugoslavia and a new-born Macedonia. In a broadcast on that day Kazasov, the Tsvenist Minister of Propaganda, warmly welcomed the new State and hailed Marshal Tito's Yugoslavia and the ideal of a Balkan federation. Terpeshev, a Communist Minister without portfolio, attended the proceedings and a member of the central Fatherland Front Committee who was also there reported on his return that the dream had become a fact : Macedonia was free and had her own Government, Assembly, language and character. This is all in accord with the policy constantly declared by M. Gheorghiev's Government. Moreover, it may be suspected that while that Government has made a show of denouncing Bulgarian expansionism it would in fact support any scheme for extending Macedonia at the expense of Greece.

The need for unity in the Fatherland Front is insisted on with such emphasis by George Dimitrov in his New Year message from Moscow and on the other hand by an Agrarian paper as to corroborate reports of disunity. The Communists are said to be packing the Fatherland Front Committees throughout the country with a view to turning them into Soviets. While the Tsveno party and the Social Democrats sit on the fence the Agrarians are stated to oppose this Communist activity. The Agrarian leader G. M. Dimitrov addressed 50,000 people at Plovdiv on the 24th December in spite of the militia's attempt to prevent the meeting, and further Agrarian meetings are expected.

Turkey.

At the end of last month the British and United States Governments asked the Turkish Government to sever relations with Japan. On the 3rd January the

National Assembly approved the proposal of the Foreign Minister, M. Hasan Saka, to break off relations as from midnight on the 6th January. M. Saka informed the Assembly that in the opinion of the British and American Governments the step would deprive the Japanese of a vantage ground from which to observe Allied war activities and would thus help to shorten the war, and he himself expressed the view that it would confer a substantial advantage on the Allies. He added, as his predecessor did last August on the occasion of the rupture with Germany, that it would depend on the other party whether the rupture were followed by a state of war. Turco-Japanese relations are of the slightest, but if Japanese diplomats and other Japanese subjects are sent home Japanese opportunities for gathering information and making mischief in this area will be considerably less.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

The general election in Egypt was held on the 8th January. According to *The Times* it was evident by the end of the day that no result would be reached in several constituencies in Cairo and Alexandria. A successful candidate in an Egyptian election requires a clear majority over the combined poll of his opponents, and as many constituencies have a large number of candidates, voters will probably have to ballot again next Sunday in a straight contest between the two leading candidates.

Nashaat Pasha, the late Ambassador in London, has not yet been received by King Farouk. It is said that His Majesty refuses to see Nashaat owing to the latter's alleged disparagement of the King. Nashaat himself, however, told Lord Killearn that the real reason was the King's displeasure at his recent marriage to an English lady.

During the month of December the lull in Arab political activities in Palestine remained unbroken. The various Arab parties have not yet evolved a common programme, nor have they succeeded in producing a unified leadership. Musa Alami, who seems to enjoy the confidence of all parties as an explorer, albeit in a non-commital way, of the avenues leading to Arab unity, has held discussions with the Amir Abdullah, General Nuri Pasha and other Arab leaders. His talks have covered various matters connected with the Arab cause, including the possible establishment of centres for Arab propaganda in the United Kingdom and the United States of America. Musa Alami has also visited Egypt, where this subject may figure prominently in the further discussions that are to be held in Cairo on Arab unity.

Jewish politics in Palestine have recently been dominated by the presence in that country of Dr. Weizmann. At a joint session of the Jewish Elected Assembly and the Inner Zionist Council on the 5th December in the presence of Dr. Weizmann, resolutions were passed reaffirming two important Zionist objectives. These were the control of immigration by the Jewish Agency, and the creation of a Jewish State in unpartitioned Palestine. Special emphasis was laid on the rejection of partition, and increased support was shown for the extremist " Biltmore " programme. Recruitment for the Jewish Brigade is making some progress, but so far with results rather disappointing to the Jewish Agency. Apart from continuing their leaflet campaign, the terrorists have abstained from further action. The police have arrested more terrorists, and have seized a printing-press belonging to the party, in addition to a considerable amount of explosives. More suspects have been removed to Eritrea where there are now 265 in detention.

Mr. Shone's early impression, reported in last week's *Summary*, that the feeling in the Levant States is as strongly opposed as ever to a treaty with France, was confirmed in a recent conversation he had in Damascus with the Syrian President and Minister for Foreign Affairs. The President stated with the utmost vigour that his Government would refuse to consider the negotiation of any treaty or agreement that gave to the French a predominant position, adding that this decision had the unanimous support not only of the Chamber, but of the whole country. The Syrians wished, in fact, to come to the final peace settlement if possible unfettered by any international obligations, although prepared, if necessary, to sign equal treaties with all the Great Powers.

The Syrian President also complained of the long delay in the transfer of the *Troupes Spéciales* from French to Syrian control, and said that this question could not remain unsettled much longer since the position of his Government was being adversely affected by the delay. The President made it quite clear that what his Government feared was that, if the *Troupes Spéciales* remained

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According to the local press of the 4th January the Persian Prime Minister has notified provincial governors of certain reforms that he intends to introduce regarding such matters as the position of workers, public health, free compulsory education, agriculture and industry, improvements in the Ministries and Government Departments, and revision of the law governing provincial and local councils. It is doubtful, however, whether most of these reforms will actually be carried out in the near future.

THE FAR EAST.

The storm-centre of war in the Philippines has now moved from Leyte and Mindoro to the main island of Luzon, and the Americans, apparently enjoying complete command of the sea even to the west of the archipelago, have made a landing on the shore of the Lingayen Gulf to the north of Manila. The invasion of Luzon is the largest expeditionary enterprise yet undertaken by the Americans in the Pacific, and differs in character both from the landings on relatively small islands such as Saipan, Peleliu and even Leyte, and from campaigns against large "wilderness" islands, such as New Guinea and New Britain, where the fight is only for possession of a few coastal bases. Luzon is an island so large as to be similar to a continental territory, a great part of it

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The Japanese in Burma are still making an effort to prevent a junction between the Chinese army advancing down the Burma Road from Yunnan and the North Burma forces which have captured Bhamo. Brigadier-General Cross, Assistant Chief of Staff to the United States Forces in China, declared at a press conference in Chungking on the 6th January that the Ledo–Burma Road would be in operation in about thirty to thirty-five days after the Japanese had been driven south of Wanting and Namkhan. After the Burma Road had been reopened, it would be placed under military control until the military situation in China had greatly improved. The road's first task would be to bring in to China the much-needed military supplies which were accumulating in India and were too heavy to be transported by air; afterwards other management could be considered. Asked whether the military control would be American, Chinese or mixed, Cross said that the American and Chinese authorities were in consultation on the matter. It is clear that the Americans are determined to prevent any repetition of the Burma Road scandals of 1939–41, when not only was the traffic subject to wholesale extortion and robbery but civilian goods—mainly luxuries—were frequently given priority over military supplies through corruption of officials and drivers.

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any proposals the Americans may make will be ranged, not only vested interests, which would be disturbed by honest and efficient management, but also the strong nationalist sentiment which resents any form of foreign control as savouring of the " unequal treaties " and " semi-colonial status."

In general, there are signs that Chiang Kai-shek, with his new War Minister, General Chen Cheng, is really trying to carry out reforms in Chinese military organisation and supply, and that relations with the local American authorities have greatly improved since the recall of General Stilwell. Major-General McClure, General Wedemeyer's Chief of Staff, in an interview on the 21st December, described General Chen Cheng as " a very fine military man who lets no grass grow under his feet," and said he was doing much to get food to the troops at the front. The successes of the Chinese army in Burma, said McClure, had been largely due to their having enough to eat. American officers training Chinese troops have, indeed, given first priority to feeding them adequately; the effects of malnutrition may be judged from the fact, as reported by the Red Cross in China, that of a contingent of recruits raised in Hunan and marched to Yunnan, 62 per cent. died on the way. The newly created Ministry of Conscription under General Lu Chung-lin has been in operation since the 16th November and has been endeavouring to improve the lot of the recruit. Among practices which by a special decree are to be in future visited with punishment are " unauthorised killing," " plundering and killing a sick recruit or burying him alive," and " burial without a coffin in case of the death of a recruit or exposing his corpse in the open." The Generalissimo recently set an example of discipline by paying a surprise visit to a barracks and executing on the spot two officers responsible for ill-treatment of recruits.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Congress convened on the 3rd January, and, while the Senate immediately adjourned until the following Saturday, the House of Representatives elected Mr. Sam Rayburn (Democrat, Texas) as Speaker for a third term. In accepting re-election Mr. Rayburn made an earnest and urgent plea for unity during the war and for American participation in a peace backed by force. America, he said, must join with other democracies in a peace-loving world, to " use all the force necessary to bring about an ordered world." Mr. Merrow (Republican, New Hampshire) introduced a joint resolution calling for the amendment of the United States Constitution to provide for the ratification of treaties by a majority vote of both Houses of Congress, instead of, as at present, by a two-thirds majority of the Senate only. The chances that this far-reaching change will be agreed by the Senate have hitherto been considered and still are very slight; though eminent constitutional scholars, such as Professor Corwin, have lately been urgent in their arguments for it.

Later in the day the House somewhat disillusioned the school which believed that the recent elections had changed its temper by voting, by 207 to 186, to place the so-called Dies Committee to investigate un-American activities on a permanent basis—making it, in fact, the only permanent body in Congress with a continuing power of subpœna. Once again the vote was the result of an " unholy alliance " between Republicans and Southern Democrats. The Liberals naturally interpreted it as a " victory for reaction," and even moderate Conservatives declared that the committee's functions were now adequately covered by existing Government agencies. Anti-Administration papers, however, asserted that the vote " sounded an encouraging note of independence," and it was reported in the *New York World Telegram* that Wall Street welcomed the revival of the committee as evidence of the South's opposition to the New Deal, and as giving the President an opportunity to check " the Reds " who supported him. It is significant that among the powerful elements opposed to the abolition of the committee was the American Federation of Labour, which professes to believe that its rival organisation, the Congress of Industrial Organisations, is dominated by Communists (see *Summary* No. 269).

The President's Message, sent to Congress on the 10th, was, as he had promised, exceptionally long. Although the report was on " the state of the Union," nearly a half of it was devoted to foreign affairs. On the whole it has met with general approval from both Parties, and has been variously described as prudent, statesmanlike, realistic, courageous and, according to the *New York Times*, " grim." The President paid generous tributes to this country and the U.S.S.R., and expressed complete confidence in General Eisenhower and the other Allied commanders, and his review of the war was considered " so comprehensive as to be suggestive of reports which Churchill gives to Parliament."

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Calling for Allied unity at this critical phase of the fighting, Mr. Roosevelt issued the wholesome warning that " the nearer we have come to vanquishing our enemies the more we inevitably become conscious of the differences among the victors. We must not let those differences divide us or blind us to our more important common and continuing interest in winning the war and building the peace." The Atlantic Charter, he described as " a statement of principles which do not provide rules of easy application to each and everyone of this war-torn world's tangled situations "; but the principles were principles which the United States would do its best to support. " We have not shrunk for our military responsibilities; we cannot shrink from our political responsibilities." The President admitted concern over the situation, for example, in Greece and Poland, though he appeared to support British policy in Greece by observing that " until conditions permit the genuine expression of the people's will, we and our Allies have the duty to use our influences to the end that no temporary or provisional authorities in the liberated countries shall block the eventual exercise of the people's right to choose their own Government." Finally, he gave the pledge that the United States would co-operate with the other United Nations " not for war alone but for the victory for which it is being fought. We must never forget the lesson we have learned—that we have friends who will work with us in peace as in war." " Perfectionism," he remarked, is as great a menace as " imperialism " or " isolationism." Indeed perfectionism, which assumes " a monopoly of wisdom and virtue," may prove, as it did after the last war, the most effective path to isolationism.

Mr. Roosevelt, it must be admitted, left the position of the United States vague and undefined in several particulars. He did not, for example, indicate the precise form of American collaboration with other Powers, though the speech was helpful in emphasising that the problems of adjustment in liberated areas must not be permitted to delay the establishment of permanent machinery for the maintenance of peace. " Most important of all, 1945 can and must see the substantial beginning of the organisation of world peace." This part of the Message should pave the way for and make agreements between the Allies easier, and it is notable that the President's views on American foreign policy have evoked great satisfaction and have been generally interpreted to mean that the United States is definitely committed not only to winning the war but to securing and maintaining the subsequent peace—a prospect which has been styled " a most drastic change in what used to be called the American way of life."

In terms of domestic policy also the Message was of particular interest, and one proposal has already evoked a good deal of opposition. Although Mr. Roosevelt's assessment of the war prospects was soberly optimistic, he stated quite frankly that there had been a considerable falling off in American war production because of a lack of adequate controls over labour and plant, such as exists in this country. He therefore renewed his plea, made a year ago, for a National Service Act, a request supported by the Army and Navy Departments. As a first step he proposed the immediate acceptance of Mr. Byrnes's recent recommendations that those rejected for the armed forces on medical grounds should be made to work in vital war industries or be conscripted for lighter forms of military work. There is general support for this measure. The passage of a National Service Act, however, is regarded as highly doubtful. Even the proposed conscription of 20,000 Army and Navy nurses is not a certainty. " American Labour is still reluctant to approve or support the national service legislation which provides for compulsion," said Mr. William Green, the President of the American Federation of Labour; " we doubt the need for such legislation." It is understood that this is also the view of the rival Congress of Industrial Organisations, and also of many employers, including the Chamber of Commerce, and it is regarded as extremely unlikely that legislation for universal conscription will be enacted unless there is a " drastic change for the worse on the war fronts." Even more unpopular was the demand for universal military training after the war—which the President said he would deal with in a later special Message to Congress and despite the support of the Secretaries of the War and Navy Departments, on this issue there will be powerful opposition by religious and educational groups.

On trade and industry the President remarked: " We support the greatest possible freedom of trade and commerce," adding, " We Americans have a house clearing of our own to do in this regard." He reiterated also his desire to see an expanding domestic market, together with a large increase in American exports. But his comments on economic isolationism and the need for " a house clearing " may be taken to indicate an appreciation of the need for increased imports as well as increased exports. Finally, the President's remarks on the

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relationship of Government to private enterprise, on schemes for social insurance, housing, health and education, which he hinted at, and on the development of America's natural resources and his reference to the Tennessee Valley Authority, all of which together would help to secure "full employment," will doubtless be much discussed and debated during the coming weeks.

Recently the wisdom of the "unconditional surrender" formula has once more been queried. The reference to this in the President's Message was interpreted by certain writers as signifying that it referred to the enemies' armies only, and Senator Wheeler, who now argues that from what has happened in Poland it is clearly too late to implement the Atlantic Charter, has denounced unconditional surrender, maintaining that this has played into Hitler's hands, and proved "brutal and costly" to the Allies. Mr. Stettinius soundly repudiated this suggestion as "profoundly regrettable," pointing out that Senator Wheeler's attack will be understood in Germany and Japan as meaning that if those countries can resist long enough and kill enough American soldiers, the will of the American people to achieve a complete victory will be broken and a negotiated peace can be secured.

It is gratifying to note that there is increasing evidence of alarm in the United States at the deterioration of Allied unity in press and radio criticism, and while misunderstanding and misinterpretation of our policy continues, there is increasing expression of a desire to re-establish the broken harmony. Articles in the British press attacking the United States attitude to Britain, particularly that in the *Economist*, continue to be widely reproduced and commented on. Both the President and Mr. Stettinius were asked their views, but both refused to be drawn by somewhat provocative questions.

(See also under "Poland," "France" and "Latin America.")

ERRATUM.

In last week's *Summary* 5 lines from the bottom of page 19, 28th January should read 20th January.

LATIN AMERICA.

When asked at a Press conference whether there was any truth in the rumour that the Argentine Government proposed to hold elections shortly (see *Summaries* Nos. 268, 271 and 274), General Farrell evaded the issue. How, he enquired, could the Government hold elections when they did not yet know who could or could not vote, when there was still no charter for the political parties, and the polling lists were still to be prepared. He declared that the Government would not ally itself with any political party, and denied rumours that a new Minister of the Interior was to be appointed: hitherto, he said, his Cabinet had always agreed, "and we shall do so even more in the future." The appointment of Dr. Bramuglia, a follower of Colonel Perón, as Interventor of Buenos Aires Province will undoubtedly be of assistance to that gentleman should elections ever be held. Dr. Bramuglia's appointment brings the number of civilian Provincial interventors up to nine, out of a total of fourteen. It cannot, however, be said that these civilians are necessarily preferable to their military colleagues.

The Uruguayan Ministry of the Interior has announced the discovery of a Nazi spy-ring and a number of arrests. It denies that there have been attempts against public order.

The Mexican Senate has unanimously decided to empower the President to send regular units of the Mexican armed forces abroad during the war. Should the President avail himself of this authorisation, a token contingent of the Mexican air force would seem to be the most likely branch of the armed forces to see foreign service.

In Bolivia Sr. Paz Estenssoro, the leader of the MNR and a prime mover in the revolution in December 1943, is reported to have been appointed Minister of Finance. Comment on this appointment is unnecessary.

The Panamanian crisis continues. The old Cabinet resigned to give the President a free hand, and a new Cabinet has been coolly received. The President has stated privately that he has no intention of surrendering to pressure engineered by Dr. Harmodio Arias (an ex-President and brother to Dr. Arnulfo Arias: see last week's *Summary*). Eighteen opposition members of the Assembly met secretly on the 2nd January and went through the motions of opening a new session: in order to make a quorum they were constrained to accept four supporters of Arnulfo Arias.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 276

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
17TH JANUARY, 1945.

Copy No. 183

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

FOR the first ten days of the year German reports on the fighting in the West continued to combine admissions that German troops were now fighting a defensive battle in the Ardennes with assertions that the High Command retained the initiative which they had regained on the 16th December. The O.K.W. of the 10th January spoke of another attempted American breakthrough in the direction of Houffalize, and said that the Ardennes fighting had involved both sides in considerable losses. On the same day, *D.N.B.* issued a summary of British and American losses from the 16th December to the 5th January, giving the figures as 90,000 killed and wounded and 25,000 prisoners. On the 11th, the communiqué announced the German withdrawal across the Ourthe, "the better to buttress the deep flanks of our salient in the Ardennes" and on the 13th, the repulse of an attack north-east of Laroche; on the following day Malmédy and Houffalize, as well as Bastogne, were mentioned. Military commentators insisted that the defensive fighting between the Meuse and the Moselle had created the right conditions for the successful attacks between the Saar and the Upper Rhine, and, by attracting reserves of men and material, had robbed the Allies of their freedom of action.

Although some advances continue to be claimed in Alsace-Lorraine—the O.K.W. on the 10th announced that German troops had "torn open" the Maginot Line south-east of Wissembourg—home propaganda is cautious and does not raise expectations with regard to Strasbourg or other important gains. On the 13th January, Hallensleben said on the *D.N.B.* European service that, although the Ardennes battle was still the focal point, the German Command was now concentrating its efforts "almost exclusively" on this southern sector of the front. A *D.N.B.* broadcast on the 14th reported a *D.A.Z.* article, which said that the German offensive in the West bore only a local character, and that none in Germany had attached far-reaching strategic expectations to

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it. It was probable that the High Command from the beginning had only limited objectives "not dissimilar from those actually achieved." With the news of the new Russian offensive, the German propagandists have found yet another argument to prove that the western offensive was a success. It prevented the enemy from achieving the "desired simultaneous onslaught" from the main fronts. A survey on the Home Service on the 14th said that the battle in the East was part of the enemy's carefully thought out general onslaught against Germany. Stalin had intended to hurl his massed armies against a Germany whose left flank was "seriously threatened, if not already torn open." But the serious danger to the west front had been removed by the German offensive, and the enemy in the West could not regain his freedom of action; still less could he think of launching an offensive thrust against Germany within measurable time.

The news of the Russian offensive was not given to the German public until the 13th January, when the O.K.W. announced the attack south of Warsaw, saying that the "long-expected Bolshevik winter offensive on the Vistula has begun." A *D.N.B.* survey said that the new battle heralded hard fighting which would extend to "other sectors of the Eastern front which had hitherto been quiet." On the 14th, the O.K.W. said that "the enemy has launched his expected large-scale attack on East Prussia." It is repeatedly emphasised by all commentators that the High Command has long expected these attacks, and is prepared for them, although no attempt is made to minimise the seriousness of the situation to the home public. One reporter said that "the Soviets do not aim merely at territorial gains. They seek a decision." A later account said that the biggest battle of the war had begun. A *Transocean* spokesman said that the Eastern Front had again become "Front No. 1," and that the new offensive aimed at "bringing about a collapse of the German Eastern front along its entire length."

The German troops facing the Russian onslaught in East Prussia are said to have been purged of all officers who might favour a compromise peace between Germany and Russia. The German Command appears to have used its breathing-space to the full, in strengthening fortifications and the striking power of the military units posted in East Prussia. Military morale is reported to be good on that front; it is said that anti-Russian propaganda is both intense and effective, and that the training of Russian partisans is being actively pursued.

The intense air activity over Germany on the 14th January, in the course of which 235 German aircraft were shot down, was prominently featured by the O.K.W. which reported "a number of fierce battles over the Western Front" in which 23 Allied planes were shot down, and over Germany 64 aircraft including 46 four-engined bombers accounted for by "air defences." No actual mention was made of German losses or even of large-scale intervention by the Luftwaffe. (The official Allied statement of planes lost on the 14th was 20 bombers and 33 fighters.)

To the ever-increasing problem of evacuation from large centres of industry, the invasion of the Reich has added that of emptying localities threatened by the enemy. The first of these problems would now seem to be exceeding the capacity of German administration. The situation is that people demand to leave or are ordered to leave but cannot, because trains are infrequent or over-crowded and reception areas refuse any further influx. The *National-Zeitung* of Essen, already cited in this *Summary* for its outspoken comment, stated in November that only State action of a radical kind could get over the difficulties of transport and accommodation. The Deputy Gauleiter of Essen on the 18th November ordered the entire evacuation of all inhabitants not engaged on essential work. This was said to be (*cf. Summary* No. 270) the first case of compulsory large-scale evacuation and it is now clear that Schlessmann's order remained pretty much a dead letter and that there are still nearly half a million people in the city. A report in early December admitted that no definite dates could yet be fixed for evacuation because billeting facilities had not yet been found. On the last day of the year it was announced that Schlessmann had repeated his order, coupling with it an appeal to working mothers to send their children away to camps in charge of N.S.V. workers.

The second problem, that of evecuating areas threatened by the enemy's advance, has so far reached only modest dimensions, since no heavily populated areas have been overrun. The Nazis, after urging the people to resist to the last, would seem to have tried, in small localities, to evacuate the entire population, and in other cases to take the men and leave the women and children—almost

the opposite procedure to that followed in the bombed towns. Small townships have been found empty. In Eschweiler, the Allied troops found only 300 people, most of them aged or sick, out of the normal population of 33,000. The case of Aachen is instructive. Before the capture of the city, policemen and firemen were removed by S.S. troopers to Wuppertal. The law courts were without legal officials. Of the 163,000 inhabitants, under 2,000 were still in the city. A few thousand more had taken refuge in the neighbourhood. The eviction is reported in certain cases to have been in some cases severe, and even ruthless. Ration cards were withdrawn, farmers' produce burnt; a letter from Alsace described how over 7,000 inhabitants were thrown out on to the street by armed S.A. men, and were allowed only half an hour to prepare for departure.

It is interesting that one small but influential body of men have decided to disregard evacuation orders—the Catholic bishops of Western Germany. The usual Fulda conference was not held in August 1944, but the bishops of Western Germany met at Honnef and agreed to await the arrival of the Allies with such of their people as remained in their dioceses. In conformity with this decision the Bishop of Aachen returned to the city from his country house early in September.

The reports of fighting on the East and West fronts are accompanied by increasingly prominent and violent atrocity stories of the treatment of civilians and prisoners by the Russians and Americans. Much has been made of a conviction in Monschau, whereby a boy of 16 was found guilty, after a two-day trial by an Allied military court of giving information to the enemy, and sentenced to death. According to *D.N.B.*, he has "refused to serve the enemy." It called the trial a judicial farce, the sentence an atrocity and a crime against the most elementary principles of international law. The cases selected for publicity within Germany seem to be picked with some care. A broadcast reported that of a 15-year-old boy who was given six months' imprisonment for disregarding the curfew, but nothing was said of the former German policeman found destroying records, who was given ten years.

The clothing collection referred to in last week's *Summary* differs in character from those of previous years, when it was still possible to assert that there were reserves of unused or unnecessary clothing. Now, when for eighteen months almost no clothing has been released to civilians other than those who have lost all their clothes in air raids, it is clear that the number of civilians who still have clothes with which they can dispense must be very small, even when it is admitted that the majority of gifts will represent a "sacrifice." The primary objects of the appeal are therefore to mobilise uniforms no longer worn, and civilian clothes no longer worn by those in uniform. The High Command has ruled that members of the Armed Forces who provide their own uniforms are to surrender whatever they possess in the way of uniforms and equipment above the stated maximum outfit. The uniforms and equipment of dead soldiers should be put at the disposal of the fighting front in as complete a condition as possible. All soldiers on active service have been asked to give to the "People's Sacrifice" the uniforms they are keeping at home and not using. One announcement says that the right to wear the uniform of the new Armed Forces may be granted for the duration of the war to men who have been honourably discharged from the Services, but, "in effect, the 'People's Sacrifice' permits only those persons to wear uniform who have to do so in the direct execution of their duties." The Head of the Reich Chancellery, Dr. Lammers, has notified all Reich authorities that all uniforms which belong to officials and are not absolutely needed for service must be contributed to the "People's Sacrifice" Collection. Those who must wear uniforms may keep at the most two complete outfits.

Propaganda compares the "People's Sacrifice" with 1813, and says that its historical significance transcends its material importance. The *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* says that the clothing collection will result in a further proletarianisation, or breakdown of social classes, in Germany. From the nature of the appeal, it would seem that it will result in a large restriction in the wearing of uniforms. Heck, who is in charge of the appeal, has organised other clothing collections. The imposition of the death sentence for stealing clothes which have been collected is not new.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

The two main developments in the military sphere on Czechoslovak territory have been the Red Army's capture of Lučenec and progress beyond towards Zvolen and the big stride forward on the north bank of the Danube, which has

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taken the Russians to the River Nitra and the outskirts of Komárno. The reaction in Bratislava, now only 40 miles from the fighting, reveals the feverish anxiety of the Slovak Government. The Hlinka Guard, Hlinka Youth and the Slovak Labour Service have been incorporated in the armed forces; a Youth Congress was held on the 14th January and addressed by several leading members of the Government in an attempt to rally the young people of the country to serious efforts in its defence; and the press and radio have striven their utmost to improve public morale. There is no indication that these efforts have met with any success, and they are chiefly significant for their admissions that defeatism is rife, that Allied propaganda has been successful in many cases and that the compulsory trench-digging is being evaded on a considerable scale.

In the Protectorate the Volkssturm was ostentatiously sworn in on the 7th January. In Prague the ceremony was held in the Old Town Square, beflagged for the occasion, and Henlein took the salute at a march-past.

A broadcast in Ukrainian on the Kiev wave-length on the 10th January referred to a Congress of People's Committees of the Sub-Carpathian Ukraine which, according to this statement, had "promulgated a manifesto on the reunion of the Sub-Carpathian Ukraine with the Soviet Ukraine." The enthusiastically pro-Russian sentiments of the liberated Ruthenians have been commented on before in this *Summary*, and the fact that General Petrov's army in Ruthenia is composed of Ukrainian troops will have strengthened these feelings. The facts of the Kiev announcement are, therefore, perfectly credible. Enemy propaganda has exploited the broadcast as an indication of a Soviet intention to annex Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, but it is not yet possible to draw any firm conclusions on this aspect of the matter. In any case, the broadcast places Dr. Beneš and his Government in an embarrassing position, strengthens the opponents of his pro-Soviet policy and provides useful grist to the enemy propaganda mill.

SOVIET UNION.

On the 13th January an Order of the Day addressed to Marshal Koniev announced that the Soviet winter offensive in Poland had been launched from the bridgehead west of the Vistula south of the confluence of the San. "Despite unfavourable weather conditions, precluding active air support," the troops of the First Ukrainian Front broke through on a 25-mile front, widened in two days' fighting to 40 miles and extended to a depth of 25 miles. During the next two days the advance continued, and an Order of the Day on the 15th January announced the capture of Kielce. The front had by this date been broadened to 50 miles, and in the south Red Army troops were already within 30 miles of Cracow. There has as yet been no Soviet confirmation of German reports that simultaneous attacks were made in East Prussia and the Warsaw area, but a further advance has been made from the south into Slovakia; the fall of Lućenec was announced on the 14th January. German resistance still continues in Budapest, but the German relieving force has been held on the southern bank of the Danube, and the Red Army has advanced to within 2 miles of Komarno on the northern bank.

The Soviet press and wireless has recently devoted much attention to analysing the causes of Soviet military success; in this connexion the creative strength of the Soviet State and the fundamental superiority of the Soviet economic system have been the subject of much self-congratulation. Speaking during the Red Army hour of the Soviet Home Service, Lieut.-Colonel Gotovsky said that it was not the alleged superiority in raw materials and population that had ensured the war-time survival of the Soviet State, but the Soviet system which "ensures the highest pace in production and technical progress." The advantages of socialist industrialisation and collectivisation of agriculture were contrasted with the defects of private ownership, resulting in competition, monopolies and anarchy in production. The enormous progress made by Soviet munition plants during this war were contrasted (with many relevant details of production) with the totally inadequate output of the Tsarist munitions industry.

The British parliamentary delegation referred to in *Summary* No. 273 has now arrived in Moscow. The delegation, which will stay in the U.S.S.R. for three weeks, is led by Colonel Walter Elliot, and includes Brigadier Lord Lovat, Lord Faringdon, Colonel Charles Ponsonby, Major R. E. Manningham-Buller, Mr. John Parker, Mr. T. Fraser, Mr. Wilfrid Roberts, Mr. P. W. Jewson and Commander King-Hall.

On the 12th January *Pravda* published an article on developments in Hungary. The popular character of the new provisional Government was said to have been demonstrated by the active participation of the population in the elections, by the numerous messages received from Hungarian democratic organisations in Great Britain and the United States, and by the adherence of "the majority of the diplomatic representatives of Hungary abroad." The generosity of the Soviet Union had afforded the Hungarian people "the possibility of rapidly restoring and reviving their State organisation, their political and economic independence," thus proving once again that "the aim of Soviet policy is to defeat and eradicate fascism and give freedom to the peoples." But Hungary, as "Hitler's most obstinate satellite," must bear material responsibility for damage resulting from her participation in the war against the U.S.S.R., must return loot and "liberate the forcibly taken territories of Czechoslovakia and Rumania." The provisional Government must completely eliminate fascism inside the country, and "Hungary will win a place for herself among the freedom-loving nations in proportion to the share she will now contribute to the military efforts of the United Nations."

The Soviet press has continued to refrain from comment on affairs in Greece, but an article in *The War and the Working Class* returned to a familiar theme in a review of the United Nations' tasks in 1945. It observed *inter alia* that "the crises or political difficulties which arose in some of the liberated European countries towards the end of 1944 show that the peoples who went through the nightmare of German occupation cannot reconcile themselves to the return of former régimes, and leaders who, during Europe's period of stern trial, showed their bankruptcy . . . . Only a Government supported by the people and formed on a wide democratic basis can guarantee peace and order."

The attacks on the Vatican noted in the last two summaries have continued during the past week. The attempt of the *Catholic Times* to answer *Pravda's* former "critical appraisal" of the Pope's Christmas message (see *Summary* No. 275) aroused considerable sarcasm in the latter journal. "True democracy, as understood by the *Catholic Times*, is manifested in reconciliation with fascism." That paper remembered that it served the Vatican, but forgot that it was published in the Motherland of Dickens, where humour was appreciated. There were also further general accusations that Fascists were sheltering under the wing of the Vatican, *La Libre Belgique* being particularly criticised for defending the Belgian Rexists. *Izvestiya* (the 11th January) revived the old charge that the Vatican was supporting *émigré* Poles in their attack on the U.S.S.R. On the other hand, *Tass* (the 14th January) gave prominence to quotations from the *New York Times* concerning the "meticulously correct" behaviour of the Lublin Government towards the Catholic Church.

For a reported broadcast from Kiev radio describing a Congress of People's Committees of Carpatho-Ruthenia urging the union of that territory with the Soviet Ukraine see under Czechoslovakia.

For negotiations between the U.S.S.R. and Finland for the supply of various foodstuffs to Finland in exchange for minerals see under Finland.

Articles by British and United States Trade Union leaders published in the December issue of *The War and the Working Class* are criticised in the current number of this journal by the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Munitions Workers' Union, M. E. Vazhenin, for lack of precision and firmness in regard to international trade union unity. In his view, the tasks of the future trade union organisation should include the mobilisation of the working class for the continuation of the war against Germany and the establishment of a genuine security organisation for the maintenance of a lasting peace. The Amsterdam International is arraigned for its weakness and "complete non-resistance to Fascism." As a counter-policy for the defence of the economic interests of the working class, a single centre is advocated to solve working class problems of international co-operation. This article is typical of the present strong Soviet drive to associate the trade unions of liberated Europe and international security measures, and of the increasing space given in the Soviet press to trade union activities throughout the world.

The first metal works in Northern Kazakhstan, long noted for its rich reserves of copper, coal and non-ferrous metals, began to operate near Karaganda on the eve of the new year. It lays the foundations of the development of Kazakh iron ore deposits (hitherto of little importance) and is scheduled to produce 30,000 tons of steel annually.

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SCANDINAVIA.

An unusual amount of publicity has been given by the controlled press and broadcasting service in Norway to an address delivered on the 10th January by Rodstad, the Tröndelag county leader. The speech has been reported *in extenso* both by radio and press. Its object seems to have been to convey the impression that the home front had been completely disorganised by the arrest of certain persons in Trondheim and the vicinity, whom Rogstad represented as the core of the organisation. These persons he endeavoured to discredit as being an unrepresentative combination of reactionary and Communist elements. The general tone of the speech was exceedingly truculent and threatening. The most probable explanation of the publicity given to this address is a desire to counter the increasing prestige acquired by the real home front leadership by recent activities under its auspices.

Apart from successes previously reported, achieved by carefully organised sabotage and the elimination and intimidation of traitors and informers, great disruption has recently been brought about in the German land communications by the action of Norwegian parachutists flown from England, with the valuable co-operation of local home-front workers. Apart from an incident on the 13th January, when about 180 German soldiers lost their lives when a train fell over a bridge which had been blown up, the effect of these activities has been to drive the German forces to make increasing use of their vulnerable sea routes, which have recently been repeatedly and successfully attacked by Allied naval and air forces; in particular, an outstanding success was achieved on the 12th January in the destruction of an enemy convoy off Egersund. In the evening of the following day another convoy was attacked by Allied aircraft in the neighbourhood of the Swedish coast at the northern entrance to the Kattegat.

An admission in the N.S. paper, *Finnmarks Folkeblad*, which is now being issued as the organ of the evacuees from northern Norway, has finally disposed of the German and Quisling contention that the evacuation was of a voluntary character. The evacuees, says this paper, arrived as guests sent by the authorities against their will and fail to understand the necessity for the steps taken.

The recently-established "Association of Norwegian Patriots" (see *Summary* No. 274) has been publicly repudiated by representatives of Norwegian Trade Unionism and by leaders of the former Central Board of the Norwegian Labour Party at present resident in Sweden. The new organisation is said to threaten the unbroken unity which should prevail until victory is won.

The speech from the throne at the opening of the Swedish Riksdag on the 11th January was cautiously phrased and discouraged exaggerated hopes of a speedy end to the war. Sympathy with Denmark and Norway, "awaiting the hour of liberation under increasing trials," was however openly expressed, and an assurance was given that Sweden would do all in her power to help her sister nations. A hint was given that the strictest economy in the use of imported goods was necessary, in view of the progressive decline of trade with the continent, which must be expected to continue. On the other hand, the speech made the encouraging assumption that it would be possible greatly to reduce defence expenditure during the coming year.

The Swedish Government has made a protest against an announcement made through the German legation that the blockade zone in the Skagerrák had been extended eastward from the 12th January. The effect of this step is said to be to encroach on the area hitherto left free for fishing and navigation, by about 10 nautical miles.

Loud explosions recently heard in southern Sweden have been attributed to V-bombs, and, though official opinion at first favoured the view that they had occurred out at sea, recent reports seem to suggest that Sweden is once more being made the *corpus vile* for German experiments with this type of weapon. The Stockholm correspondents of British papers state categorically that three flying bombs of a new type fell near Karlskrona on the 13th January, and that they are officially described by Swedish military authorities as "radio-steered projectiles which can be made to change course." Though their final appearance was from the north, it is said to have been established that they started, like previous unwelcome visitors of the kind, from the island of Bornholm.

It was announced in Washington on the 12th January that Mr. Maxwell Hamilton had been appointed U.S.A. representative in Finland. He is to have the personal rank of Minister, though the step is stated not to amount to a formal resumption of diplomatic relations.

On the 13th January, the Soviet radio announced negotiations between Finland and the Soviet Union with a view to the supply of 30,000 tons of grain, 1,000 tons of sugar and other foodstuffs by the latter, in exchange for nickel, cobalt, copper and pyrites and assistance in the repair of Russian naval vessels in Finnish dockyards.

With a view to the forthcoming elections, the anti-Tannerite opposition in the Finnish Social Democratic party are advocating co-operation with the "Six Man Group" and the Communists. Divergence of views on this question seems likely to increase the schism in the ranks of the party.

LOW COUNTRIES.

The Belgians have been told that only six per cent. of the coal mined in their country is directly used by the Allied armies, although Belgian heavy industry is largely devoted to the manufacture of war material. Further, there is no net export of coal, for supplies sent to Dutch territory in the vicinity of the Scheldt are counter-balanced by imports from the Netherlands to the Liége area. Thus the German propaganda, that Belgians are being kept short of coal for the benefit of the Allies, has been refuted. Coal, however, remains scarce for the house-holder and efforts to increase output are to be made. It has been announced that men are to be called up for work in the mines.

M. Gutt's proposals for a tax on war-profits (see *Summary* No. 273) were certain to meet with strong opposition in the Chamber. Both the right-wing Catholics and the Liberals have declared their intention to fight the Bill, which will be supported by the Socialists and the Christian Democrats. On the present showing, therefore, it looks as if the Bill would be thrown out, which would entail a crisis. But a compromise may well be found.

The German offensive caused a number of Belgians to leave their homes—possibly stimulated to do so by German propaganda (see *Summary* No. 274). Appeals for funds to assist them have been made and should meet with a good response. The Government, which has already been criticised for the inadequacy of its measures to help the bombed-out, will also be blamed if it does not adequately supplement the efforts of private charity to help the refugees.

It is to be noted that the German-controlled "Belgian Freedom" Radio appeals continually to the Belgians to demand peace in accordance with the alleged wishes of King Leopold, and also urges them to seize food from the Allied forces. There is, however, no reason to believe that this propaganda has had much effect.

The inhabitants of the Occupied Netherlands have been repeatedly and strongly exhorted by Radio Orange to evade by all possible methods the German call-up of Dutch labour (see last *Summary*). Unfortunately, however, the call-up has met with some success. It is reported that some men in the big towns have registered for work in Germany, influenced by hunger and despair; in the small towns and villages, on the other hand, where food is perhaps more easy to get, the proportion of volunteers has been much lower. It should also be remembered that numbers of Dutchmen have been forcibly deported.

A Dutch journalist in the liberated Netherlands reports that, while his compatriots are continuing to endure cold and hunger with patience, some irritation has been caused by the British soldiers, who keep on wasting good food; for instance, bread-crusts. The Dutch not unnaturally think that the transport employed in conveying this wasted food could have been used to bring them food which they would certainly not throw away.

The Netherlands have signed the "Five Freedoms of the Air" Convention with a reservation as to the fifth freedom; the text of this reservation, however, has not been published.

FRANCE.

Though German proximity to Strasbourg remains threatening the improvement in the general situation on the Western Front is reflected in French wireless reports of the greater confidence and the feeling of relief among the people. The Provisional Government none the less issued on the 11th an important official declaration solemnly reminding the German authorities that the "measures of *de facto* annexation taken some time ago in Alsace and Lorraine by the unilateral action of the Reich have no validity in the eyes of France." French citizens in

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the area occupied by German troops as a result of recent operations should be treated in conformity with the Hague Convention. Anyone guilty of acts of violence against inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine on the pretence that they had failed in their duty as German subjects would be liable to the penalties by which war criminals are punished.

Following on the recent conference between Mr. Churchill, General de Gaulle and General Eisenhower, the French press is now giving prominence to the claim of General de Gaulle to join the "Big Three" at their next meeting. M. Wladimir d'Ormesson in the *Figaro* of the 9th January made the most complete and cogent statement of the French claim. This was officially presented in a memorandum handed to the British, United States and Russian Ambassadors on the 15th January, which points out that military operations are in progress on French territory and that France is herself taking part in them to the greatest extent permitted by her resources. The prospect of her ever-increasing participation in the common war-effort will require the revision of the programme of manufacture, supply and transport. But France cannot be bound by decisions taken in her absence. The French Government consider they should be represented at conferences concerned with the general conduct of the war and with the future peace for both of which France has a share of responsibility.

The seriousness of the economic situation was reflected in the communiqué issued after the meeting of the Council of Ministers on the 12th January. Semi-official accounts stated that the transport position had been much worsened by the severe cold spell. Only 259,000 tons of coal are at present transported weekly, of which 241,000 are needed for the essential requirements of railways, gas works, hospitals, schools and bakeries. This leaves only 18,000 tons for armament industries and other factories of the highest priority, which is wholly inadequate. Hence the Government had decided on a large-scale reduction in the passenger train service and in newsprint supply.

The newsprint cut caused an indignant outburst from the whole press—Right and Left. The Paris Press Syndicate described it as a disastrous solution which could have been avoided had the supply of paper to the press not remained in the wrong hands. Leading articles denounced the Government for having allowed the appearance of a mass of unnecessary and worthless periodicals. An Advisory Press Commission at the Ministry of Information, to advise on the quantities of newsprint to be allotted and other matters, was set up by a decree reported on the 13th January. But criticism remained severe. The restrictions, by which newspapers will be reduced to half their usual size, will eschew advertising matter and concentrate on important news, and will cost 1 fr. 50 like the provincial papers, were due to come into force on the 14th January.

René Claude, the son of Georges Claude, the collaborating scientist, has been arrested on the basis of evidence found among German archives at Nancy. The appeal against sentence of death of Angelo Chiappe, former Vichy Prefect of the Guard, has been rejected. The appeal of Henri Béraud (see last two *Summaries*) was also rejected by the "Chambre des mises en accusation" acting as a Court of Appeal in Paris; and Jean Luchaire, speaking from the German-controlled "French Government" station, declared triumphantly: "Alive Béraud in no way served our policy or shared our ideas, but, murdered, he will be one of our best and most redoubtable levers." The news, however, that sentence had been commuted to penal servitude for life was subsequently announced, and the reprieve was only attacked by the *Populaire* and *Humanité*.

M. de Menthon, evidently replying to criticism of the slowness of the purge, which had included the demand for his own removal from office, in the course of an interview given to the *Aube* said that the Government must choose a middle way between appeasement and ruthlessness. There was no such thing as "revolutionary" or "traditional" justice—only justice pure and simple, which was incompatible with summary executions of people, even when they had been sentenced to death. Of Pétain's trial he said that it was for the High Court of Justice to decide whether he would be tried in his absence or whether Vichy Ministers would be tried first.

In reply to a Berlin wireless report that five Gaullists had been sentenced to death as a reprisal for the execution of collaborators in France, French official quarters told the press on the 14th January that there would be no official reaction to this threat. The recent French Government declaration was recalled that threats by the Wilhelmstrasse would not prevent French justice taking its course. The sentencing of hostages was an international crime.

The French Provisional Government has intimated to His Majesty's Government and the United States Government that it cannot determine its attitude

towards the new Italian Cabinet until certain questions which exclusively concern France and Italy have been satisfactorily settled. This was subsequently made clear in the inspired comment on the meeting of Ministers of the 12th January, which also examined Franco-Italian relations. Normal diplomatic relations could not be resumed until the Italian Government formally recognised that Italy's declaration of war in 1940 had invalidated the Franco-Italian agreements of 1893 which gave a privileged status to Italian subjects in Tunisia. The Diplomatic Correspondent of the *Monde* commented that if this was recognised, nothing would prevent the resumption of relations with Italy and the examination of less important questions, as for example, the adjustment of the borderline.

(See also under "Middle East.")

SWITZERLAND.

M. Walter Stucki has been appointed head of the foreign section of the Political Department—a position roughly corresponding to that of our Permanent Under-Secretary of State, his predecessor becoming Minister at Athens. M. Stucki, who represented Switzerland with much distinction as an economic expert at Geneva and elsewhere in the 'thirties, had latterly been Swiss Minister at Vichy. His appointment is evidently destined to strengthen the hands of his more inexperienced chief, M. Petitpierre. The press calls on him to show initiative and courage in bringing Switzerland's strength into active play for the reconstruction of Europe and so extricating Switzerland from the dangerously isolated position in which she now finds herself.

Swiss opinion had, in fact, been a good deal perturbed by the reports in the United States press mentioned last week and, in the circumstances, general relief was occasioned by the mild tone of Mr. Stettinius's reference to the subject at his press conference, when he merely said that economic relations with Switzerland were under consideration. It was recognised, however, that the negotiations thus envisaged would be far from easy. What has particularly preoccupied the Swiss has been whether, in return for concessions to Allied pressure as regards their trade with Germany, with the resulting effects on employment, they could count on the opening up of trade relations with the West and the procuring of the 300,000 tons of Swiss goods held up in Spain and Portugal. Happily the ban on transit through France has at last been relaxed, and traffic with Marseilles and the Spanish frontier started on a moderate scale during the week, the transport being provided by the Swiss.

SPAIN.

On the 16th January the Secretary of State handed to the Spanish Ambassador the Prime Minister's reply to the letter from General Franco which was analysed in *Summary* No. 270 (the 6th December, 1944). It will be remembered that the Caudillo's letter was an invitation to a closer understanding between Great Britain and Spain. In the Europe of the future, he argued, Anglo-Spanish friendship will be necessary if the advance of Bolshevism is to be stemmed; but the obstacles which now exist must be frankly faced. (Since he alleged that they lay entirely on the British side, in the form of secret service agents, sabotters and a hostile B.B.C. and press, he himself had no difficulty at all in facing them frankly.) In spite of these barriers, Spain was ready to forget the past and to create a friendship which the post-war strategic situation would make imperative. Franco, like Barkis, was willin'.

The reply, sent by the Prime Minister in the name of the War Cabinet, will not encourage General Franco to go on dreaming dreams, for it is a rather stinging document. If words can disturb his beatific self-satisfaction, Mr. Churchill's sentences should certainly do so. The desire for close and cordial relations between the British and Spanish peoples is reciprocated, but the first point emphasised is a refutation that such difficulties as now exist are due to the attitude and activities of His Majesty's Government and the British people. An absolute denial is made of the assertion regarding the activities of British agents in Spain; and Mr. Churchill continues: "I can only suppose that your Government has been misled by the allegations of those persons whose obvious

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interest lies in disturbing relations between the British and Spanish peoples." The letter then sets out "in complete frankness the serious difficulties which, in our view, still hamper the satisfactory development of relations between our two countries."

First, a reminder of Spanish policy during the war. Without forgetting that Spain did not oppose us at the critical periods of the war, namely, at the time of the collapse of France in 1940 and at the moment of the Allied landings in North Africa in 1942, the Prime Minister recalls the period of open non-belligerency. He cannot forget that throughout the war German influence in Spain has constantly been permitted to embarrass our war effort, and that a Spanish division was actually sent to give assistance to our German enemies against our ally, Russia. Among the many unneutral activities of which His Majesty's Government have had to complain the letter specifies two: the arbitrary suppression in 1940 of the International régime in Tangier, in violation of treaties to which Spain was a party, and the series of speeches in which General Franco disparaged this country and others among the United Nations, and spoke of their defeat as being desirable and inevitable.

Now that the war is drawing to a close and plans are being made for the future of Europe and the world, the letter continues, His Majesty's Government cannot overlook either the past actions of the Spanish Government or the consistently hostile attitude of the Falange, the official State Party, which has maintained an intimate relationship with the Nazi Party Dictatorship in Germany and with the Italian Fascists. Mr. Churchill reminds General Franco that he publicly took note, on the 24th May last, of the favourable changes in Spanish policy which began during the tenure of office of the late General Jordana Minister for Foreign Affairs, September 1942–August 1944), but those changes he declares, have not yet been sufficient to remove all the barriers between our two countries. And so long as those barriers prevent the development of really close relations of friendship and co-operation which is the desire of His Majesty's Government, "there can be no question of His Majesty's Government supporting Spanish claims to participate in the eventual peace settlement. Nor does it seem to me likely," the letter goes on, "that an invitation would be forthcoming for the admission of Spain to the future world organisation." It may perhaps be pointed out that, following Franco's rash pretensions in his interview with the U.P. correspondent (see *Summary* No. 266), the Spanish press attempted to gloss over the claim to representation at the Peace Conference by saying that the Caudillo had been misunderstood; all he had in mind was participation in the future world organisation, not a place at the peace table.

The references to Russia in General Franco's letter are dealt with categorically. In forthright language the Prime Minister removes any possible Spanish misconception that His Majesty's Government would be prepared to consider "any grouping of Powers in Western Europe or elsewhere on a basis of hostility towards, or the alleged necessity of defence against, our Russian Allies." He tells General Franco that, "the policy of His Majesty's Government remains firmly based upon the Anglo-Soviet Treaty of 1942, and that they regard the continuance of Anglo-Russian collaboration within the framework of the future world organisation as essential, not only to their own interests, but also to the future peace and prosperity of Europe as a whole." The letter ends with the reminder that such plain speaking was invited by General Franco's own desire for a clarification of Anglo-Spanish relations. "It is my conviction," Mr. Churchill adds more encouragingly, "that relations of friendship and co-operation between our two countries are desirable, and that they can only be developed and maintained within the framework of the principles which I have set out for your Excellency's consideration."

This reply may seem to close the door rather brusquely in the face of a country whose misdeeds we do not forget, but whose goodwill is, after all, not entirely without value for us as the leaders of European civilisation. But it is far from being a "noble negative"; it is not a refusal to Spain, it is rather a most opportune reminder to General Franco that the "noble positive" from him, the Head of the Falangist State, is not yet positive enough.

The Prime Minister has sent a copy of this correspondence to Marshal Stalin as well as to the United States Government.

ERRATUM.

Last week's *Summary*, page 6, end of second paragraph *for* "straight" *read* "strait."

ITALY.

The decision of the International Federation of Trade Unions not to admit ex-enemy countries to their conference in London next month will be very depressing news for the Italian General Confederation of Labour.

Efforts to reorganise Trade Unions began, more or less, as soon as the Allied Nations landed in Italy and, though there have been some ups and downs, as might be expected after twenty years' repression, the Trade Union Movement has been gradually reorganised and the British Trade Union has, practically unanimously, been chosen as the model. With this object in view a General Labour Congress is to be held in Naples towards the end of the month in the hopes of being able to broaden the basis of the Italian Confederation of Labour. But, in addition to this, the intention is to change the present system, in which the delegates are simply party representatives chosen by their leaders, into a non-party movement with the delegates freely elected by the rank and file.

It is, therefore, more than ever unfortunate that the International Federation of Trade Unions has deemed it necessary to take this step. A plea might possibly be made that Italy, as a co-belligerent, no longer comes into the category of ex-enemy countries, particularly in view of the ever-increasing responsibility that is likely to be granted to the Italian Government in the conduct of their affairs.

Pietro Nenni, the Socialist leader, made a speech at the Teatro Brancaccio on the 1st January to a large gathering of the Socialist Party. Signor Nenni made no particularly new point but, except from his own paper *Avanti*, he seems to have had from the press more criticism than support. Even *Italia Libera*, the Action Party paper, criticised the Communist-Socialist alliance and found Signor Nenni's explanations of the Socialist Party's policy unsatisfactory. *Risorgimento Liberale* (Liberal Party) was naturally much more critical. This paper asks how Signor Nenni explains his Party's absence from the Italian Cabinet when he had told his audience that Italy must redeem herself in the eyes of the world by the most complete co-operation in the United Nations' war effort. As regards the acceptance by the Committee of National Liberation in the north of the powers delegated to it by Signor Bonomi, *Risorgimento Liberale* suggests that Signor Nenni would do well to take a lesson from his Socialist brothers in the north.

With reference to Franco-Italian relations (see *Summary* No. 275), the statement published in the press by the Agence Française de la Presse to the effect that the status of Italians in Tunis was not a subject for discussion seems to be confirmed, since following a meeting of the Council of Ministers on the 12th January inspired comment subsequently stated that normal diplomatic relations could not be resumed until the Italian Government recognised that the 1893 agreements confirming the privileged status of Italians in Tunisia had lapsed following Italy's declaration of war on France.

In the North, the Fascist Republican Government has begun the year by taking strong measures with regard to the control of food supplies and in defence of the lira. A Decree of the 29th December, which came into force on the 8th January, ordered the requisitioning of all wholesale food concerns, which are henceforth to be under the control of a special Commissioner in each Province. Furthermore, all restaurants are to be converted into war canteens where meals will be served only at fixed low prices. These drastic measures are said to be aimed at putting an end to black market dealings and speculation, but a more cogent reason is probably to be found in difficulties of transport and distribution.

Another decree, allegedly aiming at the reduction of spending-power and the defence of the lira, orders the "temporary" cessation of the war bonus granted last September to industrial workers. The bonus of 10 lire a day which was then granted to industrial workers with no family responsibilities is to be discontinued for the present, while the bonus of 25 lire a day for heads of families is to be reduced to 20 lire. The withdrawal of these benefits, which were loudly proclaimed only four months ago as an example of Fascism's social policy, can only result in greater hardship among the workers, who may thus be compelled to accede to pressure to volunteer for work in Germany.

The trial of seven Generals who held important Commands at the time of the Armistice took place early in January. These Generals, whose trial had been pending for some months, were accused of abandoning their Command or failing to prevent disbandment of their troops. Generals Caracciolo and Robotti were

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sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment. Generals Garibaldi and Vecchiarelli to 10 years' imprisonment, while of the remaining three Generals two were acquitted and the case against the third was dismissed.

THE VATICAN.

The Vatican's English transmission of the 8th January gave the gist of a joint pastoral letter issued by the Sicilian Bishops, who advocate what the speaker called "a notable programme of social reconstruction." They demanded a restoration of the old trade guilds in modern form, agricultural co-operatives, more small holdings and rural banks to finance all these things. Workers, too, must share in the profits of industry. These reforms require "highly efficient modern rural schools. Instead, classical and professional schools are multiplied, destined too often to take the country pupils off the land, and make them misfits for life." The whole pastoral reflects the Pope's recent insistence on the dependence of full personality on the right to property, and his determination to make the continuance of a proletariat impossible.

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

The Hungarian delegation in Moscow is still awaiting presentation of the Armistice terms. Little news has come in of the activities of the Debrecen Government; but it is stated that the administration and other services are to be thoroughly purged of German and Nazi elements.

The entire battle-front in Hungary has been practically stationary during the week; but inside Pest the attackers have made some progress in bitter fighting. Among the important centres captured are the Eastern and Western Railway Stations.

Roumania.

As noted in last week's *Summary*, the Soviet Government intend to deport for forced labour in coal mines in Russia a large number of Roumanians of Teutonic descent. The first drafts have already left. The number at present affected is 35,750, the final figure may be 100,000 or even more. Nursing mothers with children under one year old are exempted, and so also are priests and nuns, whom in the first instance it was proposed to include.

General Vinogradov asserts that the people involved have consistently helped the Germans against the Allies, and that they are purely German in mental outlook. They are to be well treated and their eventual fate is to be decided at the Peace Conference.

We have informed the Soviet Government and the Soviet authorities in Bucharest that as we had not been informed before this decision was taken we shall be obliged, if questioned, to make it clear that action was taken without our being consulted. The United States Government have taken similar action in Bucharest, and have reminded General Vinogradov that there is nothing in the terms of the Armistice to justify the removal of these Volksdeutsche to the U.S.S.R.

There is a tendency for prices of foodstuffs to rise in Bucharest, but there still appear to be ample supplies for those who can afford to buy. The Prime Minister has spoken of the painful spectacle of a small minority indulging in riotous living, when people in general are struggling for life. This is one more good mark for General Radescu. It is this same "small minority" who not only in respect of luxury spending, but in everything else as well, are reckoned by foreigners to be "Roumania." The Prime Minister promises that night clubs will be closed and balls, except those held for charity, prohibited. In the meantime meals in restaurants are to be limited to two courses and dessert. This may not amount to very much. All meals in Bucharest restaurants are *à la carte*, and three courses is the usual-sized meal. Nothing is said about the size of the courses!

Yugoslavia.

The only considerable military development seems to be that the Germans in their retreat down the Lim are now north of Prijepolje. The hard-pressed Slovene Partisans have met with opposition in their effort forcibly to mobilise recruits. They have, however, been reinforced by the "Garibaldi" (Communist)

Division of Italian Partisans, about 1,200 strong, who have crossed the Isonzo and joined them.

The Belgrade press has given great prominence to the formation of provisional Governments in Albania and Hungary and at Lublin. On the 7th January *Borba* (Communist) devoted a leading article to abuse of the Polish Government and the Polish troops fighting with the Western Allies. There was no hint of any differences in Allied opinion over Poland; except that the writer expressed the conviction that the Lublin Government "will now be recognised by the rest of the democratic States—France, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and others." Next day *Borba* enthusiastically supported the Albanian Liberation Committee's demand for recognition from the Allies. Radio Belgrade has become increasingly critical of the use of British force in Greece. On the 12th *Borba* printed an article from the *Laiki Phoni*, of Salonika, which exalted the struggle of E.L.A.S. "against Fascism" and spoke of General Scobie as the representative of Conservative circles assisting national traitors.

King Peter has taken a step which has given a check to the discussions on the formation of a united Yugoslav Government. On the 11th January, on his own responsibility, he issued to the press a statement of his views on the Tito–Shubashitch Agreement for a Yugoslav Government. While approving the basic principle of the agreement, that the freely expressed will of the peoples of Yugoslavia should decide the future constitution of the country, and while accepting the principle of the formation of a Regency Council, he stated his objections to two features of the agreement, namely, the proposed method of appointing the Regency Council and the attribution of unrestricted legislative power to the Partisans' Council (A.V.N.O.J.) during the period until the Constituent Assembly has enacted the new constitution. He added that the second feature suggested the transfer of power in Yugoslavia to a single political group, and declared that only an all-party Government could satisfactorily deal with the situation. It remains to be seen if the King's two points can be met with the agreement of all parties concerned.

The Belgrade press of the 13th treated the King's statement as a matter of indifference and incapable of affecting the establishment of the new régime in Yugoslavia. Organised demonstrations in the streets shouted anti-royal slogans. On the other hand, it is reported that for the first time some slight interest is being shown by the public in the King. Most of the Partisans and of their opponents, being unfamiliar with the machinery of democratic government, have inferred from the publication of King Peter's statement in London that it was made at the instance of the British Government. This has even led them to speculate on the possibility of British intervention in Yugoslavia.

Greece.

On the 10th January it was officially announced from General Scobie's Headquarters that emissaries from E.A.M. Central Committee had arrived bearing a document which authorised MM. Zevgos and Partsalidis and Majors Makridis and Athinellis to negotiate for a truce, either all together or two of them together. General Scobie had received the emissaries and had ascertained that they had come, not to put forward any proposition, but to receive his terms for a truce and to accept them if they saw fit.

Discussions continued throughout the 10th and 11th January, and it was announced on the night of the 11th that a truce between General Scobie's forces and the Central Committee of E.L.A.S. had been signed by General Scobie and the four E.L.A.S. delegates; at the request of the latter, who needed time to issue the necessary orders, hostilities would cease at one o'clock on the morning of the 15th January. Briefly, the main terms of the truce were as follows:—

By the 18th January E.L.A.S. forces east and south of the general line of the road Itea–Amphissa–Lamia–Domokos–Pharsala, and thence east to the coast north of Volos, must retire, and remain, west and north of this line; by the 17th January E.L.A.S. forces must evacuate Salonica and an agreed area round it; by the 19th January E.L.A.S. forces must evacuate the northern Peloponnese, withdrawing south of the general line Pyrgos to Argos; by the 24th January E.L.A.S. forces must withdraw from Zante, Eubœa, Kithera, the Cyclades, and the Sporades; all service personnel of whatever nationality, including Greek police and gendarmerie, must be returned. This provision included all Greek personnel bearing arms, but not civilians detained by the E.A.M. civil police. An equal number of E.L.A.S. prisoners would be released by the British. All British civilians captured must be returned.

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It is to be noted that by the terms of the truce Greek civilian hostages are left in the hands of E.L.A.S.; on this point the E.A.M. delegates absolutely refused to yield, being evidently determined to hold these unfortunate persons as security against possible future proscriptions. The Regent has expressed himself as "profoundly shocked" at E.L.A.S.'s refusal to release innocent men and women; at the same time he stated that, if E.L.A.S. Central Committee felt they could assist in the re-establishment of law and order, he would readily facilitate a meeting between them and representatives of the Greek Government. General Plastiras issued a brief statement saying that the truce did not prejudice the attitude of the Greek Government, which would not deviate from its intention of establishing the rule of law throughout the country. On the same day a statement issued from 10 Downing Street endorsed the terms of the truce on behalf of His Majesty's Government, described the taking of hostages as a barbarous custom condemned by international law, and pointed out that no truce could endure or ripen into peace unless or until the hostages had been released. The Greek Government expressed profound relief at the publication of the British statement, and General Plastiras again affirmed that no penalties would be enforced except by courts of law against individuals who were found to have committed acts contrary to the rules of war or to the ordinary criminal code.

Albania.

It may or may not be true that Albanian partisans joined E.L.A.S. or supplied E.L.A.S. with ammunition, but there is little doubt that three delegates of the Albanian partisans attended E.A.M./E.L.A.S. discussions at Salonica.

A broadcast of the 5th January supported the appeal of Enver Hoxha's Government for Allied recognition, by claiming among other things that the Albanians had been the first people to fight Fascism, that they were now fighting the Germans in Montenegro and that the provisional Government had established order all over Albania. Whatever the extent of its authority, the provisional Government certainly inclines to drastic measures, which indicate a new atmosphere infused with the spirit of Moscow. An Italian and an Albanian representing a firm of contractors were executed for concealing road-mending material. Profiteering is loudly denounced and the people are invited to bring evidence to the special court which is to try war criminals. It is evident that the court will be used as a convenient instrument for eliminating political opponents.

Bulgaria.

Continuing its proceedings the People's Court heard the ex-Regents, three former Premiers and other ex-Ministers and Deputies. The most sensational development was Prince Kiril's suggestion that King Boris had died of an overdose of oxygen when the Germans flew him home after his meeting with Hitler. Published comment on the trial emphasised the Prince's German descent, described him as a spendthrift and swindler and observed that for the first time since the French revolution the people had the chance of judging a dynasty which had oppressed them and led them into disaster. What the Fatherland Front—and no doubt Moscow—hold against the Muraviev Government is not only that by its procrastination in the early days of last September it enabled the German forces to get away, but also that consisting of Leftists, as it did, it played the ex-Regents' game of splitting the Left. On the former point Nikola Mushanov, an important figure in the Muraviev Cabinet, stated that the Government deferred its declaration of war against Germany in order to allow time for Bulgarian troops to withdraw from Yugoslavia.

If it is true that the Communists have lost ground since September, that may explain evident signs of unrest among the component parties of the Fatherland Front. On the 24th December Terpeshev, the partisan leader and Communist Minister without Portfolio, who now figures as a lieutenant-general, admitted in a speech that there was hostility in the Front to the Communists. Since then emphasis has been laid on the unanimity alleged to prevail and also on the need for continuing the purge of the Administration and of the parties composing the Fatherland Front. The Premier, M. Gheorghiev, sent a New Year's message to Dr. G. M. Dimitrov, the Agrarian leader, mentioning that he relied on Agrarian support. The Fatherland Front itself issued a statement stressing its unity, deprecating dissension and advocating a further purge. A Tsveno paper declared that all signs of such a thing as a rift had gone. Both a Social Democrat and a Communist paper demanded a purge for the consolidation of the Front.

Lastly, the secretary of the Agrarian Union made a point of asserting that complete unanimity prevailed within the Front.

Although there have been reports of armed Bulgarians and Bulgarian arms and ammunition entering Greece, the E.L.A.S. delegates who went to Sofia in an effort to obtain reparation supplies are reported to have met with a refusal. However, Bulgarian delegates appear to have attended an E.A.M./E.L.A.S. conference at Salonica.

A Bulgarian trade delegation has been sent to Moscow to negotiate for cotton, wool, leather, rubber, iron and other urgently needed raw materials. It may be hoped that Bulgaria will first be compelled to make at least a start with reparation deliveries to Greece and Yugoslavia.

Turkey.

The announcement that there is to be a third issue of bonds to cover military expenditure suggests that the decline in revenue recently mentioned by the Prime Minister has been such as seriously to upset the budget adopted last summer. The economic situation would be much eased if the 750,000 men now under arms were gradually to be demobilised, but a Bill which has recently passed its first reading in the National Assembly gives the Cabinet absolute power to prolong the period of service. Although there has been relief at the improvement in the Greek situation, that in Bulgaria is regarded with disquiet, and no change for the better is noticeable in Turco-Soviet relations. The Turkish Government is therefore unlikely to indulge in substantial demobilisation.

On the 8th January the Minister of Public Works opened a new road which leads from Iskenderon (Alexandretta) via Mersin and over the Taurus to Ulukişla on the Anatolian plateau. On the following day, in the presence of the British Ambassador, he opened a new jetty at Iskenderon. Both these important works have been constructed with British financial and technical help.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

The trial of the two Jews, Hakim and Ben Suri, charged with the murder of Lord Moyne, opened in Cairo on the 10th January, and except for Friday the 12th has continued daily since then. The proceedings in court have been dignified and impartial. One remarkable feature was the reading out by the Procureur-Général of a telegram sent to the Egyptian Minister of Justice by an American-Jewish organisation in New York demanding a fair trial; and the President of the Court took the opportunity of stating that the judges would act according to the law and their consciences, and that the accused were assured of a fair trial. Hakim pleaded guilty to killing Lord Moyne with premeditation, participating in the killing of Corporal Fuller, the British driver, and being in illegal possession of firearms; while Ben Suri pleaded guilty to killing Fuller, participating in the killing of Lord Moyne with premeditation, and being in illegal possession of firearms and explosives.

Ben Suri, in his statement, said that he had not intended to shoot Fuller, his instructions being to kill only Lord Moyne. He stated that all Palestinians were fighting for independence, and that Great Britain was a foreign Government trying to impose its rule and withhold freedom from them. Hakim, who spoke more briefly, confined himself to the motive of the crime, asserting that the Government of Palestine had committed crimes of violence before they themselves had done so, and that it was not possible for them to bring to justice persons like Lord Moyne. Both the accused refused to state from whom they had received their instructions.

After the Procureur-Général had addressed the Court for the prosecution, saying that the accused had shown no pity and deserved none, one of the advocates for the defence spoke on behalf of Hakim who, he said, was under 18 at the time of the murder and was therefore deserving of clemency. Tawfik Doss Pasha, who later continued the defence, urged that this was a political crime, due to Jewish disappointment at the present position of Jews in Palestine. He ended with a quotation from the Quran and an appeal for mercy. The trial continues, but is expected to end shortly.

The final results of the Egyptian general election show that the Saadists, the party of the Prime Minister, have gained 125 seats; while the Liberals obtain 74, Makramites 29, Independents 29, and Nationalists 7. Thus the Saadists have 125 members as against 139 of all other parties. Ahmad Maher has since re-formed his Cabinet, but only a few minor changes have been made.

In accordance with an Anglo-American decision, the Middle East Supply Centre has relinquished control over a large proportion of imports into the Middle

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East, retaining it only over those commodities which are in exceptionally short supply or which, being bulky, require an exceptional quantity of shipping. Otherwise the local Governments resume full responsibility for the regulation of their import trade. Their freedom of action is still limited, however, by the general shortage of shipping and, for members of the sterling area, by the relative scarcity of non-sterling currencies. It is the latter problem which forms the subject of the Anglo-Egyptian arrangements contained in an exchange of letters (3rd and 6th January) between the Egyptian Ministry of Finance and the British Embassy, published last week in a White Paper (Cmd. 6582). By these arrangements His Majesty's Government undertake to provide Egypt in 1945 with a substantial amount of non-sterling currency (the "target" figure is £10 million), while the Egyptian Government for their part have agreed to strengthen their import and foreign exchange controls. It is pointed out that, since no payments for wheat and fertilizers are included in the target figure, there is a potential additional burden, which may amount to as much as £5 million, on the sterling area foreign exchange pool.

Large-scale but peaceful demonstrations by students took place in Damascus on the 2nd January on the question of the Syrian National Army. The Prime Minister told the demonstrators of the long negotiations between the Syrian Government and the French over the *Troupes Spéciales*, and of how the French had changed their minds about transferring these troops. He added that the Allies could not supply arms for a new Syrian army, as none were available beyond those for the use of the gendarmerie.

We have again pressed the French Minister for Foreign Affairs to send a reply about the transfer of the *Troupes Spéciales* and the supply of cars and automatic weapons to the gendarmerie, on both of which matters Mr. Eden spoke to M. Bidault personally during his visit to Paris in November last. In a recent conversation with Mr. Duff-Cooper on the matter, M. Bidault was not encouraging. When told that an unfavourable impression was being created by the lack of any reply on his part to the various communications we had sent, he said that he regretted the delay, but that no reply was better than one which might be totally unsatisfactory. Nor did he agree that the situation in the Levant was becoming more serious.

The Regent of Iraq is hoping to visit the United States at the end of March or in early April. He expects to be in America for about a month, after which he would like to pay another visit to this country, travelling incognito. The proposed formation of Arab propaganda offices in London and Washington (see last week's *Summary*) has been officially approved by the Iraqi Government, which has allocated £30,000 for 1945 towards the expenses of their establishment. In announcing this recently in Parliament the Iraqi Prime Minister stated that the main object in view was propaganda on behalf of Arab Palestine.

On the 8th January the Persian Majlis passed a law repealing the special powers granted to Dr. Millspaugh in economic affairs and placing on the Persian Government the responsibility for dealing with departments and institutions which had been under Dr. Millspaugh's charge, either by their abolition or by their transfer to another Minister, or by making them into independent administrations. The Government may also retain, amend or cancel any of Dr. Millspaugh's economic regulations.

A story has been current for some weeks that the Soviet Government intended to appoint a Minister of State in Tehran corresponding more or less to the British Minister of State in Cairo. There seems, however, to be no basis for the rumour.

THE FAR EAST.

Radio broadcasts from Tokyo indicate that the Koiso Government is facing a crisis and may even cease to exist before the Japanese Diet reconvenes on the 21st January. Although Domei reports for foreign consumption affect confidence that the outcome of the Luzon battle will be a crushing defeat for the American invaders, this optimistic view is evidently not shared by inner political and military circles in Tokyo. The Japanese are under no illusions as to the disastrous consequences to the Japanese "co-prosperity sphere" and ultimately to Japan itself which the complete American conquest of the Philippines would entail. The American capture of Saipan brought about the downfall of the Tojo Cabinet; it is unlikely that Koiso could survive the fall of Manila.

In addition to the loss of prestige which it has suffered through the Japanese defeats in the Philippines and in Burma, the Koiso Cabinet has also been under

fire for its shortcomings in home administration. These criticisms have particularly centred around the poor quality of munitions production, inadequate measures for dealing with damage caused by air raids, and insufficient co-operation between officials and people. *Domei*, on the 12th January, announced that a new five-point programme, drawn up by the Planning Board had been approved by the Cabinet. The programme provided for the strengthening of anti-air raid defences; a drastic intensification of munitions production; a thorough campaign to increase food production; an expansion of the National Labour Service; and the conversion of all available materials to war purposes. There is nothing novel in this programme; what is significant is the light which it throws upon existing troubles on the Japanese home front.

On the 14th January Japanese Imperial Headquarters announced that some sixty American aircraft had raided Nagoya and surrounding areas and that bombs had been dropped in the grounds of the Grand Shrine of Toyouke;. two ritual purification halls and five halls for sacred music and dancing had been demolished. The communiqué added that the results of the interception of enemy aircraft were being ascertained. A later report claimed nine American aircraft destroyed and many others damaged. The Shrine of Toyouke is the Geku or Outer Shrine of Ise, the Shinto holy of holies, and the fact that enemy aircraft could not be prevented from bombing it is a tremendous blow to the Government's prestige and provides a splendid opportunity for anyone who may wish to bring about its downfall.

This chance has evidently not been missed. Opposition to the Koiso Government appears to have centred in the *Seijikai*, headed by Admiral Kobayashi, the recently-appointed Minister without Portfolio (see this *Summary* No. 273). The *Seijikai* is largely composed of members of the Diet, some of them old Parliamentarians, others of a more militarist and extremist character, who were elected for the first time in 1942. Tokyo reports indicate that these "younger members" of the Diet are taking an active part in demanding a drastic political renovation—which might imply measures somewhat corresponding in character to those taken in Germany since last July. The *Seijikai*, which was organised as a link between the Government and various "national service" associations, appears to have developed into a formidable critic of the Government itself and might take on a totalitarian aspect under the ægis of "patriots" of the Hashimoto stamp.

A member of the Japanese Military Press Corps in the Philippines quoted General Yamashita, the Japanese Commander-in-Chief, as saying that "the loss of an island or two in the Philippines does not matter. We shall allow the enemy to advance and then annihilate tens of thousands of them at one stroke." Other Japanese reports elaborate this theme of a planned retreat into the interior of Luzon in order to deal a destructive counter-blow. The *Domei* commentator in Singapore (12th January) intimated that the Japanese would pursue a similar strategy in Burma; he said that their troops had fallen back on previously prepared positions in Central Burma and that the Japanese commanders had concentrated the maximum force on a battlefield chosen by themselves. After surveying the general military situation in the Pacific, he ended with the comment that there existed in the East vast imponderable forces—the anti-British masses of India and the anti-foreign masses of China in particular—which would eventually guarantee a decisive Japanese victory.

On the 11th January, Tokyo announced the appointment of Suemitsu Kadowaki and of Shoji Ogata as Counsellors to the Japanese Embassy in Moscow. Kadowaki had previously been Chief of the East Asiatic Department and then Chief of the Political Department of the Tokyo Foreign Office. Ogata had been Consul in Petropavlovsk in 1935 and was regarded as particularly well-informed on Japanese-Soviet relations. The appointments were considered to be a significant strengthening of Japanese representation in Moscow. A Japanese Singapore broadcast (13th January) alleged that the principal aim of Anglo-American intrigue in Moscow was to inveigle Stalin into war against Japan. It pointed out that the Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact of April, 1941, was operative for five years, that either contracting party had to give notice of its desire to terminate the Pact one year before its expiration, and, if neither side took such action, the Pact remained in force for a further five years. Stalin would therefore be compelled to show his hand in respect of the Pacific War before April, 1945. This would be one of the most important subjects of discussion at the forthcoming conference of the "Big Three," but Stalin's Western Allies had no adequate compensation to offer him to offset the disadvantages of incurring war with Japan. The German political survey in *N.P.D.* (10th January) referred to Stalin's denunciation of

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Japan as an aggressor nation and to articles in *Pravda* and in *The War and the Working Class* which depicted Japan's position and prospects in sombre hues. But nevertheless, the German commentator considered that neither Japan nor the Soviet Union had either the inclination or the strength to start a new war. For both Powers the most favourable moment for declaring war against each other passed several years ago. The one fact which emerges from these Axis speculations upon Soviet intentions is that no help will be forthcoming from Tokyo to relieve the hard-pressed German armies on the Russian front.

On the 9th January the Chungking Radio reported that the Standing Committee of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee had decided to convene the sixth Party Congress on the 5th May. The National Party Congress is supposed to meet every two years, although in fact it has not done so; previous Congresses were held in 1924, 1926, 1929, 1931 and 1935. There was also an Extraordinary Party Congress at Hankow in 1938. When in session the Congress is the supreme Kuomintang organ and it elects the members of the Central Executive and Central Supervisory Committees of the Party. The forthcoming Kuomintang National Congress will have among its tasks that of formulating the arrangements for the People's Congress which the Generalissimo recently announced would be convened before the end of the war (see this *Summary* No. 274). Meanwhile the negotiations between the Kuomintang and the Communist Parties, which had previously ended in deadlock, are reported to have been renewed and the chances of some kind of a settlement being reached are thought by observers to be rather brighter than before.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

In his Budget Message to the new Congress on the 9th January, President Roosevelt sounded the same note heard in the "State of the Union" Message three days earlier (see *Summary* No. 275). "We have learned," he asserted, "that, just as the United States cannot afford to be isolationist in its political philosophy, neither can it stand the malignant effects of economic isolationism." He went on to outline "a concrete programme for international monetary and financial co-operation at an early date." The President's practical proposals were threefold: first, he urged Congress to accept and implement the Bretton Woods agreement of last July, proposing an International Monetary Fund and an International Bank for Reconstruction. Secondly, he recommended "the early expansion" of the Export–Import Bank's lending powers. Thirdly, he urged the repeal of the Johnson Act, which since 1934 has prohibited loans to countries, including Great Britain, which are in default on loans arising out of the First World War.

These suggestions were, as he explained, designed to eliminate "the evils that stem from unstable and destructive exchange practices," while meeting "the need for international investment which is becoming acute." Whereas the Export–Import Bank, a Government institution founded in 1934, provides credits for the purchase of American goods abroad, the International Bank would enable the United States to finance the movement of goods from any country to any other country. The anxiety of the Administration to help reconstruction everywhere is clear. A novel emphasis on the connexion between domestic prosperity and world stability also appeared in the Message. "Other countries are anxiously awaiting the development of our policy and will be more willing to make international commitments if they are assured of high post-war employment in the United States. They are fully aware that international co-operation cannot succeed unless the United States is prosperous."

The day after the Budget Message, the President was obliged to expose something of a setback to his foreign economic policy. He requested the Senate to return for further consideration the Anglo-American Oil Agreement of the 8th August, 1944, which has since been languishing in the Senate files. This step came as no surprise. It was clear that the agreement stood little chance of ratification in its present shape, particularly as it was strongly opposed by Senator Connally (Democrat, Texas), the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, and on most matters, except oil, a valuable supporter of the Administration's policy. Outside Congress the Petroleum Industry War Council had also suggested drastic amendments. Fears that the Senate might be by-passed if a revised oil pact were concluded in the form of an executive agreement were expressed by the *Wall Street Journal* and the *New York Herald-Tribune;* while the *New York Times* (the 12th January) took it for granted that "the revised draft will be prepared in consultation with the petroleum interests and also with

the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. This is altogether the proper course to take."

A much more promising omen, on the 10th January, was the somewhat unexpected appearance of Senator Vandenberg as the champion of an uncompromising foreign alliance. The Republican Senator from Michigan has travelled a long way from the isolationism of pre-Pearl Harbour days. He was responsible for the Mackinac Resolution inserted in his party's platform last summer and his new proposals did not differ fundamentally from the views he expressed during the Dumbarton Oaks debates. Yet, presented in concrete form, they were sufficiently arresting.

Opening the debate on foreign policy on Wednesday, before an attentive Senate and a deeply-interested gallery, Senator Vandenberg called for the immediate negotiation of a "hard and fast" treaty between the major Powers to keep Germany and Japan permanently demilitarised. "We need not await the determination of our other post-war relationships," he said. "This problem, this menace, stands apart by itself." The Senator went on to explain that he would favour the immediate formation of a United Nations security organisation such as was contemplated in the Dumbarton Oaks plan, but made a significant reservation: provided it specifically authorised the ultimate review of protested injustices in the eventual peace terms. Such a reservation would "at least partially nullify the argument that we are asked to put a blank cheque warrant behind the future *status quo* which is unknown to us, and which we might be unwilling to defend." Even with this qualification his proposal seems to mark a considerable advance on his position last summer.

Senator Connally, whose opinions were taken to reflect those of the White House, which he had visited the previous day, suggested that it might be better if there were not "too much discussion of these matters" before the coming "Big Three" conference. But Senator Austin, another influential member of the Foreign Relations Committee, strongly supported the proposal and was followed by several other Senators, Republicans and Democrats as well. In the end Senator Connally was constrained to promise an examination of the proposed alliance.

In conversation Senator Vandenberg has insisted that he is prepared for an unconditional treaty not dependent on the good behaviour of the other parties, that he is confident of obtaining two-thirds of the Senate to support it; and that his proposal is not incompatible with the Dumbarton Oaks Plan. Like Senator Connally, Administration spokesmen may well have feared lest such a limited alliance might salve too many consciences at too little cost and make a larger international organisation more difficult to get through the Senate later on. Senator Vandenberg, however, not only seems to hold the balance in the Foreign Relations Committee but in the Senate itself. The Committee is now more strongly internationalist than hitherto. Of the five new members, though Senator Wiley (Republican, Wisconsin) is a pronounced Isolationist and Styles Bridges (Republican, New Hampshire) a nationalist, Senators Hill (Democrat, Alabama), Hatch (Democrat, New Mexico) and Lucas (Democrat, Illinois) are all out-and-out internationalists. There are now 14 unswerving supporters of the Administration on the Committee, and, of the 9 Republican members, Senator Austin is also internationally-minded, while Senators White and Bridges have comparatively good voting records. Only Senators Johnson, Capper, La Follette and Shipstead are diehard Isolationists.

Senator Vandenberg's speech stole the thunder of several other Senators who had their own panaceas to offer the Administration. His colleague from Michigan, Senator Ferguson, wants a reiteration of the Atlantic Charter and a United Nations Council to administer liberated countries. Senators Ball and Hatch despair of getting a further resolution on the lines of their famous B.H. formula accepted before the forthcoming meeting. Senator Connally himself, who has been inclined, perhaps on behalf of the Administration, to soft-pedal discussion of foreign policy at this moment, has put forward outside Congress a plan for the immediate formation of a provisional council of the United Nations with a purely advisory function.

The Senate debate continued after the week-end with rather more acrimony, thanks to Senator Wheeler, who has returned to his wonted isolation. During the week-end the press of the Union was warm in praise of Senator Vandenberg's initiative, especially as coming from an erstwhile Isolationist. Liberal papers sounded a warning that such an alliance must not become a substitute for a broader treaty. Republican organs hailed the speech as "a beacon in the midst of Allied bickerings." Criticism of British and Russian "power politics"

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was still very vocal, but the cautionary words of the President about "perfectionism" and the *Economist*'s expressed distaste for "noble negatives" were echoed in a number of places. A significant article in *The Nation* (13th January) by Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, censured American Liberal and Progressive opinion for its too great awareness of the sins of others. The fact is, he wrote, that America's threat to international accord is more subtle than the policies of Britain and the Soviet. "Our power is primarily economic rather than political, and economic power is always less obvious."

Mr. Walter Lippmann has continued to write in a conciliatory strain. He hails the Vandenberg proposal with enthusiasm, believing that it is "not only consistent with the letter and spirit of the Dumbarton Oaks Plan, but that it is indispensable to the success of the plan." The important proviso for review noted above, is, however, nowhere mentioned in the article. In his first trans-atlantic broadcast on the B.B.C. Home Service (Sunday, 14th January) Mr. Joseph C. Harsch of the *Christian Science Monitor* once again expressed American idealism and optimism with his concluding remarks: "You can call Senator Vandenberg an astute politician who senses the swing of public opinion, or a statesman. But is doesn't matter very much which you call him, for the result is the same. Mr. Roosevelt now proceeds to the next meeting with Mr. Churchill and Mr. Stalin more nearly the leader of the nation on peace measures than he ever was before and very much more so than Woodrow Wilson was in 1918." (See also under "Latin America.")

LATIN AMERICA.

On the 8th January the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union decided that, since the "United and Associated American States" had agreed to hold a meeting to discuss present and post-war problems of an emergency character, it would be preferable that no action should at present be taken about the Argentine proposal for a meeting of Foreign Ministers: an opportunity would, however, be afforded for the representatives of the American Republics to give joint consideration to the Argentine request. Invitations were issued two days later. The Conference will presumably take place in Mexico City in the middle of February; the unrecognised Governments of Argentina and El Salvador have not been invited.

The Conference is to discuss measures relative to the common war-effort; the problems of post-war co-operation, including the Dumbarton Oaks proposals; and measures of economic co-operation; finally the question of Argentina will come up. On the 8th January the Colombian Government issued a statement to the effect that in future Pan-American conferences should meet at fixed dates, that the Union of American Republics should have the power to impose political and judicial sanctions, and that a means should be found for withholding recognition from Governments not deserving it without infringing the principle of non-intervention in internal affairs.

The reaction of the Argentine Government has been to instruct their representative on the Governing Board to inform the chairman of the Union that, "so long as Argentine rights remain unrecognised and consultative procedure is vitiated, which in the opinion of this Government is the implication of the resolution of the 8th January," the Argentine Republic had decided to abstain from participating in the meetings of the Union. This action, which, in the circumstances, can hardly be called immoderate, suggests that the Government have no wish to increase the existing tension. It seems, in effect, to be a compromise between those who wished to withdraw from the Union altogether, and those who wanted to take the even less energetic line of a simple protest against Argentina's being deprived of the benefits of a consultative meeting.

The Argentine Cabinet, despite General Farrell's anodyne affirmations (see last week's *Summary*), has again been violently divided. Colonel Perón's manœuvres to build up his own future (especially the appointment of his henchman, Dr. Bramuglia (see last week's *Summary*)) have been an obvious source of friction, and General Peluffo, who is believed to have issued an ultimatum demanding that Colonel Perón's "personal rule" should be checked and a return made to civilian government, announced his resignation on the 15th January. Major Embrioni, the Director-General in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has also resigned. The Government is accordingly much weakened.

Meanwhile, Government measures have been more conciliatory than otherwise. The Pensions Decree (see *Summary* No. 269) has been suspended; three more German construction firms have been subjected to Government management; and the new Interventor of Córdoba has upheld the freedom of worship guaranteed by the Constitution in cancelling a police prohibition on Salvation Army meetings. On the debit side, *Argentina Libre*, which emerged from silence on the 7th December, has again been closed by the police.

In Brazil there is evidence that President Vargas has at last become convinced of the necessity for elections. The chief reason which would support such a conviction is the desire to ensure for Brazil the favour of the United Nations in the post-war world. Brazil's desire, indeed, to play a prominent part in post-war world organisation is obvious; and the feeling is growing that an essential preliminary is either a house-cleaning or some appearance of house-cleaning—*para inglês ver*. This welcome change of outlook (if it is a change) seems to be at least partly due to a modification in the views of General Dutra, the Minister for War, who has just returned from a doubtless instructive trip to the battle-front in Italy. The general's conversion leaves the Minister of Justice and the President's brother Benjamin as the leaders of the reactionary clique. The general apparently now favours a return to the 1934 Constitution with a Senate and Chamber directly elected by the people, rather than the frankly corporative and totalitarian Constitution of 1937. It is also possible that by these means the President would appease the Liberal opposition at home, though the "Liberals" are reported to be confident that a free press would expose enough scandals to bring down the existing order.

Mr. Adolf Berle has been nominated United States Ambassador to Brazil.

In Panamá the position of President Ricardo Adolfo de la Guardia appears to be firmer. He is bidding for popular support by raising salaries and offering Panamanian nationality to the descendants of West Indian families, debarred by the reactionary legislation of 1941. Criticism of him is now restricted to his allegedly unconstitutional position (he took over the remainder of the term when Arnulfo Arias was overthrown) and to the value to be attached to his promise of free elections for a National Convention in May.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 277

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
24TH JANUARY, 1945.

Copy № 183

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

THE third week of January 1945 has been a black week for German arms. The loss of Warsaw, Lodz, Cracow and Tilsit—four important military outposts in no more than four days—has given the German people a shock, the extent of which cannot yet indeed be measured, but of which the gravity of propaganda statements is a clear indication. The shock does not seem to have been altogether unexpected. On the 13th, Nazi publicists were already explaining that "deep wedges here and there" would not be decisive "so long as our defensive front maintains a coherent, if elastic, system." On the second day of the Russian offensive *D.N.B.* stated that the German forces were fighting "partly in prepared positions and partly in free movement." The public were assured that counter-measures had been taken, in the shape of "complete defensive positions, staggered in depth," extending "far to the rear." Thereafter, each day's output of propaganda has emphasised, rather than disguised, the critical nature of the battles fought on Germany's eastern frontier. On the 16th, a *D.N.B.* broadcast for the German press said that "German strategy has never intended to force prestige successes by rigidly defending sectors of ground which are difficult to hold," a preparation for admissions of further Soviet penetrations which have followed rapidly. On the same day, the Gauleiter of Upper Silesia, Bracht, broadcast an appeal to an Army Group in the East, in which he recognised the threat to Upper Silesia. "You must now hold out and contest every inch of ground," he said. "Behind you stand German men and women. . . . . If you do not hold out, we cannot resist."

On the 17th, for the first time since D-Day, the O.K.W. gave to the Eastern front first place in its communiqué. On the following day it announced briefly the evacuation of Warsaw. In the evening, the home public heard that "the foremost waves of the battle have reached the frontier area of the Reich." A war reporter painted a vivid picture of reserves being hurriedly rushed up to the front: "emergency units, police troops, the brave men of the Upper Silesian Volkssturm, the Stadtwacht, the Landwacht, and the regiments manning the positions in these areas."

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On the 19th, the official communiqué announced that the garrison of Budapest had withdrawn to the west bank of the Danube. Maegerlein, in the Home Service, depicted the German people as "bringing forth their maps and school atlases to seek out with grave anxiety the towns to which Soviet tank spearheads have rapidly advanced in the last few days"—an anxiety which is not surprising in view of the mention of such names as Cracow, Lodz, Kutno and Gumbinnen. But, said Maegerlein, these were only advanced tank spearheads, and the main Russian forces were further to the East. Details of the desperate measures of German commanders in the field were issued for the Press. Only rarely was the arrival of reserves awaited. Every available man was being armed and thrown into the fight. As in the West, the enemy would find that the nearer he approached to the German frontier, the more fanatical would be the German resistance. Another broadcast for the German Press was slightly more optimistic, and spoke of the first indications that the Eastern front was beginning to regain its strength. The enemy was meeting the defensive line "quickly built before the Upper Silesian frontier."

On the 20th the O.K.W. announced the fall of Cracow and Lodz. Volkssturm battalions were helping to block the way of Soviet spearheads into Upper Silesia. The names of Gilgenburg, Neidenburg and Insterburg appeared in the communiqué. Fritzsche admitted that although indications of new defence lines had appeared sooner than they had during the fighting in the East and West last summer, the present breakthrough was taking place much nearer to "the very centre of our living space." For the European Press, Hallensleben spoke of the attempts of German battle groups left behind in the Vistula bend to delay the main Soviet forces, and of the movements of "those German armies which have been by-passed by the Soviet attacking wedges," and said that they were reaching "rallying zones west of their starting area," and would soon influence the battle considerably. The O.K.W. also spoke of the German troops in the "depth of the battlefield," as being everywhere engaged in heavy fighting with the enemy infantry which was following up.

Street fighting in Gumbinnen and Tilsit was reported in the communiqué of the 21st. Other comment spoke of a slowing down of the Red army's thrusts, "on the whole," and was vaguely hopeful of German counter-measures to come. In a talk to German forces in the Netherlands, a Political Guidance Officer said that "space is no longer an ally of Germany." The battle in the East "must be brought to a finish where we stand." A *D.N.B.* editorial of the 22nd is much more gloomy: "If the decision were to run against us, not only the life of the individual but the existence of the German nation would be ended."

The fighting in the West was overshadowed by the attention paid to the Eastern Front. On the 15th January Sündermann said to foreign journalists, however, that the Soviet winter offensive was only possible because the Western Front was pinning down part of the German forces. The more usual view was expressed by Kriegk on the 16th, when he said that the German offensive in the West had "more or less given the cover for our back that we need in our present effort to ward off the new Soviet mass assault with the entire fighting strength of our Eastern divisions." On the 21st, a *D.N.B.* broadcast said that although it was not comparable with the great battles in the East, the fighting in the West was no less important, because the Allies were endeavouring to regain the initiative.

The measures taken by the Reich civil authorities to meet the crisis seem to be in the nature of desperate remedies, applied perforce, and with little regard to national morale. Express train services have been cut throughout the Reich, with the exception of services between East Prussia and Pomerania. Railway traffic into the Reich, said Königsberg radio, will continue as usual. Consumers' fuel supplies have been cut—coal and coke by 30 per cent., as compared with 1941–42, gas entirely where it is not the only means of cooking, electric fires are forbidden. Private letters, except for local delivery, must be replaced by post-cards. Yet the Nazis urge their people to keep calm. Hitler is reported to be in direct command of the threatened front. Desperate resistance is said to be in store for the enemy at every stage. Poznan, said State Secretary Naumann, will prove a hard nut for the enemy to crack, but its defenders were not likely to witness final victory.

With the Russian occupation of the towns of Kielce and Radom (the 15th and 16th January), of Warsaw and Czestochowa (the 17th) and, finally, of Cracow on the 19th, the General Government has ceased to exist. The political importance of Cracow (which in 1943 had a population of 3½ million, of whom

25,000 were Germans) had diminished since November, when the seat of Governor-General Frank's Administration was moved to Czestochowa (see *Summary* No. 269). Its military value, on the other hand, was emphasised by a Wilhelmstrasse military spokesman as recently as the 18th January, when he described it as "the corner-stone of our prepared position in the south," and outlined "the contours of a provisional German rallying position near the frontier of the Government General . . . . roughly marked by the towns of Cracow, Czestochowa, Lodz and Ciechanow." (Ciechanow had already fallen on the 17th January, and Lodz was to follow suit on the 19th.)

Further signs that Himmler is consolidating his authority at points of danger may be added to those given in a recent issue of this *Summary* (No. 275). The Infantry General, Glaise-Horstenau, recently commanding German forces in Croatia, has been replaced as "Plenipotentiary" by S.S.-Obergruppenführer Pruetzmann. The General Inspector for Prisoners of War, Infantry General Röttig, has been replaced by S.S.-Obergruppenführer Berger, who late in 1944 was commanding German troops in Slovakia and has been concerned with the protection of rail traffic. An order quoted in a West German paper of mid-December reveals that the Wehrmacht Commander in Saarbrücken is the Police President of the town, and thus not even a member of the Waffen-S.S. A prisoner's statement of about the same date was to the effect that German forces in the Upper Rhine region were under S.S. command. The Volkssturm formations fighting in Upper Silesia are reported to be commanded by S.S.-General Jeckeln, formerly Police Leader of the Ostland.

In view of articles in the German press complaining of the ruthlessness and indiscriminate nature of Allied bombing of German population centres, a passage in a captured circular issued by the Director of the Party Chancellery in June 1944 is worth quotation. Discussing the issue of emergency rations Bormann writes that "heavy daylight attacks are frequently directed against centres of industry, in particular armament factories, and residential areas do not suffer any great damage from these." Another order issued by Bormann (in November last) states that the "transport crisis" caused by Allied air attack on traffic lines "may develop into a threat to the basis of our existence, similar to the threat once created by our U-boat war for the English people and the leaders of its war effort."

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

The rapid success of the new Russian offensive has had important effects in Czechoslovakia. The drive beyond Cracow left the Germans in eastern Slovakia in an uncomfortable salient and General Petrov's forces in Slovakia made a swift advance and occupied, not without stiff fighting, the three important towns of Košice, Prešov and Bardejov. Czechoslovak troops, who entered Slovakia from the north, are participating in the clearing of Slovak territory and further progress has been made to the west of Prešov.

The Bratislava Government continues its endeavours to arrest the march of events by exhortation to the Slovaks and denunciation of the Allies. Full value is still being extracted from the Soviet Union's alleged designs on Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia and the consequent inglorious collapse of President Beneš's ambitions.

On the 18th January there was a shuffle of functions in the autonomous Government of the Protectorate, Dr. Krejčí relinquishing the Premiership in favour of Bienert. Each retains his former post, Bienert as Minister of the Interior and Krejčí as Minister of Justice. Krejčí also becomes Deputy Premier. The reason given for the change is Krejčí's desire to devote himself more fully to his task as Minister of Justice. The move does not seem to be particularly significant, neither of the Ministers concerned having been regarded in the past as an out-and-out quisling. Both, on this occasion, made the customary profession of loyalty to Germany. The date was the third anniversary of the Government, and K. H. Frank summoned all its members to his presence to thank them for their past efforts and stress their future responsibilities.

The liberation of Košice, a sizeable town with a population of over 70,000, brings to the forefront the question of the establishment of the Czechoslovak Government on its own soil. Košice is the first town to be freed where a Government might reasonably be expected to function; Dr. Beneš is fully alive to the dangers that would be entailed if liberated Slovakia were to be administered for any length of time by a Slovak National Council remote from and only tenuously linked with a central Government in London; it is known, too, that the Soviet Government is anxious that the Czechoslovak Government should be transferred

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to Slovakia as soon as possible. On the other hand, such a move would necessitate the reconstruction of the Government to include members of the home front without any possibility of including representatives from Bohemia-Moravia; communications with the rest of the world would be unsatisfactory; and the mere transportation of the Government with all its appurtenances to a temporary seat at Košice presents considerable difficulty. Despite the objections mentioned, it is probable that Dr. Beneš will decide on the move in the fairly near future.

POLAND.

The very rapid advance of the Red army has already freed the whole of the "General Government," half the Incorporated Territory, and some further areas in Silesia and East Prussia whose indigenous population is of Polish origin. In Kielce, Radom and Warsaw the Lublin Committee's administration has already established itself. In the first two of these cities and Lodz there was virtually no interruption of economic life. In Warsaw the retiring Germans had time to blow up such buildings in the central areas as they had not previously destroyed; but the Mayor appointed by Lublin, who had already been functioning in the eastern suburb of Praga, promptly began to organise the enrolment of an army of workers for clearing and for beginning reconstruction. A pontoon bridge already crosses the Vistula. The troops who relieved the city were selected from General Zymierski's Polish army, now said to be 300,000 strong. Crowds came in from outlying districts to welcome them. A meeting followed at which Messrs. Bierut and Morawski expressed the gratitude of the people for the capital's deliverance by the Red army and the Polish army fighting beside it. It was the Polish army, said Morawski, that actually captured Warsaw, when it was already surrounded by the Red army. At the same time the National Homeland Council addressed a manifesto to the liberated territories of Poland claiming that the Polish army will soon recover the "age-old Polish territories taken by the Germans"; that the Lublin Committee has re-established a Polish Government in Poland, and that the inhabitants of the newly liberated provinces should rally round it and support its local organs in the work of political, economic and educational reconstruction.

On the 23rd January the Polish Ambassador in London presented a memorandum on Polish-Soviet problems, in anticipation of the forthcoming meeting between the Great Allied Powers. On the 19th January M. Arciszewski, in a broadcast to Poland, had declared that if the principle of Polish independence were established, every Polish-Soviet problem could easily be solved. "We hold out a hand to Russia," he said, "and we do not believe that it will be rejected."

It is reported that arrangements have now been made by U.N.R.R.A. for the transport of relief supplies for Poland via Black Sea ports.

The liberation of Warsaw has been hailed with great enthusiasm in the Soviet press, which regards it as strengthening the friendship between the Soviet and Polish peoples. "Nobody will ever succeed in tearing asunder the fraternal ties which have been welded in these days by the blood which the Russian and Polish peoples have bled in common."

Marshal Stalin, replying to a message of gratitude from the officials of the Lublin Committee expressed his conviction that the continued efforts of the Red Army and the United Polish Army would bring about "the early and complete liberation of the fraternal Polish people from the yoke of the German-Fascist invaders" and concluded: "Long live a free and independent Poland."

Attacks in Moscow against the Polish Government in London have if anything increased—Professor Yerusalimsky in a commentary broadcast from Moscow on the 18th January asserted that the Germans had hoped to create "a sort of political bastion" in Poland with the aid of the *émigré* clique of Rackiewicz, Arciszewski and Kwapinski. They hoped that the agents of this clique in the "Home Army" operating in close collaboration with the Gestapo would be able to cause confusion and even civil war in the country. These calculations were, however, unfounded, as the Polish people had "rallied with unexampled enthusiasm round its provisional Government."

On the 19th January *Pravda* answered Mr. Eden's expressions of regret that *Soviet War News* should have stigmatised the Polish Government in London as Hitler's lackeys. *Pravda* replied by repeating the charge that that Government had been stabbing in the back the Soviet troops heroically fighting for Poland's liberation; and alleged that its agents had actually been killing Soviet officers and Red Army men. On the 20th January *Izvestia* published a letter to its

editor from a group of Deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. attacking Commander Bower's speech of the 10th January on Poland.

In answer to Commander Bower's charges concerning the Soviet attitude during the Warsaw rising, the letter reaffirmed the Soviet thesis that Moscow radio had never urged the Warsaw population to rise and that the rising had taken place without the knowledge of the Red army or its Command. Bower was castigated for his concern for Polish independence when he himself was "an ardent champion of the preservation of fetters for the people of India." His "insulting abuse of the Soviet and Polish peoples" would have sounded natural coming from "the lips of a German-fascist politician, our enemy," but was strange from the representative of the "British people which is friendly to us." "One should not wonder that there are such shady characters as Bower and the like among Conservatives; one should only wonder at the fact that gentlemen Parliamentarians tolerate the speeches of these dishonest characters" without giving them any rebuff.

The letter also attacked Captain Graham for his December speech asserting that the U.S.S.R. must not treat the Poles as if they were an insignificant Asiatic tribe such as the Uzbeks or Tadjiks, making once again the ready point about the Captain's own attitude to the Indians and the well-known facts of the Soviet treatment of their own Asiatic races.

Lord Alfred Douglas's "death-bed testament" begging Mr. Churchill not to surrender Poland to "bloodthirsty apes" also did not escape the attention of the Supreme Soviet Deputies. They admitted that the babblings of one old dotard or one British M.P. who had gone wild were not really significant, but what was surprising in their view was the fact that their fellow-parliamentarians did not realise how these outbreaks reflected on "the prestige and honour of that high institution."

The group of Academicians signing the letter included members of the Uzbek and Tadjik Academies of Sciences.

The recent visits of British, French and American correspondents to Lublin have thrown some more light on conditions in liberated Poland. It appears from their accounts that the Lublin Committee have gained support, notably by the distributon of land, by the lowering of prices, and above all by the presence, impressive equipment, and numerical strength of the Polish army under General Zymierski. The Lublin Administration is recognised as needing both a wider political basis, and a larger number of experienced officials. In moderate political circles it appears that there is a strong desire for the appointment of British and American observers; while among the peasants there is still a wish that M. Mikolajczyk should return to lead the Peasant Party, for which no adequate leadership had yet arisen in the three liberated provinces.

SOVIET UNION.

The Red army's offensive now extends from East Prussia to the Carpathians, and has continued unabated throughout the week. Between the 16th and the 22nd January the guns of Moscow thundered no less than twenty-three times in honour of Soviet victories. General Cherniakhovsky, commanding the Third Byelorussian Front, has broken into East Prussia from the north and east, capturing Tilsit on the 20th January and Insterburg on the 21st January. Königsberg is now directly threatened from the east and, less immediately, also from the south. Here troops of the Second Byelorussian Front, under Marshal Rokossovsky, after breaking through north-west of Warsaw, have swung northwards on to German territory, capturing Tannenberg (21st January), Deutsche Eylau and Allenstein (22nd January). The advance on East Prussia from south and east is similar in conception to the campaign of 1914 which led up to the disastrous Russian defeat at Tannenberg: but the issue is likely to be different this time, thanks mainly to the much more efficient Russian supply system and greater co-ordination by the Supreme Command. Marshal Zhukov, commanding the First Byelorussian Front, liberated Warsaw on the 17th January, Lodz on the 19th January, and on the 22nd January was reported within 30 miles of Poznan; over 150 miles west of Warsaw. Marshal Koniev, commanding the First Ukrainian Front, captured Czestochowa on the 17th January, Cracow two days later, and has entered Reich territory: Kreuzburg was occupied on the 21st January. Further south General Petrov, commanding the Fourth Ukrainian Front, took Novy Sacz on the 20th January and advanced westwards in Slovakia to take Presov and Kosice on the same day. In the region south and south-west of Cracow the Soviet advance has been slowest, and it is clear that the Germans

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SCANDINAVIA.

On the 14th January a meeting of the Finnish-Soviet Society (S.N.S.) passed a resolution in which it contended that the execution of the Armistice terms still left much to be desired. In particular, it demanded the immediate dissolution of the Association of Brothers in Arms, which it accused of political activities prejudicial to good relations with the Soviet Union. This Association is, in theory at any rate, a sort of Finnish counterpart to the British Legion, under the honorary Presidency of Marshal Mannerheim, and is mainly concerned in charitable work. It is said to have distributed no less than 165 million Fm. for the relief of war victims. It differs from the suppressed Skyddskår, in favour of which somewhat similar pleas of beneficial social activities were urged, in being organised on purely civilian lines. It is of course possible that, as an association drawn from army circles, it has predominantly anti-Russian sympathies. It has, however, been defended against the present charge even by the Labour and Social Democrat papers *Arbetarbladet* and *Suomen Sosialidemokraatti*, who contend that the organisation, which has done good work in its proper field, should not be condemned unheard and that its peremptory dissolution would create a bad impression. The admission is made, however, by these organs, that some of the leading members did on an earlier occasion try to use the Association for political ends, such as impeding the peace effort. The correspondent of the Swedish paper *Aftonbladet* reported on the 17th January that the authorities had in fact carried out an investigation, but had found nothing to justify the charge preferred by S.N.S. On the same day, the organisation itself issued a defence, in which it claimed that it was an association of democratic citizens, with equal rights irrespective of military rank or social standing, and with the purely charitable object of assisting war victims. It was not possible for it to work for political aims, since its membership, including the governing body, was drawn from all parties and both language groups. The demand for its dissolution is stated by *Aftonbladet's* correspondent to have aroused widespread resentment, and is attributed exclusively to the Communists and the Six-Man group. At least two local branches of the S.N.S. have protested against the resolution of the central body, asserting that it did not conform to the society's programme or further good relations between Finland and Russia. (For Soviet allegations of defective fulfilment of armistice terms, in which the Brothers in Arms are summarily described as a "Fascist organisation," see under *Soviet Union*.) The Russian accusation against Sweden, of holding Finnish merchant ships in Swedish ports and declaring them Swedish property, was categorically denied on the 20th January by the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

On the 18th January it was announced that the Finnish Government had dissolved a further ninety associations under the terms of the Armistice. The dismissal of Vakio, the managing director of the Finnish broadcasting system, is also attributed to political reasons.

The Tannerite majority in the Social Democrat group have, in view of the forthcoming elections, issued an appeal in which the Opposition is strongly criticised for incessant attempts to cause disunity.

The alleged violation of Swedish territory by German V-bombs (see last week's *Summary*) has been prominently discussed in the Swedish press, and *Aftonbladet* states that the existence of the experimental station on Bornholm is established, together with the abuse of Swedish territory, and that diplomatic representations will probably be made when sufficient evidence is accumulated. *Dagens Nyheter* issued a warning against the publication of information as to places where these bombs have been observed, which it states to be precisely what the Germans desire.

Norwegian forces in east Finnmark are now reported to have advanced as far as the southern extremity of the Porsanger Fjord, where they have come in contact with enemy detachments. An area of 21,500 square kilom. in Finnmark has thus been liberated, including the important Banak airfield at the head of the Porsanger Fjord.

Organised sabotage in Norway continues to achieve considerable successes, to which is now attributed the sinking of the German transport *Donau* and the damaging of another in Oslo Fjord on the 16th January. The Germans in Oslo are now said to be suffering from extreme nervousness, which makes them unduly ready to fire on anyone passing in the streets after dark. This practice has recently led to a number of casualties among completely innocent persons. It is calculated, however, to render illicit communications more difficult, and these

difficulties have been increased by systematic and repeated raids by the German military police.

Besides the now normal routine of sabotage and elimination of informers in Denmark, a more original, if less violent, *coup* was reported on the 19th January, when the Siemens factory was entered by armed men, who demanded and removed all plans and working instructions.

LOW COUNTRIES.

The Belgian Government is preparing legislation concerning the press. The law of libel in Belgium is much weaker than in Britain, and the *Drapeau Rouge* has recently provoked much indignation by a scurrilous attack on the Minister of Justice. But apprehension that a general censorship might be introduced has provoked widespread alarm; such a censorship is, indeed, forbidden by the Belgian Constitution, and the Belgians are very attached to the freedom of the press. M. de Visscher, however, a Minister without Portfolio, endeavoured to reassure his compatriots by declaring in an interview that there was no intention of introducing a censorship and M. de Schrijver, the Deputy Prime Minister, was quoted by Brussels Radio as having made a statement to the same effect. But it should be noted that he drew attention to the fact that the Government have power to ban or suspend papers in wartime.

M. de Vleeschauwer, the Belgian Colonial Minister, has made a statement on the Congo since May 1940 to a joint meeting of the Colonial Committees of the Senate and Chamber. In the course of this he informed the meeting that Mr. Churchill had given him the most formal assurances as to the safeguarding of the Congo in a conversation that took place in July 1940. A written assurance that it would do its utmost to protect Belgium and her African possessions had subsequently been given by the British Government. M. de Vleeschauwer added that there was now talk in some circles of certain forms of internationalisation of Colonies. The only proposal, however, that seemed to be practicable was one for the establishment of regional consultative commissions. Belgium was in favour of this form of international collaboration.

A correspondent of the London *Vrij Nederland* reports that the people of the liberated Netherlands want food for their minds almost as much as food for their bodies. There is a passionate desire for information about trends of thought and conditions in the Allied countries, and English books and papers would be devoured if only they were available.

FRANCE.

"Countless homes have no fires at all. In every workshop, office, or shop, people have to work without heating. Hospitals, schools and children's nurseries receive but scanty allowances of fuel. Food rations leave no margin and setbacks and delays are at times experienced in their distribution. There is barely enough milk for babies and the sick. Gas and electricity are sparingly distributed. Further, many of our industries are not yet able to work or are working only partially. Although our agriculture enjoys relatively better conditions, it does not possess the machinery which would enable it to develop as it might. Our devastated towns and villages are clearing away their ruins, but they lack all that is needed to begin reconstruction." Such was the cheerless picture of conditions in France drawn by General de Gaulle in a broadcast on the 17th January. Further details were given in a speech by M. Lacoste broadcast on the 16th.

These two speeches were clearly designed to repair the damage done by the failure of the Government, and in particular of the Ministry of Information with its large regional organisation, to give the public an adequate explanation of the reasons which have made the material conditions of life in liberated France at least as difficult if not more difficult than they were under the German occupation. This failure and the failure to prepare the country for the sudden imposition of new and severe restrictions on heating, lighting, travel and the size of newsprint (see last *Summary*), led to an outburst of angry criticism in the press. The Administration was accused of incapacity, and one evening paper, *Libres*, published by the National Movement of Prisoners of War and Deportees, made the first direct attack on General de Gaulle which has appeared since

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the Liberation: "Our house is in the hands of tinkers. Their master should know that it is time to stick his nose, his big nose, into internal problems. France must be put on solid foundations. Hitherto de Gaulle has only occupied himself with the roof which was in holes and let the rain in. He has tackled what was most urgent. Now for the rest."

In their speeches General de Gaulle and M. Lacoste explained the difficulties which had made impossible an adequate provision of power, raw materials and transport. General de Gaulle defended the administrative services, which he claimed were, in spite of the bitter trials to which they had been subjected for years, now on the whole equal to their task and serving the State with ardour and discipline. Both pointed out that war, victory and the future greatness of France inevitably demanded more sacrifice and suffering. In General de Gaulle's words "Victory, power, renovation cost dear in hardships, labour and sacrifices . . . . But they are what we want and they are our reward." The General's speech was on the whole well received by the press and nearly all comment emphasised that the French nation was prepared to accept any sacrifices which it understood to be necessary. Several papers, however, repeated that the Government might have avoided the worst difficulties, and the unofficial Radical-Socialist *Aurore* made the acid comment that the General's reference to the fact that France was now paying for "many years of mistakes, weaknesses and bad methods" smacked too much of the language so often used by Vichy.

One of the most interesting references in General de Gaulle's speech was to the raw materials import plan for France, the execution of which, he said, had been delayed by "certain over-optimistic ideas about Germany's power of resistance, the pressing necessity of supplies for the battles of Western Europe, Russia and the Far East and the consequent crushing demands upon shipping." He was, however, happy to announce that the negotiations in Washington for the pursuance of the plan had just been concluded. Statements concerning these negotiations, which have been conducted for the French by M. Jean Monnet, were, in fact, made by the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom on the 16th and 17th January respectively. These said that the French import programme for the first six months of 1945 had been endorsed for planning purposes and that steps would be taken to make supplies available for shipment. Moreover, in spite of the difficult shipping situation, it had been possible to allocate an additional number of ships for French civilian use for the first three months of the year, and it was hoped that further ships would be available after March. As far as possible, French ships would be used to carry French supplies.

After a lengthy meeting on the 16th January the Council of Ministers approved three ordinances submitted by M. Pleven. The first imposes very severe penalties on all holders of assets abroad who fail to declare their assets by the 1st March. The second obliges Frenchmen in France to declare their holdings of gold and foreign bonds, and the third compels foreigners to disclose their assets in France, thus tightening the hold of exchange control over foreign accounts. In a broadcast speech on the 20th January M. Pleven also referred to a second series of measures adopted by the Government which provide for the conversion at par and at the rate of 3 per cent. three Government loans (*Rentes Françaises*), two of 4 per cent. and one of 4½ per cent. Special terms will, however, enable people who owned bonds on the 1st September, 1939, and whose income is below a certain level to continue to receive the present rate of interest so long as they retain the bonds. M. Pleven warned his hearers against the illusion that a devastated France, which still had gold reserves, could solve her financial problems by a surgical operation, "painful when it is applied but thereafter followed by the disappearance of the black market, the fall of prices and bright sky." Moreover, the most radical financial measures would yield no result if there were no improvement in stocks, communications and production.

M. Pleven's allusion to a "surgical operation" was no doubt a hit at M. Mendès-France who is reported by *The Times* to consider that French financial policy is "drifting along conventional lines towards the spiral of inflation, open or hidden (in the form of an increasing black market") and himself to favour a deflationist policy with the maintenance of stringent price, wages and profits controls and the introduction of measures such as those adopted in Belgium. It is believed that M. Mendès-France would also like to include the Ministry of Finance among the Ministries whose activities he co-ordinates as Minister of National Economy. Differences between the two Ministers are said to have been brought to a head by the decision to convert the rentes and M. Mendès-France is understood to have offered to resign but to have been dissuaded by General de Gaulle, who is endeavouring to effect a compromise. Meanwhile the Finance

Commission of the Consultative Assembly has made a number of cuts in the 1945 estimates of the Ministry of National Economy.

In a broadcast on the 21st January M. Parodi, the Minister of Labour, announced that the Government would shortly introduce an Essential Works Order applicable to all men between 18 and 40.

Robert Brasillach, erstwhile disciple of Maurras and former editor of *Je suis partout*, has been sentenced to death and Guy Zuccarelli, editor of *Les Nouveaux Temps*, to ten years' penal servitude. Charles Spinasse, former Minister in the Blum Cabinets of 1936 and 1938, is reported to have been arrested.

(See also under "Soviet Union" and "Middle East".)

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

One more little difference of opinion between the British and United States Governments and the Spanish Government has now been satisfactorily settled by the release on the 14th January, after a "mock" arbitration, of the Italian warships which took refuge at Port Mahon and Pollensa, in the Balearic Islands, in September 1943 (see *Summaries* Nos. 206 and 229).

Rumours of discontent in the Portuguese army which have been flowing round Lisbon recently have hardened into something which has the appearance of a genuine crisis. There is nothing new in stories of dissatisfied officers wishing for a change of régime (one outstanding grievance is the low rates of pay), but this time the reports seem to be much more circumstantial. It appears that a group led by General Tamagnini Barbosa, known as a critic of Dr. Salazar, have been working on General Carmona to convince him that there is an overwhelming desire on the part of the army to modify Dr. Salazar's administration. The movement seems also to have a political, as distinct from a purely military, character, and to be inspired by the wish to forestall a Communist upheaval. The President, however loyal to the army which is devoted to him, is most unlikely to dismiss Dr. Salazar, upon whom the ultimate resolution of the crisis depends. The Doctor has repaired to his country home to commune with his conscience, as is his habit when there are important political decisions to be made. At the moment it is impossible to predict what will emerge from his retreat; all that one can report is that the crisis is more serious than earlier rumours indicated.

Macao, the Portuguese peninsular colony at the mouth of the Canton River, has been out of the news since August 1943, when a British river steamer, which had taken refuge there after the fall of Hong Kong, 40 miles away, was forcibly seized by Japanese troops in plain clothes (see *Summary* No. 204). In the meantime, life has run as normal a course as possible when account is taken of the fact that the population has been doubled by the influx of refugees from China, and that the colony, being dominated by Japanese-controlled territory, is largely dependent upon Japanese sources for its food supply. The austerities of war, too, may have slightly curtailed the pleasures of opium, fan-tan and greyhound racing, which, together with incense sticks and insecticides, are Macao's chief contributions to civilisation. Last week, however, an official announcement in Lisbon stated that on the 18th January aircraft, not fully identified, had on two occasions bombed and machine-gunned the naval aviation hangar, the telegraph station, the barracks, the power station and the oil deposits, causing a small number of casualties. The Portuguese, having lost Timor and with only a precarious hold on Macao, are extremely sensitive about the integrity of their Far Eastern possessions, and there was much natural indignation in Lisbon. On the 20th January, however, the press published a note stating that the nationality of the aircraft had been established as American, and that the United States Government had expressed their profound regret for the incident and had ordered their authorities to carry out a full investigation. This frank admission should go far to assuage the hurt to Portuguese susceptibilities.

ITALY.

The Italian press has concentrated on a single sentence without reference to the context in Mr. Churchill's speech on the 18th January, in which, as it alleges, the Prime Minister said that Great Britain had no need of Italy and which it interprets as an intention purposely to humiliate Italy. Italy, however, seems to be suffering, as is perhaps natural in the circumstances, from an inferiority

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"Italy not needed by Great Britain" is the head-line adopted by several newspapers in Rome, followed, however, by little comment, except, as might be expected, from Signor Nenni in his paper *Avanti*. The Socialist leader, although he is said to have been greatly impressed, during his recent visit to London, by the self-imposed discipline of the British public, is as irresponsible as ever and says that, if Italy is driven to despair, revolution or a return to Fascism may be expected. The new Italian democracy will, however, according to Signor Nenni, go its own way with or without England.

Signor Alberto Tarchiani has been appointed Italian Ambassador in Washington, and this appointment has been agreed to by the Government of the United States. Signor Tarchiani, who is 60 years old, belongs to the Action Party and was Minister of Public Works in Marshal Badoglio's last Government. He was exiled from Italy during the Fascist régime and directed anti-Fascist work in France. When France fell Signor Tarchiani went to the United States and was secretary of the Mazzini Society in New York. He is a friend of Count Sforza, with whom he worked in America, and was said to have been chosen by Count Sforza to go with him to Washington as counsellor when Count Sforza was offered that appointment.

In the North, the campaign for the defence of the lira and against the black market continues. Two further decrees governing food distribution have been issued, providing for the setting up of a Commission for the requisitioning of agricultural products in every commune, and entrusting food distribution to workers' consumer-goods co-operatives. Extensive and drastic financial decrees have also been issued, which are aimed at a further reduction of spending-power and an increased acquisition of capital for the State over a long period. These measures include a revision of landed property assessments in view of the greatly increased value of land; a wartime excess profits tax on agricultural income and leases; the compulsory payment in cash, rather than by the surrender of bonds as hitherto, of the special tax on real property introduced in 1936; and a 20 per cent. reduction in the salaries of transferred Government personnel.

The food shortage in the North appears to be very serious, and strikes have recently taken place in Milan, Turin, Genoa and Venice, which Swiss sources attribute to dissatisfaction with food and heating conditions rather than to political motives. Attacks on Fascist and German soldiers have also been reported from Milan. The authorities have taken stern repressive measures; 27 people have been tried by the Special Tribunal, and 12 of them have been sentenced to death; also the curfew hour has been put forward, and all public services and places of entertainment are to close down earlier. Swiss reports state that the Fascist authorities have handed over to the Germans the control of traffic in Milan.

The Fascist Minister for Popular Culture, Mezzasoma, has stated that since the summer of 1944 the partisan movement has been decreased by three-quarters, according to his estimates. This he attributes to the success of German and Italian counter-measures, the cessation of Anglo-American aid, disunity among the partisans themselves, the failure of the Allies to advance rapidly northwards, and the hard winter. Still further pressure has recently been put on partisans to recant by cancelling the pensions and military decorations of anyone who is associated with a partisan band. The Fascists clearly wish to give the impression that the partisan threat has been effectively dealt with. It is, of course, probably true that many partisans have "gone underground" during the hard winter; but frequent reports of sabotage continue to come in from many districts.

THE VATICAN.

On Sunday, the 14th January, the Pope granted his usual New Year's audience to the Bishops and Nobility of Rome. Speaking of the "necessary rebuilding of the material, intellectual, moral, social and international order of the world," he again stressed a conception of progress dear to Jacques Maritain: "There can be no simple return to the past. History moves ever forward towards progress or an illusion of progress." He left the clear impression that he condemned all attempts to tie the Church to Governments or Parties as binding her spiritual freedom with secular chains. "A Christian's function in politics

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Hungary.

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On the 20th January the Hungarian armistice was signed in Moscow by the delegates of the Provisional Government. In its general structure the document follows the model of previous armistices, especially the Bulgarian. Like Bulgaria, Hungary undertakes to withdraw within her 1937 frontiers, and while the Roumanian armistice contained a reference indicating the possibility that the final Roumano-Hungarian frontier would not be so favourable to Roumania as that of Trianon, no corresponding reference appeared in the Hungarian document, which contained a statement that both the Vienna Awards were null and void; and Hungary has to repeal all measures annexing or incorporating territory not only from Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, but also from Roumania. Reparation clauses, however, do not apply to Roumania. The amount fixed for Hungarian reparations is practically the same as that for Roumania (and Finland); the military contribution, rather smaller.

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12. Reparations for the U.S.S.R., Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia are fixed at 300 million American dollars, payable in commodities over six years (two parts to U.S.S.R., one part to Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia). Compensation to other United Nations to be fixed later. Deliveries are calculated at 1938 prices with an increase of 15 per cent. for manufactured goods and 10 per cent. for other goods. The dollar is calculated at 35 to 1 oz. gold.

13. All legal rights and interests of the United Nations and their nationals to be restored.

14. Hungary will co-operate in the apprehension, trial and surrender of persons accused of war crimes.

15. All pro-Hitler or Fascist political, military, paramilitary or other organisations to be dissolved.

16. Press, literature, films, the post and wireless to come under Allied control.

17. Hungarian civilian administration to be restored throughout Hungary up to a line 50–100 Km. behind the front; Hungarian authorities will co-operate with the Allied (Soviet) High Command or Control Commission in securing the execution of the armistice terms.

19. "The Vienna Arbitration Award of the 2nd November, 1938 and that of the 30th August, 1940, are hereby declared null and void."

Article 18 provides for the establishment in Hungary, for the whole period of the armistice, of an Allied Control Commission, the statutes of which have also been signed. The Commission, which has its seat in Budapest, is composed of a Chairman, a Vice-Chairman, a political adviser, two assistants to the Chairman, and a Chief of Staff, a staff, and the following divisions: political, administration, military, air force, river fleet, economics. The Chairman is the representative of the Soviet armed forces. Representatives of the United Kingdom and the United States are included in the Commission. Representatives of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia are accredited to it and have access to all questions concerning their respective countries. During the first period, *i.e.*, to the conclusion of hostilities with Germany, the Chairman and Vice-Chairman calls meetings and informs the British and American representatives of policy directives before issuing them, taking note of any observations. The British and American representatives have the right to receive information, to put forward proposals, to travel, to communicate with their own countries and, through the Chairman or Vice-Chairman, with the Hungarian Government. They determine the size and composition of their own delegations.

It is expected that this careful preliminary definition of the rights and status of the representatives, other than Soviet, on the Commission, will obviate the difficulties which have arisen in connexion with the Commissions in Roumania and Bulgaria.

Roumania.

Some sort of agreement has been arrived at on the subject of leaving Roumania with sufficient facilities for transport to enable the country to carry on. As far as maritime and river transport is concerned the British authorities consider the arrangement satisfactory. Roumania keeps the passenger ship "Transylvania" which possesses a value in the eyes of Roumanians far beyond her actual value. She also keeps one cargo vessel, two tugs and a dredger, and a floating dock, on condition that she constructs two docks for Russia during the next three years. The railway transport arrangement made by Dl Gheorghiu-Dej is hailed with enthusiasm by the Roumanian Radio, as proof of Moscow's understanding and generosity. The actual concessions are a trifle vague, and the language in which they are announced is true to type. It remains to be seen what they amount to.

The Sofia wireless announces a bright idea of Dl Patrašcanu for a discussion meeting of 120 delegates nominated by the three chief parties and professional bodies to propose and discuss, in the absence of a parliament, the Government's draft Bills.

Negotiations with Great Britain and America on the subject of the deportations of the Saxon population continue. In the meantime 12,000 have already left for Russia.

Yugoslavia.

The Germans have now successfully evacuated the Sandjak. They are reported to have not more than 45,000 men south of a line Sarajevo–Vishegrad. In east Slavonia their troops covering the retreat have advanced slightly. In

Slovenia they have dispersed the Partisans north of the Save and are strengthening their hold on the country east of the main railway-line to Trieste, while apparently ignoring the Partisans to the west.

After nearly four months of fruitless negotiation at Bari over the supply of relief by the Allied military authorities, General Hughes and Sadler went to Belgrade on the 18th January. They saw Tito next day and an agreement was promptly signed. It provides for the delivery of goods to Yugoslav authorities at Yugoslav ports. The distribution of the relief will be carried out by Yugoslav authorities (the one point emphasised by the *New Yugoslav Telegraph Service* on the 21st), "without regard to religion, race or political affiliations." To afford expert advice Allied technical officials will observe the process of distribution. Their number will, at first, not exceed 300 in all, officers and other ranks, together with U.N.R.R.A. officials and personnel. The number may be increased by agreement. The concurrence of the then Royal Yugoslav Government was signified by Dr. Vukosavljevitch, a Partisan member of that Government. A second shipment of relief goods, of 1,000 tons, is to be sent as soon as possible.

The demonstrations against the King ceased in Belgrade on the 15th January as suddenly as they began. The identical characters of the speches reported from demonstrations in other towns indicate that the agitation has been centrally directed.

There has been evidence that the Partisans have had difficulty in building up their propaganda organisation in Serbian towns remote from Belgrade. *Borba* (Communist) has lately protested at the continuance of some "pro-Fascists" in provincial public life and criticised the failure of a Nish newspaper to grasp the party line. Prominent Partisans have gone on tour. When communications are improved, the enforcement of adherence to the party line will doubtless be facilitated.

For the deportation of Volksdeutsch from the Banat to Russia, see under "U.S.S.R."

The efforts of Dr. Shubashitch and his colleagues of the Royal Yugoslav Government to induce King Peter to withdraw his objections to the Tito–Shubashitch Agreement (see *Summary* No. 276, p. 13) had failed, when Mr. Churchill spoke in the House of Commons on the 18th. The Prime Minister stated that the only principle supported by His Majesty's Government concerning the political settlement of liberated countries was the establishment of authority in accordance with the results of free elections with secrecy of the ballot and no intimidation. Great Britain had no special interest in Yugoslavia. But the escape of King Peter and his Government to England in 1941 imposed upon this country a certain duty towards the Government and peoples across the Adriatic, which could be discharged by the holding of a plebiscite. With the advance of the Soviet forces across Yugoslavia, Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden had reached an understanding with Marshal Stalin at Moscow by which their two countries would pursue a joint policy in regard to Yugoslavia. Discussions by telegram were constantly taking place, and President Roosevelt was being kept informed. The British and Soviet Governments believed the Tito–Shubashitch Agreement (the first draft of which was agreed on the 16th June, 1944) the best that could be made for the immediate future of Yugoslavia, since they preserved the form of the Monarchy and provided for a free plebiscite. King Peter had stated objections to the Agreement. But a decision was required within a few days. If the consent of King Peter could not be obtained, it would be necessary to go ahead, his assent being presumed.

The Prime Minister's speech delighted Tito and his colleagues, removing their doubts about British policy. They assumed that they could now disregard King Peter, but were prepared to continue dealing with Shubashitch.

On the 22nd the Chancery of the Royal Court issued a statement on behalf of King Peter. This declared that he would approve any arrangement which ensured the free expression of the popular will on Yugoslavia's future government. As he had received no suggestions from Tito, he had proposed to Shubashitch and to Tito, on the 15th, that the royal powers should be transferred to a Cabinet with Tito as Prime Minister, provided that this Cabinet were appointed in a constitutional way. [King Peter appears to base his action on Article 116 of the Constitution, which gives the King discretionary powers, in great emergencies, subject to subsequent review of his acts by Parliament; and on Article 40, which states that, in the absence of the King abroad, his functions are to be discharged by the Cabinet. The clause concerning the appointment of the Cabinet would give the King a say in the composition of that body and enable him to demand that it should

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not be virtually exclusively composed of Partisans, but should include representatives of all considerable political forces.] Tito replied that he wished to deal with the King only through the Royal Government. To meet that situation the King had requested the resignation of Shubashitch, who no longer had the King's confidence, and had told him that his Cabinet was dismissed.

Thus the settlement of the provisional Yugoslav régime had again been delayed.

Greece.

Speaking in the House of Commons on the 18th January, Mr. Churchill defended the policy of His Majesty's Government in Greece, saying that there was no case in his experience where a British Government had been so maligned and its motives so traduced in its own country by important organs of the press or among its own people. He himself had never been connected with any large enterprise of policy about which he was more sure in mind and conscience of the rectitude of the Government's motives, of the clarity of its principles, and of the vigour, precision, and success of its action, than what it had done in Greece. He had, he admitted, underrated E.L.A.S. as a fighting force. For several days at the beginning of December there was a struggle to prevent a hideous massacre in the centre of Athens. After the establishment of the Regency, neither he nor the Foreign Secretary had sought to interfere in the choice of a Premier nor in the character of the new Greek Government; General Plastiras had, in fact, formed a Left-wing Government. Britain wanted nothing from Greece but her friendship, but this she must earn and deserve; she could not immediately disentangle herself from the affairs of Greece. E.L.A.S.'s hostages must be released, and the truth about E.L.A.S.'s atrocities must come out. The Greek Government had agreed to the principle of "no proscriptions," that meant that no one would be punished unless he were found guilty by a properly constituted court of conduct contrary to the rules of war or to the criminal code. But this promise was dependent upon the treatment and delivery of hostages. The name and the honour of Britain were deeply engaged in this matter.

On the 19th January Mr. Eden said that His Majesty's Government had never been opposed to E.A.M. becoming the Government of Greece, but E.A.M. had tried to seize power by force, instead of using the medium of the ballot-box. In the course of the recent fighting all the elements except the hard Communist core had flaked away from E.A.M.; the Socialists, the Agrarians, the Popular Democrats, had all announced their decisions to break away. There was no question of hostages being held either by the Greek Government or by the British, and he demanded, in the name of all parties and all Members of the House, that E.A.M. should release its hostages forthwith. General Plastiras had confirmed to His Majesty's Ambassador that it was the policy of his Government to take action only against persons guilty of crimes against the penal code or the rules of war. General Plastiras was the man who, after the collapse of Greece in 1922, had pulled the country together, arranged for a general election, and then retired. Why should Great Britain wish to deny freedom in Greece? Wherever British authority carried, the decision would be by ballot-box.

It was announced on the 20th January by the International Red Cross Delegation in Greece that the Central Committee of E.A.M./E.L.A.S. had on the 14th January instructed their civil police to release immediately all civilians arrested since the 3rd December, except those who were formerly in the Averof prison and those accused, on definite evidence, of criminal acts.

MM. Sophianopoulos, Pericles Rallis, and Macropoulos have been chosen to represent the Greek Government at a conference with representatives of E.A.M./E.L.A.S. on the 25th January.

Albania.

The economic situation is bad owing to the ravages of war and, in particular, to the shortage of wheat. According to one report, 3,000 civil servants had, at the end of the year, had no pay for three months and many were selling their clothes to live. Enver Hoxha, nevertheless, is inclined to refuse Allied offers of relief unless he himself can manage the distribution of the supplies provided. His provisional Government is full of schemes for economic reconstruction and has already announced the abolition of the agricultural tithe. It has also reconstituted the National Bank and declared war on profiteers. Traders must register, stocks must be reported, and hard work is stated to be the great solvent of economic problems. Conscription is adumbrated and the people are told that now they

are in power the law, though it is at last for their benefit and not for the privileged, will be enforced. The special court for war crimes has begun its proceedings by releasing a number of arrested persons, but it is declared that the guilty will be punished and reactionaries crushed.

A French mission consisting of a major and a lieutenant arrived in Tirana on the 8th January and made a short stay.

Bulgaria.

The climax in the trial of war criminals was reached on the 13th January with the examination of Filov who was Prime Minister from 1940 to 1942 and later a Regent, of Bozhilov who was his Minister of Finance and later Prime Minister, of Gabrovski, who as Filov's Minister of the Interior, was notorious for ruthless repression, and of other ex-Ministers. Filov was received in court with curses and showed up feebly. With regard to signing the Tripartite Pact he pleaded not guilty on the ground that his aim was to avoid German occupation and he took the general line that he did the best he could for Bulgaria. Gabrovski made a more determined stand but confessed to responsibility for the law for the defence of the nation and to having handed over 7,000 Jews from Greek territory for compulsory labour. Among a lot of evidence that was then given for the prosecution there was some in favour of the foreign policy advocated by Burov and N. Moshanov who were Ministers without Portfolio in Muraviev's six-day Government preceding the Russians' arrival. A former police spy is reported to have given evidence that two American bomber pilots were murdered, that the Soviet Consulate at Varna was searched on Gabrovski's orders, that Greenewich, an employee of the British Legation, was kidnapped and handed over to the Gestapo and that the bombs which exploded at the Pera Palace Hotel at Istanbul were put among the luggage of the British Minister and his staff when they left Sofia. The proceedings have been punctuated by cries inside and outside the court of "Death to the murderers!" and will, it is stated, end on the 30th January with heavy but just sentences.

General Popović, the head of a Yugoslav Military Mission which recently arrived in Sofia, disclaims any political rôle, though he seems bent on getting what supplies he can out of Bulgaria. Marshal Tito's attitude to Bulgaria is that her entry into a Yugoslav Federation is a possibility which could only be realised when good relations had lasted long enough to enable the Serbs to get over the enmity Bulgaria has showed them in three wars. The present Bulgarian authorities on their part are busy trying to ingratiate themselves with the Yugoslavs. Bulgarian-Yugoslav friendship is constantly proclaimed a main principle of the new Bulgarian policy. In a spate of pro-Yugoslav propaganda Marshal Tito has been eulogised and cogent appeals have been made for the destitute fellow-Slavs of Yugoslavia, for Yugoslav children—of whom some hundreds have now been received in Bulgaria—and for Yugoslav Jews. In these, as in all their other activities the Bulgarian authorities must be assumed to have at least the tacit consent of the Soviet Government which through the Allied Commission exercises complete control over the country.

Monsignor Stefan, the Archbishop of Sofia, has been elected Exarch of the Bulgarian Church. Though more of a politician and a man of the world than a divine, he is something of a reformer and his anti-German sentiments have never been in much doubt.

Turkey.

In the expectation that the Straits will shortly be open once more to navigation the Turkish press, while pointing out that their closure had been due to Axis occupation of the Ægean and not to any Turkish action, expressed its gratification that this waterway should render service to Russia and her Allies by shortening their supply route. All facilities were promised and the economic benefit of a reappearanc of Allied and other foreign shipping, when the port of Istanbul has been stagnant for four years, is no doubt awaited with genuine satisfaction.

The Turkish press has allowed itself occasional bitter complaint that the British and American Governments have not acted up to their promise to support Turkish economy. Blame should fall rather on the Turks' own propensity for haggling. However, we have now agreed with them to buy raisins and nuts at prices below those they exacted when the Germans were still in the market, but higher than the general market rate. It is hoped that other support purchases may follow.

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Preliminary negotiations have been going on with a view to the establishment of formal relations with the Governments of Syria and Lebanon. These two States are anxious for recognition by Turkey but they fear that Turkish insistence on most-favoured-nation treatment in respect of rights and privileges given to other Powers means not only that Turkey, as herself formerly bound by capitulations, now wants the same right of access to the Mixed Courts as is enjoyed by Western Powers, but also that she may claim the American privilege of opening schools—*e.g.*, in north Syria. Secondly, the Syrian and Lebanese Governments are afraid that the Turks will try to inveigle them into recognising the 1939 agreement by which Turkey extorted the Hatay district of Iskenderon or Alexandretta) from France. This question Syria and Lebanon want to leave for discussion in the future when they believe they would at any rate have the support of the Soviet Government.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

The trial of the two Palestinian Jews charged with the murder of Lord Moyne ended on the 18th January, when the President of the Court announced that the record of the proceedings would be referred to the Mufti of Cairo (which is equivalent to a death sentence), and on the 22nd January the court condemned both the accused to death. The sentence must be confirmed by the Egyptian Prime Minister in his capacity of Military Governor. Considerable sympathy in the public mind was created for the accused by the defending barristers, who not only emphasised the youth of the prisoners, but also affirmed that they had acted from patriotic motives, their sense of right and wrong having been perverted by the results of Jewish persecution. Their advocates also urged that, though they might be guilty of a "political" crime, they had committed it not as Zionists, but as Palestinians driven to desperate measures by the treatment which Jews and Arabs alike had received from British officials, and especially the police, serving in the Palestine Government.

As pointed out in last week's *Summary*, the recent general election in Egypt gave the Saadist party 125 members in the new Chamber as against 139 of all other parties. Though the Government is nominally a coalition, the Prime Minister's party (Saadists) wanted to have a clear majority over all others combined. Outwardly, it has failed in this object, but if, as is believed, some of the twenty-nine Independents will vote with the Saadists, the latter may just get a bare majority. In spite of so much talk about a "free" election, there seems to be little doubt that the Government did interfere to some extent, and that as one result of this intervention Makram Ebeid Pasha did not secure the full number of seats allotted to his party. The Government also seems to have used its influence against the candidates put forward by such parties as the "Moslem Brethren" and "Young Egypt," and also against those Independents who professed Socialist or Communist views. In the new Cabinet formed by Ahmad Maher Pasha his party have increased their number of Ministers from four to six, while the other parties have retained their numerical representation as originally arranged.

The new Parliament was opened by King Farouk on the 18th January, when the Speech from the Throne was read by the Prime Minister. The Speech vehemently criticised the actions of the late Government, referred to Egyptian interest in the Sudan and lauded the assistance that Egypt had rendered to the Allies which, it was contended, gave Egypt a claim to a hearing when peace was declared.

Interest in Arab unity has been revived in Egypt by the presence of Nuri Pasha and the Iraqi Minister for Foreign Affairs; and by the return of Abdul Rahman Azzam, head of the Egyptian Department of Arab Affairs, from Saudi Arabia, where he discussed Arab affairs with Ibn Saud. The "cultural sub-committee" set up by the Preparatory Committee at Alexandria has already met in Cairo, and was attended by representatives from Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Transjordan. It is believed that the various Arab countries interested will shortly send delegates to Cairo to discuss and formulate the council of the proposed Arab League.

Franco-Syrian relations do not seem to be improving. Ibn Saud recently received a communication from Fuad Hamza, his Minister at Angora, summarising a conversation Fuad had held with General Beynet, the French Délégué-Général in the Levant States. According to Fuad Hamza, General Beynet told him that the administration of both the local Governments was too

corrupt to entitle either country to independence, and that, as long as those Governments remained in power, it was impossible for the French to reach an agreement with them. As for the *Troupes Spéciales*, the General could not agree to hand them over, since their transfer, he said, would only mean their use by the Syrian Government to expel the French from Syria. Nevertheless, if the Syrians insisted upon war, France was ready to fight.

The contents of this message have since been discussed by Mr. Shone with General Beynet, who said that his remarks had been grossly distorted by Fuad Hamza, and that some of what Fuad had reported was "pure romance." The General, however, admitted that the relations between the French and the two local Governments, especially that of Syria, were far from good, although he did not consider the situation in either State serious. General Beynet also told Mr. Shone that he was anxious to send back to France many of the French officials still serving in the Levant States, retaining only a few picked men who had not the old mentality. Mr. Shone was favourably impressed by the sincerity with which General Beynet gave his views. His anxiety to get rid of a number of French officials was particularly welcome, and if put into effect would no doubt ease the situation.

On the 13th January Jamil Mardam, the Syrian Minister for Foreign Affairs and Defence, made a speech in the Chamber, in which he emphasised that the *Troupes Spéciales* must be handed over to the Syrian Government, and that his Government would not conclude a treaty with France. This speech from one who has been regarded as the most moderate of the Nationalist leaders has caused some excitement. It may have been connected with the possibility of Jamil Mardam's succeeding the present Syrian Prime Minister, and therefore wishing to stress nationalist policy in Parliament. It is known, however, that Jamil has sent two notes to the French, one pressing them to transfer the *Troupes Spéciales* immediately, the other asking them to make French representation in Syria purely diplomatic. (For Turco-Syrian relations see under "Turkey.")

Meanwhile, Ibn Saud has sent a letter to the Syrian President, Shukri Quwatli, who is known to be greatly influenced by what Ibn Saud says, telling him that he should follow the advice given him by His Majesty's Government to conclude a treaty with France. Ibn Saud argues that Iraq and Egypt have progressed markedly since making their treaties with Great Britain and that although such agreements may not at first bring everything that is desired of them, they do help to define independence and to open the door for friendship. Ibn Saud therefore urges the President to be more accommodating in his attitude to the French, and ends by stating that he considers his "interference" in this matter necessary, partly to ensure the independence of Syria and Lebanon, and partly to avert the danger of disturbance in those countries It will be interesting to see what Shukri's reaction to this wise advice will be.

Ibn Saud has arranged to meet the King of Egypt on the 24th January at a small creek on the Red Sea some 20 miles north of Yenbo. King Farouk, who himself proposed the visit, is expected to travel there in his yacht. The visit may not last more than a few days, but may be important. Not only is this the first occasion on which the two Kings have met, but if Ibn Saud gives Farouk the sound advice he has given to others, and if the young King is wise enough to listen to his mentor, the effects on Egyptian policy, and indeed on that of the Arab world generally, may well be beneficial.

During a recent visit to Bagdad Lord Gort, the High Commissioner for Palestine, had the opportunity of meeting the Regent of Iraq and other leading personalities. In conversation with Lord Gort, the Iraqi Prime Minister gave his views on the Palestine question. Hamdi Pachachi thought that it was not now possible to establish in that country either an Arab or a Jewish State. He expressed markedly grave anxiety about the strength and "limitless" ambition of Zionism. He was strongly opposed to partition, since the Jews would never be content with a restricted area, but would eventually try to conquer not only Arab Palestine but also the Levant States and Iraq. He feared that a Jewish army equipped with modern weapons would soon overcome the Arabs, who could not depend, as the Jews could, upon the advantages of wealth and science.

Hamdi Pachachi thought that the only solution was for Great Britain to continue to govern Palestine for the next twenty-five or thirty years. If His Majesty's Government would agree to this and would also prohibit further Jewish immigration, he for his part would advocate for an equal period a treaty of alliance between the Arab States and Great Britain. He concluded by saying that

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a wave of feeling in favour of Great Britain now permeated all Arab countries, and that, as these countries desired to strengthen their ties of friendship with Britain, he hoped that no decision regarding Palestine would be taken which might upset their present good relations.

THE FAR EAST.

The Japanese Diet reconvened on the 21st January when leading members of the Government gave a review of the military, political and domestic situation. The Premier, General Koiso, declared that Japan was faced with the gravest situation since the outbreak of the Pacific War and that her fate hung in the balance, although at the same time he asserted that her strategic position for the defence of East Asia was exceedingly firm. He stigmatised the bombing of the shrines at Ise (see this *Summary*, No. 276) as an outrage which had aroused the profound indignation of the people and strengthened their fighting spirit.

Most of Koiso's speech was devoted to promises of more effective measures to co-ordinate central and local organs of administration so as to secure the more effective execution of the Cabinet's war programme and to bring the local military and civilian authorities into closer contact and harmony. That such reforms are needed is shown by some sharp criticisms in the Japanese press: Thus the *Tokyo Shimbun* (the 6th January) complained that it took an excessively long time for the Cabinet to put its plans into effect, while the *Mainichi* (the 8th January) asserted that hardly any plan could be put through, but ended in "wishful figures without practical effect."

Koiso promised more effective anti-aircraft protection for factories as well as a more comprehensive programme for the dispersal of industry and for the evacuation of civilians from large cities. This would include the provision of underground facilities for munitions industries. It was intended to increase the production of steel, light metals and liquid fuel both in Japan and upon the Asiatic mainland. The Government would carry out the complete conversion of labour and materials to war production, and would endeavour to increase food supplies. Koiso paid a tribute to Japanese merchant seamen and promised improvements in their treatment; at the same time he declared that there would be further developments in land transport in Japan and Korea so as to ease the burden on the mercantile marine.

Domei (20 Jan.) said that, as from the 25th January, officers and assistant officers in the merchant marine would be given the status of senior and junior Government officials for the duration of the war, and that their pay would be increased. This presumably means that captains will be equivalent to senior Government officials—the precise grade was not specified—and first, second and third mates will have correspondingly lesser official grading. *Domei* also said that officers of the merchant marine, under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Transport, would be treated as naval or military officers when on duty aboard Army or Navy vessels. There has evidently been a good deal of discontent in the Japanese merchant navy about inequalities of status and remuneration, which the seamen probably resent the more because neither Army nor Navy could prevent heavy losses of merchant ships and crews, particularly among those on transport service to the battle-fronts in the Pacific. Japanese merchant seamen, with their opportunities of visiting foreign countries, are probably less easily moulded by official propaganda than are their shore-going compatriots; they are also more advanced in labour organisation. A breakdown in morale on their part would obviously be a very serious matter for Japan, particularly as such disaffection might come to affect the Navy itself, now smarting under defeat and—except for the much-advertised *kamikaze* units—from Army aspersions about its inactivity. Undue significance should not be placed upon this matter, but constant Japanese broadcasts about the solidarity and dauntless spirit of the people as a whole suggest the lady who protested too much. Revolutions are apt to begin among seamen suffering from a sense of injustice or conscious that they, through no fault of their own, can no longer meet the enemy on equal terms.

It remains to be seen whether the Koiso Government's belated zeal for reform will prolong its tenure of office. E. A. Sommer, *Transocean* correspondent in Tokyo, reported (18th January) that at a special meeting of the Seijikai it had been decided to abolish both that body and the larger Taisei Yokusankai and to form a new association. He added that, in this new body, the Comrades' League—formerly known as the Japan Youth Corps (Dai Nippon Seinendan) and presided

over by General Tatekawa—would play a leading part. The moving spirit in the Comrades' League is the sinister Colonel Hashimoto, of "Panay" fame. When Tatekawa resigned, Koiso himself took over the chairmanship of the Comrades' League, probably in order to checkmate Hashimoto, but encountered "great resistance." *Transocean* further reported (21st January) that the disbandment of the Taisei Yokusankai had been announced in Tokyo that day and that a new coalition party would be formed "to provide a true link between the Government and the Throne." The disbandment does not appear to have been carried out at once as a *DNB* message from Tokyo of the 22nd January said that the Yokusankai had met that day to discuss Koiso's statement in the Diet that the Association would occupy a controlling and official position in the new mobilisation measures for war industry. Presumably Koiso's statement refers to the reconstituted body, in which most of the members of the Yokusankai are likely to be included, but with the Hashimoto faction wielding increased influence.

Koiso's address to the Diet was followed by a speech from Shigemitsu, the Foreign Minister. Much of what he said consisted of a disguised overture to Chungking. He declared that "the war in East Asia started with the Chinese problem and will end there, for there can only be peace in East Asia when China takes her rightful place," and he alleged that Japan was fighting to secure Chinese independence in contrast to the imperialistic policies of Great Britain and the United States. Shigemitsu also declared that Japan's relations with the Soviet Union were governed by the Neutrality Pact, which, he said, provided the framework for close diplomatic contact between the two countries in respect of world politics. He claimed that progress had been made in "various questions at present under discussion" and he instanced the Fishery and Sakhalin Concessions Agreements of March 1944. He praised Germany's "struggle against seemingly insuperable difficulties" and declared that Japan's close ties with her would remain until final victory. Shigemitsu apparently still hopes to keep the U.S.S.R. neutral and to come to terms with Chungking; in answer to questions in the Diet he said that Japan would spare no efforts to realise general peace in China.

The Japanese have not so far resumed their main offensive in south-western China; they have, however, made a local drive which has resulted in the capture of Waichow and the expulsion of Chungking troops from the Bias Bay region, near Hong-Kong. The Japanese themselves say that this move is intended to frustrate any attempted American landing in this area. Chungking reports say that the Japanese are making defence preparations along other parts of the Chinese cost, notably in Chekiang and around Shanghai.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

At the very simple and dignified inaugural ceremony for his fourth term, President Roosevelt, in the shortest address ever delivered on such an occasion, issued a warning that the United States and the Allies were passing through a period of "supreme test," a test of courage, resolve, wisdom and of essential democracy. "In the days and years to come," said the President, "we shall work for a just and durable peace, as to-day we work and fight for total victory in war." "We can and we will achieve such a peace." There would no doubt be mistakes, and imperfections, but "we have learned, that we cannot live alone, at peace; that our own well-being is dependent upon the well-being of other nations far away . . . . We have learned the simple truth that 'the only way to have a friend, is to be one.' We gain no lasting peace," he continued, with an obvious reference to the mutual recrimination of the past few weeks, "if we approach it with suspicion and mistrust and with fear."

Earlier in the week the President described as a "strikingly successful example of United Nations collaboration" the work of the Combined Production and Resources Board, the Combined Raw Materials Board and the Combined Food Board. "We hear a good bit," began the statement which the President read at his press conference, "about differences between the United States and Britain, but perhaps we hear less of how really effectively they are working together in winning the war, and also in meeting the economic problems of the areas they liberate." He revealed that he had agreed with Mr. Churchill and Mr. Mackenzie King on the maintenance of the Boards until the end of the war with Japan, and in answer to a question from a correspondent, he stated

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that the experience gained by the Boards would be valuable for any work that might have to be done by the United Nations after the war, though he did not commit himself any further.

At the close of his statement Mr. Roosevelt singled out for special praise the work of Mr. William L. Batt, the United States representative on the Combined Raw Materials Board, and vice-chairman of the War Production Board, who himself stated three months or so ago that, " it would be tragic if the accumulated experience of the Combined Boards in the field of international economic co-operation were to be lost."

Speaking in Cincinatti last week, Mr. Batt predicted the possibility of a head-on clash between British and American opinion after the war and appealed for a better understanding of the problems facing the two countries. He urged Americans if they want " the help of Britain in building a better world, (to) take energetic steps towards helping Britain regain economic health." The prospects of the British textile industry he described as " grim " and of the coal industry as " stark " and he urged Americans " to direct their energies towards helping Britain " for reasons of enlightened self-interest even though Britain might have to resort to cartels, State trading and other methods unpopular in the United States, in order to regain her lost markets. " If you agree with my general thesis that the world needs a healthy Britain, then you will want to do whatever you can to help her whenever you can."

Preparations for the meeting (" across the seas," according to Senator Conally) of Mr. Churchill, Marshal Stalin and Mr. Roosevelt are going ahead. Mr. Stettinius has revealed that he will accompany the President on his forthcoming trip, in addition to attending the meeting of American Foreign Ministers which will be held at Mexico City in mid-February. While emphasising that the conference was a meeting of the Chiefs of States, Mr. Stettinius expressed the view that after the first meeting there might be parallel meetings of the Foreign Secretaries, as had been suggested by Mr. Eden, though he did not reveal whether Mr. Molotov would also accompany Marshal Stalin.

Mr. Churchill's speech last week in the House of Commons has, as usual, been applauded in the United States as, in the words of one radio commentator, " climatic, comprehensive and comprehending." Several papers regard the speech as " one of the greatest that the most famous British orator now living has ever made," and the " reassuring overtures " of British intentions towards liberated countries has done much to decrease criticism of British foreign policy, and has succeeded in clearing the air of a good deal of Anglo-American misunderstanding, though Left-wing papers such as *P.M.*, still continue to criticise the statements on Greece. Press and radio alike, however, express particular gratification at Mr. Churchill's magnificent tribute to the American fighting forces, " one of the most noble tributes paid by the leader of one Ally to the troops of another." The *New York Herald-Tribune* has remarked that the world needs more of this kind of specific utterance, and contrasts it with the " vagueness " of statements issued on United States foreign policy; while the *New York Times* declares that " the war aims of the United Nations have never been stated more clearly than they were in Mr. Churchill's adoption of Lincoln's phrase."

Questioned about what Mr. Henry Wallace would do when he was succeeded as Vice-President by Senator Truman, Mr. Roosevelt jocularly replied that he did not think he would starve, adding that that was a real tip. All speculation is now at an end with the announcement that Mr. Jesse Jones has resigned, at the request of the President, his post as Secretary of Commerce, and as Chairman of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and its subsidiary agencies, in favour of the retiring Vice-President. The publication of correspondence which has passed between Mr. Jesse Jones and the President reveals that Mr. Jones, in a bitter letter, has refused the President's offer of a diplomatic post abroad and strongly disagrees that Mr. Wallace " could do the greatest amount of good in the Department of Commerce." " For you to turn over all these responsibilities to a man inexperienced in business and finance will be hard, I believe, for the business and financial world to understand. The *New York Times*, as well as one or two other papers, expressed the view that, following Mr. Cordell Hull's resignation, Mr. Roosevelt has now lost the only other member of his Cabinet who had the full confidence of Congress, and there are reports that there will be strong opposition in the Senate when the President submits his nomination for its consideration, though in the end it will probably be confirmed. Mr. Wallace's appointment, at his own suggestion and " as a party reward," must be particularly galling to Mr. Jones in view of the enmity and strife that already exists between them (see

Summary No. 198). Mr. Jones is popular with Big Business, the Republicans and Conservative Democrats, while Mr. Wallace is an ardent New Dealer, who is strongly supported by Left-wing opinion and in particular by the Congress of Industrial Organisations. In order to quell the rising opposition and allay the suspicions of the business community, Mr. Wallace has issued a statement to the effect that " opportunity for free enterprise must be expanded " but the Administration " must accept the duty of seeing that all men are in health and have jobs." And the " common man need not tolerate less prosperity in peace than in war."

(See also under " Spain.")

LATIN AMERICA.

The resignation of General Peluffo as Foreign Minister reported in last week's *Summary*, caused something of a sensation in Argentina, even though Argentine ministers are now accustomed to be here to-day and gone to-morrow. The fact that it was announced as the result of the General's disagreement with recent trends in internal policy has been turned to account by the Press Secretariat of the Argentine Government, which has depicted the late Minister for Foreign Affairs as the leader of an ultra-Nationalist group intent on foiling Colonel Perón's policy of replacing military officers by civilians, and on preventing the holding of elections : a Buenos Aires broadcasting station has even declared that " this may change the opinion of those nations who do not want Argentina present at the meeting of Foreign Ministers."

Whatever the truth of this interpretation (and it is of interest that the Nationalist Press has praised the fallen General Peluffo), it clearly shows that the victorious Colonel Perón again desires to pose as the champion of democracy : his friends are reported to be comparing his elimination of General Peluffo with that of Argentina's leading totalitarian, General Perlinger, in July. In addition, the ultra-Nationalist Interventor of Corrientes, Dr. David Uriburu, has conveniently been dismissed, as well as two other Nationalist officers from the President's entourage. The Nationalist newspaper *Cabildo* did not appear on the 18th January, and this was reported to be due to the Government's refusal of newsprint. The Socialist *Vanguardia* has reappeared and clamours for the removal of the state of siege. The extreme Nationalist *Alianza* (suppressed when Argentina broke with the Axis) has also re-emerged.

The Ministry for Foreign Affairs is temporarily in the hands of Dr. César Ameghino, the Minister of Finance. There is a rumour that Dr. Podestá Costa, the Argentine representative at the Inter-American Juridical Committee, a prominently right-wing and " neutral " senator, may be offered the Ministry. A retired Colonel, Sr. Amaro Avalos, has been appointed Minister of Agriculture.

The Brazilian Minister for Foreign Affairs has told His Majesty's Ambassador that elections will be held early in May for the Presidency, Senate, and Chamber of Deputies. It remains uncertain whether States will vote for Governors, and Municipalities for Prefects. There is to be no return to the 1934 Consitution, but a decree to amend the 1937 Constitution in a liberal sense is expected to appear shortly. There will be only two candidates for the Presidency. The Constitution of 1937 provides for one candidate nominated by the President, and one chosen by an Electoral College, appointed on corporative lines. Should the President not nominate a candidate, the College's choice is automatically appointed. As to the forthcoming elections, Dr. Leão Veloso has remarked that " it is not impossible that the present President may offer himself as a candidate." It also appears likely that the present President, for want of any organised opposition group, may appoint his opponent. There should thus be the least possible doubt about the result of the contest.

A practical example of this system has just been given by El Salvador, where General Salvador Castañeda has become President by means of an election, his term being due to commence in March. All his rivals had retired from the field on the grounds of obvious military interference in the polls, and General Castañeda was thus returned by an overwhelming " majority."

The Guatemalan Government have broken off relations with the Spanish Government.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 278

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
31ST JANUARY, 1945.

Copy No. 183

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

NOW in its third week, the Russian offensive has achieved the capture of Memel, the encirclement of East Prussia, an advance to the Oder, an invasion of Pomerania and the capture of several industrial centres of Upper Silesia. No German counter-attack of any magnitude has developed. "The war bulletins of the last few days have filled many German hearts with the deepest anxiety," said Fritzsche on the 27th. Hardly less ominous have been the descriptions and warnings broadcast by the German wireless about the difficulties of the retreating armies, the hurried evacuation of civilians from the eastern districts, and the bitter weather in which all these movements have had to take place. With the Russian armies, as the *D.A.Z.* reminded its readers, "only a few hundred kilometres from the capital," it is hardly surprising that the people have been warned not to expect the traditional celebrations of Hitler's accession to power on the 30th January, 1933.

On the 24th January the O.K.W. announced that the Russians had reached the Oder, on the 25th that Oppeln had fallen and Elbing was threatened, on the 26th that Russian forces were on two sides of Poznan and attempting a break-through towards Königsberg and on the 27th "several major penetrations in the Upper Silesian industrial area." The fighting seems to have been fiercest in East Prussia, the Russian penetration greatest in the central sector, the extremity of Zhukov's advance beyond Posen is due east of Berlin. This means that the Germans have already been driven in places beyond the line where some months ago, according to a private report of an interview given by Guderian, they hoped to hold the Russians, that is a line running from Graz, through Bratislava and Cracow to Posen and Danzig.

German propaganda has endeavoured to explain to its public why this victorious Russian advance has not yet been opposed by any serious counter-attack. Dittmar, speaking on the 23rd after an absence of three weeks, used some alarming phrases. He said that the Germans "must avoid precipitate action, in order to render our counter-blows as effective as possible." He urged that the

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relative slowness of military developments on the German side should be rated as a "positive factor . . . . however much this may test the patience and confidence of the German people." But such encouragement as he could offer was itself far from positive. He spoke neither of reserves nor of a new line of resistance and left the impression that further considerable losses of Reich territory must be expected: before the front could be restored there would be many a moment of "painful impatience, when the names of German towns, representing to us a multitude of personal relations and human bonds, will be mentioned as contested or lost."

Statements of this kind can have done little to alleviate depression at the thought that two eastern provinces are almost as good as lost to the Reich. The historic importance of East Prussia, the propaganda regarding its defence and the formation of the Volkssturm, which was first set up there, will make its loss appear at least as significant as that of the intrinsically more valuable Silesian centres of war industry. Certain German spokesmen have made some efforts to bring the hard facts home gently. Dittmar spoke of East Prussia as "an advanced bastion . . . . threatened with severance from the rest of the Reich." Another commentator compared it to a huge camp within which women and children have taken refuge while soldiers and the Volkssturm defended them "with unimaginable ferocity." Glodschey, on the 27th, admitted that the province was now cut off from all land communication with Germany, and hinted that it might be temporarily lost.

Forster, as Gauleiter of Danzig and East Prussia, broadcast an appeal to all men capable of bearing arms to report for service at once. Supply columns and rearward services were urged to comb out every man who could possibly be spared for the front. Soldiers of all services who have lost contact with their units have been told by wireless to report to specified centres. Stragglers have been rounded up in Königsberg and formed into emergency units. These and similar reports suggest a confusion behind the front lines which recalls that of the German western armies last September.

As to the evacuation of civilians from threatened areas, the evidence again suggests haste and confusion. Schwarz van Berk, broadcasting on the 24th, referred to the stream of trains depositing East Prussian refugees in Berlin. Roads leading out of the province were so crowded that the Gauleiter ordered "trekking columns" to leave them, and asked Party and police officials to see that this was done. The Gauleiter of Upper Silesia said on the 24th that the evacuation of women and children from Breslau would soon be complete, but admitted that waves of refugees from the Wartheland and eastern districts had been crowding the city. A wireless estimate of the number who by the 25th had left, in bitter weather by rail and road, was roughly 300,000, that is nearly half the peace-time population of the city. The newspaper *Front und Heimat* assured its military readers that this evacuation could not be compared with that of the French in 1940. The evacuation of Vienna, which is stated to have been pursued since the 2nd January, apparently included foreign workers (thought to be a potential Fifth Column) as well as women, children and invalids.

Newspaper articles in the last weeks of 1944 gave some publicity to the difficulties which make up the problem of evacuation now intensified by the Russian advance. No less intractable than those of enforcing departure and of providing transport are the difficulties of reception. Areas to which evacuees are sent now appear to be saturated. Articles suggest that it is impossible to go on sending homeless people to places where householders either refuse them admittance—people who did this were sent to work in a bombed area of the Rhineland—or cannot accommodate more, or cannot remain on good terms with those to whom they do give shelter. A Munich paper wrote in December that differences between householders and lodgers were so frequent that the best solution for bombed people was Ley's "emergency house." The quarrels had got beyond the hope of being merely a private matter; the Reich Housing Commissioner both could, and must, intervene. In Gelsenkirchen, the Deputy Gauleiter of Essen suggested in December that since people could not be moved beyond the limits of the Gau, the population of its eastern districts must make room somehow for more evacuees. The demand for space in Baden is now such that a Landrat has forbidden premises to be "used for the accommodation of furniture and household goods." This means that those air raid victims who have managed to store their effects will have them moved elsewhere. A report from Vienna stresses the fact that householders are entitled to refuse compliance to registration officials who have not established their identity.

A brief announcement from Berlin, on the evening of the 28th, stated that Quisling had been received by Hitler. The official communiqué was, as is usually the case with such political talks, laconic, and followed the well-known line that the conversations at Hitler's Headquarters had been frank and cordial and that complete agreement had been reached regarding all questions affecting both Norway and Germany. Hitler's determination to give Norway complete independence after Germany had won the war was reaffirmed. The names of those present suggest that the meeting was concerned with important issues of present policy. Quisling was accompanied by two colleagues. The German Reich Kommissar of Norway, Terboven, was there, as were Ribbentrop, Lammers and Bormann. It has for some time been rumoured in Norway that political changes would be announced on the 1st February, the anniversary of Quisling's appointment, but what these are is far from clear. The Germans were recently reported to have eleven divisions established in Norway. They now need not merely every soldier, but every policeman and worker they can get. Terboven himself was reported to be moving out of the Reichkommissariat building in Oslo. The German military commander in Norway, General Rendulic, is said to have been transferred to the eastern front. It is possible that the Nazis, now faced with the necessity of withdrawing forces from Norway, are covering such a withdrawal with promises for the future and an increase in Quisling's present powers. Whether Quisling and his compatriots will be given a much larger measure of control will probably depend on German estimates as to the likelihood of Allied attack on the Norwegian ports. (See further under "Scandinavia.")

If Hitler's short speech broadcast at 10·15 p.m. on the 30th January should prove to be his last, he will at least have been consistent to the end. It was full of the old Hitler—dogmatic, ruthless, fanatically inhuman—and in places attained something of his early vigour. The themes also were well-worn—Russian aggression, British impotence (illustrated by the telling simile of the sheep and the tiger), National Socialism as Germany's only adequate defence, insistence on his own divine mission. He dealt sharply with those opponents of the Nazis who think that an undefended Germany would never have fallen prey to "this Jewish international world conspiracy." He warned foreign statesmen "once and for all that any attempt to make an impression on Nazi Germany by using phrases of the kind used by Wilson presumes a simplicity of mind unknown in modern Germany." He proclaimed the 30th January, 1933, as the date marking the spiritual rebirth of the German nation, which had been thus enabled to resist a European disease so severe that even the man who survived it could only do so "by exertions which would weaken him in an extreme degree." Since the Almighty had created the German people, defence of their existence was defence of his work. His own life was ruled by his duty to his people, from which he could only be absolved by Him who had called him to it, and who on the 20th July last had confirmed his mission. He demanded sacrifice to the last ounce of strength from every German, healthy and sick, worker and peasant, woman and girl. He threatened "ignominious death" to those who stabbed Germany in the back, and he appealed "with particular confidence" to German youth. His final word expressed his conviction that the present calamity would be mastered by a victorious Europe under German leadership.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

The troops of General Petrov and Marshal Malinovsky have made more steady progress during the past week towards clearing the Germans from Slovakia. Pushing north-west from Miskolcz the latter was able, on the 24th January to report the capture of Rožnava and Jelšava, whilst by the 28th January Petrov's Army, which includes the Czechoslovak corps under General Svoboda, had advanced westwards through difficult country along the line of the Košice–Bohumin railway to capture Poprad, over 2,000 feet up at the approaches to the High Tatra. Czechoslovak broadcasts from Moscow are urging the Slovaks not to permit themselves to be evacuated and to do everything possible to prevent the destruction of property, communications and installations by the retreating Germans.

In the Protectorate Frank has been making preparations during January to meet the grave situation that has arisen as a result of the Russian offensive. With a view to more rigid control of war production, Bertsch, the one German

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Minister in the Protectorate Government, has been appointed chairman of the Armaments Committee for Bohemia–Moravia; rail-travel and the consumption of electricity and gas have been drastically curtailed; a still stricter frontier supervision has been introduced; and executions for anti-German activities have increased in number.

More light has now been thrown on certain points in Soviet–Czechoslovak relations. As regards the future of Ruthenia (see *Summary* No. 276), the position is that officially the Soviet Government still stands by the Treaty of December 1943 and the subsequent agreement concerning the administration of liberated territories signed in May 1944, and maintains the view that the Czechoslovak Government should administer under the armistice all the pre-Munich territories of the Czechoslovak Republic. At the same time, both Governments take account of the strong Ukrainian nationalism displayed by the Sub-Carpathian Ruthenians since their liberation, and the Czechoslovaks are probably reconciled to ceding Ruthenia at the Peace Conference—or even earlier, possibly, if the Russians should bring strong pressure to bear. In another respect—the question of Czechoslovak recognition of the Lublin Provisional Government—Moscow has already exerted strong pressure on the Czechoslovak Government, and the latter, though with some reluctance, is likely to fall in with the Russians' wishes and decide to recognise Lublin during the present week.

POLAND.

The Soviet Armies have now driven the Germans from nearly all Silesia, Upper and Lower, east of the Oder, and from nearly all of East Prussia south of the latitude of Königsberg. In Lublin-controlled Poland there is a note of jubilation. "We are returning to Silesia," said Lublin Radio, thinking perhaps of the old castle of the Polish Piast dynasty which still stands at Oppeln, the capital until last week of the German "Greater Upper Silesia." The "League of Western Poles" is organising a register of all Poles from the incorporated provinces and of others who wish to be given land in the areas that may be acquired.

The Lublin Administration is largely concerning itself with reconstruction and relief. It has voted an initial credit of £5 million for the restoration of Warsaw, where it has been estimated the Germans did damage to the value of £42 million. It is suggested that this should be a claim on German reparations, and that 150,000 German workers should be employed on reconstruction. As to relief, some grain is being sent in as a present from the neighbouring Soviet Republics (see below under "Soviet Union"). It is also announced that American Red Cross supplies, chiefly medical, will shortly arrive. Both reconstruction and relief are said to have been among the questions discussed by MM. Bierut and Morawski on their recent visit to Moscow.

M. Arciszewski's memorandum on the political situation, reported in the last *Summary*, has been the subject of attacks by Lublin and of criticism in M. Mikolajczyk's paper *Jutro Polski*. Lublin Radio says it is an insult to the Polish nation to suggest "that power in Poland should be taken away from the Poles and handed over to an Inter-Allied Commission." M. Mikolajczyk has made the counter-suggestion that both the London and the Lublin Administrations should be replaced by a new Government mainly formed from men who have remained in Poland; that the controversy as between the 1935 and 1921 Constitutions should be disregarded, since neither can in practice now be applied; and that the President's place should be taken by a "Presidential Council." Meantime the Lublin Administration has extended its control to Cracow, where provisional Provincial and Municipal Councils have now been set up.

The German war currency, known as the Cracow zlotys, was withdrawn from circulation early this month, and is being replaced by a Polish zloty. Holders of the Cracow zlotys obtain the new exchange only up to a limited amount, the rest being credited to them with a prospect of full payment if reparations are received from Germany to cover the whole issue.

The Rector of the reopened Catholic University of Lublin, and at present administrator of the Lublin diocese, has made a statement of the damage suffered by the Catholic Church in Poland under German domination. Enomous losses, he says, were suffered, and a great number of priests were murdered, including 67 in his own diocese, and 80 per cent. of those in the dioceses of Chelmno and Gniezno–Pozan. In the provinces now liberated the Church has, he says, received

its freedom, Catholic schools have been opened, and the entire clergy "while remaining loyal to the Government, maintains a non-political attitude, carrying out the duties imposed on it by the Canon Law and the Concordat concluded with the Holy See."

SOVIET UNION.

The Red Army's advance has continued on all fronts, celebrated this week by twenty-one Orders of the Day from Marshal Stalin. Memel fell on the 28th January and the expulsion of the Germans from Lithuania is thus completed. In East Prussia General Cherniakhovsky was reported within 2 miles of Königsberg on the 29th January, whilst to the west Marshal Rokossovsky broke through to the Baltic at Tolkemit on the 26th January, thus cutting off the remnant of East Prussia which the Germans still hold. South of Bydgoszcz (captured on the 23rd January) a great Russian sweep forward has left isolated islands of resistance in Torun and Poznan; the first seizure of Pomeranian territory was announced on the 29th January. Further south again the Red Army's front in Silesia now extends for 140 miles, and Breslau is threatened. Hindenburg fell on the 26th January, Beuthen on the 28th January and Katowice (in Poland) on the same day. The Dabrowa mining region has thus been cleared. In Slovakia a steady advance has continued, culminating in the capture of Poprad on the 28th January.

A special communiqué issued by the Soviet Information Bureau on the 26th January stated that in the fighting on German, Polish and Czechoslovak territory between the 12th and 24th January the enemy lost more than 295,000 killed and 86,330 prisoners.

The British parliamentary delegation last week visited Leningrad and were received by M. Popkov, the Chairman of the Municipal Soviet. On their return to Moscow they enjoyed a personal conference with Marshal Stalin lasting over an hour, in the course of which they were able to question the Marshal on various subjects of interest to them. M. Maisky acted as interpreter during this visit and M. Molotov was also in attendance.

One of the more noticeable results of the Anglo-Soviet alliance in the propaganda field was that India ceased to be represented as a victim of British imperialism by the Soviet press and wireless. The mid-January number of *The War and the Working Class*, however, contains a long article on India's political, economic and cultural backwardness for which His Majesty's Government is held responsible. Culturally, modern India is stated to have achieved less than countries like Norway with one-hundredth of her population. The writer of this article, A. Diakov, who in the pre-war years specialised in Indian affairs in the Soviet press, alleges that "all impartial observers rightly regard the extreme political backwardness of a country which remains in the position of a British colony up to the middle of the twentieth century as the fundamental cause of the strikingly tardy economic and cultural development of the Indian people." Diakov's analysis of the various Indian political parties is no more flattering than his picture of British rule. Gandhi is accused of believing in "such unreal doctrines as civil disobedience" and of being opposed to "industrialisation, without which no country can be free to-day, and to the war of freedom-loving nations against aggression"; the Mahasabha and the Moslem League are criticised for their reactionary religious differences and the Princes as a "bulwark of political backwardness." India was also mentioned, it may be recalled, in *Izvestiya's* attack on Commander Bower (see last week's *Summary* under "Poland"). The revival of this subject is probably inspired by irritation on the Soviet side with the current criticism of Soviet foreign policy in Great Britain.

The establishment of the League of European Freedom under the auspices of the Duchess of Atholl evoked a particularly virulent outburst against "that indefatigable old dame" by David Zaslavsky in *Pravda*. India was also dragged into this polemic and the interest of the Duchesss of Atholl and her supporters in the future status of the Baltic and other small peoples of Europe arraigned as "anti-Soviet in bias."

Pravda's international observer (29th January) produced some caustic comments on the Yugoslav Government crisis. "What political crisis can exist in Yugoslavia now that the Shubashitch Government has concluded the Agreement with Marshal Tito on the basic issues of home policy?" The only crisis was "a personal crisis of King Peter" who came out without any ground against

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the Agreement. The King's failure to withstand the influence of reactionary groups was, however, a menace only to himself; whatever attitude he took could not seriously affect the situation in Yugoslavia.

M. Modzelewski presented his credentials as Ambassador of the "Provisional Government of Poland" to M. Kalinin on the 26th January, M. Lebedev, the Soviet Ambassador in Lublin, being received the same day by M. Osubka-Morawski. Meanwhile, cordial messages and gifts in kind are being sent to Warsaw by the Ukrainian, Byelorussian and Lithuanian Republics, the Ukrainian message particularly stressing the unity of Poles and Ukrainians in their common Slavdom. The Ukrainian Republic sent 15,000 tons of grain besides smaller quantities of sunflower seed, sugar and dried fruits, the Byelorussian 10,000 tons of grain, and the Lithuanian 5,000 tons.

Seyyid Zia and his supporters are a subject this week of a vituperative article in *Pravda*. They are said to have "fought against the Soviet military authorities, engaged in terrorist activities against Soviet supply lines and spread anti-Soviet lies and accusations." The rest of the article is in much the same vein of highly-coloured biographical and historical misrepresentation of Seyyid Zia's part in Soviet-Iranian relations since 1921. It concludes: "the sooner Seyyid Zia removes his accursed and filthy carcass from Iran the better." (See also under "Middle East.")

The General Council (Sobor) to be held in Moscow on the 31st January to elect a Patriarch of Moscow and all the Russias is to be a big occasion, and distinguished representatives of the Orthodox Churches outside the U.S.S.R. have already arrived to attend. It would presumably have been difficult for the Œcumenical Patriarch of Constantinople to accept the invitation of the Russian Holy Synod to attend the Council in person, but his Exarch in Western Europe, Metropolitan Germanos of Thyateira has gone to Moscow as his representative. The Patriarch of Jerusalem was apparently unable to travel owing to illness, but he also has sent a delegate in the person of Archbishop Athonoges of Sebaste. The Patriarch Alexander III of Antioch was apparently one of the first to accept the invitation, though even he experienced some hesitations, his bishops urging him not to show too great a subservience to the Russian Patriarchate. The Soviet Minister in the Lebanon, M. Solod, seems to have exercised persuasive powers to some effect, and the Patriarch may have agreed the more readily as he is known to have hopes of asking Marshal Stalin to intervene with General de Gaulle to restore the Orthodox Church to its old position in the Levant. The Patriarch reached Moscow on the 27th January accompanied by two of his bishops. The Patriarch of Alexandria, Christopher II, had more difficulty in making his decision, the Greek Chargé d'Affaires in Cairo doing his best to dissuade him. The scale was tipped in favour of Moscow, however, when he learnt of his brother of Antioch's decision to make the journey. He consulted the British authorities, stating that he had the approval of the Archbishop of York, but he apparently did not approach the Egyptian Government.

Originally the Russian bishops only decided to invite representatives of the four ancient Patriarchates and the Catholicos of Georgia to their Council, but other churches were later included. *Tass* (29th January) reported that a large delegation from the Serbian Patriarchate had arrived in Moscow, led by Metropolitan Josip of Skoplje, the Acting Patriarch, Patriarch Gavrilo being still presumably in German hands. The Bulgarian Church, regarded as schismatic by all the Orthodox world excepting the Moscow Patriarchate, was not invited, largely, it is thought, because the Patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria had made its exclusion a condition of their acceptance. It is surprising, however, that there has so far been no mention of delegations from the Roumanian Patriarchate, or from the Church of Greece. The Coptic Patriarch had been trying to get an invitation through the Soviet Legation in Cairo, but his exclusion would be automatic, as all the Orthodox including the Russians regard the Copts as heretical as well as schismatic.

It is worth noting that these delegations have only been welcomed by church dignitaries on their arrival in Moscow, no representatives of the Soviet Government having been present at the station or airport.

The liberation of Memel (Klapeda) was hailed by M. Paletskis, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian S.S.R., on behalf of his Republic. Memel, torn away from Lithuania by Germany in 1939 "with the direct connivance of Smetona's Fascist Government," had been restored to the Lithuanian people for ever. Only under the Soviet banner, M. Paletskis said, could they achieve their age-old dream of freedom and national independence.

By the death of M. Konstantin Umansky as the result of a plane crash in Mexico, the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs has lost one of its most astute and successful diplomats, and a member of its Collegium. M. Umansky, who was born in 1902 in Nikolayev, joined the Communist Party as a youth of 17. He had had a varied experience as a *Tass* representative in Vienna, Rome and Paris before being transferred to the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs in 1931. Appointed Counsellor to the Soviet Embassy in Washington in 1936, he was subsequently promoted to be Ambassador in Washington, a post he relinquished in 1941. He was appointed Soviet Ambassador to Mexico (following a period of home service) in 1943. Last year he was awarded the Order of the Red Banner of Labour for outstanding services to the Soviet State. He was regarded on all sides as the key man in Soviet diplomatic relations with the Latin-American continent. At the time of his death he was on his way to Costa Rica to present his credentials as Soviet Minister Plenipotentiary to that country.

SCANDINAVIA.

The visit of Quisling to Hitler at the latter's headquarters has given rise to a flood of rumour and speculation, the truth of which cannot be verified until after this *Summary* has been written. The official communiqué, issued on the 28th January, is not informative: "Complete agreement on all questions" is a well-worn cliché which seldom has any striking resemblance to the truth. The promise of Norwegian independence is seriously qualified by the proviso "after the victorious conclusion of the European struggle," which, if a German victory is meant, would appear to be synonymous with the Greek calends. The meeting appears, however, to have been regarded as of considerable importance; besides the Führer, prominent Germans present included Ribbentrop, Bormann and Lammers, while Quisling also brought auxiliaries for the discussion.

The expectation expressed in current rumour is that the 1st February—the customary date for Quisling to receive a ration of crumbs from his master's table—will see the theoretical independence of the Norwegian puppet Government sufficiently conceded to enable Quisling to declare the conclusion of peace with Germany, or even of an alliance with her: to give this independence a more convincing appearance it is thought possible that the Reichskommissar may be withdrawn. Such developments may well give rise to an internal crisis which will further test the staunchness of the home front. *Fri Fagbevegelse*, the organ of the clandestine press most closely reflecting the official view of the Nygaardsvold Government, has published an article stressing the effectiveness of a general strike and the necessity of making preparations to use this weapon, and significant support has been given to this pronouncement by the Norwegian Broadcasting Service from London.

The fanatical extremists of the Quisling Party seem prepared to go even further than peace and alliance with Germany, and to be disposed to organise—on paper at any rate—that active defence of Northern Norway which the Germans have failed to attempt. On this subject, the clandestine but apparently genuine N.S. publication *Norsk Hird* has indulged in a violent tirade against the treachery of the German "liberators" in evacuating Finnmark without a blow, and against the quisling leaders for their subservient acquiescence in this policy. A struggle for Finnmark, says this paper, would have been a brilliant opportunity for arousing the nation in the struggle with Bolshevism. That this bellicose view has some support in N.S. circles is confirmed by a report from S.N.P. on the 21st January to the effect that fanatical quislings are considering the organisation of a partisan movement against the liberated portion of North Norway, suicidal as this policy may appear. It remains to be seen whether February will throw further light upon these rumours, alarums and excursions.

It was reported on the 27th January that General Rendulic, who recently succeeded Falkenhorst in the command of German forces in Norway, has been transferred to the Eastern Front, and he is said to have been replaced by General Böhmer, who is believed to have special knowledge of Norwegian conditions.

In Finland, the fate of the much-discussed Brothers-in-Arms Association (see last week's *Summary*) was decided on the 25th January when the Government announced its dissolution. The latest information appears to justify the charges of political activity brought against the organisation, which seems to have included an undue proportion of Nazi-minded individuals among its

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prominent officials. There would appear, however, to be some doubt whether the step taken may not involve a danger of converting the Association into an underground conspiracy with purely political objects, since the charitable and non-party side of its activities will necessarily disappear. The decision of the Government was probably, however, rendered nearly inevitable by the strong views expressed by M. Orlov, the political adviser of the Soviet Control Commission. The Finnish Press seems mostly to regard it as a sacrifice laid on the altar of Finno-Russian understanding.

The main interest in Finland continues to centre round the forthcoming elections and the regrouping of political forces in preparation for them. The split in the Social Democrat Party has probably been widened by a controversy as to whether the party should form a *bloc* with the new Democratic League, on which issue the League insisted on the elimination of the names of Tanner, Hakkila, and Salovaara from the list of candidates. On the 25th January the Social Democrat Party board rejected these conditions, stating that the selection of party candidates was an internal matter with which the League had no right to interfere, and going far to imply that it regarded the League as a stalking horse for Communism. On the other hand, the Social Democrat Opposition announced on the 26th that it had entered into a coalition with the League. The Opposition is, however, reported to be further split by this decision, which has only secured the assent of some of its members. In default of such a coalition it is felt, however, that radical Social Democrats will desert to the Communist fold and the party will be left exclusively Tannerite.

The preliminary elections of party candidates by the Social Democrats took place on the 21st January, and the first results announced seem to show that Tanner still retains his ascendancy, especially in the capital and larger towns. In Helsinki Tanner himself headed the list, and his supporters for the most part secured more votes than members of the Opposition.

Though the Russians are still behaving with restraint and correctness, they have made it clear that they are not indifferent to the course of the elections. M. Orlov, indeed, has made the significant remark that the results in March would be regarded as the main test of the good faith of the Finns.

In the evening of the 22nd January a bomb was thrown at His Majesty's Legation in Stockholm, though without doing serious damage. The act appears to have been committed by an irresponsible individual, and was obviously unrepresentative of any important shade of public opinion.

On the 21st January a German patrol boat intercepted a Danish steamer in Swedish territorial waters outside Hälsingborg. Though a protest was expected, and many organs of the Swedish press expressed serious indignation, *Hälsingborgs Posten* quotes military circles as being of opinion that the German vessel was within its rights.

LOW COUNTRIES.

The text has now been published of a letter sent to Seyss-Inquart by a number of doctors in the Occupied Netherlands on the 6th January. This letter paints a terrible picture. "The distress of the Dutch population in the most densely populated districts grows day by day. The rations issued to adults in these districts have a food value of 600–800 calories a day. This is less than half the amount which an adult requires to keep alive while resting, and less than a third of what he needs when working." The letter goes on to condemn the barbarity that attends the deportation of Dutch workers to Germany, of which it gives several details, and concludes with the statement that, if the Germans persist in their cruelty to the Dutch, they will forfeit all claim to the respect of mankind.

Since the letter was written conditions have, if anything, deteriorated. Influenced by the hope of getting more food a few of the railwaymen who have been on strike since the middle of September recently returned to work. A broadcast on Radio Orange reminded the Dutch that the continuance of the strike was imperative and pointed out that the strike was not responsible for the famine—a point which had also been made by the doctors' letter. The Dutch Government, said Radio Orange, ordered the strike to go on and gave warning that trains would be attacked by the air forces of the Allies.

Mr. J. A. W. Burger, the Dutch Minister of the Interior, has resigned. For the time being, Mr. H. van Boeyen, Minister of General Affairs, will also act as Minister of the Interior. Mr. Burger is a young Socialist who escaped from the Netherlands in the spring of 1943; in August of that year he became Minister

without Portfolio, and, in June 1944, as the result of a Cabinet reshuffle (see *Summary* No. 244), he succeeded Mr. van Boeyen as Minister of the Interior. Mr. Berger's resignation was occasioned by a broadcast delivered in the Liberated Netherlands on the 14th January, in which he had discussed the punishment of collaborators. Mr. Burger had indicated that he was not in favour of proceeding against well-meaning persons merely because their attitude to the enemy had not always been correct and they had fallen into errors of which they had afterwards repented. According to Radio Orange this broadcast had been delivered without the knowledge of the Dutch Prime Minister, who had held that it was incompatible with the policy laid down by the Government and calculated to undermine the resistance of the Dutch in the Occupied Netherlands. Mr. Burger, however, had held that his broadcast contained nothing that was incompatible with the Government's policy, but had felt impelled to tender his resignation because relations between himself and Dr. Gerbrandy were no longer those of complete mutual confidence.

The coal shortage in Belgium is becoming increasingly serious. Strikes have caused output to fall, and a lack of pit-props may cause it to fall yet further. The freezing of waterways, too, has made transport more difficult. In consequence many households are without coal, and Brussels has no electricity by day and no gas at all. Naturally there is a widespread tendency to blame the Government, and, while it is true that nothing could have prevented coal from being fairly scarce, the Government has undeniably shown a regrettable lack of vigour and has failed to take adequate measures against the black market in coal. The Communists are seeking to make capital out of the general discontent, and they may succeed in creating serious trouble.

What makes things worse is that supplies of newsprint are exhausted. If the papers have to cease publication, Belgians will be able to satisfy their appetite for news from two sources alone, the radio and rumour. It is not at all certain that the radio would be able to counteract the effect of false and mischievous rumours, which would certainly spread over the country in next to no time.

(See also under "France.")

FRANCE.

In a press conference on the 25th January, General de Gaulle referred to most of the outstanding foreign issues with which his Government is faced. Replying to questions on the conference of the Great Powers, he said curtly that he had heard there was to be such a conference, but France had not been invited.

Perhaps the most interesting of his declarations was that "French forces must be installed on the Rhine from the Swiss frontier to the mouth of the river. Experience had shown that unless she held that line, France was foredoomed to invasion. Not only her own security but that of Western Europe was at stake."

The Government had not so far received any request to begin negotiations for an Anglo-French pact, but it was to be expected that the two countries would sooner or later define the terms of their alliance, though the absence of a written pact had not prevented their waging war together for the past five years. The Franco-Soviet pact would not constitute a model for other pacts: for pacts were alliances and could not be concluded in the same terms with every State. France hoped, however, to conclude agreements with her neighbours, especially Belgium. All such agreements would be marked by the desire to oppose German aggression, which characterised the Franco-Soviet pact.

On relations with Italy, General de Gaulle repeated points previously made (see *Summary* No. 276 under "France" and "Italy"). It was to be hoped that the Government of Signor Bonomi, for whom France had a high esteem, would recognise that the Franco-Italian Conventions in respect of Tunisia no longer exist. He added that Italy's present war effort, whatever the courage shown, could in no circumstances compare with the war effort of France. The commercial negotiations in progress with Spain would, it was hoped, enable France to increase that war effort. As regards Tangier, the French Government considered that its status—which was also of concern to other Powers—was not yet settled; it had constantly protested against the modifications introduced by Spain. Asked whether the French Government intended to recognise the Lublin Committee as the Provisional Government of Poland, he replied that France would wait until Poland herself could express an opinion. At present that was not possible. Referring to present discussions regarding the future of the

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Pacific, he stated that in the event of another war with Japan, the same French Pacific bases as were now being used by the Allies would again be put at their disposal.

General de Gaulle also touched on the position in the Levant—a subject recently raised by reports of General Spears's speech at the Royal Empire Society criticising French policy. Serious and distressing difficulties had been created for France in Syria and the Lebanon. "France (so he was reported by the *Aube* as saying), who was the first to recognise their independence, wishes to preserve her traditional pre-eminent position there. Agreement with the Governments of Damascus and Beirut would long ago have been complete but for outside interference ("des interférences extérieures") between us and them, which complicates the situation and compromises our relations with a great State" (*sc.* Great Britain) (see also under "Middle East").

The tone of the conference was ungracious; but this may have been due as much to the bitter cold, which has set all tempers on edge, as to pique at the failure to invite the French to the forthcoming conference of the Great Powers—a subject which has been causing disappointment and depression in Paris newspaper comment. Publicity has since been given to the visit to Paris of Mr. Harry Hopkins, who was reported to have talked with General de Gaulle and M. Bidault.

General de Gaulle's reference to France's neighbours was no doubt not unconnected with the presence in Paris of the Luxembourg Minister for Foreign Affairs and with the forthcoming visits of the Norwegian and Belgian Foreign Ministers. It is expected that a Franco-Belgian commercial agreement will be signed, and a special committee or committees may be set up to study various aspects of Franco-Belgian trade and customs relations. There would also be an exchange of views regarding the future treatment of Germany and zones of occupation, though it is recognised that no decisions could be taken without the agreement of Great Britain, the United States and the U.S.S.R. The general scope and importance of M. Spaak's forthcoming visit was indicated in a Belgian News Agency report of the 26th January.

M. Thorez, Secretary-General of the French Communist Party, made an important speech at the inaugural session of the party's central committee on the 21st January—a speech which has since been given considerable prominence on the French wireless. While he made the highly controversial statement that the new army must be the army of the masses, since the idea of the professional army of technicians had been discredited, he was conciliatory to ex-Vichy military elements "who now sought only to redeem themselves and do their whole duty to France and the Republic." As for the purge, it was for the Government alone to act. Again, the *Milices Patriotiques* had a *raison d'être* before and during the insurrection against the Hitlerites and Vichy; but public security should now be safeguarded by the regular police, and the *Gardes Civiques* and all irregular armed groups should no longer be kept in being.

It is suggested that M. Thorez, was perhaps the more inclined to accept the dissolution of the *Milices Patriotiques* since the order to hand in their arms has remained largely a dead letter. But the whole tone of the speech was conciliatory. The Communists, he maintained, had no revolutionary intentions. The word "revolution" had been discredited by Hitler and the Vichy "National Revolution." The Communist Party was the nucleus round which all men of good will should rally for the reconstruction of France. "Le parti de la main tendue (*i.e.*, the hand offered to the Catholics at the time of the Popular Front), qui est aussi le parti de la laïcité, n'admet aucune exclusion à l'égard d'aucun bon Français." Possibly under instructions from elsewhere, the Communist Party would seem to have realised the extent of the popular reaction against disorder and demagogy and wishes to present itself as the Party of order and unity: "un parti de gouvernement."

The long-announced trial of Charles Maurras, the Royalist leader and director of the *Action Française*, who was charged with treason, finally opened in Lyons on the 24th January. On the 27th he was found guilty, but attenuating circumstances were admitted and he was sentenced to solitary confinement for life. Maurice Pujo, his lieutenant, was condemned to five years' imprisonment and a fine of 20,000 fr. Both were sentenced to "national degradation." According to the Lyons wireless of the 30th January, Maurras will not appeal. On the 29th January the Paris Court of Justice condemned Henri Clerc, ex-Deputy for Annecy, to penal servitude for life. Under Vichy he directed news reels at a yearly salary of 360,000 fr., and is reported to have sent a film, the "Prisoners of Dieppe," to Hitler.

It was announced on the French wireless on the 29th January that M. Jacques Maritain, the distinguished French philosopher and leading "Left-wing" Catholic, has been appointed Ambassador to the Vatican.

PORTUGAL.

Last week looked like being a black one for Dr. Salazar, who, according to most reliable reports, was facing the gravest political crisis of his long period of office. There was certainly dissatisfaction in the Army, the support of which is essential to any régime, and a group of officers had certainly approached President Carmona, who, it is believed, took their complaints against Dr. Salazar sufficiently seriously to investigate whether the "Military Committee of National Liberation" was indeed supported by the whole Army. Dr. Salazar, meanwhile, had retired to the country for a few days, and no one knew whether he would emerge from his retreat as victor or vanquished. At the moment, it does not appear that Dr. Salazar has suffered defeat, for when Sir R. Campbell spent an agreeable three hours in his company on the 26th January he seemed to have hardly a care in the world beyond the present worries of the scarcity of coal and of shipping. The fear of Russian influence in Europe is so constant a part of Dr. Salazar's thought that it acts more as a continuous ground-bass to passing anxieties than as an ordinary come-day go-day worry. It is not yet definitely known if the crisis is settled, but it looks as though the Doctor has found a solution, whether by promising an all-round increase of pay to the dissatisfied Army or by some other means. It is known that President Carmona is most reluctant to attempt any drastic measure against Dr. Salazar. If the Army have indeed been persuaded to accept the continuance of the régime, it will be one more example of Dr. Salazar's uncanny skill in handling his people; it demonstrates, too, his immense prestige, which seems in itself to hamstring his enemies. But, even though the skies may have cleared again, there are more storms to be faced. The pay of the Army may be raised as a palliative to the distress among the families of the lower ranks, but the *gremios*, the employers' guilds, will continue their corrupt manipulation of Portuguese industry and commerce. And, though, given the difficulty of achieving anything solid in Portugal, there are many successes, the mismanagement of the *gremios* is one of the outstanding political failures of Dr. Salazar's régime. A failure which may be accepted cynically or resignedly in easy days arouses wrath under the press of hard times. Economic distress and anger at corruption in government are political tinder which the spark of an Allied victory may well touch off. Dr. Salazar knows this very well: so do his enemies. But they believe that his departure before the end of the war in Europe would avert trouble in Portugal; he thinks that no one but he possesses the combination of wisdom and firmness necessary to guide the country in the difficult days which lie ahead.

(For "Tangier" see under "France.")

ITALY.

The British official explanation of the passage in Mr. Churchill's speech on the 18th January, which, robbed of its context (as reported in last week's *Summary*), caused some depression in Italy, has now produced a corresponding rise of spirits. The statement, which was issued from 10 Downing Street, gives the whole context, from which the Italian Press misquoted one sentence. To correct the impression thus given, the statement explains that this passage was in answer to a suggestion, widely publicised, that Great Britain was indulging in "power politics," particularly in the Mediterranean. The statement goes on to say that the reference to Italy in the speech did not imply that Mr. Churchill's message to the Italian people on his departure last August was superseded, or that Italy should not eventually take her proper place amongst the other European nations. Most of the Press has accepted this explanation with satisfaction, but *Voce Repubblicana* (Republican) is still apparently rather sceptical, and suggests that if Great Britain is to play the leading part in the Mediterranean, she will necessarily need the support of the two Mediterranean nations, Spain and Italy. *Il Popolo* (Christian Democrat), commenting on the Foreign Minister Signor de Gasperi's expression of satisfaction at this explanation, points out, however, that this is the second time in the last few months that more or less official agencies have transmitted inaccurate texts resulting in inaccurate comment.

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It appears from press reports that a certain gangster nicknamed "Il Gobbo" (the Hunchback) was recently shot in front of the offices of a political organisation known as the "*Unione Proletaria.*" It is variously alleged that, despite its name, the "*Unione Proletaria*" has Right-wing backing, is in the pay of Army generals, since it is said to make use of Army transport, or is a Fascist organisation in disguise. The Hunchback is reported to have been on his way to murder the Secretary-General of the "*Unione Proletaria,*" a firebrand named Salvarezza, when he himself was shot by Carabinieri who afterwards raided the "*Unione Proletaria's*" office. A quantity of arms is said to have been found but Salvarezza himself had escaped, which, according to the Socialist paper *Avanti*, had been connived at. Other papers say that Salvarezza was connected with the gang which murdered Matteotti, but that he and the "*Unione Proletaria*" are run by some party or shade of political opinion seems probable. It is not known what connection, if any, there is between the foregoing press reports and a report from Sir N. Charles to the effect that the Carabinieri have raided the headquarters of the Communist Party and discovered a large quantity of arms of various sorts. It seems quite possible, however, that in the present disturbed state of Italy some of the more violent elements may wish to resort to direct action to achieve their political ends and copy the methods of the gangsters whom their countrymen made famous, some years ago in Chicago.

The Italian General Confederation of Labour have just published the first issue of their Trades Union paper called *Il Lavoro*, which, according to the editorial signed by Grandi, Di Vittorio and Lizzadri, is to be the paper of all Italian workers, manual and intellectual, from the cities and from the country.

In the North, the Italian Social Republic continues its attempts to show signs of life and deal with the acute food and labour situation by the characteristic Fascist method of issuing decrees and reorganising Ministries. A Ministry of Labour has now been set up, with its seat in Milan, and with Giuseppe Spinelli, the Syndicalist who was appointed Podestà of Milan last September, as Minister. The Labour Ministry is to take the place of the National Commissionership of Labour, and will carry out not only the functions of that organisation, but also those of the National Commissionership of Prices, as well as the social insurance and syndical functions of the Ministry of Corporative Economy. The latter Ministry is now to be known as the Ministry for Industrial Production, and is to deal with the services of industry, mines and metallurgy, of trade, private insurance, and industrial consumer goods. The Ministry of Agriculture and Forests is to take the title of Ministry for Agricultural Production; its functions so far seem to be little changed. An article in the *Repubblica Fascista* has attempted to explain this ministerial reorganisation, but fails to give any convincing reason beyond the fact that there had been considerable overlapping between the Commissionership of Labour and the Ministry of Corporative Economy. The idea behind the creation of the new Ministry of Labour is said to be "the necessity to unify, to simplify, and to recognise the dignity of labour," and the measure is represented as a part of the general policy of allowing the workers to play an increasingly important part both in industrial life and in the life of the Social Republic.

The Fascists have announced that during the last six months considerable progress has been made in the socialisation of industrial concerns. Would-be impressive figures are given, and among the concerns mentioned are some of the biggest Milan firms such as Alfa-Romeo.

THE VATICAN.

On the 25th January the Vatican wireless in German gave the Pope's speech to the Sodality of Our Lady. Members from some thirty nations were present. The speech contained these startling words: "If I may refer to my personal memories of Munich, what a wealth of truly Christian family life was produced by the Sodality of St. Michael, then flourishing in the Bavarian capital!" This condemnation of the Nazi behaviour to the Catholic Church in Germany, implicit in the use of the past tense, was made manifest by the Vatican in its next day's German broadcast. After quoting the Pope's words, the speaker recalled how St. Michael's Sodality had long been guided by Fr. Rupert Mayer, S.J. On the 5th June, 1937, he had been imprisoned for refusing to recognise a State ban on his preaching in certain churches. A month later Cardinal Faulhaber delivered his famous sermon of protest in St. Michael's Church, describing the

arrest as "marking the start of a new phase of the *Kulturkampf* for the destruction of the Catholic Church." Vatican wireless went on to say that it now had no news of the Sodality nor of other Catholic activities in Germany: "Nor had it seen the pastorals of the German bishops for eighteen months," adding "we cannot give news from second- or third-hand sources." It should be noted that pastorals were issued in Lent 1944, which were analysed in *Summary* No. 237 under "Germany." It is astonishing to hear that the German censor could prevent their entry into the Vatican. Fr. Mayer was called the Catholic Niemoeller, and Cardinal Faulhaber's name is a household word in Germany, so that the Pope and the Vatican wireless would be appealing to a wide and receptive public, and proclaiming themselves once more upholders of the rights of societies and individuals against the totalitarian State. They would also be encouraging all who should hold similar views in Germany. As Sir D'Arcy Osborne said of the Pope's Christmas Eve message: "We cannot but welcome His Holiness's presence on the democratic band-wagon."

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

The German attempts to relieve Buda seem to have spent their strength, and the latest reports showed the Red Army on the offensive again west of the capital, while further gains have been made in Buda itself. Besides Roumanian, Bulgarian troops are now helping the Red Army, while some Slovaks are assisting the Germans and Szálasi Hungarians.

The Soviets report a beginning of restoration of civilian life in Pest, and throughout liberated Hungary, a development of activity among "democratic organisations."

The Social Democrat and Communist Parties have concluded an agreement and established a joint consultative committee.

President Roosevelt has appointed Mr. H. F. A. Schoenfeld, formerly United States Minister in Finland, to be United States representative in Hungary (in addition to and separate from the Control Commission) with personal rank of Minister.

Roumania.

Dl Gheorghiu-Dej, the Minister of Transport, on his recent return from Moscow, was accompanied by Dna Anna Pauker, a leader of the extreme Left-wing Communists. Her arrival has been the signal for a new outbreak of Communist activity. At a meeting of the party she made a statement, with what backing of authority is not known, to the effect that, if a Communist Government were formed, and if, incidentally, Maniu and his supporters were relegated to a position of complete powerlessness and obscurity, the Soviet Government would be prepared to hand over to Roumania the whole of the administration of Transylvania, would return all Roumanian prisoners of war, and would grant to Roumania co-belligerent status. One condition of this being that there should be no interference on the part of the Roumanian Government with existing Roumanian economy, and no nationalisation of industry or banking. It is not uncommon for inducements of an extravagant type to be held out by aspiring politicians—it was an expedient successfully used by the Iron Guard in its earlier days—and Roumanians are extraordinarily credulous in such matters. On the matter being put to General Vinogradov by the responsible Minister, the replies were vague, and the most that could be got from the General was that the question should be referred to Moscow. If recent experience is anything to go by, this means that the Soviet Government has no intention of making the suggested concessions. Dna Pauker's activity, combined with the fact that Dl Patrașcanu tried to dissuade her from causing dissension in the Government at the present time, rather suggests that General Radescu's Government is in a strong position and that things are going reasonably well.

The deportation of workers of German origin from Roumania continues to occupy the attention both of Great Britain and the United States. 57,000 have already been assembled, of whom 26,700 have already gone. The remainder are expected to leave by the 1st February. To put it mildly the conditions of travel appear to leave a good deal to be desired, but this may be due to mismanagement and callousness on the part of minor officials in charge of the business. Since these people are required to work, it is in the Soviet authorities' own interest to deposit them at the scene of their labours in a reasonably fit condition.

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A trade agreement with Bulgaria was concluded on the 9th January. Roumania will export goods, mainly petroleum products to the value of 300 million lei, against the import of an assortment of goods from Bulgaria, including skins, silkworm eggs, various seeds, tobacco and non-ferrous metals. The rate of exchange is 1 leva = 1,817 lei.

The Roumanian Home Service Radio announces that in deference to the concern which it has occasioned, the order banishing religious teaching in certain classes of schools has been rescinded.

Yugoslavia.

There has been no military development, except that from the Bosna valley the Germans have struck to the west and captured Travnik.

At Zagreb in February bread cards will only be available for officials. Radio Zagreb said: "it will be left to the people to provide their own bread."

The Partisans intend to remove the German Minority from the Banat, and are deporting all such Germans between the ages of 16 and 60 to forced labour in the U.S.S.R. They have also removed the Magyar villagers of Churug, in Batchka, not because of their nationality, but on the charge that they took part in the reprisals on the Serbs of the district of Zhabalj in January 1942.

The first session of the Yugoslav Trade Union Congress took place on the 23rd January. The normal purposes of such unions were emphasised, and also the need to subordinate them to the war effort, and the inclusion of agricultural labourers and poor peasants was demanded. A speaker from the Bor mines, which were French-owned before the war, said: "The Bor mines are ours and should be the property of the Yugoslav people."

The relations of the authorities of the Serb Orthodox Church with the Partisans are reported to be cool. The Metropolitan recently blessed the Royal Family by name and omitted the traditional mention of the Army, which appears in the liturgy with the adjective "Christ-loving." The Partisans say that at present they are unable to pay the clergy; and, if the Church continues its "neutrality," Tito's patience may be exhausted.

The attitude of the Partisan leaders in Macedonia is one of temporary disinterestedness in Greek affairs, but of determination to acquire Greek Macedonia for the Yugoslav Federation by peaceful means. Courts for the trial of collaborationists have been operating in Macedonia. These sit *in camera*, without jury or appeal or legal assistance for the accused.

A ship with 1,000 tons of relief stores left Italy for Split on the 23rd. A similar shipment will follow shortly.

Discussions took place between King Peter and Shubashitch, whose resignation the King had demanded, in order to find a formula which preserved the Tito–Shubashitch Agreement intact. On the 28th January Tito, addressing a meeting in Belgrade, denounced the King for attempting to create confusion in Yugoslavia and described the recent anti-royal demonstrations a "a trial plebiscite." He said that in his view the Agreement would be put into effect at once or not at all; and added: "That is my message to them in London." On the 29th an official statement in London explained that Shubashitch had handed to the King the resignation of his Cabinet, and that the King had re-appointed Shubashitch and his colleagues (except that General Ristitch, who was unwell, would be replaced); that it would be the duty of the new Government to carry out the Agreement, while "endeavouring to take account of the observations contained in the communiqué issued by the King on the 11th January" (see *Summary* No. 276, p. 13) and his other suggestions; and that the King had agreed to transfer his powers to a Regency Council, to be chosen by himself and appointed by royal decree (*i.e.*, with the counter-signature of a Minister).

There appears now to be no obstacle to the fulfilment of the Agreement. Shubashitch and his colleagues are expected to leave for Belgrade shortly, to take their places in a Government with Tito and his colleagues.

Greece.

The conference which it was hoped would take place on the 25th January between representatives of the Greek Government and of E.L.A.S. had to be postponed owing to a misunderstanding. On the 22nd a delegation claiming to represent E.A.M. presented itself at Livadia; it consisted of MM. Partsalidis and Porphyrogenis (Communists), Tsirimokos (E.L.D.), Gavrielidis (A.K.E.), and Georgalas (E.P.O.N.). The delegates were accompanied by thirteen experts. The Regent's invitation had been sent, not to E.A.M., which is, in fact, disintegrating,

but to E.L.A.S. Central Committee, a purely Communist body, and he had invited them to send only three delegates; the delegation which arrived at Livadia had set off before the Regent's message had been received. Both M. Sophianopoulos and the Regent, in conversation with His Majesty's Ambassador, expressed the view that the only conference likely to produce results was one with the three Communist leaders. The Regent, therefore, sent a further message asking E.L.A.S. to send as delegates three responsible leading members of the Communist Party, accompanied by one non-voting military expert. This message was apparently crossed by a message from E.L.A.S. Central Committee stating that the delegates mentioned above, with the addition of Professor Svolos, now in Athens, were the most representative and the best fitted to take part in negotiations with the Government. At the same time the Regent received a message from the delegation at Livadia, pointing out that they held full authority from the Central Committee of E.A.M. to sign an agreement; they could not, however, take upon themselves to change the number and composition of the delegates. To this the Regent replied that he must insist that the E.L.A.S. delegation consist of three—no more—responsible Communist leaders. E.A.M. Central Committee replied indignantly that it was unreasonable that the Communist Party alone, and not E.A.M. as a whole, should be represented. In a further message the Regent explained that it was a matter of common knowledge that the principal and decisive voice on the questions to be discussed belonged to the Communist Party; he asked that the delegation include MM. Siantos and Partsalidis, and fixed the meeting for the 1st February. It now remains to be seen whether M. Siantos and his colleagues are prepared to take the responsibility of letting the conference break down on the question of the size and composition of the E.L.A.S. delegation.

Meantime, in some districts, E.L.A.S. appear to be releasing hostages in a haphazard manner, leaving them to straggle home as best they may. In Salonica, however, the situation remains extremely unsatisfactory. As no hostages had been returned there by the 24th, a representative of the International Red Cross set out for Verria to see General Bakirdzis, who, though apparently willing to be co-operative himself, was having difficulties with the Communists. His statements on this occasion were inconsistent and evasive. No hostages, he said, had been removed from the Salonica area during the evacuation; all persons arrested for political reasons had been released. Immediately afterwards he said that orders had been given for all such persons to be released. On the 26th, in a communication to a British divisional commander, General Bakirdzis repeated his statement that no hostages were taken from Salonica and added that all persons under preventive arrest had been released before the evacuation.

A Trade Union delegation, headed by Sir Walter Citrine, arrived in Athens on the 22nd, and was received by the Regent on the 23rd. The delegates also visited General Plastiras and members of his Government, listened to the views of five hundred British troops who took part in the recent fighting, and made contact with officials of the General Confederation of Greek Labour; they also met E.A.M. labour leaders at Livadia and brought four of them back to Athens for discussions with the Greek Government and the Athenian Trade Unionists.

Albania

The provisional Government has appointed a special court to try war criminals, which means in practice all who collaborated with the Axis, all who opposed the partisans, and in particular all who used violent methods against the partisans and against their sympathisers. Propaganda is accordingly being directed against former Cabinet Ministers, Balli Kombetar and the Legality Party, as being reactionaries, quislings and traitors who must be severely punished.

Elections have been held in southern Albania to the local councils which the provisional Government has been using for administrative purposes. The freedom of these elections, which is stressed with some boasting, may be judged by the broadcast announcement that collaborationists must not be allowed to vote.

Marshal Tito's attitude to Albania, it appears, is not to exclude the possibility of Albania entering a federal union with Yugoslavia some time in the future. He has a military mission in Tirana. The Albanian and Yugoslav flags are reported to fly side by side at Prizren, Priština, Peć and Djacovica. In Albania the wireless constantly insists on the closeness of Albanian relations with Marshal Tito and on the need for the two countries to go on working together, and it quoted with evident satisfaction an article in a Yugoslav

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Communist paper praising Albanian co-operation and admitting that the majority of the population in the districts of Prizren and Peć is Albanian.

Bulgaria.

In an extremely menacing speech, the Public Prosecutor reviewed his indictment and pinned the ultimate responsibility for the fatal pro-German policy on the late King Boris. "The time has come," he said, "to bring his spirit before the People's Court, to stigmatise him as the murderer of the Bulgarian people and to deny him the title of King." He demanded the death penalty for the three ex-Regents, for all the members of Filov's two Cabinets (1940–42) and of the Bozhilov Cabinet (1943). A third division of the People's Court has been opened at Sofia to deal with the doctors, priests, journalists and others who went at the Germans' invitation to see evidence of alleged Soviet atrocities at Katyn and Vinnitsa. In the provinces People's Courts have been opened at Varna, at Plovdiv, to try sixty officers and men of a division which was sent against the partisans, and at Botevgrad, where fifty people are accused of murdering partisans and burning down their houses.

A much-advertised meeting of the Agrarian Union at Pleven was attended by 100,000 people. Four Cabinet Ministers belonging to the Agrarian Party spoke, as did Terpeshev, the rhetorical Communist Minister. All emphasised the harmony alleged to prevail between Agrarians and Communists and the need for these two components of the Fatherland Front to stand shoulder to shoulder and resist all attempts to split them. Terpeshev, after commending Nikola Petkov, one of the Agrarian Ministers who has succeeded Dr. G. M. Dimitrov as secretary-general of the Agrarian Party, went so far as to say that that Party had emerged stronger from its recent crisis. This was a scarcely veiled expression of Communist displeasure with Dr. Dimitrov, and it is likely enough that when Dr. Dimitrov resigned he had decided that it would be good tactics to go to earth.

The Communists, whose organisation and activity largely compensate for their lack of numbers, are making a bold bid to eclipse their only serious rivals, the Agrarians. Another move in the Communists' game was to start their own co-operative. The Agricultural Bank, which controls all co-operatives and had itself evidently come under Communist influence, then ordered the new Communist co-operative to be merged with Napred, the Socialist co-operative which has a twenty-five years' reputation for sound management and moderate politics and has been in close relations with the British and Swedish co-operative movements. The Communists will now presumably try to undermine the Socialist Party by obtaining control of the joint Socialist–Communist co-operative, and then perhaps tackle Tsveno, the other small Party in the Government coalition. That they have made no attempt to take over the Agrarian co-operative, which with the Socialist co-operative formed the core of the co-operative movement, suggests that the Communists do not at present want to have an open break with the Agrarians.

Turkey.

Owing to the practical difficulties entailed by their despatch home, some eight hundred official and unofficial Germans—many of whom have no desire to return to the Reich—are still in Turkey, though interned. The Japanese Ambassador and his staff of some fifty people have been interned in the Japanese Embassies at Angora and Istanbul as the Turkish authorities have been unable yet to obtain Soviet visas for them to return to Japan via Russia.

A Turkish ship left Istanbul on the 28th January for Piræus with food and clothing given by the Red Crescent. The Turkish Ambassador and Greeks who had found refuge in Turkey returned at the same time. The Turkish Government has agreed that the Ægean islands may be supplied from British dumps in Turkey and that Turkish caiques may be used for the purpose.

Turkey proposes to send trade delegations to negotiate a compensation agreement with Switzerland and to obtain delivery of goods bought but stuck in Bulgaria. A Roumanian delegation is being received at Angora.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

The news of the death sentence pronounced on the two murderers of Lord Moyne has been calmly received in Egypt, where the general public regard it as a just penalty. It now only remains for the sentence to be confirmed by the

Egyptian Prime Minister, and there seems little doubt that he will confirm it, in spite of his being urged to exercise clemency by a number of Jewish organisations in different parts of the world. If the sentence is confirmed, the men will probably be hanged in a few weeks' time.

In the King's Speech read by the Prime Minister at the opening of the new Egyptian Parliament reference was made to a proposed court of enquiry relating to the misdeeds of the late Government, and there have been other indications that the present Government intends to prosecute Nahas Pasha and his Ministers at an early date. Makram Ebeid actually told a party of journalists on the 21st January that prosecution would be undertaken in accordance with certain articles of the Egyptian Constitution. The Prime Minister himself is probably against the prosecution; on the other hand, Makram is undoubtedly pressing for it, while King Farouk's hostile attitude to Nahas is well known. We ourselves would deplore the victimisation of any members of the late Government.

King Farouk's visit to the Hejaz began on the 24th January, when the royal yacht anchored at Yenbo and he was welcomed by Ibn Saud. According to *The Times*, which accorded the event the distinction of a leading article in its issue of the 30th January, King Farouk and his suite spent the 25th January in the royal camp, where they wore Arab dress when attending the dinner given in their honour by Ibn Saud. Relations between the Arab States were no doubt the main topic of conversation between the two monarchs, but details have not yet been officially received. King Farouk later left for Medina accompanied by several of Ibn Saud's sons and Shaikh Yusuf Yassin.

(For the visit of the Orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria to Russia see under "Soviet Union.")

The situation in Syria seems to be deteriorating. Further demonstrations by students took place in Damascus on the 23rd and 24th January. They were conducted in an orderly manner and no untoward incidents took place. But more serious demonstrations have since occurred elsewhere, all of them connected with the demand for a national army. On the 24th a debate was held in the Syrian Chamber on the estimates for such a force, when many Deputies spoke in support of the transfer of the *Troupes Spéciales* or of the creation of a national army without further delay. A resolution was unanimously passed calling on the Government to take over "the Syrian troops under French command," at the earliest opportunity. General Beynet nevertheless refuses to regard the situation as serious, though in a recent conversation with a British representative he spoke in much the same strain as in his reported talk with Fuad Hamza (see *Summary* No. 277). If the Syrians chose to throw down the challenge, the French would take it up, and he could "sweep away everything in two hours." All he wanted was for the people of Syria and the Lebanon to keep quiet for six months; French and British aims were identical, and it was intolerable that the two Allies should have their attention distracted from the important issues of the war by troubles in the Levant.

Our policy will still be to try to convince the Syrian Government that negotiation on a friendly basis is the first step towards an understanding, and that, unless the Syrians prove less intransigent than heretofore, it will be difficult for us to help them. On the other hand, we cannot allow the French to follow a policy in the Levant States that is different from ours. We are pledged to the independence of the States, and if we failed to keep the French up to their promises, our whole position in the Middle East might well be endangered. Mr. Eden recently told the French Ambassador in London of the strength of Syrian opposition to the conclusion of a treaty with France, and expressed the hope that the French Government would not underestimate the seriousness of the situation or the need for appointing a first-class man, possessed of sympathy and tact, to deal with it.

But our efforts to influence both sides are not likely to be helped by the statement attributed to General de Gaulle at a recent press conference. He laid emphasis on the maintenance by France of her pre-eminent position in the Levant States, and referred to "outside interference," but for which agreement would long ago have been reached between France and the Levant States. Nor will General de Gaulle's statement about France's pre-eminent position be likely to convince the Syrian Government of the advantage of further discussions with the French. The Syrians have said repeatedly that they will not give to France any pre-eminence in their country, and their determined attitude on this point has been well illustrated by the communication recently sent to Ibn Saud by the Syrian President. Ibn Saud had advised Shukri Quwatli to negotiate a treaty

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with France (see *Summary* No. 277), but Shukri has replied quite definitely that Syria could neither conclude a treaty with that country nor accord her a privileged position. This is all the more remarkable when it is remembered what influence Ibn Saud is generally able to exercise on Shukri. (See also under "France.")

The earlier demonstrations that took place in Syria were duly reported to the Iraqi Government by their Minister in Damascus, and on receipt of the news the Iraqi Minister for Foreign Affairs told His Majesty's Ambassador that, although his Government had no wish to interfere in the internal affairs of the Levant States, he was afraid that, should there be a clash with the French, it would be difficult for them to avoid intervention. Sir K. Cornwallis in reply told him that we were fully alive to the difficulties of the situation, and that we were doing everything we could to ease matters. The question of the supply of arms by the Iraqi Government to the Syrian gendarmerie has again cropped up, and we are informing the Iraqi authorities that we could not agree to their assisting the Levant States in this way at present.

The Persian Ambassador called on Sir A. Cadogan at the Foreign Office on the 16th January in order to discuss the present position in Persia. M. Taqizadeh said that Russian pressure in northern Persia was steadily increasing. The Soviet authorities refused to allow Persian armed forces to enter the region where they were in control, and the Russians could terrorise the population into making such manifestations as they themselves desired. They were also pressing for the repeal of the recent oil concession law, to which, of course, the Persian Government could not agree. His Excellency added that he could not understand the motive behind Soviet action, which he felt was not really the need for oil. He had recently read an article in *War and the Working-Class*, in which it was said that Russia herself did not need the oil, but wished to deny it to the Americans and British. Finally, the Ambassador asked whether His Majesty's Government would be prepared at the forthcoming meeting to put the Persian case, and endeavour to secure that Soviet policy should conform to the tripartite treaty and to the Tehran Declaration of 1943. To this Sir A. Cadogan replied that, if and when a meeting took place, he expected that we should be disposed to raise the question.

THE FAR EAST.

On the 24th January Chou En-lai went by aeroplane from Yenan to Chungking to resume the Communist-Kuomintang negotiations. He was met at the airfield by General Hurley, the American Ambassador. Coinciding with the return of Chou En-lai to Chungking, Mr. Grew, the American Assistant Secretary of State, said that the United States was ready to use "its friendly good offices when requested by the Chinese" to bring about agreement between the Chinese Communists and the Chinese Government.

Before he left for Chungking Chou En-lai gave an interview to the correspondent of Yenan Radio. He said that in November 1944 he had gone to Chungking with instructions to raise the question of a coalition Government but that this was rejected and he returned without result (see this *Summary* No. 274). Chou declared that the Communists considered that the establishment of a "democratic coalition" was the only way to overcome the existing crisis, and that other perfunctory measures, no matter in what form, would certainly not help the country. He declared that "what the people of the entire nation expect from the National Government is the immediate abolition of one-party dictatorship; establishment of a democratic coalition Government and a unified High Command; the recognition of the legal status of all anti-Japanese partisans and groups and of popularly-elected Governments in all liberated areas; the abolition of all secret police activities; the repeal of all laws in restraint of popular freedom; the release of political prisoners; and the withdrawal of the troops surrounding the Shensi–Kansu–Ninghsia Border region and attacking the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies."

This shows that the Communists have abated none of their demands and are in a confident and uncompromising mood. They evidently believe that, with the support of dissident elements within the Kuomintang, they can bring about the downfall of the Kuomintang dictatorship. With Communists and Left-wing supporters in key positions in the Government and the higher Army directorate, with Tai Li and his secret police gone, and with complete freedom for the Communists to organise and proselytise in all parts of China, Chiang and the Kuomintang would be virtually helpless. For the Generalissimo to accept

such terms would mean the end of all that he has stood for and fought for since his rise to power. So far from doing this, he is reported now to be utilising the drive to secure student volunteers for the Army as a means of forming a special élite corps under his personal command. The *Chungyang Jih Pao* (25th January) said that this force would be given careful political training so as to provide the troops with a thorough insight into politics and ethics and an accurate understanding of Chinese history and geography. The Communists have been quick to perceive the danger to themselves of such a force; Yenan Radio (23rd January) alleged that people in Chungking described the Volunteer Youth as S.S. troopers and said that they were not true students, but ruffians and secret police sent into the schools by the Kuomintang.

It is possible that the Communists may overplay their hand and, through being too arrogant and uncompromising, may forfeit some of the sympathy and support which they at present enjoy. So far as the Americans are concerned, there are some signs that the tide of anti-Kuomintang feeling is on the ebb. On the 16th January Mr. Mansfield, a Democratic Representative from Montana, told the House of Representatives of his experiences and discussions in China while on a special mission there for President Roosevelt during November and December 1944. Mansfield saw the Generalissimo on the 11th December and had a frank talk with him about the Communist question. Chiang complained that the Americans expected Chungking to make all the concessions, and asked why they did not induce Yenan to make some as well. Mansfield's comment was that this sounded like a good suggestion. Mansfield made it clear to the House of Representatives that Chiang had offered the Communists recognition as a legal party, equipment of their armies on a basis of equality and participation in the Government, and that the Communists had rejected these terms because they feared that their share in the Government would be very limited and that their armies would be wiped out. Mansfield gave a very fair account of the military, political and economic shortcomings of the Chungking Government, and showed how some at least of these were unavoidable in a country which is only in process of achieving national unity and an effective governmental administration. He gave Chiang full credit for what he had achieved, and concluded that the Generalissimo was the one man who could keep China united; no other had either the prestige or the ability, and he should therefore be given every possible support by the United States. Reports such as this may serve to arouse sympathy for Chiang, who for his part has made a graceful gesture to the United States in naming the new India–China road the "Stilwell Road."

In a swift drive southwards from Hunan and northwards from the Canton area, the Japanese have wrested from the Chinese the last part of the Canton-Hankow Railway. Domei (the 29th January) said that the Japanese forces in Kwangtung on the 24th January occupied Shaokwan, the headquarters of General Yu Han-mou, Commander-in-Chief of the Seventh War Zone, and continued their advance to link up with their army coming down the railway from Hunan. The two forces made contact on the 27th January. The Japanese allege that Generals Yu Han-mou and Hsueh Yueh had been given strict instructions by the Generalissimo to defend the southern section of the Canton–Hankow railway, but that their forces, which the Japanese say comprised sixteen divisions, crumbled away. From the speed with which the Japanese accomplished their objective it is evident that they could have encountered little resistance.

(See also under "France.")

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Despite the President's recent admonition that Government officials should refrain from prophesying when the war is likely to end, and despite reiterated warnings against over-optimism, the progress of the war in Europe and the Far East has again precipitated the danger of another wave of over-optimism in the United States, which is likely to frustrate the President's attempt to secure the passage of a National Service Act, similar to the one in this country.

But international affairs this week, both military and political, have taken second place to the domestic conflict over the appointment of the Secretary of Commerce. By 14 votes (8 Republican and 6 Democrat) to 5 (all Democrat) the Senate Commerce Committee has rejected the nomination of Mr. Henry Wallace and at the same time has approved a Bill introduced by Senator George (Democrat, Georgia, and Chairman of the Senate Post-War Economic and Planning

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Committee) to transfer the Federal lending agencies from the control of the Department of Commerce. The battle in the newspapers and on the radio continues with unabated fury and there is little change in the opinion as set forth in last week's *Summary*. Apart from the handful of papers which support New Deal policies, the press is overwhelmingly opposed to Mr. Wallace's nomination and gives little publicity to his evidence before the Senate Committee. The issue is not merely a personal one between Mr. Jones and Mr. Wallace, though their old enmity gives it dramatic intensity. Mr. Jones is regarded as a champion of the Right, a believer in the minimum of State control and the maximum freedom for business. Mr. Wallace, on whom the hopes of the Progressives are centred, believes in the increasing co-operation of the State and private industry in order to ensure, as he himself stated, sixty million jobs for Americans at home and the adoption by the United States of an expansionist policy in international trade. Mr. Wallace is supported by Liberals and Labour, and particularly by the Political Action Committee of the Congress of Industrial Organisations, which sees in him a Presidential candidate for 1948. But it is this very support which has to a large extent awakened the antagonism of the Southern Democrats who fear the political force which organised Labour has already demonstrated itself to be during the late elections; and the combination of Republicans and conservative Southern Democrats may lead the Senate to refuse to confirm Mr. Wallace's nomination, or at least to deprive the Commerce Department of the Federal loan agencies in order "to avoid the most disastrous possibilities of ultimate confirmation."

The Reconstruction Finance Corporation and the other Government lending agencies, have lending authorisations to the extent of some £12,000 million, of which the bulk is at present tied up in war production plants, loans to industry, and stocks of raw materials. Mr. Jones contends that Mr. Wallace is incapable of administering these vast loans and disagrees with his "untried ideas and idealistic schemes." Mr. Wallace, on the other hand, maintains that the Government's investment resources should be made to work in co-operation with private enterprise to ensure full employment at home by helping small businesses and by financing large public works projects. He maintains that Mr. Jones sides with the large money interests against the interests of "the common man."

There are those among American commentators who believe that Mr. Roosevelt did not intend to further the nomination of Mr. Wallace and that, as at the Chicago Convention, the late Vice-President is in fact being thrown to the wolves. The move, they maintain, was a token move, intended to placate the C.I.O. In support of this contention they draw attention to the President's original letter to Mr. Jesse Jones in which he declared that Mr. Wallace asked specifically for the Commerce Department and that the major reason for nominating him was as a reward for his incessant and loyal support during the November elections; and they compare this "unblushing" political reward with the President's earlier plan in 1937 to pack the Supreme Court. In some quarters Mr. Jones's dismissal is also interpreted as a rebuke for his opposition to the Administration's policies and particularly for the part he is alleged to have played behind the scenes in fomenting the revolt of the Democrats in his native State of Texas.

Whatever the ultimate outcome of this complicated situation (and Mr. Roosevelt is reported to have issued a statement that America needs Mr. Wallace and that he himself counts on "his aid, his wisdom and courage"), there is no doubt that the underlying economic question is of immense importance not only to America but to the whole world, since it involves the question of the true function of government in a democratic State. And on this also turns the question whether after the war the United States can find work for her vastly increased production facilities and ensure full employment for her people, without running the risks of exporting unemployment overseas and thus precipitating another world economic collapse such as occurred in 1929. The Conservatives believe unfettered private enterprise is fully able to tackle this problem, while Mr. Wallace and his supporters favour a strong Central Government which will co-operate through its financial resources and by the exercise of controls, with private enterprise, to ensure full employment policies internally, and liberal trade policies externally. Whether the United States will reverse the apparent trend to the Right and favour the readoption of New Deal theories, with their acceptance of Federal responsibility for social conditions, remains to be seen.

The President has also suffered a further rebuff this week, which again emphasises the difficult situation created through the divorce of the Executive

from the Legislative. The Federal Court in Chicago has ruled that the President's seizure of the Montgomery Ward mail order business is illegal. Upholding the company's contention that it is not a "war producing plant," the Court held that the President had rights only to seize plants equipped to produce articles necessary or useful in conducting the war. The court also noted that the War Labour Board's directives were "only advisory" and it expressed the view that if disputants were unwilling to obey, then "Congress alone is the only branch of the Government which can compel them to do so." It is expected that the Administration will appeal to the Supreme Court against this decision. Meanwhile the Army will continue to run Montgomery Ward's properties. One common factor in both the disputes is that both decisions are also blows at the Congress of Industrial Organisations. This is the organisation principally supporting Mr. Wallace and it is also the union organisation with which Montgomery Ward's have been in dispute for over two years. Mr. William Davis, of the War Labour Board, maintains that if the decision of the Federal Court is not reversed then "the whole plan of peaceful settlements of wartime labour disputes will collapse."

The Committee to investigate un-American activities, which hitherto has been popularly known as the Dies Committee, and which has now been placed on a permanent footing, is to be presided over by Representative Hart (Democrat, New Jersey), who belongs to the Hague political machine. Despite therefore the inclusion of the reactionary Representative Rankin (Democrat, Mississippi), so long as the Hague machine co-operates with the Congress of Industrial Organisations as it did during the November elections the Committee would appear to be unlikely to encourage anti-labour investigations as did its predecessor (see *Summary* No. 275).

[See also under "Far East."]

LATIN AMERICA.

The majority of the American countries have now accepted the invitation of the Mexican Government to the meeting of Foreign Ministers which is to be held at Mexico City on the 21st February, but most of them have veiled their views in a discreet silence. Colombia (see *Summary* No. 271) and Venezuela are notable exceptions, and the Venezuelan Foreign Minister, at a press conference on the 19th January, emphasised the importance which his Government attached to Pan-American unity, deplored the fact that Argentina and (possibly) El Salvador would be absent from the coming conference, and declared that Venezuela would openly work for the return of Argentina to the fold by any means consistent with the needs of security and self-preservation recognised by the continent. The future world-security organisation, he believed, should take a federative form "in which America might become a coherent factor."

The (apparently unauthorised) action of the Peruvian Ambassador in Washington in proposing the motion of the Governing Body of the Pan-American Union, that the Union should abstain from discussing the Argentine problem, has aroused much criticism in Lima, where it is pointed out that Peru has few friends in South America and could not afford to antagonise Argentina. All references to Sr. Beltrán's motion were at first expunged from the local press by the censor, but the Government has been obliged by the intensity of criticism to issue a communiqué pretending that Sr. Beltrán did no more than represent the opinions of all his colleagues.

In Buenos Aires, the Argentine Government has published a decree (signed by all its members on the 15th January) which establishes severe penalties for crimes against the State. The first two articles are concerned with the repression of crimes against the internal and external security of the State: the third is designed to "assure the supplies that might be needed by the armed forces": the fourth and fifth are concerned with measures against acts which hinder production, such as strikes and sabotage: and the sixth covers crimes "such as the spreading of false and tendentious news, the dissemination of doctrines that advocate the use of force to suppress or change the basic principles of Government and membership or direction of associations with such aims." This decree was described as placing Argentina on the same footing as the majority of countries. The measures against strikes are of interest in view of the embarrassments these

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have caused to the Argentine Government (see *Summary* No. 273). It is also to be noted that the Confederation of Latin American Workers recently called for a general strike throughout Latin America on the 25th January as a demonstration of sympathy with Argentine workers. Colonel Perón has now congratulated himself and the Argentine workers that all that happened in Argentina (so he alleges) was a partial strike in one cold-storage plant. In Brazil the Minister of Labour (one of the strongest opponents of the proposed elections) (see last week's *Summary*) dropped ominous hints of the possibility of disturbances. But none have been reported.

Rail communications between Guatemala and El Salvador are suspended; and there are reports that Salvadorean troops are marching on to the Guatemalan frontier and that they may receive support from Honduras.

The Soviet Ambassador to Mexico and Mrs. Umanski have been killed in an aeroplane accident.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 279

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
7TH FEBRUARY, 1945.

Copy No. 183

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

ALTHOUGH the Russians have not been able to cross the stretch of the Oder lying due east of Berlin, the Germans are showing themselves very conscious of the threat to their capital. The daily bulletins of the German High Command have, during the past week, given an impression of an increasing weight of strength opposed to the Russian attack and have avoided direct admission of serious loss. They describe the desperate resistance of German garrisons behind the Russian lines in Elbing, Poznan, Schneidemühl and Torun; the numerous harassing attacks by Luftwaffe formations have been stressed. The bulletin of the 1st February mentioned a Russian advance "as far as the Oder north-west of Küstrin." That of the 4th announced the loss of Torun by saying that the garrison had fought its way back to the German lines in accordance with orders. Counter-attacks have been mentioned in these bulletins, but only as of local importance. Dittmar, speaking on the 30th, said nothing of any significant German counter-stroke. A broadcast on the European service on the 1st February presumed that the majority of German reserves would be kept back until a group was assembled "capable of genuine tactical measures." In general, the Germans have claimed no more than a "consolidation" of their front, for which they seemed inclined to thank the thaw ("worth a whole army," as a D.N.B. comment put it), and Marshal Zhukov's caution in strengthening his flanks before advancing further in the centre. A European summary on the 2nd February said that the first phase was nearly over, but that viewed as a whole the battle would not reach its climax until the "German central reserves" had been thrown into it. So far, according to a political review on the German Home Service of the same day, German counter-measures had only had considerable effect at the bases of the long Russian wedge directed at Berlin. At its tip things were still "at the improvisation stage." The broadcast suggested, however, that this was proving costly in German lives: soldiers of the Wehrmacht

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and the Volkssturm were "daily furnishing fresh proof of their readiness for action and their fanatical determination." Thus had the people's war, in the sense used by Clausewitz, become a reality.

Berlin is pictured in such broadcasts as "ready for battle." Barricades were going up; more Volkssturm units being formed; tanks, armoured columns, trains of troops were moving east in great abundance. Crack units were awaiting the enemy outside the city. The daylight raid of the 3rd February was reported by the O.K.W. as "a United States terror raid" in which "damage was done to dwelling houses and cultural buildings, mainly in the centre, and the civilian population had losses." Recent accounts of life in Berlin suggest that for some weeks now energetic measures have been taken to prepare the city for siege. Battalions of Volkssturm have been despatched eastwards. In forming such battalions care has been taken to segregate politically unreliable men and to put them under strict S.S. control. Government buildings have been mined, preparations have been made for further evacuation of important offices. It has also been reported that some Berlin "flak" defences have been moved nearer the battle line.

German propaganda has striven to divert public attention from any feeling that the "fortress Europe" of two years ago has shrunk to "fortress Berlin." It has gratefully taken up Hitler's rejection of a "Wilsonian" declaration by the Allies, and warned the public against any united statement by the Big Three. Hitler's speech of the 30th, summarised in last week's *Summary*, was remarkable for the absence of any statement of the German political line of the moment. Hitler spoke neither of dividing nor wearing down the Allies. Goebbels, as if to repair the omission, in his broadcast of the 28th January, drew a picture, at once alarming and encouraging, of what would happen "if the German divisions in the east suddenly ceased to exist," thus allowing "the 200 Soviet assault divisions" to confront "the 80 Anglo-American divisions." He prophesied that in such a case America would withdraw from Europe and Britain would prefer to appease rather than to resist Bolshevism. A recently-captured document, dating from the end of last year, affords interesting evidence that his weekly articles have not always been very popular with the German Security authorities. Their observers find Goebbels too educated and too subtle for the average man. In an out-spoken report they make damaging criticisms of German propaganda at a critical stage in the war. The news is dull and cheerless. Hitler's voice is not heard. No leader takes his place as national spokesman. Criticism of propaganda is thought so prevalent within the Reich as to suggest a danger more likely even than revolt, a general disbelief in National Socialism itself. One German commander has striven to deal with criticism among troops in a somewhat novel manner. Field-Marshal Model, as a German military newspaper reported last week, is in the habit of carrying leaflets in his pocket for distribution to troops with whom he seeks an exchange of views. The latest of these explains that German troops in the east are facing a dramatic repetition of what the Army in the west experienced last autumn, and asserts that, just as the Allied plan to end the war in 1944 was smashed by "the boldness of the German command and the gallantry of the German soldier," so a like outcome may be expected in the east.

Hardly secondary to the military gains of the Red Army is the effect of their advance on the machinery of the German war effort. The province of Upper Silesia which was created in 1939 by fusing the mining and industrial centres of Poland and Czechoslovakia with those of German Upper Silesia, has over 4 million inhabitants and produces (with the addition of Mährisch-Ostrau) about 110 million tons of hard coal annually, representing half of the Reich's current output. In mid-1944 the Gau contributed about 10 per cent. to the German-controlled steel production of 36 million tons. Since then the current German steel production has fallen to about 16 million tons, making the share of Upper Silesia about 23 per cent. Roughly 2 million tons of the Reich's steel production depended on supplies of coke and coking coal from Upper Silesia.

It is impossible to assess fully the loss of other basic materials derived from the areas now overrun by the Russians. These areas contributed 50 per cent. of Germany's zinc, 25 per cent. of her lead, 20 per cent. of her rubber (buna), 10 per cent. of her sulphuric acid, 10 to 15 per cent. of her shell propellant supplies and they included (in April, 1944) about 10 per cent. of the German-controlled mineral oil refinery and synthetic oil capacities. Equally serious will be the loss of finishing capacity, used to manufacture parts for tanks, aeroplanes, U-boats, in particular radio valves, forgings, crankshafts, heavy plate and armour plate.

In addition the Germans will be deprived of manufacturing plant which produced one quarter of the Reich's output of railway wagons. The German railways which relied to 50 per cent. of their fuel consumption on Upper Silesian supplies will have to be fed from the Ruhr at the price of longer hauls and a loss in efficiency. Administrative plans for the distribution of allotted supply quotas will have to be completely revised. The repercussions (direct and indirect) of the eastern losses thus far exceed in magnitude anything the Germans have had to cope with since the war began. The loss of supplies must lead to the closing of much industrial plant in the Reich, and consequently, instead of the shortage of labour which has been a feature of German economy over the last two years, workers of high priority will be unemployed. At a moment of national emergency such men may well be mobilised to strengthen the German fighting forces.

The three Gaus of East Prussia, Warthegau and Danzig West-Prussia supplied to the Reich about 1·15 million tons of bread grain, sufficient to feed about 8 million people. To this must be added delivery surpluses of potatoes, fodder grain, meat and fat products. Although a considerable amount of these surpluses may have been sent into the Reich, the cuts in rations announced on the 2nd February suggest a lack of total supplies, and not only a lack of supplies at the right places. The Reich Minister of Food has decreed that the food ration cards for the 72nd and 73rd ration period are to cover nine weeks instead of eight, *i.e.*, until the 8th April. As the losses of sugar imposed by the war are particularly high, no sugar will be issued during the 74th period. Consumers must, therefore, make their next two months' rations last nine weeks instead of eight, and their next sugar rations last thirteen weeks instead of eight. From the beginning of the 72nd rationing period, the potato ration of 3 kilog. per head per week has been reduced to 2·5 kilog., and in future the storage of eating potatoes will not be allowed.

The cuts are said to be temporary and it is implied that further reductions are to be expected. It is explained that the lost Gaus have an agricultural surplus, which will no longer be available, and that the hundreds of thousands of evacuees, who previously produced food not only for themselves but also for others, have now become consumers for whom food must be found. Stocks of food in the abandoned territories have also been lost. At the same time military movements and evacuation have placed a burden on the transport system which has created great difficulties for the supply of food.

A survey of shop stewards, or factory-wardens (Betriebsobmänner), in factories, undertaken by the German Labour Front (D.A.F.) early in 1944 disclosed some remarkable figures. In Baden, for instance, only 117,000 out of a total of 221,000 were shown as Party members. It appears that managers have in the past got rid of ultra-Nazi shop stewards by having them reclassified for military service. It was hoped to improve matters by replacing stewards who were not Party members and by getting shop stewards exempted from military service as key technical personnel.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

As a result of his progress in Upper Silesia, Marshal Koniev is now in a position to strike, if he chooses, through the Moravian Gate into Czechoslovakia, with the twin possible objectives of attacking the war industry of the Bohemian lands and linking up with Malinovsky's army on the north bank of the Danube for an eventual drive on Vienna. This situation, according to neutral sources, has produced a tense atmosphere in the Protectorate where the Czechs are eagerly awaiting an opportunity to strike a blow towards their liberation and the German population is openly apprehensive. In these circumstances, writes *Aftontidningen*, "a small spark could cause a violent explosion."

On the 19th January, at a private meeting which he called in London, M. Rudolf Bechyne, Deputy Premier of the pre-Munich Czechoslovak Government, delivered a violent attack on the Government of Dr. Beneš and M. Šrámek which, he asserted, had "neither programme nor authority," and called for its replacement by "resolute, decent and competent men." During the past week, Bratislava propaganda, more desperate than ever for material, has devoted much energy to the exploitation of the "evidence of disruption" among the London Czechoslovaks thus dropped into its lap.

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As was foreshadowed in last week's *Summary*, the Czechoslovak Government at its meeting on the 30th January, unanimously decided to give recognition to the Lublin "Provisional Government" of Poland. The Polish Government in London has reacted to this announcement by breaking off relations with the Czechoslovak Government (see also under "Poland").

POLAND.

Following the recognition of the Lublin Administration by the Czechoslovak Government last week, and the mutual appointment of envoys, the Polish Government in London has broken off relations with the Czechoslovak Government in a communiqué which added that the Polish Government had "long recognised that the Czechoslovak Government in London is not independent in its decisions" so that the recognition "did not come as a surprise to the Polish Government."

The Lublin Administration moved to Warsaw on the 1st February, those of its branches for which no accommodation is available in Praga and other suburbs being housed temporarily in the vicinity of either Warsaw or Lodz. Other administrative developments recently reported from Poland have been the reinstatement of the pre-war magistrates at Lodz, and the restoration of pre-war Polish labour legislation. Rapid progress is reported in the taking over by the Administration of factories found intact or slightly damaged in the newly liberated provinces, including Upper Silesian mines, foundries, &c.; and of agricultural industries pending the latter's transfer to peasants' mutual assistance associations. M. Bierut has said that his Administration will take over German Silesia and Southern East Prussia as soon as the military situation permits.

The Lublin (now Warsaw) Administration has conferred the Order *Virtuti Militari* on Marshals Zhukov, Rokossovsky and Koniev in gratitude for the liberation of Poland by their armies; special mention being made of the freeing of Lodz, Cracow and Upper Silesia with comparatively little damage. In Cracow a *Te Deum* was sung in the cathedral by order of Archbishop Sapieha.

Professor Grabski, who was president of the Polish National Council in London until M. Mikolajczyk's resignation, and went with him on his two visits to Moscow last year, has perhaps as much right as anyone to be considered one of Poland's elder statesmen. He was, incidentally, right-hand man to M. Dabski in the Polish delegation which negotiated the Treaty of Riga in 1920–21. He has just issued a pamphlet with the title of "Nil Desperandum," in which he welcomes his country's projected return to the old Polish lands in the west and north, which Bohemia and the Teutonic Knights seized at the time of Poland's weakness in the 14th century. The Polish Kings then compensated for these losses by joining to Poland Lithuanian, White Russian and Ukrainian lands in the East. This worked well enough while Russia was weak, but not when Russia again became strong. Professor Grabski therefore suggests that Poland should become a national State, incorporating all the Polish people, but leaving out the Slav and other minorities in the East. The enmity created by Germany is now so deep, he says, that no appeasement could lessen it. The need for Poland to rely on Russian help exists in any case; and for Poland he holds that it means an alliance in which Poland will be second in size among Slavonic peoples; and, with Czechoslovakia, will represent the western group of those peoples.

SOVIET UNION.

The Red Army's advance has proceeded more slowly this week, presumably owing to the thaw, but has continued to make significant progress. In East Prussia the ring round Königsberg was tightened by the capture of Heilsberg and Friedland on the 31st January, and of Landsberg and Bartenstein on the 4th February. Further south Torun, which had been by-passed when the Red Army swept into Pomerania a week earlier, fell on the 1st February. Marshal Zhukov's troops have meanwhile entered Brandenburg and reached the Oder east of Frankfurt. The Red Army has now crossed the German frontier on a front of 350 miles. The advance in the Carpathians has continued slowly, and Zakopane (in Poland) was taken on the 30th January. Fighting is still going on in Budapest. The Soviet communiqué of the 3rd February by implication admitted the truth of earlier German claims to have broken through to the Danube east of

Székesfehérvár by claiming the recapture of places between that town and the Danube.

Metropolitan Alexei of Leningrad, locum tenens of the Patriarchal Throne, was elected Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia at the General Council (Sobor) of the Russian Church held at the Church of the Resurrection in Sokolniki near Moscow from the 31st January to the 2nd February. The new Patriarch, who is 67, is a Muscovite and took a law degree before being ordained and taking monastic vows in 1902. After being in charge of various ecclesiastical seminaries, Alexei received his first episcopal appointment in 1913, being made Bishop of Tikhvin, and later of Yamburg. In 1926 he was given the dignity of Archbishop as Administrator of the Novgorod diocese, and in 1933 he became Metropolitan of Leningrad. In the present war he has not been as prominent in public work as Metropolitan Nikolai Krutitsky, who was originally expected to succeed Patriarch Sergei, but he remained in Leningrad throughout the siege doing relief work, and was awarded the medal for the defence of Leningrad. The Sobor convened for the election was described as being composed of a bishop, a priest and a layman from each of the forty-four dioceses now existing in the U.S.S.R., though the figures of 41 archbishops and 126 representatives of the clergy and laity given as the total attendance does not tally with this. The canonical principle of the participation of the laity in a Russian patriarchal election, which had not been observed in the election of Patriarch Sergei in 1943, was thus secured, though the lay element had not the same strength as in the Sobor of 1917, when it was equal numerically to the clerical. There is no evidence as to how the delegates to the present Sobor were chosen. A departure was made from traditional procedure in that Patriarch Alexei was elected by open vote "conducted by means of interrogation of the episcopal Members of the Council." Since 1634 Russian patriarchs had been elected by a preliminary secret ballot of the Sobor, one name being chosen by lot from among the first three candidates on the list, and this practice was continued in the election of Patriarch Tikhon in 1917.

Much time was devoted at the Sobor to hearing accounts of the patriotic activities of the Church in war-time; Metropolitan Nikolai reporting that a total of over 20 million roubles had been contributed by believers to the Defence Fund. The Sobor unanimously adopted the Government's statute for the administration of the Russian Orthodox Church, and sent an address to the Government of the U.S.S.R., which was represented at the proceedings by M. Karpov, chairman of the Council for Orthodox Church Affairs.

The visiting delegates from Orthodox Churches abroad took no part in the election, apart from Metropolitan Benjamin, head of the section of the Russian Orthodox in North America, which acknowledges the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarchate. It is interesting to note that Metropolitan Theophilus, head of the main body of the Russian Church in the United States, which has hitherto maintained an attitude of extreme reserve towards the revival of the Moscow Patriarchate, should apparently have sent a delegation of three to attend the election, though they were not mentioned in the accounts of the proceedings. Apart from the other delegations mentioned in last week's *Summary*, one came after all from the Roumanian Patriarchate, headed not by the Patriarch himself but by Metropolitan Josef of Arges. The Church of Greece presumably regarded itself as represented by Metropolitan Germanos of Thyateira.

At the close of the meetings, the Sobor sent out an appeal to Christians of the whole world calling for renewed efforts to secure complete and final victory and the rooting out of the "very memory of the man-hating teaching of fascism": "if after the termination of the war fascism were again to start disseminating its terrible teaching to poison the rising generations with its venom, all the immeasurable sacrifices born in the name of victory would have been in vain." The appeal closed on a note of warning against heeding the voices of those who, "having the hardihood to consider themselves Christians," were calling, in the name of forgiveness, for pardon for the Fascist "infanticides and traitors." Such people were no less blameworthy than the Fascists themselves, since they had "joined in the sins of others." Christians throughout the world should struggle with all their force against "such monstrous distortions of the Saviour's divine doctrine." In conclusion, the Sobor sent its blessing to the working people of the whole world.

Attacks on the Vatican have been resumed during the past week, mostly in the form of reports from the United States. *Tass* (2nd February) quoted articles from the American magazine *Protestant* and the *New York Post* accusing the

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Pope of Fascist tendencies, and a day later gave an account of a declaration submitted to President Roosevelt by 1,600 American non-Catholic clergy. The signatories of this declaration were said to deprecate any deal with the Vatican, "which would be treason to the cause in which we fight." According to these clergy, whereas the Vatican had refrained from intervening in politics since 1870, it had started to take an active part in them again since 1929, and in the present conflict the Pope had come out on the side of the enemies of democracy. *Izvestiya* (2nd February), in an article roundly condemning the slowness of the purge of Fascists in Italy, also returned to the charge, "the higher the rank of a traitor, the more defenders he has, especially at the Vatican."

In contrast to the criticisms of Italy, Bulgaria has been lauded in the Soviet press for its swiftness in dealing out justice to traitors. "The significance of this first trial of international criminals in the present war far transcends the boundaries of Bulgaria."

Considerable prominence has been given by the Soviet press and wireless to the investigation of the accident which caused the death of the Soviet Ambassador Umansky and to the suggestion that the numbers of Falangists and other Fascist agents in Mexico may have been connected with it. *El Popolar*, organ of the Mexican Workers' Confederation, was quoted as saying that "an investigation should lead to drastic reprisals against the anti-Soviet provocations of the pro-Fascist press." The new Mexican ambassador to the U.S.S.R., M. Bassols, presented his credentials to the Kremlin on the 1st February.

M. Zaslavsky, who spent some time in this country before the war as a student, seems now cast for the rôle of press champion of Soviet interests *vis-à-vis* Great Britain. Following hard on his recent attack on the Duchess of Atholl comes his article in this week's *Pravda* lashing at *The Economist*. Both articles are in much the same vein of high indignation. *The Economist* leader of the 6th January, "Deadlock in Europe," in the light of later Soviet victories in Eastern Europe, provides the first target for M. Zaslavsky's ire and is indicated as "a classic example of blindness." But it is more especially the political theses underlying *The Economist's* "Armchair strategy" and its objection to handing over East Prussia to Poland which are attacked. Though described as an example of "alarming levity," the article in the issue of the 20th January on "The Russian Zone," with its allegations regarding conditions in Soviet-occupied Europe, apparently offended even more deeply than *The Economist's* first leader. M. Zaslavsky ineffectually attempts to rebut *The Economist's* contrast between the unanimity on Soviet foreign policy found in the Supreme Soviet and the searching analysis to which Government policy is subjected both in the House of Commons and Congress. Incidentally, in this polemic he makes one of the few direct references to the recent Greek political crisis found in the Soviet press: "What connexion is there with Greece, where there is an attempt to disarm those partisans who conducted a heroic struggle against the German invaders?"

SCANDINAVIA.

After the high expectations of sensational developments aroused by Quisling's visit to Hitler, the short and simple ceremony in Oslo on the 1st February came as a decided anti-climax. All that happened was the transference of the Storting building from the Reichskommissariat to the representatives of Nasjonal Samling. Neither Terboven nor Quisling was present; the necessary speeches were made by Dr. Koch and Vasbotten, quisling Minister of the Interior. The latter had a difficult task in reconciling his thanks for the restoration of a Norwegian building to Norwegian hands with a eulogy of the blessings of German occupation. There is a peculiar irony in the transfer of a building dedicated to the practice of free democratic discussion to the party which repudiates such methods of government, a party moreover which never secured a single seat in the building by the vote of the Norwegian people. What use Quisling will make of it remains to be seen. As a climax of bad stage management, someone threw an ineffective bomb at the back of the building after the ceremony had ended and the actors dispersed.

Great play is being made by German propaganda in Norway about the alleged discovery of a report of negotiations between the Norwegian Government and the Allies on the subject of post-liberation supplies. The inadequacy of the supplies contemplated is being strongly emphasised in the controlled press.

In an address to Norwegians in London on the 31st January, which was subsequently broadcast to Norway, M. Nygaardsvold disclosed the fact that a document

proposing a particular treatment of post-war questions had been circulated with fourteen forged signatures, including those of five members of the Government. Actually, the Government did not consider it its business to adopt an attitude towards plans for the future economic and political life of Norway: it had not associated itself with any of the programmes for the future which had been devised by those who had been considering its problems. What we hoped for after liberation was a strong Norwegian front, in which elements of the Home Front and of the front abroad would be combined without mutual jealousy. He considered that no one but an ignoramus or a supporter of dictatorship could regard the suppression of party differences in a liberated Norway as a blessing, but the present Government, though originating with a particular party, had been, since April 1940, a coalition in which all parties were represented. The speech may be regarded as an answer to rumours to the effect that the present Government, in spite of its declarations, intends to entrench itself in office in the immediate post-liberation stage.

Considerable public interest, both in the Riksdag and the press, has been recently aroused in Sweden by the trial, on charges of espionage mainly directed against refugees, of the former head of the German-controlled Skandinaviska Telegram Bureau, Lönnegren, and an official of the Aliens' Commission named Paulsson. The former was arrested on the 23rd December, the latter on the 4th January. The case was made the basis of severe criticism of M. Möller, the Minister for Social Affairs, for employing on the Aliens' Commission a man with Paulsson's known pro-Nazi bias, though knowledge of this was repudiated by M. Möller. As a result of the agitation, a committee to investigate the scandal has been set up by the Government under the chairmanship of M. Sandler, Prime Minister in 1925–26 and Minister for Foreign Affairs from 1932–39. The trial continues.

Further attacks on Swedish vessels by unidentified foreign torpedo craft have led to an extension of the escort system. An attack of this kind directed against the Swedish minesweeper *Landsort*, on the 21st January, between Öland and the Stockholm Archipelago was met by the release of depth charges.

On the 31st January M. Paasikivi, the Finnish Premier, in reply to a question in the Diet, cited the opinion of Dr. Ståhlberg, the distinguished jurist who was President of Finland from 1919–25, to the effect that the declaration or prosecution of war could not be regarded as war guilt. M. Paasikivi felt, however, that, in order to promote relations of confidence between Finland and the Soviet Union, politicians who had influenced the policy which had led Finland to her present plight ought to retire from active politics. Following this statement of opinion, eleven persons are said to have been asked to refrain from candidature in the forthcoming election—the four Social Democrats—Tanner, Hakkila, Salovaara and Aaltonen, four Agrarians, and three from the Coalition Party—Linkomies, Horelli and Lehtonen. These candidatures have accordingly been withdrawn, though Tanner has protested that he considers the procedure undemocratic.

In a communiqué issued on the 31st January the Danish Freedom Council announced that the fight against Germany had been intensified since the new year, with the object of hampering all military movements in Denmark and of impeding German armament production. The facts appear to substantiate this claim. The Gestapo, however, made widespread raids and arrests in many parts of the country towards the close of January.

The Germans have also made extensive confiscations of the limited coal supplies of Denmark, and the fuel situation is regarded as grave. It is also extremely serious in Norway, where it is reported that Oslo has only sufficient stocks for February, and it is expected that traffic on the railways will shortly be curtailed by the cessation of all passenger trains. On the Bergen railway these have already been discontinued.

M. Christmas Möller has now arrived in Sweden from England. In a press interview shortly after his arrival he stated that Denmark was now recognised as a State fighting on the Allied side and would consider it an honour if the victorious Powers desired her presence at the Peace Conference.

It was reported on the 4th February that General von Hanneken had been replaced in the command of the German forces in Denmark by General Lindemann, who is considered to have distinguished himself on the Eastern front in 1943. The change is regarded as the substitution of a soldier with higher active service qualifications, and as such may indicate an expectation that Denmark will become a theatre of operations.

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LOW COUNTRIES.

The resignation of M. Burger (see last *Summary*) has caused some of the papers in the liberated Netherlands to demand that a Catholic be appointed to succeed him as Minister of the Interior. Since the present Dutch Cabinet contains no Catholic members and the great majority of the inhabitants of the liberated Netherlands are Catholics, this demand is very natural. It may be added that before the war the Catholic Party was the strongest Party in the Netherlands and was usually represented in the Government, which, owing to the multiplicity of Parties, was always a coalition.

The Province of West Flanders has decided to adopt the Province of Luxemburg, which suffered severely during the recent German offensive. Supplies of food and clothing are being collected for the relief of the victims. This generosity of a Flemish towards a Walloon Province should do much to counteract the efforts of certain ill-inspired Walloon papers, which are doing their utmost to stir up bad feeling between Flemings and Walloons.

On the 1st February a deputation of the Belgian Socialist Party waited on M. Pierlot and informed him that they desired a debate on a vote of confidence at an early date. M. Pierlot consented to the holding a debate, but desired that it be postponed; he also refused to accede to a request that he remodel his Cabinet. The executive of the Socialist Party then met and passed a resolution calling upon the five Socialist Ministers to resign. M. Pierlot, however, was able to persuade his Socialist colleagues to remain in office until after the debate, which, it was agreed, should be held on the 6th. M. Pierlot's line was that it would be constitutionally improper for the Cabinet to resign until the Chamber had voted.

Press comment on the crisis seemed to show that the continuance of the Government was neither expected nor desired. Though it is noteworthy that the Socialist *Peuple* went out of its way to pay a tribute to M. Pierlot's candour and public spirit, while advocating the formation of a left-wing coalition to succeed the present Ministry. The formation of a Cabinet of experts was advocated by a right-wing Catholic paper.

It is fortunate that sufficient supplies of newsprint have now been made available to enable the papers to continue to keep the public informed of what is going on for the time being. As was said in the last *Summary*, the disappearance of the press would be a most untoward event.

A broadcast by Major-General Erskine on the 4th reminded the Belgians of certain stern realities. Life has hard and would remain so; strikes only made matters worse. While most Belgians were behaving well a few had shown a lack of confidence and determination. "I speak particularly of those who spread false rumours. I do not doubt that such rumours are started by our enemies, but it is unfortunate that these enemy agents should find anybody to believe such stories and to repeat them. For instance, it is apparently common gossip that Belgian coal is being exported to Britain. This is a complete lie." General Erskine also told his hearers that he had represented, and would represent, Belgium's needs to General Eisenhower, but that there were many urgent calls upon the resources of the Supreme Commander and that his decisions must be accepted loyally.

FRANCE.

The French First Army has occupied Colmar and is pressing the enemy hard in what remains of the so-called Colmar pocket. North of Strasbourg the Germans have abandoned their bridgehead near Gambsheim.

Although the Paris press has expressed disappointment that General de Gaulle has not been invited to join in the discussions of the "Big Three" it has taken his absence more calmly than might have been expected. The General himself, in a broadcast on the 5th February, said that although many people considered it "rather strange that in the present phase of the struggle the heads of the three other big Powers should without French participation attempt to fix the means by which the war will be ended and the conditions of the settlement which will emerge from it," there was no need for alarm. As he had already stated, France would not be bound by anything which she had not fully discussed and approved on equal terms with others. The permanent presence of French forces all along the Rhine, the separation of the Ruhr basin and of the territories on the left bank of the river from the future German State or States, and the independence of the Polish, Czechoslovak, Austrian and Balkan peoples were

essential so far as France was concerned. France knew she could not ensure the peace of Europe single handed. For this reason she had made an alliance with Russia, and for the same reason she wished to make an alliance with England "as soon as she will consent to what is vital with regard to Germany and as soon as we have eliminated certain vestiges of an outdated rivalry in this or that part of the world."

This allusion to outdated rivalry refers, of course, in particular to Syria and the Lebanon, where there is increasing tension between the French and the local Government. On the 1st February, acting on Mr. Eden's instructions, Mr. Duff Cooper called M. Bidault's attention to the seriousness of the position and expressed His Majesty's Government's concern at the lack of progress towards a settlement of the vexed problem of the *Troupes Spéciales* and other outstanding questions. In reply M. Bidault regretted that Anglo-French conversations, even if they had been confined to the Levant, had not begun immediately after the visit of Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden to Paris in November. He assured Mr. Duff Cooper that no provocation would be given by the French in the Levant States and that the strictest orders would be sent to avoid it. If, however, the inhabitants attacked French property or nationals, force would have to be used to resist them. His Government could not think of handing over any part of the *Troupes Spéciales* immediately as a gesture, since any show of weakness in the face of threats was a mistake. The Lebanese Government had recently issued a decree declaring that any Lebanese citizen serving a foreign Power who refused at the Government's behest to give up his post within a prescribed time-limit would lose his nationality. This, M. Bidault said, the French regarded as a direct incitement to the men of the *Troupes Spéciales* to revolt.

The situation in Syria and the Lebanon was discussed at the Council of Ministers on the following day. A subsequent semi-official statement said that General de Gaulle in a recent press conference (see last *Summary*) had already referred to the difficulties encountered by France, "who alone was responsible for the maintenance of order" in Syria and the Lebanon. It was extremely probable that, had the French remained "en tête à tête" with the Governments of Beirut and Damascus, there would have been no trouble. Nevertheless, France was, as M. Bidault had repeated, absolutely determined to preserve her pre-eminent position in those two countries and to maintain order there while retaining control of the military force which she kept for the purpose. The instructions given by the Minister for Foreign Affairs to General Beynet were unequivocal. (For the reactions to this statement in Syria and the Lebanon and for other developments, see under "Middle East.")

The three political congresses which met in Paris at the end of January—that of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (the 21st–24th January) (see last week's *Summary*) and the National Congresses of the *Mouvement de Libération Nationale* (M.L.N.) (the 23rd–30th January) and of the *Front National* (F.N.) (the 30th January–2nd February)—discussed the same political and economic subjects and reached similar general conclusions on most points. The Communist Party and the *Front National*, in which the Communists are the dominating force, strongly urged the concentration of all the national energies on the war to crush Fascism and on the establishment of a large French Army. Both also pressed for the confiscation and nationalisation of the property of "the Trusts" and, rejecting any "monetary manipulation" of the Belgian type, advocated financial rehabilitation by the development of production. The M.L.N. Congress, which was noticeably more critical of the Government than the Communists, called not for State control of industry but for the accession of workers to a share in the control of big enterprises, and insisted on compensation for small investors. All three meetings wanted substantial help for agriculture and the extension of the co-operative system for buying and selling, the Communists and the F.N. specifically denouncing the *Comités d'organisation*. Whereas the Communists and the F.N. unanimously accepted the principle of State secular education and the withdrawal of the grant to religious schools, the M.L.N. was divided on this issue. The F.N. reiterated its intention to present "listes communes" at the forthcoming local elections. It also declared that all local Liberation Committees must relinquish their administrative powers to the prefects and mayors.

One of the main issues at the M.L.N. Congress was the question of possible fusion with the *Front National* (see *Summary* No. 267). After a lively debate the meeting rejected by 250 votes to 119 a motion advocating a Resistance federation at all levels which would lead both to fusion and to the formation of a single

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united French labour movement. It adopted the more cautious policy of co-operation on a national level for specific aims. The F.N. regretted this rejection of its appeal for fusion but still hoped for eventual federation.

On the 24th January the press announced a Government decision that the purge in the Central Government offices must be completed by the 15th February and in the provinces by the 15th March. Furthermore all cases, except those before the High Court, in which the prosecution asked for a death sentence, must be terminated by the 1st May. Inspired press comment has pointed out that this decision is intended to accelerate and not to suppress judicial proceedings and that it will not prevent fresh cases from being brought to court. The decision will certainly be welcomed by a large body of opinion and no doubt reflects General de Gaulle's wish to keep the purge within bounds and to have done with it quickly. It is known that the burden of deciding on appeals for mercy has weighed heavily upon him and that he examines each case of a death sentence with scrupulous care. The imposition of a time-limit has, however, been criticised by several Résistance papers, which argue that in fact under the present system of judicial procedure it will mean that many collaborators will go free. In the words of the *Franc-Tireur* the cease fire should be sounded when the battle is over and not when it has only just begun.

In an address delivered to the Foreign Policy Association at Philadelphia on the 2nd February Mr. Grew reviewed the problem of supplies to France and mentioned that tweny-six ships were now scheduled to sail for France with "civilian cargo" during the first quarter of this year (see *Summaries* Nos. 270 and 274).

SWITZERLAND.

Economic negotiations will begin very shortly in Berne between the Swiss Government on the one hand and special delegates from Great Britain and the United States on the other. The British delegation will be headed by Mr. Dingle Foot, Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Ministry of Economic Warfare, and that of the United States by Mr. Lauchlin Currie, acting as the special envoy of President Roosevelt. The delegates will spend a few days in Paris on the way to Berne to discuss with the French authorities the question of transit of Swiss imports across French territory. Swiss opinion, which appears to have been much impressed by President Roosevelt's nomination of Mr. Currie, warmly welcomes the negotiations.

Meanwhile Swiss-German negotiations are continuing in Berne and the Swiss-German clearing agreement, which had already been extended from the 15th to the 31st January has been further extended to the 15th February. The chief Swiss interest in these negotiations is coal supplies from Germany. Stocks of coal in Switzerland have fallen very low. Permits are now required for the purchase of coal of all kinds within the country and rationing is foreshadowed.

Swiss citizens in Germany have been officially advised not to leave their places of residence. The legation at Berlin and all the Swiss consular representatives are remaining at their posts and the staff at Breslau has been strengthened so as to enable Swiss citizens and their interests in that area to be better looked after.

M. Xavier de Gaulle, brother of General de Gaulle, has been appointed French Consul-General at Geneva.

M. Petitpierre entered on his duties as Head of the Political Department (*i.e.*, Foreign Minister) on the 1st February.

In view of the strained relations between Switzerland and the U.S.S.R., the outcome of the Big Three Conference is being awaited with intense interest.

SPAIN.

Oblivion is a state oft desired by man, and moralists have not ceased exclaiming at the ease with which, in most adverse circumstances, he has succeeded in achieving that Lethal consummation. For some time past the Spanish Government have been providing an engaging example of this phenomenon, and their attempts to convince the world that Spain has never been anything but strictly neutral in this war, that her adherence to the Anti-Comintern Pact in no way implied hostility towards Russia, and that the Falange is an autochthonous institution owing nothing to other doctrines—all these antics have been amply displayed before the readers of this *Summary*. By this time it might have been thought that the question should have been decided; either the world believed the Spaniards, or it did not. In any case, further protestation was inappropriate.

But what has happened is that the world does not believe the Spaniards, and the Spaniards still keep on trying to persuade the world.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, discussing with Mr. Bowker, His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires, the recent correspondence between General Franco and the Prime Minister, made it tolerably evident that no rebuff from London was going to prevent the Spaniards from continuing to make friendly gestures towards His Majesty's Government. Señor Lequerica confirmed suspicions that Franco's letter was entirely his own idea; he had drafted it without consulting the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who had been obliged to listen to it read to him by its author over the telephone. The Minister clearly felt that the remarks on Russia were clumsy, but discreetly defended his master by rather unkindly explaining that he had "spoken as a soldier." The Generalissimo's words, though "noble," he said, were hardly appropriate; certain things might be thought, but should not be given utterance. In reality, there were no obstacles on the Spanish side to the establishment of normal relations with Russia; the Spanish Government were merely concerned with preventing interference in Spanish internal affairs. Turning to Tangier, Señor Lequerica saw no problem there to disturb Anglo-Spanish relations. The Spanish Government were not going to be intransigent, and the Minister was quite confident that His Majesty's Government had no intention of humiliating Spain—a significant expectation. Señor Lequerica, forgetting that the Spanish State and the Falange Party are officially one, assured Mr. Bowker that the Falange had no influence whatever on Spain's foreign policy; Franco was absolutely free to follow any policy he chose, and the one he had chosen was that of close friendship with Great Britain and of identification with Great Britain's interests in Europe. Moreover, Franco believed that Mr. Churchill's reply opened the door for friendly discussions. A man who believes that will believe anything.

This odd conversation should be compared with an interview given by Señor Lequerica on the 22nd January to a correspondent of the Associated Press, which interview was a pendant to that of General Franco in November with the United Press. (See *Summary* No. 266.) The Minister made a conciliatory reference to the *News Chronicle* articles by Mr. Vernon Bartlett (see *Summary* No. 271), refrained from saying anything favourable about the Falange, and made a friendly gesture towards Mexico. (There have been many rumours recently—from Spanish sources only—about the resumption of Hispano–Mexican relations.) But the most interesting part of this interview was the Minister's attempt at explaining away the Spanish adherence to the Anti-Comintern Pact, which Spain signed on the 27th March, 1939. After describing the pact as only a "coincidence of judgment" between various countries on the Communist danger, Señor Lequerica explained that in Spain it was a "defensive reaction." "When, however, the first agreements were reached between Russia and Germany over the occupation of Poland, the pact lost its efficacy," and the Government "in order to avoid any misinterpretations" had decided "to abandon its international contacts in this connexion, and to limit itself to internal action . . . ." To affirm now that the Anti-Comintern Pact lost its efficacy in 1939 is a worthy example of the Spanish desire to bury the past under a mass of face-saving phrases. But it is a little late in the day. To the rest of us it is asking a lot to suggest that we forget that on the 25th November, 1941, Spain signed a protocol to this pact prolonging it for five years, and that from July 1941 till April 1944 the Blue Division were at least nominally fighting against our Russian allies. It all goes to show the set of Spanish policy. At the same time, however, that the Minister for Foreign Affairs was speaking mellifluous words to Mr. Bowker, *Radio Valladolid*, the Falange station, was intensifying the pro-German tone of its programmes.

Señor Mateu, the new Ambassador to the Provisional French Government, has arrived in Paris. Before leaving Barcelona he told Mr. Farquar that he hoped that His Majesty's Ambassador in Paris would be informed that he had always been on the side of the Allies, and that he was not an extreme Falangist. The ambition of the Spanish Government is manifest: forgetting the past, they seek "to be nameless in (un)worthy deeds." But oblivion is not thus to be hired.

(*See also* "Far East.")

ERRATUM.

Summary No. 277, "Spain and Portugal," last paragraph, 12th line down, for 18*th January* read 16*th January*.

[29206]

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ITALY.

The Italian Government has made an appeal to the Allies to reduce the financial burden imposed under the Armistice terms. Unless some relief is granted the economic stability of the country will be in danger and, to prevent this, the Government asks that, as a first measure of relief, dollar or sterling credit be established for all the occupation lire issued by the Allies. The occupation lire issued up to date are reported to total 50,000 million. Mr. Harry Hopkins, who lately visited Rome, is reported to have told American correspondents, who alone were granted an interview, that he was not at all happy regarding the situation as between the Allies and the Italian Government and people, and that a talk with Signor De Gasperi, the Foreign Minister, had rather increased his concern. Mr. Hopkins went on to say that public opinion in the United States felt that it was wrong that countries should be liberated and then left to suffer from hunger, cold and destitution, but that the difficulty had been to provide shipping space for the necessary supplies. Mr. Hopkins was of the opinion that the Military authorities had begun to realise that civilian supplies for liberated countries were a necessity, and he felt that American Civil authorities should insist that a proportion of the available tonnage should be set aside for this purpose. Referring to Mr. Roosevelt's declaration that Italians should have a minimum bread ration of 300 grammes, Mr. Hopkins said that American propaganda had done a deal of harm by promising what it had been unable to supply. Mr. Hopkins also told the American correspondents that the people of the United States were beginning to understand that it was not enough to liberate countries unless, at the same time, help was given to settle their political problems, and that it was contrary to American interests that any form of totalitarian government should be initiated or should endure in liberated countries. The Italian-American Labour Council, which is said to represent 300,000 members of the American Federation of Labour and the Congress of Industrial Organisations, has also urged a revision of the Allies' policy in Italy, and a resolution to this effect and that the principles of the Atlantic Charter be applied to Italy has been presented to Mr. Dunn, the Assistant Secretary of State charged with, *inter alia*, the supervision of European affairs. According to the press Mr. Dunn, while expressing sympathy with the resolution, explained to Mr. Antonini, the President of the Council, that the delay in sending relief to Italy was due to the military needing all available shipping.

The first free conference for 22 years of the C.G.I.L.—the Italian General Confederation of Labour—came to a close on the 1st February. The Conference opened on the 28th January at Naples and approved an extensive programme of Social Legislation and, for the first time in the history of Italian Labour, elected a woman, Signora Maddalena Secco, to the Central Committee. The main points of the social reform programme presented by the Socialist Oreste Lizzadri and approved by a majority vote were :—

1. Acknowledgment that the employee has a prior claim over the employer to consideration by the State.
2. Assurance of employment and a guarantee of a minimum wage.
3. Old age pensions.
4. Regulations for the employment of women and children on the basis that equal work means equal pay.
5. Professional training of youth to be organised.
6. Adequate Insurance legislation to be established.

The Roman press seems now more inclined to believe that the Unione Proletaria (see last week's *Summary*) is or was a Fascist organisation in disguise. The Socialist paper *Avanti*, having already said that Salvarezza's escape was connived at, presumably by the Carabinieri, makes another attempt to implicate them with the Unione Proletaria. According to *Avanti* Signor Bonomi, during the Government crisis of November last, wished to arrange a meeting between some of the party leaders and some Ministers and chose as the meeting place the Piazza Navona. When, however, Signor Bonomi was informed by the Carabinieri that "someone" had threatened trouble, the meeting place was hurriedly changed. This "someone," says *Avanti*, was Salvarezza, and as he accompanied his threat with the sinister hint that "Il Gobbo," since deceased, was the man who carried out his orders, nobody apparently thought it worth while arguing about. *Avanti* now asks why Signor Bonomi yielded to this threat and did not order the arrest of Salvarezza and his minion. Unfortunately the article does not explain why Salvarezza took exception to the Piazza Navona as a meeting place, nor is it quite clear why "Il Gobbo" was shot "on his way" to murder Salvarezza or for what reason the hunchback wished to destroy such a lucrative source of employment.

In the north, Mussolini, speaking to Turin Blackshirts, has stressed the socialisation policy of the Italian Social Republic and congratulated Turin workers on their "growing interest in socialisation." Whatever this may amount to, it would appear from reports recently arriving from Switzerland that the January strikes among industrial workers were on an even larger scale in Turin than in Milan. Some accounts even put the number of strikers at 75 per cent. of all the Turin workers.

There has been a fresh crop of rumours to the effect that the Germans are contemplating the evacuation of North Italy, and that the Fascist Republican Government is preparing to transfer its headquarters to a place near the Swiss frontier. The latter suggestion has been indignantly repudiated by the Fascist-controlled radio. Marshal Graziani is reported to have told Fascist Army officers that he was resolved to fight on even should the Germans withdraw, and intended to organise a "Volkssturm" on the German pattern in Italy.

A Swiss paper has published two decrees issued by the C.N.L. for North Italy ordering all "soldiers of the so-called Republican Army," functionaries, State officials, and ordinary citizens to put into practice a general disregard for all orders emanating from the Germans or the Fascists. Among other methods of sabotage, people are asked to refuse to collect or pay taxes. Individual and collective account will be taken, it is stated, of the results of the boycott campaign, and "every culpable failure to act will be severely punished by disciplinary action and public stigma."

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

The German forces in Hungary are said to have been reinforced, and fluctuating fighting, described by both sides as heavy, has gone on in the Székesfehérvár region, with the Russians gaining some ground. In Buda, the defenders are apparently now reduced to the Castle hill, with a few streets round it.

It is reported that in Pest hardly any houses are completely destroyed although very many have been damaged. Some life is returning to the city. Food supplies are arriving and some papers, including the Social Democrat daily, *Népszava*, are appearing.

The Debrecen Government has appealed for volunteers for the new Hungarian army now being formed. The Government has decided that not only no National Socialist, but no leading member of the old "Government Party" (M.E.P.) may hold public office. Commissions for an administrative purge have been set up. "People's Tribunals" are also to be established in every town and county to judge all war criminals and all persons guilty of acting against the people. The members of the tribunal are to be elected by the local organisations of the political parties represented in the National Independence Front. The tribunals will have the right to inflict any punishment, from fines and confiscation to internment, imprisonment and death. A Council of Reprieve consisting of the Chairman of the National Assembly or his Deputy, the Minister of Justice or his Deputy, and representatives of the Political Commission of the National Assembly will have the right to grant reprieves in the case of death-sentences only. Preparations for the projected land reform are also being pushed on.

The Szálasi "Government" has begun to organise a new voluntary "Armed National Service." This service, which is for Party members, will be, in almost all respects, on an equal footing with the army. Parallel with this, there is a fresh drive for recruits for the new Hungarian army being trained in Germany. Presumably in connexion with these measures, the Minister for Total Mobilisation has ordered a man-power census to be taken. The extraordinary powers of the Government have been prolonged until the 31st December, 1945. Parliament is considering a Bill for dissolving marriages between Jews and non-Jews.

Roumania.

Two special courts have been set up and public prosecutors appointed for the trial of those who are designated as war criminals and responsible for the country's disaster. Proceedings are to start early next week. The personnel

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of these courts has the appearance of being somewhat less professional than is usual. Some of the special prosecutors are solicitors, but such descriptions as "worker," "employé," "school-teacher," and "engineer" also occur.

Permission has at last been given for the return to Roumania of a party of forty petroleum experts, who were to have arrived by Christmas.

The delegation from the Roumanian Patriarchate of the Orthodox Church to Moscow for the enthronement of the new Patriarch of Moscow, is headed by His Holiness Iosif Gafton Sinaitul, Bishop of Arges. (See "Soviet Union" *Summary*.)

The pay of the Roumanian army has been increased by 1½ farthings a day!

Yugoslavia.

No considerable military development seems to have occurred.

The Presidium of Avnoj (the Partisans' legislature) has annulled all laws, decrees, regulations, &c., introduced during the German occupation, and also all those which were in force before the German invasion in so far as they are incompatible with "the achievements of the national liberation struggle." Similarly, all appointments and promotions at Belgrade University, made since the 6th April, 1941, have been annulled. A tightening of controls is indicated by an article in *Borba*, by the head of the Military Propaganda Department, emphasising the need of political education amongst recruits, and by another protesting against the publication of economic information, much of which should be a State secret even in peace time. On the other hand, from Croatia, where the Partisan organisation operates under greater difficulties, it is reported as possibly true that in some cases the National Liberation Front's nominees have been defeated by locally chosen candidates in elections for town and village committees. Reuters' correspondent has returned to Belgrade and it is hoped that other British and American newspaper correspondents will follow shortly.

Public expression of Macedonian aspirations for the annexation of Greek and Bulgarian Macedonia is officially repressed. Moreover Yugoslav Macedonia appears to be largely sealed up. The frontier with Greece between Bitolj and Florina is closed; as is the internal boundary between Serbia and Macedonia. In a recent speech in Belgrade, General "Tempo" spoke of the difficulties of restraining the demand for an enlarged and also independent Macedonia, but implied that the union of Greek and Bulgarian with Yugoslav Macedonia was a legitimate aspiration.

Shubashitch has been fulfilling his undertaking to "endeavour to take account" of King Peter's observations of the 11th January (see *Summary* No. 278, p. 14) by transmitting to Tito the names suggested by the King for the Regency Council and enquiring whether Tito would agree to the inclusion of one or two other non-Partisans in the unified Government. Mr. Grew, Acting Secretary of State, on the 2nd February declared that the United States Government desired a prompt and amicable settlement on the lines or the Tito–Shubashitch Agreement, on the understanding that after the liberation of all Yugoslavia free elections would be held "if the proposed United Government of Yugoslavia can be so organised as to be representative of the Yugoslav people."

Greece.

On the 30th January E.L.A.S. Central Committee notified the Regent that its delegates to the Conference would be MM. Siantos, Partsalidis and Tsirimokos, and these three, accompanied by General Saraphis and two other military advisers, arrived in Athens on the 1st February. M. Sophianopoulos felt very strongly that it was ill-advised to accept Tsirimokos as a delegate, since by doing so the Government would tacitly acknowledge the existence of E.A.M.; however, after the Regent had had a talk with M. Tsirimokos, who seemed anxious to be helpful and even offered to resign from the delegation, it was finally agreed to accept him as a delegate, and the Conference opened late on Friday night. The basis of the discussions was a programme put forward by the Government, of which the main points were: (1) a National Army would be formed on the basis of regular recruitment of age-groups; officers would be selected by a technical military committee; (2) the gendarmerie and police must remain in being until they could be reorganised; meantime, there would be a purge among officers and men; (3) trials of collaborationists would be expedited; (4) the free expression of political opinion would be safeguarded; (5) martial law would be repealed as soon as agreement had been secured, and all the fundamental rights guaranteed to the citizen under the Constitution before the Metaxas régime would be secured;

there would be free elections for Trade Union officials; (6) the Government would hold a free plebiscite and free elections, at which it would welcome Allied observers; (7) as an act of grace, the act of taking up arms against the Government would not in itself be regarded as indictable. At the same time it was pointed out that all hostages in the hands of E.L.A.S. must be released and that any persons held on charges of collaboration or of any other crime must be handed over to the State; all irregular forces must be disbanded and must hand in their arms.

The Conference opened in a conciliatory atmosphere; next day M. Siantos, replying to the Government's proposals, welcomed most of the suggestions put forward. He accepted the need for general disarmament. He insisted, however, that the Communists must be represented in the Government and maintained that, on the question of an amnesty, it would be impossible for the Government authorities to distinguish between political and criminal offences. On this last point he went so far as to say that, if a general amnesty could not be granted, the Conference might as well break up. In fact, a very reasonable amnesty decree, drafted by M. Pericles Rallis, was put forward, but M. Siantos turned it down. The Conference adjourned on Saturday night, and on Sunday the Government delegates sent to the E.L.A.S. delegates a communication pointing out that a general amnesty could only result in "ferocious and unprecedented crimes remaining unpunished." The Government considered the E.L.A.S. attitude absolutely inadmissible.

To this the E.L.A.S. delegates replied on Monday that, since the Government persisted in its views, they felt that to insist on their own standpoint could only plunge Greece into disaster. They would therefore consent to the question of prosecutions being settled on the principles laid down by the Government.

In view of the above message the Conference has been resumed.

Albania.

Enver Hoxha, who is extremely anxious to obtain Allied recognition of his provisional Government, had the discourtesy to refuse Field-Marshal Alexander's offer to send a military mission to him on the withdrawal of the British military liaison officers and pending recognition. Moreover, in spite of the urgent need for medical and other supplies and of the dissatisfaction of some of his colleagues, Enver Hoxha has still not agreed to the Allies controlling the distribution of the relief which they offer.

Public interest in the forthcoming trial of war criminals is stimulated by the official wireless and newspaper. All who opposed the F.N.Ç., it is urged, must be sentenced to death, and violent indictments have been made against Balli Kombetar, Abas Kupi and his Legality Party, Mustafa Kruja and other leaders who opposed, or at least failed to join, the F.N.Ç. But in the field the F.N.Ç. do not appear to be having things all their own way, for in an engagement with Nationalist forces north of Scutari about the 18th January they are reported to have suffered 300 casualties and to have lost a number of prisoners.

Bulgaria.

On the 1st February the People's Court at Sofia sentenced Prince Kiril and General Mihov (ex-Regents), Professor Filov (ex-Premier and ex-Regent), Bozhilov and Bagrianov (ex-Premiers), Gabrovski, D. Shishmanov, Draganov, seventeen other ex-Ministers and eight of King Boris's confidants to death; four ex-Ministers and two of the ex-King's confidants to hard labour for life or for various terms. Muraviev, who headed the last Cabinet before the revolution of September last, was, with his colleagues, treated slightly more leniently. He and Dimov, his Minister of the Interior, were sentenced to hard labour for life; Mushanov, Ghichev and Burov to hard labour for a year; and Pavlov, Ghirghinov, Popov and Daskalov to a year's imprisonment, which was remitted conditionally. Of the accused Deputies 117 were sentenced: 67 (including Tsankov who now leads the puppet Bulgarian Government in Germany) were condemned to death, 23 to hard labour for life and the rest to hard labour for lesser terms. Most sentences included confiscation of property and loss of civil rights. The death sentences were executed the same night.

In private conversation the Foreign Minister admitted that the sentences erred on the side of severity. They were not, he said, the result of external pressure, but some of the professional judges had had difficulty in preventing their non-professional colleagues—not a few of whom were the direct or indirect victims of Government repression—from being carried away by their own

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emotions and the rhetoric of the Public Prosecutor. Some sentences had even been more than the latter had asked for.

In the published reports there has been no suggestion that any of the accused was convicted under any specific article of any law. The general indictment was under two heads: firstly, the pro-German policy, and, secondly, the repression of the people. Evidence of anti-Soviet propensities in the first connexion and of cruelty in the second was considered particularly damning. There is no indication of Soviet intervention, but the all-powerful position of the Red Army in Bulgaria could hardly fail to exert an influence even if the whole staging of the trial had not conduced to a merciless verdict. Outside the law courts at the time of the final session the streets were packed tight with an orderly crowd consisting of the usual public, soldiers, of whom some attended by order as part of their political re-education, and processions with placards and slogans. Loud speakers announced the sentences and the crowd applauded at intervals. A broadcast account of the proceedings concluded with the observation: "We must kill in order that the future may be safe." Thus, while there is doubtless truth in the Public Prosecutor's allegation that the repression practised by the Filov, Bozhilov and Bagrianov Governments meant 3,200 death sentences, 2,400 life sentences, 18,900 sentences altogether and numerous acts of unspeakable cruelty, the verdict of the People's Court seems to have been given not only for the sake of punishment and vengeance but also to clear the ground of all possible adversaries of the Fatherland Front. Bozhilov may have mitigated but little the pro-German policy of his predecessor Filov, but the charge that the Bagrianov Cabinet, which showed the first signs of changing the national policy, tried to double-cross the Allies and that the vacillation of the Muraviev Cabinet, which was further to the Left, meant the loss of ten Bulgarian divisions and a continuation of the police terror, does not seem fully to explain the crushing sentences imposed on members of two Governments which tended, however irresolutely, to break with Germany.

Turkey.

One nightmare which haunts the Turkish mind is that Persia in the east and the Balkans in the west may one day pass under Communist control and that Turkey will thus find herself surrounded on three sides by Russia or Russian satellites. It is comprehensible, therefore, that there were signs of great satisfaction in Turkey over the improvement in the Greek situation. But, with regard to the blood-bath in Sofia, though the Turkish press was deliberately restrained, opinion was shocked.

In the economic sphere the Turks have been showing signs of activity. They are reported to have sold large quantities of tobacco to the United States. A Turkish mission in this country has ordered £T.100 million worth of railway equipment. A Turkish air expert has made a contract with a British firm for starting an aero-engine factory in Turkey. A group of Turkish bankers are looking round here, on their way back from a visit to the United States, with an eye to buying industrial equipment. Lastly, a mission under M. Cevat Açikalin,, the Secretary-General of the Turkish Foreign Ministry, is expected to come here soon to bring the Anglo-Turkish Financial Agreement of 1939 into line with later developments.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

The Egyptian Prime Minister has not yet decided whether or not to proceed with the proposal to prosecute Nahas Pasha and the members of the late Government on the grounds of their alleged corruption. He is still engaged in examining the evidence prepared by the committee of enquiry, and until he has completed his scrutiny he will defer his decision. Even if, as is probable, the Prime Minister is personally opposed to it, there is no doubt that the King, who cordially dislikes Nahas, would be glad to see the prosecution go forward; and although relations between the Palace and Makram may be less close than they were, the Palace is no doubt willing enough to make use of Makram's support in furthering the project.

King Farouk was given an enthusiastic reception in Cairo on his return from the Hejaz on the 31st January. Egyptian press comment, like the messages of courtesy exchanged between the King and Ibn Saud, emphasises that the visit has strengthened the relations between Egypt and Saudi Arabia, and facilitated negotiations for union among the Arab States. This is borne out

officially by the announcement made by the Egyptian Government, immediately after the return of the King, that all the Arab countries concerned had been invited to send delegates to Cairo in the near future to continue their discussions on Arab unity.

A report of the visit has now been received from the Hejaz, giving Ibn Saud's account of the meeting. He was favourably struck by King Farouk, whom he considered intelligent, though impulsive and impressionable as was natural at his age, and who would, he thought, develop with proper handling into a wise ruler.

Ibn Saud states that he impressed upon his royal visitor the great importance of maintaining the British connexion, and recommended his adopting the formula (which Ibn Saud himself has so frequently given us as his own) of "putting his trust first in God, and then in His Majesty's Government." He also advised him not to place too much reliance on his Ministers, who, he said, often put their own interests before those of their country, but to rely more upon himself as Ibn Saud had done, and like him, to maintain close and friendly relations with the British.

Among other matters discussed was that of Syria. It will be recalled that Shukri Quwatli recently informed Ibn Saud that he was unable to follow Ibn Saud's advice to negotiate a treaty with the French. Ibn Saud has now decided to write a second time to the Syrian President, telling him once more that the only safe road to follow is that recommended by His Majesty's Government. At the meeting, Ibn Saud urged King Farouk to adopt the same line with Shukri as he himself had done, and advise the Syrian President to come to terms with the French. On the whole, there seems to be no doubt that the visit was highly successful, and may prove to be of real importance in the future. If King Farouk follows the advice of one whose position and prestige in the Arab world are so widely regarded, and whose faith in us, even in the darkest days, has never failed, Anglo-Egyptian relations, and indeed Anglo-Arab relations generally, may benefit greatly.

Satisfactory as the meeting appears to have been, it is hardly surprising to learn that the Amir Abdullah has been greatly disturbed by it. Indeed, so upset was Amir that he urged his nephew, the Regent of Iraq, to pay him a visit at Amman as soon as possible, and His Royal Highness was expected to leave Bagdad for Transjordan on the 4th February, accompanied by Nuri Pasha. What the Amir and the Regent can do about it remains to be seen, but it does not look as though they could do very much.

The deadlock with the French in the Levant States over the transfer of the *Troupes Spéciales* still awaits solution. Further demonstrations of students took place in Damascus on the 30th January, and when the Syrian President, who personally intervened, told them to return to school, he received the reply that they would continue to strike until Syria was given its national army. Though the students soon after dispersed, further demonstrations with anti-French slogans occurred on the 4th February not only in Damascus but also in Homs and Hama. There has also been serious tension in Jebel Druze, where the French are nervous for their safety.

Everything is being done by His Majesty's representatives in Damascus and in Paris to bring the two parties together. But the situation is not rendered easier by statements, official or semi-official, reported from Paris and quickly circulated in Syria and the Lebanon. Last week reference was made to General de Gaulle's statement at a press conference. On the 2nd February M. Bidault, the French Foreign Minister, said much the same thing. France was "solely responsible for the maintenance of order" in the Levant States, and would defend her prerogatives there. She had at her disposal a military force for that purpose. Instructions to that effect, he added, had been given to General Beynet with the approval of the French Cabinet.

It was consequently in a rather heated atmosphere that His Majesty's Minister met the Syrian President and Minister for Foreign Affairs in Damascus on the 3rd February. The Syrian representatives were greatly upset at this latest news from Paris. Nevertheless, after a long discussion they said that they were prepared to ask the French to state exactly what they wanted. They were ready indeed to open discussions with the French, but insisted upon two things: the immediate transfer of the *Troupes Spéciales*, and the refusal to grant to France any predominant position.

The Lebanese Government is evidently no less determined to assert its independence. It is reported that an official proclamation was recently issued stating that any Lebanese in the service of a foreign Power, who refused to resign

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when ordered to do so by the Lebanese Government, should be deprived of his nationality. Further, the Lebanese Chamber passed a resolution on the 3rd February asking the Government to transfer the *Troupes Spéciales* to Lebanese control, thus following the example of the Syrian Chamber, recorded last week. Lastly, the Lebanese Minister in London, speaking on behalf of both Governments in the Levant, stated on the 5th February that neither Syria nor Lebanon could accept the French demand for a predominant position there. He went on to say that before concluding any treaty they were bound, by the terms of the Alexandria Protocal, to consult with the other Arab States and obtain their consent. They could not therefore commit themselves to any treaty which might act as a barrier to collaboration with those States.

Meanwhile, there has been talk, both in Damascus and in Beirut, of the Levant Governments being willing to negotiate an identical agreement with Great Britain, the United States, the U.S.S.R. and France. The Lebanese Minister for Foreign Affairs believes that this may constitute the best way out of the deadlock. The Syrian President seems also to be taken with the idea, and has asked the American Minister to obtain for him a draft outline of a similar treaty which might serve as a model. (See also under "France.")

THE FAR EAST.

Although the fall of Manila to General MacArthur's forces is a shock to the Japanese public, it was not altogether unexpected. On the 30th January Domei quoted an *Asahi* correspondent in Luzon as saying that Japanese resistance in the mountain area around Lingayen was preventing an American advance and that the Americans might make a surprise landing in the Manila area. In general, Japanese propaganda about the Luzon fighting has followed the now rather hackneyed lines of enlarging on American losses in men and material; on the length of their sea communications; and on General Yamashita's preparations to strike a heavy counter-blow when he judges the time to be ripe. Domei (1st February) struck a more sombre note in saying that for the first time since the outbreak of war in East Asia a real land battle was being fought between the Japanese and American forces; that the Japanese troops in Luzon would not capitulate in face of the enemy superiority in numbers but would either return victorious or would follow their ancestors and brothers who had preceded them in the struggle for the freedom and future of Japan (*i.e.*, they would all perish). *Mainichi* (5th February) declared that Manila was of no strategic importance.

That the Japanese Government is resigned to the loss of the Philippines may be deduced from the amount of propaganda now being devoted to the theme that after all the decisive theatre of war is not the Philippines but China. The Domei radio at Singapore (27th January) asserted that it was everywhere admitted that the Greater East Asia War would be decided on the Chinese continent and that the battles raging in Burma and the Philippines had a vital bearing on the final decisive encounters which would have to be fought out in China. Owing to the strategic situation of China in relation to Japan itself and to Japan's vast arsenal in "Manchukuo," Japan could assemble arms for the final clash which would be vastly superior to those of her enemies. If necessary, the North China–"Manchukuo"–Korea *bloc* alone could supply the Japanese armies for years. Thus, even were the Shanghai–Yokohama sea route to be threatened, the Japanese armies could derive the sinews of war from the Asiatic Continent itself.

On the 1st February General Wedemeyer told correspondents in Chungking that the Japanese would not be disappointed in their expectation of Allied landings on the China coast. The Japanese are boasting that their recent operations in Kwangtung, Hunan and southern Kiangsi (see this *Summary* Nos. 277 and 278) have placed their forces in a strong position to meet such Allied landings. They claimed (31st January) that their capture of Waichow had scattered a group of Allied agents sent to make coastal surveys and to gather information. The Japanese have captured Suichuan, a city in south-western Kiangsi, and Namyung in northern Kwangtung, and they claimed (4th February) that they were nearing the city of Kanchow, in Kiangsi. General Wedemeyer, on the 1st February, warned correspondents that a number of American air bases east of the Canton–Hankow Railway might soon fall into Japanese hands. Domei (3rd February) said that these bases were at Suichuan, Kanchow, Sincheng and Kian, with "mobile bases" at Namyung and at Kienow, in Fukien. The Americans had already destroyed the bases at Sincheng and Kienow, those at Suichuan and Namyung had remained in action during the middle of January,

but all were now captured or neutralised. The Japanese claimed to have captured 115 air bases in central and southern China in their operations during the past year and said that these could now be used by the Japanese Air Force in the event of an American landing on the south China coast.

The Koiso Government has been busy in measures designed to increase war production. Transocean (5th February) reported from Tokyo that the steps taken included closer co-operation between the military and the civil authorities; the employment even of armament workers on military tasks of national defence (which presumably means Home Guard and A.R.P. duties); the placing of young armament workers under the direct command of the military authorities; the reduction of lectures in secondary schools and universities to 12 per cent. of the former total; and the complete diversion to war purposes of all research in physics and chemistry. According to Domei the construction of underground aircraft factories has been started, while Volunteer Service Corps are being organised to speed up production in the factories.

In order to co-ordinate civil and military administrative measures in Japan there has been a reorganisation of regional Army commands and also of the civil administrative districts, composed of groups of prefectures (see this *Summary* No. 256). On the 24th January an Army ordinance established the Tohoku and Tokai districts in addition to the existing Central, Northern, Eastern and Western Army districts. This step was followed by a Home Office decree on the 31st January which abolished the Hokuroku regional administrative district and transferred its prefectures to other districts; thus making eight, instead of nine, regional districts. The Hokuroku comprises the western coastal prefectures of Ishikawa, Toyama, and Fukui. The effect of the two ordinances is to equate the Army regional zones with the prefectural groupings; the chairmen of the regional councils are to have additional powers; thus in the event of an interruption in communication with the capital, the Army zone commander and the civilian regional chairman could collaborate to take all necessary measures.

Japanese comment on the war in Europe betrays a nervousness lest the Russian victories bring about the collapse or capitulation of Germany. The Japanese press and radio have not concealed their hope that the Russians will be held on the Oder and eventually pushed back by a German counter-attack. *Domei* (3rd February) asserted that this would happen and also that General Eisenhower would not for some time be in a position to attack on a major scale on the Western front. Thus Germany would gain the time she needed and Allied attempts to drive a wedge between the German people and their Government would also be unsuccessful. What is worrying the Japanese was made plain by the *Asahi* (5th February), which said "there can be no doubt that Japan, as well as the Anglo-Americans, is wondering what attitude Russia intends to take in the war against Japan. The war against Germany has entered a decisive phase. Just as in the war against Germany, there must be a decision in the war against Japan. To-day, therefore, we must pay special attention to this point."

It was reported from Canton that Yasumitsu Fukui, the Japanese Consul at Macao, and Yasuteru Asahina, a member of his staff, had been shot at and wounded by terrorists, who were alleged to have been sent by enemy order to cause friction between Japan and Portugal. Fukui, the Japanese Consul, died of his wounds the next day (*Domei*, 3rd, 4th February).

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Comment on the good news from all fronts has been closely linked in the United States to the "Big Three" parley, the announcement of which was expected at any moment. The striking military and diplomatic successes of the U.S.S.R. were seen to strengthen Stalin's hand at the conference table, and apprehension was expressed in some quarters that, failing agreement on her terms, Russia was in a strong position to act alone. "Perhaps," observed *Time*, "Stalin thought that if he waited while his armies drove on, all Europe, including Germany, might eventually drop into his lap, because there was nowhere else for it to drop." Heinz Eulau in the *New Republic* contrasted Russia's moves with Britain's, and concluded that "Russia will probably become the most powerful State in the world." The moral generally drawn was that "on reciprocal trust of Russia, prosperity and peace are likely to depend." Columnists, such as Marquis Childs, were, however, more impressed by the "integrated and unmistakable" character of British policy, and all commentators joined in urging the Administration to take a strong line at the Conference. The

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economic strength of the United States was emphasised as America's trump-card, though opinions differed on how it should be played. They ranged from the habitual idealism of the *Christian Science Monitor* to the frank nationalism of the *New York Daily News*, which called on the President to use his bargaining position "to get flat legal title to plenty of bases in the Atlantic and Pacific" and "to keep his hands off European boundaries."

The *New York Herald-Tribune* was more representative in considering that "the irreducible minimum on which agreement must be reached is the problem of dealing with a defeated Germany." With this was closely linked the question of trying war criminals. The War Department announced on the 31st January the creation of a war-crimes section of the Judge-Advocate General's Department to gather evidence against Germans and Japanese accused of crimes against American citizens. This was thought by some observers to indicate that the United States is preparing to act alone in this matter if international action fails. Allegations by Mr. Herbert Pell that he had been ousted from his position as chief United States delegate to the War Crimes Commission because of the Government's disagreement with his forthright views, led to pertinacious questioning of Mr. Grew, Acting Secretary of State, at press conferences on the 29th January and again on the 1st February. In a broadcast Mr. Pell had revealed that he favoured the prosecution of Germans for ill-treatment of other Germans, particularly Jews, inside Germany itself, and that he was for "hanging the whole Gestapo," however many of them there turned out to be. On the 1st February Mr. Grew issued a statement citing the Moscow declaration on the treatment of war criminals and subsequent pronouncements of President Roosevelt. He told reporters that proposals prepared to implement the objectives announced by the President "provide for the punishment of German leaders and their associates for their responsibility for the whole broad criminal enterprise devised and executed with ruthless disregard of the very foundations of law and morality, including offences wherever committed, against the rules of war and against minority elements, Jewish and other groups, and individuals." The phrase, "wherever committed" was inserted at the request of the journalists, after Mr. Grew had consulted his legal advisers, and in this form the statement was commended by the press as "so far, so good." Mr. Law's similar statement for the British Government on the 31st January was also welcomed in the United States, though it was generally felt that "a fuller statement on this subject, supported by all the United Nations, would still be helpful."

Because of the lack of precise information about the agenda of the "Big Three Conference," most newspaper comment was inconclusive, if bulky. Ernest K. Lindley, who is usually supposed to know the mind of the Administration, anticipated that President Roosevelt would be prepared for far-reaching commitments and would press his own views about the organisation of peace. A statement to the press in Rome, given by Mr. Harry Hopkins on his way to the conference, lent support to this idea that a "tough" line would be taken, while an article he contributed to the current number of the *American Magazine* was taken to represent the Administration's views in its desire for compulsory military service after the war in order that the United States might take part in a prolonged occupation of Germany and Japan.

Since the speech of Senator Vandenberg, offering Republican support for an alliance to keep Germany and Japan permanently demilitarised (see *Summary* No. 276), there have been many other indications of the will to reach an agreed foreign policy. A poll conducted during the week by the *New York Times* showed fifty Senators unreservedly in favour of the Vandenberg project, thirteen in favour provided the President thought it desirable, five in favour provided it did not conflict with plans for world organisation. Four more Senators made serious reservations, but only nine replied with an unqualified negative and several of these were probably Administration supporters. With the fourteen Senators who made no reply at all, this gives considerably more than two-thirds of the Senate as favourable to an international commitment of the most entangling type. It is significant that largely as a result of his lead in foreign affairs Senator Vandenberg's stock with the Republican Party has risen very high, and his name is being mentioned as a possible candidate for the Presidency in 1948.

The letter of the sixteen freshman Senators on the 24th January endorsing the President's foreign policy has been followed by a similar letter from fifty-seven new Democratic Representatives on the 1st February, promising "to co-operate to the fullest" in seeking an enduring peace for the world. Newly-elected Republican Representatives were also reported as drafting a similar pledge. Meanwhile the State Department's drive to educate the American public in the meaning of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals has been intensified. By means

of the radio, cinema, press articles and pamphlets, travelling lecturers and hundreds of local organisations the message is being carried into every home. Before he left the United States, Mr. Stettinius had himself given a number of talks on the subject, appeared in a film and contributed to the February number of the *Readers' Digest*, a persuasive article. He was due to deliver a series of broadcasts later in the month.

A reluctance to embarrass the Administration at this critical juncture was perhaps the reason for postponing the controversy over the Secretaryship of Commerce (see *Summary* No. 278). On the 1st February, after averting immediate consideration of the nomination of Mr. Wallace by a vote of 43 to 41, Senator Barkley, the Democratic leader, persuaded the Senate by a voice vote to postpone further discussion until the 1st March. At the same time the George Bill, providing for the withdrawal of the Federal Loan Agencies from the Commerce Department, was passed by 74 to 12 and sent to the House of Representatives, where its speedy passage was confidently expected, especially as the President had signified that he would approve the Bill, if passed. It remained to be seen whether Mr. Wallace would withdraw his name, with the Secretaryship's powers so drastically curtailed.

Another Congressional measure concerning the war effort, the May Bill, misleadingly nicknamed the "Work or Fight" Bill, passed the House of Representatives by 246 to 165 on the same day and is now before the Senate Military Affairs Committee. Though a national service Bill, it does not go nearly as far as the Administration desires, but if passed in its present form is expected to direct or keep men of military age, at present deferred for one reason or another, in definite war work. The War Department's statement on casualties up to the 31st December, 1944, as totalling 737,342, and its further revelation, on the 2nd February, that men previously assigned to non-combatant duties abroad are being converted to infantry at the rate of 10,000 a month, have shown the need for a greater intake into the armed forces as well as war industries. This the May Bill does something to remedy.

Meanwhile, the news that Manila had been captured on the 4th February aroused immense enthusiasm throughout the United States, and there are now fears that over-optimism about the war in the Far East will cause some slackening of the war effort, as the successes in Europe did last summer.

(See also "France," "South-Eastern Europe" and "Latin America."

ERRATUM.

Last week's *Summary*, p. 21, line 1, for "Legislative" read "Legislature."

LATIN AMERICA.

In Argentina the Commission appointed to draft a Statute for the political parties is reported to have resumed work, and all Argentines were "reminded" (apparently on the 31st January) that their suggestions for reform must be sent to the Commission by the 31st January.

The Mexican-American Commission for Economic Co-operation has delivered to the Presidents of the United States and of Mexico a report on its activities since its formation in September 1943. The recommendation that the Commission be discontinued has been accepted by both Governments, and President Avila Camacho has expressed to President Roosevelt his gratification at its work and his hopes of future United States-Mexican co-operation on other lines. In his reply Mr. Roosevelt pointed out that, despite the demands for American industry for war material, it had been possible in 1943 to supply Mexico with more products than ever before, and that in 1944 American supplies exceeded world supplies to Mexico in any previous year.

The Mexican Ambassador to the U.S.S.R., Sr. Narciso Bassols, has presented his credentials to M. Kalinin. The new Soviet Minister, M. Nikolai Borisovich Gorelkin, has arrived in Uruguay.

In Brazil it is reported that a new electoral code will be published shortly; it will apparently be based on identity cards instead of on the old register. The Brazilian wireless hints that "the old political factions" may perhaps reorganise, possibly in the form of a National Party or as organised parties.

Disillusionment has been the most striking feature of Ecuadorean politics since Dr. Velasco Ibarra assumed the presidency in May 1944. The almost Messianic fervour with which he was hailed is now practically spent, and it is perhaps remarkable that he should have kept his heterogeneous Cabinet together for so long. A reshuffle was announced on the 31st January.

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The new draft Guatemalan Constitution contains the phrase "Guatemala declares that Belize (British Honduras) is part of her territory, and that negotiations for its reincorporation in the republic are of national interest."

UNITED NATIONS.

International Labour Organisation.

The 94th Session of the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation was held in London between the 25th and 31st January. It was preceded by meetings of two Committees set up in pursuance of resolutions adopted at the International Labour Conference at Philadelphia, May 1944, dealing with "Constitutional Questions" and "Employment" respectively. The main interest of the Conference centred round the Report of the Committee on Constitutional Questions. A discussion of the first part of this report dealing with the relations between the I.L.O. and the proposed new United Nations Organisation, led to the unanimous adoption of a resolution welcoming the progress made at Dumbarton Oaks and affirming the desire of the I.L.O. for association with the proposed new Organisation "on terms which will permit the I.L.O. with its tripartite character, to make its best contribution to the .... organisation of international machinery for the better ordering of a peaceful and prosperous world, while retaining for the I.L.O. the authority essential for the discharge of its responsibilities under its Constitution and the Declaration of Philadelphia." Attention was also drawn to certain general considerations which should be borne in mind by the Negotiating Committee of the Governing Body, set up at Philadelphia to discuss the relationship of the I.L.O. to the new Organisation with representatives of the latter. Emphasis was laid on the tripartite character of the I.L.O.; on the importance of submitting "constitutional decisions" of the Organisation direct to Governments without their previous submission to any other authority; and on the desirability of maintaining the status of the I.L.O. in the hierarchy of international organisations. The view generally expressed by members of the Workers' and Employers' Groups during the meetings was that the I.L.O. should be as closely linked with the new Organisation as it has been with the League, but that it should not be "subordinated" to the proposed Economic and Social Council. Most members of the Workers' and Employers' Groups were also of the opinion (strongly expressed by the Acting Director) that the I.L.O. should be directly represented at the proposed United Nations Conference.

The second part of the Report of the Constitutional Questions Committee resulted in a lively and interesting discussion of the effectiveness of I.L.O. procedure, during the course of which Sir John Forbes-Watson (leader of the Employers' Group made some effective criticisms of the practical operation of the I.L.O. Conventions. The Czechoslovak workers' delegate argued in favour of an increase in the representation of "Workers" in the I.L.O.; and there was some consideration of the special problem of the ratification of I.L.O. Conventions by federal States.

Probably the most important decisions of the Governing Body related to the establishment of international committees for particular industries. A list of seven major industries for which international committees (with appropriate secretariats) should be appointed was agreed; and it was decided, after considerable discussion, that these committees should be *tripartite* (Government, Worker, Employer) not, as in the case of the Joint Maritime Commission, *bipartite* (Worker, Employer—with a neutral Chairman). There can be no doubt that the establishment of these Committees is likely to be the most important development of the work of the I.L.O. since it was itself established at the end of the last war.

The problematical return of the Soviet Union to the I.L.O. was again the subject of a considerable speculation; but, beyond making it plain that the door was wide open, it was not suggested that any further action should be taken for the time being to induce the Russians to return to the fold. A formal application from the Italian Government for the re-admission of Italy to membership was placed on the agenda of the next meeting of the Governing Body (to be held at Quebec, probably in June, with a view to the preparation of a report to the next ordinary session of the Conference (to be held, if possible, in France during the autumn). Meanwhile, it was decided to appoint an I.L.O. representative in Rome as soon as possible "to facilitate the supply of information to the Italian Government and to Italian organisations of employers and workers."

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary
No. 280

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
14TH FEBRUARY, 1945.

Copy No. 183

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

THE importance of holding the line of the Oder—"the river of German destiny in the East," as Dittmar called it—has dominated German comment on the situation during the past week. On the 6th, Kriegk said that, first of all, Germany must "hold back bolshevism on the Oder" and then stop the expected new attacks of the Anglo-United States divisions in the West. Maegerlein told his listeners on the same day that the opposing forces on the Oder in the Silesian area were, "on the whole, of equal strength," and on the 8th the home public were again assured that the Germans had "a very strong concentration of military power on the Oder line" and that while some Russian bridge-heads had been slightly extended, others had been eliminated. According to the High Command these bridge-heads were being hotly contested and their extension prevented. The overall picture presented by the communiqués was one of fierce defensive fighting, with occasional limited counter-thrusts by the German forces. The O.K.W. admitted on the 9th, however, that the fighting had extended close to the outskirts of Liegnitz. On the 10th it said that the Russians had gained ground to the west in the "Breslau–Liegnitz–Glogau area." Ley wrote in the *Angriff*, in a very confident tone, of his visit to the Oder front. "It is a great miracle," he said, "that for the most part the enemy has been held at the Oder. Even if the enemy is successful at one or other bridge-head in front of Neisse or Liegnitz, it does not alter the fact that he has been held." On the following day, however, the communiqué announced the fall of Liegnitz. The German public still await the expected counter-blow. Krull said on the 10th that "the mystery about the manner, place and extent of the expected German initiative remains impenetrable." There are warnings of fresh attacks to come, in both East and West.

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German reports of the Allied offensive on the western front tend to belittle the progress so far made, while comment for Europe forecasts much bigger things to come very soon. On the 10th the O.K.W. said that the "twenty-one days' battle for the bridge-head in Upper Alsace" had been concluded and the German forces withdrawn to the east bank of the Rhine.

Dittmar gave his listeners a gloomy picture of the situation. Quoting Frederick the Great, he compared Germany to a tight-rope walker, for whom the slightest slip means "a deadly fall." He rather obviously did his best to toe the Party line. Admitting the terrible sufferings of the people, he said this was no worse than the fate which would overtake Germany should she lay down arms unconditionally. Even if the struggle were hopeless, he said, it would be better to go on resisting. Unconditional surrender was a demand for suicide. He specifically defended Germany's leaders against charges that they were prolonging the war—"the war is not prolonged by those people who call for resistance to the utmost but by those who think that the peace of the graveyard reigning over Germany is the peace they want." His main assurance was the somewhat negative one that the High Command had not let itself be "stampeded" into "operations for propping up resistance," which would have meant a danger of frittering away its resources.

Having said so much to order, Dittmar proceeded to make some startling statements regarding dislocation in the East. He told his listeners that fighting in one's own country had certain definite disadvantages, and that "real or even only apparent failure of administrative machinery" had an influence on the troops. He went on to say that, "moved by pity for their compatriots fleeing from their hearths and homes," these troops would frequently direct their sympathy to the wrong quarters. It is possible that something serious lies behind such veiled references. One recent report speaks of evacuees travelling in cattle-trucks while S.S. officials travelled in comfort. The resentment of the evacuees was so great that a riot began, in which troops took the part of the evacuees. Incidents such as these may well have occurred on other occasions and would substantiate Dittmar's general phrases.

Goebbels, in his weekly article, was very realistic. The Soviet winter offensive, he said, had radically changed the military situation in the East. He obviously wished to show that the leaders are aware of the feeling that further resistance is senseless, but nevertheless the fight must go on because there is no alternative. He assured his readers that "the flood from the steppes will be stemmed, and that at a time when the danger is at its greatest and is visible to everyone. Until then we must keep a cool head." This article, like many others of the week, seemed to have been written with an eye to developments of the meeting of Allied leaders. The contents of the statement issued at the close of the meeting are analysed below. (See under "United Nations.")

The behaviour of Nazis in posts of special responsibility is of unusual interest at the present moment. It is already clear that Himmler has made public examples of some high officials. On the 28th January the Forces service announced the public execution of the Deputy Mayor of Breslau, Spielhagen, as "a coward devoid of honour," and two days later the news was given to the home public with the explanation that he had "intended to leave Breslau and seek a new post elsewhere." He was executed by order of the Gauleiter, Hanke. On the 6th February the German people heard that Himmler himself had handed over several officials to be court-martialled, who had "proved themselves unworthy in these days of trial." Von Salisch, former S.S. *Standartenführer* and head of the Bromberg police, was reduced to the ranks and shot for "cowardice and neglect of duty." Kühn, former *Regierungspräsident*, and Ernst, the former Mayor of Bromberg, were degraded and sent to a penal battalion. Bormann took similar action in the case of Rampf, the Bromberg *Kreisleiter*. On the 9th it was announced that Floeter, Mayor of Königsberg (a small town just east of the Oder), and a holder of the Party Badge of Honour, had been sentenced by court-martial and hanged for leaving his town without an evacuation order. The authorities show concern, by their prompt and ruthless action and by the frequent allusions to the subject in talks and articles, as to the possible effects of such desertions by officials on the civilian population, and, more important, on the troops defending the front-line towns. Hahn, in his *Das Reich* article of the 4th February, said: "Admittedly a person who should have been the last to leave might here and there have been the very first to seek safety in flight." On the 7th February Saal found it necessary to deny suggestions in a broadcast, said to be from a "United States radio station in Europe," that Goebbels or any of the Party leaders were leaving Berlin. "None of the German leaders think of

leaving Berlin, least of all Goebbels, who did not conquer Berlin only to abandon her in her hour of danger and hardest test." While the faithless are punished, the loyal servant is rewarded with greater responsibility, as police changes in Hamburg, Lübeck and Magdeburg bear witness. The most important of these is perhaps the return of S.S. General Schrœder to the post of Police President of Lübeck after three years as S.S. chief in Latvia.

Himmler continues to extend his power, both military and civil, in the East. According to one report he received full powers on the Eastern front from Hitler on the 21st January. The first indication of this quickly appeared in a *Front und Heimat* article broadcast on the 23rd, which said: "The Führer has sent his best army commanders, and men of iron determination such as the *Reichsführer*—S.S. Heinrich Himmler, to the focal points of the battle. They have been given complete power and will make radical decisions and guarantee the command." It was not clear, possibly not intended to be clear, from this reference, whether Himmler was acting as policeman or as soldier. A few days later he was reported to have visited the front. But it has now been revealed that he has assumed actual military command. No official announcement was made, but Schwarz van Berk, on the 8th, in the course of a review of the situation in the East, casually mentioned "instances which occurred in the sector of the Army group under the command of *Reichsführer* S.S. Heinrich Himmler." This sector is presumably the Centre, since Marienwerder and Torun are mentioned as being within it. That one who is not a soldier should now command a group of German armies must be striking and not altogether encouraging news to the discerning public. It will almost certainly strengthen the popular impression that Himmler now controls Germany's destiny, both military and civil. Herbert Hahn, writing in *Das Reich* on the 4th February, stated that the total evacuation of a district, which has hitherto been ordered by the Führer only, may now be carried out in the East by Himmler's order. A "delegate of the *Reichsführer S.S.*" has been appointed for Pomerania and entrusted with "the utilisation of the entire strength of rear areas." Whether this means that Himmler exercises within each *Gau* powers other than those he already enjoys as head of the Home Army and the Volkssturm is not as yet clear.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

Under the direction of State Secretary K. H. Frank, German defence measures in the Protectorate, and especially in North-East Moravia, which is now immediately threatened by Koniev's army, are being pushed forward energetically. The protection of the railways has been still further strengthened; the number of Germans in the Protectorate war industries has been increased; major formations of German troops, according to one source, are being concentrated in Central Moravia; and the call-up of Czechs for fortifications work has been intensified; 4,000 Czechs were reported to be already employed on defence work on the Austrian border and a new call-up has yielded a further 65,000, of whom over 50,000 are to be employed immediately, probably in the neighbourhood of Moravská Ostrava, while the rest will be kept as a reserve.

Similar, though much more ragged and ineffectual, preparations are being made in Slovakia, where the activities of partisans and the "indifference" of the population are openly admitted. Volkssturm units from Vienna have been brought to Bratislava and unwilling Volksdeutsche from the eastern regions have been evacuated. Meanwhile Slovak Government spokesmen continue to deliver pathetic speeches of defiance and diatribes of hate against the Czechs and the Bolsheviks.

The Czechoslovak Government delegate for liberated territory has now moved from Ruthenia to Košice. Local National committees are being elected in all the liberated Slovak communities, including Košice and Prešov, and according to Czechoslovak reports good progress is being made with repair work, enrolment into General Svoboda's Army Corps, the restoration of public services and the weeding out of collaborators. In London the Czechoslovak Government has summoned a ministerial committee to meet this week to deal with "questions connected with the transfer to the homeland of the State machinery abroad."

The Czechoslovak and Netherlands Governments have concluded an agreement by which each undertakes to facilitate the repatriation of displaced nationals of the other country who may find themselves on its territory. The Czechoslovak Government signed a similar agreement with the French Provisional Government in November 1944 (see *Summary* No. 270).

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POLAND.

The official statement issued on the 12th February, at the conclusion of the Crimea Conference, recorded that agreement had been reached "on the conditions in which a new Polish Provisional Government may be formed in such a manner as to command recognition by the three major Powers." The Provisional Government at present functioning in Poland should be "reorganised on a broader democratic basis, with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland itself and from Poles abroad"; and a Commission composed of M. Molotov, Mr. Harriman and Sir Archibald Clark Kerr was authorised to consult with these several elements, in the first instance in Moscow, to that end. The new Government thus formed should be called "the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity," and should be pledged to the holding of free elections as soon as possible, on the basis of universal suffrage and the secret ballot, all democratic and anti-Nazi parties having the right to take part and to put forward candidates.

With the Provisional Government formed on those lines the Governments of the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom and the United States would establish diplomatic relations, and would exchange Ambassadors "by whose reports the respective Governments would be kept informed about the situation in Poland." The three Heads of Governments considered, it was further stated, "that the eastern frontier of Poland should follow the Curzon Line, with digressions from it in some regions of five to eight kilometres in favour of Poland." They recognised that Poland must receive substantial accessions of territory in the north and west; and they felt that the opinion of the new Provisional Government of National Unity should be sought in due course on the extent of these accessions, and that the final delimitations of Poland's western frontier should thereafter await the Peace Conference.

The Polish Ambassador in London was notified on the 12th February of these decisions, which the Polish Cabinet met to consider on the 13th. In a statement issued after this meeting, the Polish Government declared that the decisions of the Three-Power Conference were taken without its participation, authorisation or knowledge, and could neither be recognised by it nor bind the Polish nation. The Polish Government would consider the severance of the eastern half of the territory of Poland as "a fifth partition of Poland now accomplished by her allies." Moreover, the creation of a Provisional Polish Government of National Unity on the lines proposed "can only legalise Soviet interference in Polish internal affairs"; a Government of that kind could not, while Polish territory remained under the sole occupation of Soviet troops, safeguard the unfettered right of free expression. Finally, the statement reaffirmed the Polish Government's readiness, expressed in its recent memorandum to the British and United States Governments, to "co-operate in the creation of a Government in Poland truly representative of the will of the Polish nation."

On the 8th February a farewell Order issued by the Commander of the Home Army, disbanding it and releasing its members from their oath, was published in London; in a broadcast message to the Home Army on the same day, President Raczkiewicz broadcast to Poland a message of farewell and thanks to the Home Army.

On the 5th February the Warsaw Administration decreed the withdrawal of all Reich German currency (excluding specie) circulating in those liberated Polish areas which were formerly incorporated in the Reich. Up to the 28th, Polish and Allied private persons might exchange sums up to RM.500 against Polish National Bank notes at the rate of RM.2 = 1 zloty. Special regulations were also decreed for the withdrawal of "Cracow zlotys" in those areas of the former "General Government" which had been liberated since the 6th January, and which were not covered by the decree of that date (see *Summary* No. 278).

SOVIET UNION.

During the past week General Cherniakhovsky's troops in East Prussia have continued to close slowly in on Königsberg from the east and south. Further west Marshal Rokossovsky captured Elbing on the 10th February, thus broadening and consolidating the wedge which the Red Army has driven between the German troops in East Prussia and the Reich. In Pomerania Marshal Zhukov has penetrated German territory to a depth of 35 miles on a front which now extends for 130 miles. The most important advance of the week, however, has been that of Marshal Koniev. An order of the day, dated the 6th February, announced that his troops had established bridgeheads across the Oder north of Breslau; by

the 12th February they had reached Bunzlau, 60 miles west of Breslau. This push already means that the German troops in Silesia have little chance of escape except over the mountains into Bohemia; if it can be developed, it will outflank Frankfurt, where the Germans have held Marshal Zhukov on the Oder, and threaten Berlin from the south. In Polish Silesia General Petrov captured Bielsko, in the Carpathian foothills, on the 12th February. There have been no reports of progress in Slovakia from the Russian side. On the 13th February an Order of the Day announced that Budapest had fallen at the end of three months' fighting.

Mr. Arthur Herbert Birse, Second Secretary and Translator at the British Embassy, Moscow, has been awarded the Order of the Red Banner of Labour for his successful work as translator to the Prime Minister during the Tehran Conference and at subsequent meetings. While British statesmen like Lord Beaverbrook and Mr. Lyttelton have been decorated by the Soviet Government, this award to a member of the British Embassy staff in Moscow is exceptional.

The appeal to all Christians issued by the Sobor (General Assembly) of the Russian Church noted in last week's *Summary* has been followed by a similar message to the peoples of the whole world from the visiting Patriarchs and Prelates of the Orthodox Church outside the U.S.S.R. who attended the Patriarchal election in Moscow. This message, like the former, condemned those who were pleading for mercy for the Hitlerites, but explicitly named the Vatican as the chief culprit in this connexion. The internal affairs of the Russian Church were dealt with in a message from the Sobor to "the Prelates, Pastors and all true children of the Russian Church" published in *Izvestiya* on the 6th February, but not broadcast. The message, which was a striking departure from anything hitherto put out by the revived Moscow Patriarchate, referred to "unhealthy signs" which negligence had allowed "to cloud the purity of the Bride of Christ." The self-sacrifice of churchmen in the patriotic war, their religious enthusiasm and unity in rallying round the Patriarchate and the almost complete extinction of the "Living Church" schism dating from 1918, were said to be indeed matters for thankfulness, but the Sobor referred with distress to negligence, even on the part of many pastors, in the observances of Church life. The fact that even church-goers were dispensing with the religious forms of marriage, that fasts were not always observed even by the clergy, and that there had been a gradual decline in confession and absolution before receiving communion were particularly deplored. There was also a reference in the message to numerous impostors who were daring to administer the sacraments without being properly ordained, and whom the faithful, inadequately instructed as they were, were unable to distinguish from true priests. The message concluded by urging that Orthodox Christians should be animated by as fervent a spirit in fighting deviations from the true way of Church life as the people of the Soviet Union had shown in resisting the enemy. The Russian Church "would then shine in piety and in faith as in olden times and serve as a support of the might and prosperity of the country, founding the Kingdom of God upon Earth." It is indeed a startling sign of the times that such a message exhorting Christians to fulfil their religious duties should have been published in an official Soviet organ.

Spanish affairs have recently been coming once more into the foreground in Moscow. An article in *The War and the Working Class*, broadcast on the Soviet European Service in Spanish on the 3rd February, strongly criticised all suggestions that some sort of military dictatorship should be substituted for Franco, "whose bankruptcy sooner or later is a certainty in view of Hitlerite Germany's inevitable defeat." Señor Salvador de Madariaga's scheme for the replacement of Franco by a liberal general who would make way for a restoration of the monarchy was described as "the invention of an oddity under the influence of opium." The plans of Indalecio Prieto and of Maura in Paris were equally dismissed; "the liquidation of a Fascist régime cannot be caused by a mere change of label." The Spanish Republic should be restored above all by those Spaniards who had organised the forces of resistance inside the country during the past years. The article ended by affirming the deep sympathy of the Soviet people for the heroic Spaniards who for three years withstood "the first blow struck by the forces in league with the Fascist aggressors," and by suggesting that the third world war might well be hatched in Spain if the country could not rid itself of control by German financiers and industrialists. This danger could not be averted by any change over of personalities but only by returning to the Spanish people full liberty independently to arrange their own destiny.

The Moscow wireless (7th February) came out with a vigorous direct attack on Franco Spain as Germany's last ally and a "channel for the propagation of

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Fascism in the Western Hemisphere." Madrid was described as the advance post of the German espionage service, and Franco as the active conductor of German plans for the preparation of a third world war.

Tass (5th February) reported a meeting of Spanish Republicans, including Señor Alvarez del Vayo, held in Mexico on the 29th January. In contrast to the unrealistic exiles castigated in *The War and the Working Class* "who felt more at home in no man's land than in the trenches," those present at the meeting in Mexico were described as making solid plans for the unification of Spanish Republicans with the aim of opening the way for a Republican Government led by Dr. Negrín.

The space and prominence recently allocated by the Soviet press and wireless to the World Trade Union Conference and future international trade union organisation reflects the high political significance attached to these questions in the Soviet Union. Though comment has been profuse, a few basic recurring points emerge. (These points also predominated in the opening speech of M. Vassily Kuznetsov, leader of the Soviet delegation at the World Trade Union Conference.) They may be summarised as follows: (1) The importance of working-class unity in democratic countries for the final defeat of Hitlerite Germany; (2) an appeal to workers' organisations to throw their political influence into a struggle against all survivals of pro-Fascist policy and against all who sow dissension in the United Nations' ranks; (3) the necessity for a new international trade union organisation; (4) insistence on the disintegration of the "bankrupt Amsterdam International" (always coupled with charges of pro-Fascism) and of "all obsolete and glaringly unfit forms of organisation which have not met the test of history"; (5) the importance of effective international trade union co-operation for "the most advanced class in modern society—the working class." On the eve of the World Trade Union Conference, *Trud* (the organ of the Soviet trade unions) expressed alarm at an "obviously inspired Reuter report" that the International Federation of Trade Unions ("the Amsterdam International") was unlikely to be replaced by a new world organisation of trade unions and that a modernisation of the old trade union structure might be contemplated. In a later article during the Conference *Trud* exhorted the democratic trade unions to insist on their Governments breaking off relations with the Fascist régimes of Spain, Portugal and the Argentine. Thus, the Soviet thesis is that the trade unions of the world should become a major political force and a lever for political action along unified lines in their respective countries in the post-war world. In the course of these articles on trade unionism, Anglo-Soviet trade union co-operation is praised for having given "a fillip to the idea of establishing closer business-like contact between the trade unions of the U.S.S.R. and other democratic countries."

SCANDINAVIA.

On the 8th February Major-General Marthinsen, the chief of Quisling's State Police and commander of the Hird from July 1943, was ambushed and shot on the way to his office. While no sympathy need be wasted on the victim, who seems to have been a typical Nazi ruffian, the incident has raised in many minds, Norwegian as well as English, the legitimate place of political assassination in the operations of an underground front. The liquidation of spies and informers may no doubt be justified as a necessary act of self-protection, which saves the lives and liberty of many deserving persons, but the elimination by such means of individuals in general command is more questionable, and is probably better left to the post-war machinery for the trial and punishment of war criminals. It seems probable, indeed, that the act in question was perpetrated by irresponsible individuals, without any encouragement from the authorised leadership of the Home Front.

It has produced an immediate holocaust of reprisals. Jonas Lie was immediately equipped by Quisling with extraordinary powers for the maintenance of order, and on the same day eight patriots were shot by judgment of the N.S. special court, and eleven others by that of German courts-martial brought into action by a state of emergency proclaimed by Terboven over the whole of occupied Norway. The following day, 9th February, saw the execution of fifteen more persons, five by the sentence of Norwegian courts and ten of German. There has been no attempt to attach responsibility for the death of Marthinsen to any of these thirty-four victims: all of them, indeed, were under arrest before the occurrence, and many of them for two or three months. Ostensibly, they

were executed for other illegal activities, but no serious effort has been made to suggest that they would have suffered death but for the killing of the head of the State Police. The death of Marthinsen figured prominently in a press conference addressed by Jonas Lie and SS. Colonel Feylis on the 9th February, on the subject of Norwegian underground activities.

An exceedingly daring and successful operation was carried out towards the end of last week by Norwegian patriots, or, according to some reports, Norwegian commandos smuggled into Norway from Great Britain. Eleven tugs and a salvage vessel were stolen from Frederikstad harbour and taken across to Sweden, where they were interned. One of the boats was lying actually alongside a German warship, while another was operated by its captors for a whole day towing targets for German gun-practice, before it made good its escape.

The transfer of German troops from North Norway has been increasingly delayed by the shortage of fuel and locomotives. Until nearly the end of January this transfer was proceeding at the rate of about 500 men daily, but this figure has recently dropped to about 350–370. In the Tröndelag area, only 79 locomotives out of a total of 128 are at present in running order.

In connexion with the questions raised as to the war-guilt of members of former Finnish Governments, a committee has been set up under the chairmanship of Eirik Hornborg, a Finish historian, to make an objective survey of the recent foreign policy of Finland. Left-wing views are represented on the Committee by Dr. Eino Pekkala and M. Ruutu, but its composition seems to be largely academic. Hornborg's appointment is, however, severely criticised by the Communist organ *Vapaa Sana* on the ground of his alleged anti-Russian bias, and his authorship of a pamphlet defending the Ryti–Tanner alliance with Hitler. *Aftonposten*, on the other hand, approves of the selection of Hornborg, and considers his impartiality beyond question, but criticises the appointment of Eino Pekkala as a near relative of the Minister of the same name. The latter is no doubt a member of the Social Democrat opposition at present, but was also a member of the Government which entered the war against Russia in 1941. The Finnish Communists appear to be far more vindictive than the Russians themselves in the matter of war-criminals, and *Vapaa Sana* has expressed the view that they will be punished irrespective of the views of the President. If Finnish law stands in the way, the Communists urge that special legislation should be passed.

There have been rumours, mainly voiced in Communist circles, as by the Swedish Communist paper *Norrskensflamman*, to the effect that a number of German Nazis have been able to enter Sweden on Finnish passports. The persons specifically mentioned appear to be naturalised Finnish citizens though of German birth. A somewhat similar question has been raised in *Göteborgs Handelstidning*, which alleges rumours worth investigation as to the existence of a "Jumpers-off Club" in Stockholm, the activities of which are promoted by a German journalist who came from Finland. The object is said to be to procure the illegal return to Germany of persons purporting to have abandoned the Nazi Party, who will, after arrival, organise an underground movement against the Allies in Germany.

Danish patriots brought off on the 7th February a somewhat similar *coup* to that mentioned earlier in connexion with Norway. They secretly boarded the dredger *Storebjörn* and forced the captain to steer for Sweden, where the boat eventually arrived with twenty-six refugees.

The German authorities have demanded the disarmament of the Sommer Corps, an organisation of Danish Nazis resembling the Schalburg Corps. Most of the personnel are, however, enrolled in the auxiliary police (Hilfspolizei or Hipo, assisting the Gestapo), and the measure is therefore regarded as designed to bring all Danish Nazis under direct German control.

Rumours have been circulating in Denmark to the effect that the population should rise in open revolt against the Germans on the 15th February. This report is ascribed to London and ridiculed by the Danish radio, but there seems reason to think that it is a German attempt to provoke premature action.

THE LOW COUNTRIES.

The Dutch Cabinet has resigned in circumstances which were thus explained by Radio Orange on the 8th. The course of the war had resulted in the liberation of most of the Southern Netherlands with a population of some 2 million, but the Northern Netherlands were still subject to the German occupation. The Dutch Government, which had always intended to resign upon the total liberation

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of the country, had now authorised the Prime Minister to tender to Queen Wilhelmina the resignation of the whole Cabinet. This had been done to enable the Queen to remodel the Cabinet in accordance with present conditions; the new Cabinet, however, would resign as soon as the whole of the Netherlands had been freed. Moreover, M. Albarda and Dr. van den Tempel, the Socialist Ministers of Waterways and Social Affairs, had resigned because they were not in agreement with the methods employed by Dr. Gerbrandy to secure the resignation of M. Burger. Queen Wilhelmina was considering whether or no she would accept the resignations, and, meanwhile, had asked Dr. Gerbrandy so to reconstruct the Cabinet that it should contain representatives of the liberated Netherlands, and should be in a position to make the utmost use of the forces in the liberated Netherlands in taking measures to meet the situation that would arise when the rest of the country had been freed. Dr. Gerbrandy had requested the Queen to give him time to consider whether or no he would undertake the task.

In a letter to *The Times* M. Albarda explained further that he and Dr. van den Tempel had not differed from their colleagues on the policy to be adopted towards collaborators; the sole reason for their resignation had been the actual procedure adopted by the Prime Minister in the matter of M. Burger's resignation. He added that their resignation had not been the cause of the attempt to reconstruct the Cabinet. "The desirability and possibility of doing so existed before as the result of both vacancies to be filled and the fact of re-established contacts in the liberated areas."

The fate of the Pierlot Government was decided by the debate in the Chamber which began on the 6th. M. Buset, the Socialist who moved the vote of censure, accused the Government of slackness and inefficiency in every sphere; they had failed to prosecute the purge with due vigour, to reorganise the Army on a sound basis, to make proper use of the Resistance Movement, and adequately to organise the distribution and supply of food and coal. Why had not supplies been imported? Granted that account must be taken of military needs, none the less Belgium's Allies, especially the English, were not deficient in understanding, and the Belgian Government should make vigorous representations to them; in so doing, it would have the country behind it.

A Liberal spokesman declared that his Party had lost confidence in the Government. A Catholic spokesman attacked the Socialists for having demanded the resignation of the Socialist Ministers before the debate (see last *Summary*); he then defended the Government on some points and criticised it on others, and concluded with an appeal for national unity. A Communist Deputy declared that his Party associated themselves with M. Buset's criticisms of the Government. M. Pierlot defended the Government and complained sharply of the Press, which had not treated it fairly. The Government, he added, had done its best in difficult circumstances. But conditions in Belgium could not substantially improve until imports and exports had greatly increased. The Government had obtained promises from the Allies; but those promises had not been fully kept; hence the daily ration was still one of 1,500 calories instead of 2,400. The Government had 200,000 tons of wheat in Canada and 200,000 tons of food in the Congo, apart from stocks of palm oil. But military needs had prevented the Allies from making more shipping available. After touching on certain other points M. Pierlot concluded by warning the house that the question of Communist participation in a new Government was probably about to be raised. After his experiences, he himself would not like to have Communist colleagues. Others, however, might think differently.

The whole tone—and not merely the conclusion—of M. Pierlot's speech showed that he knew his Ministry was doomed, and little surprise was caused when soon after the resumption of the debate on the 7th he rose and declared that, since it was obvious that the Government had not the confidence of the Chamber, he felt it his duty to report the position to the Prince Regent. The House then adjourned without dividing.

The Regent asked M. van Acker, a Socialist who had been Minister of Labour in M. Pierlot's Cabinet, to form a new Ministry. On the 11th it was announced that M. van Acker had been successful. The new Cabinet is not, as some had desired, a purely Left-wing coalition. The refusal of the Christian Democrats to break away from the Conservative Catholics made such a coalition impossible. But M. van Acker was able to form a Ministry which included representatives of the Right-wing and Left-wing Catholics of the Socialists, of the Liberals and the Communists. The Cabinet contains six Catholics, five Socialists, four Liberals, two Communists and one member who belongs to no party. M. Spaak remains Foreign Minister and has become Deputy Prime

Minister. The Ministry of the Interior has gone to a Liberal, and Catholics have been appointed to the Ministries of Finance and Justice; a Communist has had the courage to accept the Ministry of Food. The Communist Party is said to have promised to give the new Government genuine support and will probably find it difficult to avoid doing so, as one of its members holds so responsible a post. The Government, however, has yet to ascertain whether it can command the support of Parliament. It is quite likely that the Catholic Conservatives will sooner or later try to wreck it and it is in any case tolerably certain that storms will blow up both inside and outside Parliament unless larger supplies of food and coal soon become available. It is a good omen that the coal strikes have practically ceased, but the fact that M. van Acker has assumed the functions of what is virtually a Minister of Fuel shows that the coal problem is not yet solved.

See also under "France" and "United States."

FRANCE.

The headquarters of the First French Army announced on the 9th February that the enemy had been driven from the Alsatian plain and that the Allied forces were now on the Rhine for the whole length of the First Army sector. General Eisenhower has asked General Devers, the Commander of the Sixth Army Group, to convey his congratulations to General Delattre de Tassigny and to all the forces under his command. In an order of the day addressed to the First French Army General Devers mentioned that they had taken over 15,000 prisoners.

General de Gaulle spent the week-end in Alsace and Lorraine and visited Mulhouse, Colmar, Strasbourg, Saverne and Metz. At Strasbourg he attended a *Te Deum* in the Cathedral. In a speech at the Town Hall he said that Alsace "on our Rhine" had a great future, and both at Strasbourg and at Metz he declared that the Rhine must become a great French highway.

General de Gaulle's broadcast speech of the 5th February (see last *Summary*) gave rise to fresh and sharper press complaints of France's exclusion from the Crimea Conference. Wireless comment on the decisions of the Conference, and in particular on the invitation to France to take a zone of occupation in Germany and to participate as a fourth member of the Control Commission, has been generally favourable but unenthusiastic. The Government is understood to be making a detailed study of the communiqué issued by the "Big Three."

In a recent interview published by the *Knickerbocker Weekly* M. Henri Bonnet, the new French Ambassador in Washington, has expressed sympathy with the action of the Netherlands Government in reserving the right to claim territory from Germany as compensation for Dutch land which has been deliberately ruined. Similar sympathy was expressed to the Free Dutch News Agency on the 9th February by M. Offroy, a spokesman of the Quai d'Orsay. M. Offroy also drew attention to the reference in General de Gaulle's speech to France's desire for control all along the Rhine (see last *Summary*), and said: "If you look at the map you will see that there is room enough for changes. In the end Holland might well have the same claims as France."

The situation in the Levant States continues to cause misunderstandings and to embarrass Anglo-French relations. Every effort is, however, being made to impress on the French Government the need for moderation in order to prevent the outbreak of disturbances which can only be detrimental to the interests of Great Britain and France. The recent approach made by the Syrian authorities to ascertain French requirements is now being considered by the French Government. In conversation M. Dejean, the Political Director at the Quai d'Orsay, has said that France had only two requirements in the Levant, oil and security. A weak country like Syria needed the protection of a great Power and this France was able and anxious to provide. If the States were reluctant to recognise France's "predominant position" he saw no reason why the words "special interests" should not be used instead. (See also under "Middle East.")

Captain Fouché, the French representative in Warsaw in charge of French prisoners of war in Poland, Silesia and East Prussia, estimates that over 150,000 Frenchmen have now been liberated. They belong to three categories: prisoners of war proper; political prisoners; and deportees. The Polish authorities have undertaken to keep where they are the Frenchmen found in camps and to concentrate those who are found wandering in special encampments. In a broadcast on the 9th February M. Frenay warned listeners against newspaper reports that repatriation would take place within two months. The difficulties

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of transport while the battle on the Eastern front was still in progress made this quite impossible. French families must be patient and trust to the authorities to have proper care of their men and to repatriate them as quickly as military operations permit.

M. Pleven is said to be very well pleased with his recent talks in London with the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The readiness of His Majesty's Government to place all available information about French holdings in the United Kingdom at the disposal of the French Government has given much satisfaction. Inspired French comment suggests that the French Government are now ready to open negotiations for a financial and payments agreement with Great Britain.

The meeting of the Council of Ministers on the 6th February decided that the municipal and cantonal elections originally intended to take place in February (see *Summary* No. 262) should be held on the 29th April and the 13th May and on the 20th May and 3rd June respectively. The Government thus appears to have reversed its decision that elections should take place in each department as soon as the necessary preparations were completed.

The Consultative Assembly reassembled on the 6th February. It has before it the formidable task of considering the budget for 1945, but cannot make much progress as yet since it has so far received estimates for only a few Ministries, and the draft of the Finance Bill, setting out proposed means of expenditure, has yet to be submitted to it.

SWITZERLAND.

The economic negotiations, in which a French delegation is also taking part, opened on the 12th February. In the temporary absence through illness of Professor Keller, Professor Rappard is acting as Chairman on the Swiss side.

At a press conference held before the official opening of the talks Dr. Laughlin Currie read a statement on behalf of the three visiting delegations. This made it clear that among the matters raised would be Switzerland's economic relations with Germany, transit traffic between Germany and Italy and the question of enemy possessions concealed in Switzerland. The pill was, however, sweetened by the assurance that the delegations had come "to give as well as to receive"—with special reference to the Swiss needs for food supplies, fodder, raw material and transport facilities over sea and land—and by an expression of the belief that Switzerland could "give substantial support to the reconstruction of Europe."

Mr. Dingle Foot, speaking for the British delegation, said that British public opinion had been greatly impressed by the way in which the Swiss press had maintained its freedom of opinion even in the darkest days.

It is reported that some thirty Swiss citizens resident in France lost their lives at the hands of the German occupation forces or in the disorders accompanying liberation.

SPAIN.

Recent interest in Spanish affairs has been focussed upon figures and events outside rather than inside Spain. Some prominence was given in the British press to reports about the correspondence between General Franco and the Prime Minister, which had their origin, in the way these things happen, in the United States press some weeks ago. There is as yet no mention in the Spanish press of this publicity which cannot be welcome to General Franco. Apart from this, it is the extra-mural activities of the opponents in exile of the régime which have been attracting most attention. For instance, the arrival in London of Señor López Oliván, political adviser to the Spanish Pretender, has caused much journalistic speculation. Some papers have linked his name with those of Indalecio Prieto, Gil Robles and Negrín, the suggestion being that the imminent presence of all these gentlemen in London is a sign that this metropolis has been chosen as the preliminary headquarters of a United Spanish Exiles' Front against the present régime. It is an idea worthy of the pen of David Low, but it has less relation to reality than most of his cartoons. In fact, Señor Oliván, a career diplomat, who for a few weeks in the summer of 1936 was Ambassador in London, is here for the meeting of the Supervisory Commission of the League of Nations, at which the future of the Permanent Court of International Justice is to be discussed. Since the outbreak of the Civil War, Señor Oliván has been Registrar of the Court; he joined Don Juan in 1941 as the young Prince's tutor in constitutional law, and thereafter became his chief adviser. There are no indications that Señor Oliván has come here with any hopes of finding political support in this country.

The prospect of the coincidental appearance in London of Señor Gil Robles, Don Juan's chief political backer outside Spain, not unnaturally excited the curiosity of the diplomatic correspondents. Here, again, this is no conspiratorial gambit. Exile in Portugal has not been an undisturbed reclusion for Robles—his long-range skirmishes with Franco have been reported in previous *Summaries*—and a few months ago he was obliged by the Portuguese authorities to move north from Estoril to Bussaco (where in a famous battle Wellington beat Masséna in September 1810). Robles then had the idea of joining his master in Lausanne, and was granted a visa to pass through this country on his way to Switzerland. He will presumably be arriving shortly, but he is not likely to stay long in London, and he will certainly not be able to ask Don Juan for "albricias," like the messengers in old Spanish plays who always demanded a reward for bringing good tidings.

Dr. Negrín is another, but outward-bound traveller; he has left our shores for France, where he is reported to be busy planning and plotting, whether with or against Señor Maura is not clear. Maura is still busy conspiring against Franco, though with perhaps a little less publicity, from the commodious flat near the Invalides which he alleges the French Government have placed at his disposal. He spends a great part of his day receiving visitors, some of whom he impresses with frequent and cordial conversations with Cabinet Ministers on a dead telephone. Negrín will be returning to London shortly as he wishes to go to Mexico, where the rump *Cortes* held in Mexico City on the 10th January was a complete fiasco because no one attended save the supporters of the *Junta de Liberación* directed by Martinez Barrio and Indalecio Prieto. Barrio, the last President of the Republican *Cortes*, called another meeting of Deputies, who decided that nothing could be done until Negrín and the "Government" could be present. It is extremely hard to pin down Negrín to any definite statement of intention, but there are indications that he may be proposing to do a deal with Barrio to the possible detriment of Prieto. There is certainly a lot of telegram talk about closing the ranks and healing the breach. As for Prieto, he was invited to attend the World Trade Union Conference now being held in London, and His Majesty's Government raised no objection. In the event, however, he has not arrived.

To complete the list, Señora Dolores Ibarruri, better known as "La Pasionaria," the fiery Muse of Communist oratory, proposes to leave Russia and go to Paris. So, of all these Spaniards, Robles, Negrín and "La Pasionaria," of very different political faith, each convinced that the salvation of Spain lies at the end of one road only, are now hopefully setting out along that road. And the waiting-rooms of the airports of Europe will be full of the smoke of the endless cigarettes of these alchemists of happiness as they dreamily wait and wait . . . . If, indeed, it is better to travel hopefully than to arrive, some at least of these peregrinators may perhaps not be disappointed.

ITALY.

In addition to the Italian Government's plea that the financial burden imposed on Italy under the armistice be reduced, Signor Bonomi sent a special appeal to Mr. Churchill, M. Stalin and President Roosevelt at the Crimean Conference. Signor Bonomi not only repeated the request that the financial burden be lightened, but also urged that the terms of the Armistice in general be reviewed. In support of this demand Signor Bonomi quoted the supreme effort Italy was making in every sphere to co-operate with the Allies and the great hardships the country in general has had to put up with.

A story, said to have come from a Congressional source, has appeared in the American Press to the effect that the Italian Armistice terms include the loss of all her colonies, the cession of Pantelleria to Great Britain and the possible loss of Trieste to Yugoslavia. The Acting Secretary of State, Mr. Grew, contradicted this report at his Press Conference and drew attention to Signor Bonomi's statement to the Italian Press on the 5th February. Signor Bonomi had stated that, although unconditional surrender meant that the Allies had complete control of Italy's internal financial, economic and military life, there was no reference in the Armistice terms to Italy's future frontiers nor to the fate of her colonies.

It has since transpired that the raid, as reported in last week's *Summary*, was not on the official Communist Headquarters, but on an organisation which calls itself the "Movimento Communista." This organisation is apparently made up of so-called Trotzkyists who are not in accord with the policy of the

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Italian Communist Party. The Secretary-General of the Unione Proletaria, Salvarezza by name, has now been arrested. It is not yet known whether he is a monarchist or a Communist, although the Unione Proletaria is said to be principally an anti-Communist organisation. More raids by the Carabinieri may take place, as it is known that there is still a large quantity of arms in unauthorised hands.

After the recent spate of decrees regarding the control of food and labour and the defence of the lira, there has been markedly little news from the Italian Social Republic and the Fascist-controlled radio has concentrated chiefly on sarcastic comments about events in liberated Italy.

Evacuation rumours continue. According to Swiss reports two German divisions have been withdrawn from Liguria and Piedmont and German troops have evacuated the Val d'Ossola, where they have been replaced by Fascist units. The captain of these units is said to have already gone over to the Partisans with all his men! From later reports it would appear that the German divisions withdrawn were territorial troops, while regular army troops are still holding the battle-front. The Fascists who are left to maintain order in the evacuated zones seem to be intensifying their terrorist tactics and much looting and arbitrary requisitioning is going on.

The Fascist official attitude regarding the Partisans is one of optimism. According to Fascist propaganda they have been completely wiped out in the north-west as a result of mopping-up operations. This optimism, however, is not shared by the Germans who appear to think that the Partisans still represent a very real danger and are taking steps to repress them independently of the Fascists. The C.N.L. for Northern Italy has stated that, though many of the groups have temporarily disbanded and have hidden their arms for the winter in accordance with orders received from Allied command, the framework of the Partisan organisation remains intact.

Food and transport chaos seems to be greater than ever in Milan. Local train services have been greatly curtailed and the postal services have been seriously affected.

THE VATICAN.

Soviet press and wireless attacks on the Vatican continue (see *Summaries* Nos. 274, 275, 276, under "Soviet Union"). The Orthodox Bishops assembled at Moscow "raised their voices against the Vatican pleading for mercy for the Hitlerites who drenched all Europe in blood and seeking to allow the continued existence on earth of the misanthropic Fascist doctrine and its agents." *Red Star* accuses the Pope of "blessing pro-Fascist Poles," plotting against the "democratisation" of Italy, showing undue interest in the political structure of Austria and Hungary and seeking to counter Allied plans for Europe with a Universal Peace Organisation of his own. His Christmas-time message is again misinterpreted as a plea for war criminals. Finally, it is pointed out that the Vatican, active now when Russia is "liberating" Poland, was silent when the Germans were murdering Poles. These and many similar charges were refuted in the *Osservatore Romano* of the 10th February, which the Vatican's Italian and English transmissions quoted on the 10th and 12th. "There is no element, however slender, which could serve as foundation for what has been said." On the 7th February the Vatican wireless recalled the passage in the Christmas-time message which contrasted the Christian with the totalitarian conception of justice.

These attacks are due partly to the Vatican's refusal to condemn atrocities publicly and in plain language and partly to the friendly relations it maintains with Governments under whose rule the atrocities have been committed. The Catholic reasons for this policy would not interest the attackers. On the other hand, with Allied permission, the Vatican investigates conditions in prisoners of war camps and reports openly upon what it finds. On the 9th February it broadcast to Germany that its prisoners in Italy were "well cared for, very well indeed." (For its adverse comments on a French-controlled camp in Tunisia, see *Summary* No. 268 under "Vatican.")

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

On the 12th February the siege of Budapest ended with the capture of the Royal Palace and Fortress Hill of Bude, with over 30,000 prisoners. The total siege yielded over 120,000 prisoners, including many officers of high rank. West

of the capital, the line altered little in the last week, although the Russians improved their positions south of Székesfehérvár.

In liberated Pest, work is proceeding on the restoration of the public services; electric light has reappeared on the outskirts of the city. A first meeting has been held of the "National Municipal Committee," which includes representatives of "four democratic parties" (presumably the regular quartet of Social Democrats, Communists, Smallholders and National Peasants). The Chairman is Zoltan Tildy, leader of the Smallholders' Party, who had been in hiding for many months. The Peoples' Courts have begun their work and a few executions have already been recorded.

Reports coming in from Pest suggest that the destruction and removal of machinery has been far from complete, thanks to the resistance offered to these measures by the workers of Csepel and other places. They also indicate an increase of resistance and sabotage in German-occupied Hungary. It is suggested that even Volksdeutsche have been resisting evacuation, out of fear that if they left Hungary they would be deprived of their Hungarian nationality. A private source gives 500,000 as the total number of persons evacuated from Hungary.

In Arrow Cross Hungary, the Upper House has ratified three Bills: the Enabling Bill; a Bill empowering non-Jews married to Jews to obtain a divorce; and a Bill commemorating the merits of parties and other bodies fighting for National Socialism. The Grand Council of the Arrow Cross Party met at Kaposvár on the 3rd February; the Deputy Premier demanded the incorporation of the party into the constitutional law and life of the country. Four new "Hungarist" Divisions are to be raised to form "the nucleus of the new Hungarist Army in the battle against Bolshevism."

Prince Nicholas Odescalchi has been hanged for treasonable correspondence with the Allies. He had allegedly attempted to hand over military secrets to the Allies, and to arrange for the escape of "prominent politicians of the fallen régime."

The Yugoslav State Commission for the Investigation of Crimes published a report on the 6th January on crimes committed by the Hungarians in occupation of Bačka and Baranja, assessing the extent of material damage and treatment of the Serb population, and declaring as war criminals Horthy, Bárdossy (Premier at the time of the occupation of these areas), Szálasi, Imrédy, Bártha (Minister of War, 1941–42) and a large number of military and civilian occupation officials.

Roumania.

The salient features of Roumanian news are the strength and competence of General Radescu's Government, and the consequent efforts of the Communist Party to overthrow it. The Communists are a small group representing not more than 5 per cent. of the people. Their strength consists in their assurance that they have the authority of the Soviet Government behind them. It must be admitted that some events which may be accounted for by coincidence point in this direction, and it is fairly certain that the activities of the Communists receive some backing from local Soviet officials. The impression has been gaining ground for some time past that the Communists have been planning a *coup d'État* to overthrow the Government. General Radescu arranged to address a meeting in Bucarest last Sunday and arranged that his speech should be broadcast. On Saturday night Communists took possession of the hall where the meeting was to be held and refused admission to all but their own sympathisers. This manœuvre became known to the general, who removed the venue of his meeting to another hall and collected an audience by means of a procession of students through the streets. The first news of how the general had checkmated them reached the Communist meeting when the general's speech was broadcast. Their meeting then broke up in disorder.

General Radescu's speech was an explanation and justification of the line taken by his Government. He was not, he said, a member of any political party, and he condemned in vigorous language "party politicians who were seeking their own satisfaction to the detriment of the country" and to whom "chaos is convenient." In Roumanian politics calumny has always played a leading rôle. He was in favour of the freedom of the press, with the proviso that "a decent and dignified form should be respected." He sternly condemned the action of a section of the printing trade, which had refused to print matter which did not harmonise with their own views. Passing to the subject of the carrying out of the armistice, he declared that lack of means and not ill-will was the reason why progress was not more rapid. He did not consider the present a proper time

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to institute further agrarian reforms, as changes made now would affect adversely the interests of the serving soldiers. The speech concluded with a reference to the grant of co-belligerent status, which should not be made a subject of personal quarrels but which, when granted, would be due to the extent of the assistance Roumania had given in the field; and to Transylvania, the Roumanian administration of which was not something to be asked for as a favour, since that country beyond question belonged to Roumania; a good note on which to end his speech.

Some misgiving has been caused by the fact that an increase in the number of armed Communist guards, and the threat of a *coup d'État*, was followed by the removal of the one remaining tank unit in Bucarest, on which dependence was placed for the preservation of order. As noted above, there may not be more in this than coincidence. The tanks are urgently required at the front. Presumably they are the genuine article.

Dl Gh. Tatarescu, who was Prime Minister from 1934–37 and again from 1939–40 has been trying to stage a come-back, and has made a bid for the leadership of the Liberal Party. In view of his past record and that of his supporters, this is not very impressive. He was an active supporter of the former King Carol. This move is quite on the lines of Roumanian political activity.

The Quisling Government of Horia Sima has set up an Orthodox episcopate in Vienna to look after the spiritual welfare of Roumanians in Germany, under Visarion Puiu as Metropolitan. Another "chicken" come home to roost under the wing of Seraphim Lade.

Yugoslavia.

The negotiations over the selection of the Regents proceeded confusedly. Only over one name has agreement been reached, that of the Slovene Regent, Dr. Sernec, who was Minister under the dictatorship fifteen years ago and joined the Partisans early in the war. General Simovitch, who was proposed by King Peter as the Serb Regent, is acceptable to Marshal Tito but has been rejected by Shubashitch. Tito has objected to the King's proposal of Dr. Shutet as the Croat Regent, which was acceptable to Shubashitch.

These exchanges were overtaken by the declaration of the three Allied Heads of Governments from the Crimea, published on the 13th, stating they had agreed to recommend that a Yugoslav Government should be formed immediately on the basis of the Tito–Shubashitch Agreement. This new Government should accept two points: (*a*) that A.V.N.O.J., the Partisans' legislature, should be enlarged to include members of the last Yugoslav Parliament [elected under the dictatorship in 1935 and dissolved in 1939. The Croat and Independent Democratic (Serbs of Croatia) Deputies never took their seats in it]. Only those members, however, should be admitted "who have not compromised themselves by collaboration with the enemy." This enlarged body should be known as a "temporary Parliament"; and (*b*) that the legislative acts of A.V.N.O.J. should be subject to subsequent ratification by a Constituent Assembly.

At a meeting of the Royal Yugoslav Government, over which the King presided, on the 12th, summoned to consider the recommendation of the Crimean Conference which had been communicated to them the previous evening, it was decided, with the King's approval, that the Government should proceed without delay to Belgrade, there to complete the arrangements for the Regency and the unified Government.

The cause of the crown and of legal continuity has not received encouragement from the disproportionate publicity recently given in the Partisan press to the trial and condemnation of Prince Cyril and the other Bulgarian Regents and numerous references to King Peter's past support of Mihailovitch against the Partisans.

The Partisans' rule in Yugoslavia has been criticised on the grounds that they expelled the British and American correspondents admitted to the country for a few days in November last and are reluctant to sanction the admission of others. The Commissar for Information has now issued a long justificatory statement, chiefly directed to the United States, protesting that discrimination has only been shown against unfriendly journalists, that the Allies themselves were responsible for keeping correspondents out of Yugoslavia, and that, in addition to Mr. Harrison, of Reuter's (see *Summary* No. 279, p. 14), four British and Canadian correspondents have now been admitted to Yugoslavia.

It is rumoured in Belgrade that a capital levy is to be effected by means of the issue of a new currency. The black market rate for dollars has risen from 2,000 dinars in November to 14,100 dinars. Should the financial operation indicated take place, the dollar would shoot further up.

For the Partisan War Crimes Commission's denunciation of Hungarian personalities as "War Criminals," see "Hungary."

Greece.

After discussions lasting several days, the representatives of the Greek Government and the E.L.A.S. delegates finally reached agreement in the early hours of the 12th February. In the presence of Mr. Leeper and of Mr. Macmillan, a short protocol was signed stating that full agreement had been reached. Later in the day a detailed agreement was signed, of which the main points were as follows: (1) the Government guaranteed freedom to express political and social opinions, also freedom of assembly and of association, and, in particular, the liberties of the trade unions; (2) as soon as the present agreement was signed, martial law would be lifted; at the same time an Act would be brought into force which permitted the suspension of certain articles of the 1911 Constitution, some of which would be suspended forthwith throughout the country; the suspension would last until disarmament was complete and administrative, judicial and military authorities had been established throughout the country; (3) there would be an amnesty for political crimes committed between the 3rd December, 1944, and the publication of the Amnesty Decree; from this amnesty would be excluded common law crimes against life and property which were not absolutely necessary to the achievement of the political crime concerned; members of E.L.A.S., E.L.A.N. and the E.L.A.S. police who had not handed over their arms by the 15th March would not be covered by the amnesty; (4) all civilians arrested by E.L.A.S. or by the E.L.A.S. police must be set at liberty immediately; any of them who were held on charges of collaboration must be handed over to the State for trial in the courts; (5) the new National Army was to be formed by calling up certain classes from time to time; the Sacred Battalion, being under the immediate orders of the Allied High Command, would temporarily remain as at present; after the demobilisation of E.L.A.S., any of its members who fell within the groups to be called up would report for enrolment; the political and social views of citizens serving in the army would be respected; (6) as soon as the agreement was published, all the armed forces of resistance would be demobilised, surrendering their arms; (7) the Government would proceed to a purge of civil servants and other public officials, including those who had been instruments of the dictatorship; no official would be dismissed simply on account of his political opinions; (8) a purge of the security services would be carried out as soon as possible; (9) at the earliest possible date, and in any case within the current year, a free plebiscite would be held to let the people decide the constitutional issue; as soon as possible after the plebiscite, elections would be held for a Constituent Assembly; the representatives of both sides agreed that the great Allied Powers be invited to send observers to verify that the people's will had been freely and genuinely expressed.

Albania.

Enver Hoxha's provisional Government declares that at the congress which it called at Permet in May 1944 it was invested with authority by the representatives of the people. It also claims to have accomplished a social revolution by moderate methods. But all is not over yet. Enver Hoxha evidently does not feel assured enough to form a constituent assembly. His Government is responsible meanwhile to a central committee of 45 called the "Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation." The leading members of the Government belong to this central committee, and on it depend sub-committees—appointed in fact by the Communist Party—in the provinces and in Government departments. Demonstrations which have been staged in Tirana and south Albanian towns demanding the trial of "war criminals" and the extradition of those in Allied hands show that the Government has still adversaries of whom it means to dispose. As recorded last week, the Government has met opposition in the north where the Catholic tribes may be expected to take none too kindly to a Communist régime. The Ball Kombetar (Nationalist) leaders, when they escaped, left an underground organisation behind. In Tirana and Scutari there has been considerable opposition. Merchants and landowners have tried non-co-operation. Even within the Government Enver Hoxha has had difficulties, for Myslim Peza, an influential peasant notable who has been a leader of the liberation movement from the beginning, demanded an end to saluting with the clenched fist, to wearing the red star and to putting women in important Government posts.

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Bulgaria.

All accounts of the way in which Prince Kiril faced execution redound to his credit. The Bulgarian Prime Minister has repeated in private the assurance that so long as Bulgaria remains a monarchy the safety and dignity of the Queen and her children will be respected. He also stated that Princess Eudoxie was still kept isolated. Meanwhile the People's Courts in a score of provincial places have been busy trying civil administrators, army and gendarmerie officers, chiefs of police, informers and others for murder, torture, rape, robbery, burning down houses and other excesses committed in the course of repressing the partisans. At Burgas 19 were sentenced to death and 3 to imprisonment for life; at Botevgrad 35 to death (13 *in absentia*) and 10 to imprisonment for life; at Kula 26 (13 *in absentia*) to death; at Varna 51 to death out of 140 accused.

The Communist Party was presumably behind an attempt which the youthful Left extremists in the Social Democrat Party—one of the two smaller components of the Fatherland Front coalition—made to capture the Party committee. Eighty to ninety per cent. of the Social Democrats are reported to have been against the extremists, but under the compromise which was reached a new committee, more to the Left than the majority of the Party like, was appointed: Pastuhov who had virtually led the Party for twenty years was forced to resign, if not arrested, and the leadership of the Party passed to Chesmedzhiev, the Social Democrat Minister for Social Affairs.

According to an American observer, the Bulgarian people now find to their chagrin that they have only exchanged one tyranny for another. The Communists, he declares, have established a terror based on tommy-guns put in the hands of the partisans, hooligans and released convicts who make up the Militia. That body, he further maintains, which is under Yugov, the Communist Minister of the Interior, and polices the country, imposes the will of the Communist Party, of which the moving spirit is Mlle. Tsola Dragoitcheva, a fervid Communist who returned from Moscow at the time of the September revolution. These allegations, though perhaps exaggerated, are not without some substance, and it would seem that in the end popular feeling must turn not only against the Communists but also against the Russians, who at least tolerate the Communist excesses.

On the 4th February a congress of Macedonians living in Bulgaria met at Sofia. Greetings were received from Marshal Tito, from the new Macedonian Assembly (A.S.N.O.M.) and from the Bulgarian Fatherland Front, and messages were despatched to President Roosevelt, Marshal Stalin and Mr. Churchill. The congress pledged itself to oppose Bulgarian expansionism and to support a free Macedonia within a federal Yugoslavia; an alliance of all southern Slavs; fraternal relations with Balkan peoples; and the Fatherland Front Government.

Turkey.

The sweeping successes of the Red army caused considerable anxiety in the Turkish mind, and the press, while expressing every confidence that the Big Three would establish sure foundations for peace and for the rights of small nations, evinced some impatience to know precisely what the Allied decisions might be. There has for some time been a natural tendency to turn to the United States as the one country that can help the Old World and Turkey in particular. Business men seek relations with the United States, students want to go there and the American schools in Turkey are popular. As regards Turco-Greek relations, the friendly statement which Archbishop Damaskinos made to a representative of the *Anatolia Agency* produced a prompt echo in the Turkish press. No greater service, wrote M. Atay in the semi-official *Ulus*, could be rendered to the cause of peace in the Near East than that Greece and Turkey should protect themselves against the anarchy now threatening everywhere.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

During the debate in the Egyptian Parliament on the address in reply to the Speech from the Throne, speeches of an extreme nationalist character were made by more than one speaker. Fikri Abaza, for instance, is reported to have gone so far as to suggest that the Anglo-Egyptian treaty should be regarded as no longer valid. The Prime Minister seems to have dealt very firmly with Fikri. Although he hoped that Great Britain would remove certain restrictions imposed under the treaty, there was no question of Egypt's not maintaining Great Britain as her ally. He protested vigorously against Fikri's improper

suggestion, and asked the Chamber to support the maintenance of friendship with Great Britain, upon whom Egypt still relied for complete independence.

As far as is known at present, nothing further has been decided by the Egyptian Prime Minister regarding the proposal to prosecute the members of the late Government. According to Amr Pasha, who is still acting as intermediary between the Palace and His Majesty's Embassy in the absence, owing to illness, of Hassanein, Ahmad Maher will eventually succeed in disposing of the matter to his own satisfaction, since he has no wish to wash this dirty linen in public. There is, too, an indication that King Farouk may be willing after all not to press the matter to extremes.

Ibn Saud's account of his recent meeting with King Farouk, given in last week's *Summary*, has now been supplemented by that of King Farouk himself. Ibn Saud had impressed him even more forcibly than he had expected, and the visit had been a great success from every point of view. According to the King, little of real importance had been discussed between them, and their talks on Arab affairs had mainly centred on the question of Syria, on which King Farouk himself had had little to say, except that he hoped that the French would not prove too intransigent. Ibn Saud had also emphasised his great friendship for Great Britain, a sentiment which King Farouk had for his part warmly endorsed.

Since then, Ibn Saud has had another visitor in the person of Shukri Quwatli, the Syrian President, who came last week to the Hejaz at Ibn Saud's invitation to talk over the Syrian problem with him. Ibn Saud has been at pains to impress upon Shukri the importance of composing his differences with the French as soon as possible, on the clear understanding that His Majesty's Government would continue to support the independence of the Levant States, and do their best not only to persuade the French to modify their claims, but also to make Shukri himself adopt a more reasonable attitude.

At a later meeting, at which His Majesty's Minister was present, Shukri said that he would not object to the *Troupes Spéciales* being demobilised by the French instead of being transferred. He was even ready to offer to France concessions regarding railways, ports, &c. But what was the good of all this if the French, on their side, would do nothing? He feared that they would not state their desiderata as they had promised, and he believed that France's real intention was to turn Syria into a French colony. Shukri indeed made it quite clear that he did not trust the French, and that therefore it was of little use trying to discuss anything with them.

Something, however, has been gained by the fact that conversations have begun between Count Ostrorog and the Syrian Minister for Foreign Affairs. Jamil Mardam asked that the French should state categorically what they wanted, on which his Government would consider the French proposals, subject of course to Syria's independence not being prejudiced. He also told Count Ostrorog that the only demand they had to make was for the transfer of the *Troupes Spéciales*. This conversation, which is believed to have been frank and friendly on both sides, took place in Damascus on the 5th February, but no tangible result can be expected until instructions from Paris have been received by General Beynet. It is understood that General Catroux, who was recently appointed French Ambassador at Moscow, is to spend a few days at Beirut and Damascus on his way to Russia. This is highly satisfactory. It was General Catroux whose courage and determination helped to solve the serious crisis that occurred in the Lebanon in November 1943 and there is no senior French official who understands better the complexities of the problem now awaiting solution in the Levant States. (See also under "France.")

It will be remembered that in October 1944 Dr. Millspaugh tried to dismiss Ibtihaj, the Governor of the National Bank of Persia, on the ground that it was impossible for the American Financial Mission to continue working with him (see *Summary* No. 263). The Persian Government, however, came to the conclusion that Dr. Millspaugh was not entitled to dismiss Ibtihaj, who remained at his post. Dr. Millspaugh recently wrote to the Persian Prime Minister to say that he could not stay unless Ibtihaj was dismissed, and he was given assurances by the Persia Government on various other points. As the Cabinet was unable to meet Dr. Millspaugh's wishes, he said that the Government had broken its contract with him and that he would take the leave due to him. Dr. Millspaugh denies that he has resigned, but it is clear that he will not return. Nothing has yet been decided as to his successor, and the future of the mission is uncertain.

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THE FAR EAST.

The 86th session of the Japanese Diet has completed its deliberations. The *Nippon Times* on the 10th February said that the Diet was to be commended for its substantial and constructive contribution to the strengthening of the nation's war effort. The Diet's attempt to clarify and emphasise Japanese war aims was considered by the *Nippon Times* to be of particular interest to the outside world. On the home front, the Diet had given full legislative support to the Government's measures designed to mobilise more labour for war production, to improve transport, to promote scientific research, and to control inflation.

The *Asahi* (10th February) was less enthusiastic about the Diet session. It said that many questions relating to various decisive war-time problems were asked and various Ministers had replied; there was no doubt that such questions and replies were of vital importance, but they would not lead Japan to even a single victory. "What we earnestly hope is that the Government will, without a moment's delay, put into practice what it promises."

Sharp criticism of the Koiso Government was voiced by some members of the Lower House. Thus Chu Funada declared (24th January), that not a single satisfactory solution had been devised to increase the output of munitions during the six months that Koiso had been in office. He asked why there were not enough aircraft at the front. The poor quality of Japanese aircraft was also the subject of criticism. In this connection Chungking, on the 23rd January, said that it had picked up a broadcast by Takeo Shinmiyo, a Japanese war correspondent who had just returned to Japan from the Phiiippines. Shinmiyo declared that the average life expectancy of a new Japanese aeroplane in the Philippines was twenty-four hours. Japanese aircraft in the Philippines, he said, were of poor quality and were not arriving in sufficient numbers. Lieutenant-General Endo, the chief of the General Aircraft Office of the Ministry of War Production, was queried about this state of affairs by a member of the Lower House. He admitted that the quantity of aircraft was inadequate, but said that the machines produced were subjected to strong tests and were "almost without exception" suitable for use at the front. But as mechanisms were extremely delicate it was not easy entirely to exclude small defects (*Domei*, 29th January).

A more general attack on the Government came from Ichiro Kiyose, who declared in the Lower House on the 7th February that the Koiso Cabinet had formulated a six-point policy in the previous Diet session, but that no results worthy of mention had been achieved. The Government ought to control prices and improve the distribution of goods so as to eliminate Black Market transactions. Kiyose declared that Government officials were not as efficient as they should be and the Government should do more to remedy this. He said that "State character" (presumably he meant nationalisation) should be imposed on industry and that those engaged in it should be on an Army basis and subject to Army regulations. The Government ought to trust the people and tell them the truth about the military situation. Kiyose's final point was that "young men of high spirit" should be employed as extensively in administration and industry as they were on the battle-fronts.

From the tone of Kiyose's remarks it may be inferred that he is a spokesman for the group that is striving behind the scenes to impose a full-blooded Fascist régime upon Japan. So far the movement to replace the Seijikai and the Taisei Yokusankai by a new political association (see this *Summary* No. 277) has produced little concrete result. On the 7th February a group of 26 members of the Lower House announced the formation of "A Certain Victory Structure Promotion League." *Domei* (8th February) said that this League would reject the former party leaders and would draw its personnel from the younger groups. The *Yomiuri-Hochi* (8th February) said that "unfortunately" the Diet members showed the most interest in the formation of a new political organisation; the discussions on economic matters were not what they should have been.

Meanwhile Koiso has made some changes in his Ministry, but the only one of significance is the appointment of Hisatada Hirose to be Chief Cabinet Secretary and Minister of State without portfolio. Hirose, who comes from Yamanashi, is a member of the House of Peers and was formerly Minister of Welfare in the Koiso Cabinet. He had previously held this Ministry in the Hiranuma Cabinet in 1939 and had been Director of the Cabinet Legislative Bureau in the Yonai Cabinet. *Domei* (12th February) said that Hirose replaced Takeo Tanaka, Koiso's personal confidant, as Chief Cabinet Secretary,

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and that the appointment meant the bringing in of a "big calibre" man to act as "chief of staff" in carrying out the national mobilisation programme. The new Welfare Minister is Katsuroku Aikawa, formerly vice-Minister of Welfare. The Minister of Education, Lieut.-General Harushige Ninomiya, has been dropped and replaced by Count Hideo Kodama. Ninomiya had not previously held Cabinet office and has presumably been a failure; Count Kodama has held various ministerial posts in previous Cabinets, and was Minister of State in the Koiso Cabinet. The *Asahi* (11th February) commented sourly that little political significance could be attached to the changes in the Cabinet; Koiso was trying to tide over the existing crisis with the least possible change in the Ministers appointed when the Cabinet was first formed. *Domei* (12th February) said that the Diet would go into recess from the 13th February until the end of March, when the present session comes to a formal close; but that both Houses would remain ready to reassemble at a moment's notice should the occasion arise. Evidently the Koiso Cabinet is still in a very shaky position.

The Chungking radio on the 10th February announced that a new army command, called Chinese Army Headquarters, had been established some time ago at Kunming. The Commander-in-chief is General Ho Ying-chin, and the deputy Commander-in-chief is General Lung Yun, the Governor of Yunnan Province. A report from Kunming summarised an inauguration speech made by General Ho on the 25th December. He said that the most important object of the new command was the formation of a modern national army, with proper training and with modern equipment, to be secured from the United States via the new land route. The new army headquarters would plan a final offensive against the Japanese, with the modernised Chinese army as the main force and with the assistance of Allied troops.

As the head of this new command and as Chief of Staff to the Generalissimo Ho Ying-chin remains in a very strong position, despite his vacation of the War Ministry. Indeed, if a better disciplined and well-equipped Chinese army can be built up under his auspices, he will come to wield much more power than he did in the Chungking War Ministry, which is now under Chen Cheng. The Chinese Communists, who regard General Ho as their chief antagonist, will not relish the prospect of his emergence as commander of an efficient force, equipped with American weapons, but trained politically by the Kuomintang.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Between the interim announcement of the Crimea Conference on the 7th February and the final declaration on the 12th, American opinion seemed to be finally making up its mind to the inevitable participation of the United States in the post-war control of Germany, in the political and economic settlement of Europe, in the building and working of a world organisation for peace and security. Even the more Conservative newspapers were concerned rather that the United States should play a leading rôle than that it should avoid commitments. "The American people," was a characteristic comment, "want a peace based on principles of freedom and justice. They are entitled to more than an onlooker's part in the settlement of Europe; they are ready to strive for lasting peace, but they want Roosevelt to let Churchill and Stalin know exactly how they stand." The only serious criticism of the Conference procedure was the conditions of secrecy surrounding its earlier stages and the fear that the exclusion of the press (not, it is understood, desired by President Roosevelt) might prejudice the American public against some of the conclusions reached.

Support for the general policy formulated at the Conference seems assured. In a speech at Detroit on the 5th February Senator Vandenberg (Republican, Michigan) reiterated his proposal for a "hard and fast" demilitarisation treaty, but not as a substitute for the Dumbarton Oaks plan. On the contrary, he maintained that the latter would be "an indispensable sequel to the former." A few days later Governor Dewey was also at pains to remove suspicions that the Republican Party was not wholeheartedly in favour of the larger and more permanent scheme. He told an audience at the Lincoln Commemoration Dinner on the 8th February that "there need no longer be any doubt anywhere that the American people are prepared to exercise their great power actively, continuously and effectively in the interest of a just and lasting peace." This speech was well received by the Republican press, although the Isolationist wing of the party was noticeably cool about it.

The first reactions to the Conference agreements were certainly favourable. Both the Senate and House of Representatives had adjourned for the day when

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the news came through, but Senator Barkley, the Democratic leader, recalled the Senate to receive the report and described the declaration as " a source of great gratification to me and to all the peace-loving people of the world." Senator Connally, the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, also welcomed the joint statement; while Senator Vandenberg described it as " by far the best issued from any major conference." He seized on the terms of the proposed demilitarisation of Germany as " greatly encouraging—a pledge among our Allied friends on the basis of the Atlantic Charter." Mr. Sol Bloom, chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, was also glad to see the principles of the Atlantic Charter reaffirmed, " a pretty good basis to work from."

This is the general line taken in American press comment so far. There is likely to be controversy over the Polish settlement, though the solution proposed is one that has been foreseen in the United States. Consideration of this and other questions must, however, await the further details expected when the President and the Secretary of State return home. Congress then anticipates at least a statement from the Administration to a bipartisan group of Senators and Representatives. The desire of the Executive to associate the Legislature in foreign negotiations has again been evidenced by the invitation of Senator Connally, Senator Austin (Republican), Representative Bloom and Representative Edith Rogers (Republican) to the Inter-American Conference which opens at Mexico City on the 21st of this month. This may provide a precedent for similar procedure at other international conferences.

Economic arrangements are likely to occupy an increasing proportion of the agenda at future meetings of the Powers. The fact that a Presidential message to Congress urging attention to the Bretton Woods proposals was sent to Congress on the last day of the Crimea Conference indicated the priority accorded to financial matters by the Administration. " We must see," said the President, " that institutions of peace rest firmly on solid foundations of international, political and economic co-operation." He proposed shortly to lay before Congress plans for the establishment of a United Nations food and agriculture organisation, for broadening and strengthening the Trade Agreements Act of 1934, for reducing tariff barriers, for the control of cartels and the orderly marketing of world surpluses. As " a good start " he suggested that " the United States should act promptly on the plan for an international bank which will guarantee sound loans for foreign currency agreements. . . . ." Whether Congress is now prepared to accept the whole Bretton Woods scheme may still be doubted. The American Bankers' Association, while approving the Administration's plea for extended use of Export–Import Bank funds and for repeal of the Johnson Act, is not in favour of a separate international monetary fund, which it thinks should be made part of any International Bank for Reconstruction set up (see *Summary* No. 276). Newspapers such as the *New York Times* and the *New York Herald Tribune* side with the bankers rather than the Administration on this topic, and the monetary proposals seem destined for a stormy passage in Congress.

Meanwhile Lend-Lease arrangements and the work of U.N.R.R.A. have been under fire (see *Summary* No. 279 under " Italy "). The Foreign Economic Administration has issued one of its periodical scotchings of fictions about abuse of American material by foreign countries, and has warned the public that insinuations are likely to continue. Not without need, for that tireless lion-baiter, Mr. Drew Pearson, has since brought up another charge : that London cab-drivers are taking parties to Windsor races on Lend-Lease gasoline, while horse-racing in the United States is forbidden for the duration. A more serious attack was made in a press interview given by Mr. James M. Landis, Dean of Harvard Law School, on his resignation from the post of Director of Economic Operations for the Middle East. He did, however, conclude his somewhat vague criticism of British handling of Lend-Lease items in those regions with the remark " I think there is nothing wrong now." The Lend-Lease Act must be renewed before the end of June and hearings have begun before the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Both Mr. Crowley, the F.E.A. Administrator, and Assistant Secretary of State Acheson testified to the indispensability of Lend-Lease as a weapon for Allied victory, and emphasised that aid must be continued " just as long as it is required in the war." The point is now being reached, however, where direct loans, either public or private, are being considered as an alternative to what many Americans still regard as largesse. It was announced on the 8th February that a further loan, amounting to 100 million dollars, has been negotiated by the Netherlands Government with several New York banks, headed by the Chase National Bank (see *Summary* No. 259). The bankers are also reported as studying possible loans to the Netherlands East Indies, Norway, Czechoslovakia,

and the two corporations recently formed in London, with the backing of the Bank of England, for financing the post-war expansion of British industry.

(See also under " Switzerland " and " Latin America.")

LATIN AMERICA.

The State Department has announced that the United States delegation to the Inter-American Conference, which will meet at Mexico City on the 21st February, is to consist of Mr. Stettinius and Mr. Nelson Rockefeller, together with five Congressional advisers, including the Chairmen of the Senate and House Committees on Foreign Affairs, and 32 other advisers. The latter include the Ambassadors to Brazil and Mexico, the Assistant-Secretary of State for Economic Affairs (Mr. William Clayton), the Acting-Secretary of Commerce (Mr. Wayne Taylor), the Assistant-Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Harry White), Dr. Leo Pasvolsky, the President of the United States Chamber of Commerce (Mr. Eric Johnston) and representatives of the Export-Import Bank (Mr. Warren Lee Pierson), the Departments of Labour and Agriculture, the American Federation of Labour and the National Farmers' Union, as well as of the armed services. The delegation is thus as strong on the economic as on the political side and is widely representative of United States opinion. According to press reports Brazil is likely to ask for a permanent seat in the future international security organisation, and Mexico is anxious to make membership of it universal and obligatory (thus including ex-enemy nations, though at first with restricted rights), to increase the authority of the Assembly and to prohibit the Great Powers from voting in disputes to which they are parties.

An apparent attempt to pave the way for an eventual reconciliation between Argentina and the United States is suggested by the appearance of a decree on the 8th February by virtue of which the Argentine Government accepted an invitation of the Pan-American Union to attend the inter-American economic and technical conference which is to meet in Washington on the 15th June. It would thus appear that Argentina's decision to take no part in Pan-American activities until her request for a meeting of Foreign Ministers had been granted has been annulled. On the 10th February, moreover, the Argentine Government issued decrees restoring the autonomy of Argentine universities and reinstating those professors who were dismissed in October 1943 by the Ramírez Government for signing a public manifesto in favour of democracy and Pan-American co-operation (see *Summary* No. 211). Dr. Bramuglia, the Interventor of Buenos Aires (see *Summary* No. 275) has also withdrawn from the police the power to reprimand, seize and close newspapers (granted in January 1942 under the state of siege). Nevertheless, the pro-Axis papers *Cabildo* and *Federal* (ex-*Pampero*), which ceased publication when the Government withheld supplies of newsprint in the middle of January, reappeared on the 9th February.

By a decree dated the 8th February, Paraguay declared war on the Axis Powers. Ecuador, we are now to understand, according to an official statement of her President, is to be regarded as having been at war with Japan since the 7th December, 1941 (" although no formal declaration had been made previously "), and on the 13th February the President of Peru declared that a state of belligerency existed between Peru on the one hand and Japan and Germany on the other. The Ambassadors of all three countries in Washington together with the Ambassador of Chile signed the Declaration of the United Nations on the 14th February, and the Chilean Ambassador then stated that Chile had been in a state of belligerency since her severance of relations with the Axis in January, 1943. It is probable that Venezuela and Uruguay will also join the United Nations' ranks shortly.

In Guatemala the Legislative Assembly has proclaimed Dr. Juan José Arévalo to be President Elect. It is, however, doubtful whether Dr. Arévalo enjoys much support in the army.

UNITED NATIONS.

The Crimea Conference.

The far-reaching results of the conference were achieved in a remarkably short period of time. This was no doubt partly due to the preliminary Conference at Malta between the United Kingdom and the United States. That so much has been accomplished with so great a measure of general approval justifies the special efforts of the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary to obtain a Conference at the earliest possible moment. The three heads of Governments and Foreign Secretaries were accompanied by a large number of ministers, military, diplomatic

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and economic advisers and officials, nearly 600 in all. The results issued under ten main heads may roughly be divided into three main parts, the treatment of Germany, the measures for Liberated Europe and the setting up of a general international organisation.

As regards Germany complete agreement has been reached on future plans and new and powerful blows will be directed against Germany from every quarter. Meetings of the three staffs will be held whenever necessary. The terms of the "unconditional surrender" will not be disclosed until the final defeat of the Nazis. But the means to enforce them are described. A Control Commission is to be set up at Berlin under the Commanders-in-Chief of the three Powers, with which France, if she wishes, is to be associated in full equality, with a fourth zone of occupation assigned to her, the details being worked out by the European Advisory Commission. Special agreements have been signed between the U.S.S.R. and the United Kingdom and the United States dealing with the care and repatriation of rescued prisoners of war which are nationals of any one of them.

Meanwhile the determination is expressed to destroy, root and branch, the Nazi Party, institutions and influence, to break up "for all time" the German General Staff, to bring all war criminals to justice and to eliminate or control all German industry that can be used for military production. But "reparation of all kind" will also be exacted from Germany and for this purpose a three-Power Commission for the Compensation of Damage will be set up in Moscow which will work out the extent and methods of such compensation.

It is added that it is not the purpose to destroy the people of Germany—only Nazism and militarism. Only thus can Germans achieve a decent life and a place in the comity of nations.

As regards Liberated Europe a Declaration has been signed that the three Powers intend to work together to deal with the political and economic problems of Liberated Europe in accordance with democratic principles. They will consult together in order to assist both the liberated peoples and those of the former Axis satellite States to solve their pressing problems by democratic means. Order and reconstruction must be obtained by methods which lead to the destruction of Nazism and Fascism and the creation of freely chosen democratic institutions. For this purpose the three Governments promise to assist the European peoples, where they think it necessary, "(*a*) to establish conditions of peace; (*b*) to carry out emergency measures for the relief of distressed people; (*c*) to form interim Governmental authorities broadly representative of all democratic elements in the population and pledged to the earliest possible establishment through free elections of Governments responsive to the will of the people; and (*d*) to facilitate where necessary the holding of such elections." Other European Governments will be consulted when the direct interests of their peoples are involved and, when action is necessary, the three Governments will immediately consult together as to how their joint responsibilities are to be discharged.

This Declaration is asserted to be a reaffirmation of their faith in the principles of the Atlantic Charter, their pledge in the United Nations Declaration and their determination to build a "world order under law dedicated to peace, security, freedom and the general well-being of all mankind." (For the immediate application of these principles to Poland and Yugoslavia see under those countries.) France is invited to associate herself in the above procedure. There are also to be meetings of the Foreign Secretaries of the three Powers such as have been held daily with great success in the Crimea. These will be held successively in the capitals of the three Powers every three or four months, and the first of these will be held in London after the United Nations Conference at San Francisco.

As regards the establishment of a general international organisation, the necessity of setting this up at the earliest possible moment is again affirmed. Its foundations were already laid at Dumbarton Oaks, but the problem of voting procedure then left unsettled has been resolved at the Crimea Conference. Consequently, a Conference of the United Nations is to be called to meet at San Francisco on the 25th April, 1945. France and China will be immediately consulted and invited to join the other three Powers in issuing the invitations. The text of the agreement on the voting procedure will then be published.

In a final passage these decisions are underlined by reasserting the determination of the three Powers to maintain their unity of purpose and action. Only such close and continuing co-operation together with the other peace-loving countries can make possible that peace under which the aspiration of the Atlantic Charter can be realised. Victory and the general international organisation will provide the opportunity to create the essential conditions of such a peace.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 281

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
21ST FEBRUARY, 1945.

Copy No. 183

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

THE Crimea Conference has certainly added to the anxieties of the German Propaganda Ministry. The text of its decisions has had to be withheld from the German people; lavish comment has been given to those which might serve to strengthen German morale; the rest have been either ignored or obliquely referred to. References on the German Home Service of the 14th and 15th February to decisions of which the public had never been officially informed suggested that the authorities reckoned with a good deal of listening to foreign news bulletins.

Even before the conference met, indications were not wanting that German Propaganda was far from sure as to the line it ought to take regarding an Allied declaration of policy concerning Germany. For months past it has drawn gruesome pictures of Allied severity, and has rubbed in the intention to dismember and destroy Germany, to deport Germans into slavery and to put an end not only to their national greatness but to an adequate standard of life. Yet recently it has taken the very different line of warning the people against an Allied appeal, against any offer of a way out of the war. The German leaders clearly feared such an appeal, possibly because they feared its effect on the hard-driven people of Germany. This fear was already evident in Hitler's speech on the 30th January. On the 2nd February, *D.N.B.* said the Allies were planning to employ a "huge propaganda trick," by "re-editing Wilson's notorious 14 points," to make their "destruction slogan of the unconditional surrender of the German people" more agreeable. Warnings against this "Wilson swindle" continued, and a major propaganda campaign was launched. German forces in Italy, for example, were told that the "Big Three" would probably produce a manifesto to the German people, making promises to them if they would surrender. On the 6th Dietrich told foreign journalists that the Allies aimed at persuading the German people to surrender, and intended to promise mankind that they would lay the foundations for world peace.

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After the Yalta communiqué had been issued, the German propagandists seemed relieved that there had been no appeal to the German people, and no "modification" of unconditional surrender. A transmission for the foreign press on the 14th said that the "swindle" might still come, when the Allies had agreed on the terms of the appeal; but Schmidt on the previous day said that the document was excellent "in so far as it gives the German leaders the opportunity to maintain the war morale of the German people and to increase the spirit of resistance and devotion of every individual German to the utmost." On the 13th Kriegk said that the enemy had given up the attempt to propose a "new set of 14 Points" and there could now be no question of any compromise, or "diplomatic negotiations round some conference table."

The decisions taken at Yalta (summarised here last week, *P.I. Summary* No. 280, p. 22) are so comprehensive and far-reaching that it is interesting to see how the present leaders of Germany have reacted to their publication. Certain of them (those dealing with occupation, territory, industry) have been fitted in without much difficulty to the pattern of propaganda on the destruction of Germany. Certain others have proved too delicate to discuss in any detail and have been more or less passed over: reparation, destruction of the Nazi party and the trial of war criminals were all avoided. Nothing, of course, has been said of the final Allied declaration suggesting a place for Germany within the comity of nations. One comment noted the absence of any declaration regarding Japan.

The decision to occupy Germany has been given some prominence in comment. Zones of occupation would mean "the enslavement and subjugation of Germany." A Military Commission in Berlin was ridiculed as an attempt "to get hold of the last toy pistols in Germany." Schwarz van Berk said on the 14th, "they set out to smash German militarism and now Berlin is to become the city of the new super-militarism." The same speaker described the proposals regarding German industry as "pure Morgenthau"; like others he avoided direct mention of "reparation" and spoke only of mass deportation of German workers. *D.N.B.*, in a detailed comment of the 14th, said that the "forced deportation of millions of German workers" had been officially decided upon.

Propaganda showed some hesitation on the whole subject of German war-guilt. A *D.N.B.* forecast of the 12th said that the "war-guilt lie" would be revived. Yet after the event expressions suggesting war-guilt were significantly avoided. *D.N.B.* commented on the 18th that the Allies intended "to exterminate all nationalist-minded Germans" and again that "the three war criminals are seeking to separate the German people from its leaders as they did in 1918." The public should not think, said a later message, that the Allies wished only to destroy military Germany; "it was quite evident that the Soviets are serious in their intention to destroy the German people."

On the whole it is clear that the Germans have been told only so much as would be likely to stiffen their resistance; the real state of affairs they have been left to glean from foreign broadcasts. Yet even so it is surprising that they should not have heard more from their leaders about the intended limitation of German territory. They have been given a vague forecast of Soviet influence advancing westwards "without limit." On the other hand, no ban seems to have been imposed on mention of the proposed destruction of German militarism. *D.N.B.* referred to "the disarming of all the German Armed Forces and the dissolution of the German General Staff" as being among the cardinal points of the Allied plan to destroy Germany. The *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* on the 15th included "the abolition of all armed force" among the means of "biological extermination of the entire German nation." The most interesting comment on the fate of German militarism occurred in a foreign broadcast of the 13th directly referring to the Moscow Free German Committee: "The rôle of the Seydlitz Committee has thus been played out even before the war has come to an end." (Before the conference, rumours that a Free German Government might be set up as a result of it had been discussed in answer to questions from foreign correspondents.)

The official anxiety to shield the people from what was really decided at Yalta is quite in keeping with the depression and unrest now reported to be general in the Reich. In contrast to the propagandist indignation about a communiqué "employing a terminology not even used about uncivilised tribes" is a report emanating from Berlin stating that "unconditional surrender evokes no indignation among ordinary people, since many feel they cannot expect anything else." This and other reports concur to suggest that Germans are too tired and despondent to feel much interest in any Allied plans for Germany; what does still

stir their attention is the more agonising question of whether the Allies, when they are established in the Reich, will be able to keep order and prevent anarchy. Letters written by German soldiers on the Western Front between November and January suggest that many of them, too, are tired out and longing for the end of the war, yet they cannot see any alternative to continuing to resist as long as possible. Reflections of the propaganda about Allied plans, referred to above, appear in some letters. One soldier writes to his family of his determination to defend the Fatherland, knowing that the enemy wants to destroy even German women and children. But more often a soldier looks forward to the time when "this misery is at an end," and life can be slowly rebuilt again. The important thing, said another man, is that they may find themselves back home in the end, safe and sound.

On the fighting fronts the main feature of the past week is still the absence of any major counter-blow by German forces. The O.K.W. has spoken of "stiffer" German resistance in Silesia and of more active fighting in East Prussia. The bulletin of the 15th February began with a post-mortem on Budapest, which had been held for almost fifty days after being completely encircled. Dittmar's weekly commentary spoke of the specially dangerous Russian thrusts across the Oder, but left a general impression that the situation was in hand, and that German resistance was gradually strengthening.

As often before, Dittmar's sternest words concerned the Home Front. He called for a new severity and disclipline. The time had gone for pretence, heroics and hollow phrases. "Everything that is not genuine must go. Every means is justified when it is a question of stamping out such things." As with his last week's commentary it is difficult to read between the lines and to say with any certainty what are the things to which he referred. But his call for discipline has been quickly answered by a decree of the Minister of Justice setting up summary courts (Standgerichte) administering martial law in districts of the Reich threatened by the enemy. These courts are to be set up in each Gau by the Gauleiter in his capacity as Reich Defence Commissioner, and are to have competence over "all criminal actions endangering German fighting strength and determination." Sentences, including the death penalty, need confirmation only by the Gauleiter and in urgent cases not even by him.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

On the 17th February President Beneš made what was announced as his last broadcast from London before return to Czechoslovakia. He stated that he would go first to Moscow and thence to the liberated territory of the Republic where he would appoint a new Government to include members of the resistance movement at home. Dr. Beneš's impending return to his own country has been the subject of intensive propaganda campaigns in both the Protectorate and Slovakia, the themes being that the Western Powers have no further use for the President, that his visit to Moscow is merely to receive further orders from his master, Stalin, and that bitter disappointment lies ahead of him. This propaganda is more important for its intensity than its subject-matter, which contains nothing new. The other main features of the Slovak press and radio during the past week have been open admissions that morale in the country is flagging, reports of Bolshevik atrocities in the liberated areas and endless variations on Slovakia's right to freedom and independence.

The Protectorate radio has reported that Prague, received its first bombing on the 14th February. The announcement spoke of damage to cultural monuments, hospitals, churches and schools and referred to "long rows of bodies laid out in Prague churches." There has so far been no confirmation of the raid from Allied sources.

The Red Army has claimed no noteworthy progress in Slovakia during the past week but in the last day or two has reported strong enemy counter-attacks on the north bank of the Danube between Komarno and the Hron. The loss of some inhabited localities is admitted.

President Beneš has accepted the resignation of his Finance Minister, the Agrarian, Dr. Feierabend. No public announcement of the change has been made and Dr. Feierabend will continue to discharge his functions for the present. This resignation is presumably the first step towards the reconstruction of the Czechoslovak Government which is to take place when Dr. Beneš reaches Slovakia.

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POLAND.

On the 15th February M. Arciszewski reaffirmed at a press conference in London his Government's unanimous rejection of the decisions taken at the Crimea Conference. They did not believe, he said, in the Russian promise of free democracy for Poland, or that, even if new people were included in the proposed Government to be set up in Poland, the latter would be " any more free than it is now or any more free than the Governments of Roumania and Bulgaria." Asked whether M. Mikolajczyk would be treated as a traitor if he went to Poland, the Polish Premier replied that " for the time being it is clear that if any persons went they would lose any confidence they may possess among the Polish people . . . ."; and he added that, as his was the only legal and constitutional Polish Government, it could not resign as the result of a decision coming from outside.

In the meantime, however, in a broadcast message to the Polish fighting forces on the 14th February, the Polish Government have called on officers and men to maintain their calm, dignity and solidarity, and their brotherhood-in-arms with the soldiers of the British, Canadian, United States and French forces; while a similar appeal was made by General Anders in an Order of the Day issued to the Second Polish Corps serving with the Eighth Army. At the same time, in a telegram to President Raczkiewicz, General Anders stated that the Second Polish Corps could not recognise the " one-sided decisions " taken at the Crimea Conference, and reaffirmed its allegiance to the President and Polish Government in London.

While none of the Polish political party representations in London has so far indicated officially its attitude in regard to participation in the conferences which are to be held in Moscow under the auspices of the Allied Commission, it seems clear that the great majority of the Peasant Party members would support M. Mikolajczyk's acceptance of an invitation to Moscow, and that the Christian Democratic Party as a whole, led by M. Popiel, would follow the Peasant Party's lead (the two Christian Democrat members of M. Arciszewski's Cabinet can hardly be said to represent anyone but themselves). The Socialist Party, in its conferences during the week-end, was unable to clarify its position, and may therefore be presumed to remain divided on the issue. M. Mikolajczyk has thrown some light on his own position in an article in *Jutro Polski*, in which, while deploring the loss of Lwow and the Galician oilfields and the " prejudicing of the eastern frontier without a final delimitation of the western frontiers," he nevertheless welcomed the declaration on a strong, independent and democratic Poland and the fact that Russia, in establishing and recognising the Lublin Administration, had not, after all, said her last word. Professor Kot, also a member of the Peasant Party and formerly Minister of Information in the Sikorski and Mikolajczyk Cabinets, went considerably further, in an interview with the *Observer* (the 18th February), in stating his belief that " it is the task of responsible Polish leaders to try to put into operation the Crimea decision in a way that would secure the future of Poland and save her independence," and in suggesting that " the centre of gravity has now shifted from the groups in exile to the political movements in Poland itself."

Lublin press and wireless comment on the Crimea Conference communiqué welcomed it unreservedly as a triumph for the " Provisional Government." According to the Secretary-General of the Socialist Party (M. Matuszewski) the communiqué " recognised the *de facto* Provisional Government," and the absence from it of any reference to the Polish Government in London " indicates that this ' Government ' . . . . has entirely compromised itself and cannot be taken into consideration as a political force." *Gazeta Lubelska*, interpreting the provision for consultation with Polish democratic leaders at home and abroad as meaning " an understanding with the Parties of the Centre and Right," agreed that the adherents of these parties " who are acting openly and legally cannot be deprived of their rights of citizenship," but made no reference to any Left forces other than those which it is claimed are already represented in the " Provisional Government."

On the 14th February MM. Bierut and Osubka-Morawski arrived in Moscow, accompanied by the Soviet Ambassador to the " Provisional Government," M. Lebedev. (See also under " U.S.S.R.," " United States of America," and the " United Nations.")

SOVIET UNION.

There have been no startling advances by the Red Army this week, but progress has been steady along most of the front. In East Prussia pressure on Königsberg from the south continued, Wormditt and Mehlsack being captured on the 17th February. A Soviet thrust along the west bank of the Vistula has encircled Grudziadz, and further west Chojnice fell on the 15th February. Schneidemühl, which had been surrounded for some weeks, was captured the previous day. Marshal Koniev's wedge across the Oder has been extended northwards by the capture of Grünberg (15th February); his troops have now crossed the river Bober. Fighting continues round encircled Poznan and Breslau. No change has been reported from Polish Silesia or Slovakia. The fall of Budapest on the 13th February was celebrated by Moscow's biggest salute of 24 salvoes from 324 guns. 110,000 prisoners were captured, including the Commander of the Budapest Army Group, Col.-General Pfeffer-Wildenbruch, and his staff. Another 10,000 prisoners were brought in during the next two days, and much booty was taken.

Army-General I. D. Cherniakhovsky, Commander of the 3rd Byelorussian front, died on the 18th of February at the age of 37, after being severely wounded in East Prussia. He was the youngest Soviet General in command of a Front and the first to lead Soviet forces on to German territory. He came from Uman, in the Ukraine, and was the son of a Jewish railwayman. The Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., the People's Commissariat of Defence of the U.S.S.R. and the Central Committee of the Communist Party have expressed their profund regret, and have announced that General Cherniakhovsky will receive a state funeral in Vilna, which was liberated by his troops; a monument will be erected to him in the city. All the Soviet papers on the 19th February published an obituary notice signed by seventeen Marshals of the Soviet Union, headed by Marshil Zhukov, and thirteen generals.

The Soviet press and wireless greeted the official announcement of the decisions of the Crimea Conference with acclamation, but in the first press and radio commentaries little or nothing was added to the details contained in the official communiqué. Many messages were published asserting the satisfaction of the Soviet people with the policy laid down in the Crimea, and reports were received of meetings of workers throughout the Soviet Union " pledging to increase output and muster every ounce of strength to complete the rout of Hitlerite Germany." Emphasis was laid on the successes achieved by the military strategy agreed upon at Tehran. The link between the World Trade Union Conference and the Crimea Conference was made in a special broadcast talk in English over Moscow Radio, promising strong Soviet Trade Union support for the Crimea decisions. The latter were also endorsed by Patriarch Alexei as laying " a firm foundation of future peace all over the world." " The Church blesses these bright Christian aspirations and hopes," and was praying and working even more fervently for final victory.

The treatment of the German problem in M. Zaslavsky's long broadcast on the Crimea Conference (18th February) is of especial interest. It is the clearest identification of Nazism and German militarism that has yet come from a Soviet source. " To wipe Nazism off the face of the earth, to destroy German militarism at the root—the one is indissolubly linked with the other." In this respect M. Zaslavsky's main thesis was practically on Vansittart lines: militarist Germany which had kept Europe in a condition of fear and tension for over a hundred years was merely fulfilling itself in Hitlerism, and would have to be utterly destroyed. M. Zaslavsky laid great stress on the decision come to at Yalta that the German General Staff should be broken up " for all time." Further, the entire economic life of defeated Germany would have to be reorganised, as German industry and finance had been just as much instrumental in carrying Hitler to power as the General Staff itself. M. Zaslavsky went on to point out that the Red Army was already putting the Crimea decisions into practice by " liquidating the most important social-political foundations " of German militarism in East Prussia and in Pomerania and Brandenburg. The Junkers had run away, and would never return. The broadcast did not touch on the former Soviet theme of distinguishing between the Hitlerites and the German people. The only comfort meted out to the latter was the phrase " it would not enter anyone's head to wipe even the most savage tribe off the face of the earth." The Allied occupation of Germany would prove a hard but fruitful school for the German people; they would have to learn

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the ABC of peaceful mutual existence before they were allowed with equal rights into the comity of peoples. M. Zaslavsky insisted that the Crimea would prove no Versailles. The Germans would not succeed again in "hiding their wolves' ears and claws under a grandmother's social-democratic kerchief," and the victors would not again turn a blind eye to the resurgence of German militarism. M. Zaslavsky concluded by saying that the balance of power system in Europe would have to go. Vigilance would remain and would even have to increase, but with the destruction of German militarism the prolonged tension of Europe would disappear.

Soviet press comment on the decisions of the Crimea Conference on Poland at first distinguished between the Polish Government in London and the followers of M. Mikolajczyk. Thus *Krasnaya Zvezda* (16th February) emphasised that the "reactionary Polish *émigrés* in London whose policy was based on hostility towards the Soviet Union and attempts to shake the unity of the Allies" had been "swept away by developments to the garbage heap of history" whilst at the same time implying that the Soviet Government was still ready to hold the door open for M. Mikolajczyk. According to *Kramaya Zvezda*, M. Mikolajczyk and his adherents, by refusing to recognise the London Government's repudiation of the Crimea decisions, had given ground for the expectation that among his group there were many ready to take part in the future reorganised Polish Government, and such an extension of the Warsaw Government through inclusion of democratic elements in Poland and abroad would fully meet the intentions of the Government of the U.S.S.R. After M. Mikolajczyk had published his views on Lvov and the oilfields, however, *Pravda* (19th February) declared that he had identified himself with the Arciszewski Government by coming out in the London press against the Crimea decisions. (See also under "Poland.")

It was announced on the 18th February that the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. had decided to accede to the request of the Polish Provisional Government by sending a number of experts to assist in drafting plans for the reconstruction of Warsaw and by providing 50 per cent. of the cost of restoring the main districts of the city.

SCANDINAVIA.

In Sweden, recent events have produced some curious and almost bellicose reactions: there is indeed a temptation to feel that the events themselves are hardly sufficiently unprecedented wholly to account for the explosion. The principal bases for Swedish indignation are twofold; firstly, the ruthless reprisals in Norway following the liquidation of Marthinsen (see last week's *Summary*), and secondly the shooting down of Allied planes over Helsingborg on a recent occasion. The German blockade of the Skager Rak and the *de facto* cessation of the Swedish safe conduct traffic is a third grievance.

It is true that a good deal of the criticism of the Helsingborg incident has been founded on selfish fears that the shooting down of bomb-laden planes exposed the inhabitants of the district to danger, but there have been strongly-worded protests by individuals and organisations based on the higher ground that any action which impeded the destruction of Nazi tyranny was an insult to the conscience of right-thinking citizens, and the press has drawn sarcastic comparisons between the innocuous character of Swedish A.A. fire in the past, when the trespassers were German, and its deadliness now that the victims were the forces of liberation. A very general opinion has been expressed to the effect that this method of vindicating Swedish neutrality should now cease. *Expressen* has gone so far as to suggest that Allied belligerent aircraft should now be allowed to make intermediate landings in Sweden.

With regard to the Skager Rak blockade, *Stockholms-Tidningen* has stated that responsible Swedish circles are in favour of forcing it, and the Chairman of the Göteborg Seamen's Union has declared that blockade-runners certainly would not lack crews.

Still more violent has been the reaction against the latest events in Norway. *Svenska Morgonbladet*, on the 11th February, went so far as to assert that a growing body of opinion is impatiently urging Swedish intervention, even if it involved armed force, and the possibility has been freely discussed, even though with negative conclusions, by other organs of the press. A leaflet urging that "Hitler sadists should be kicked out of Norway" was circulated in Stockholm on the 10th February, and on the same day, in the Riksdag, a member stated that

it was increasingly clear that Sweden could not face her contemporaries and posterity if she allowed the terror in Norway to continue without doing her utmost to terminate it. *Svenska Dagbladet*, in the same context, criticises the statement of M. Günther, the Foreign Minister, that "relations with foreign powers are good," saying that in fact Swedish relations with Germany are such that Swedes would prefer to have no relations at all, and would rather know what the Government intends to do about the ruthless measures of the gangsters in Norway.

On the 13th February, *Eskilstuna Kuriren* published an article by Bishop Aulén advocating that large forces of the Swedish army should be placed on the roads leading to Norway, and stating the opinion that diplomatic representations or reliance on the volunteer corps are inadequate measures in the circumstances. *Örebro Kuriren*, 14th February, similarly argues against undue caution and suggests that it would be more reasonable for armed intervention to take official form than to be masked by encouragement of the volunteer movement.

A further incident, the return to Germany from Sweden of three dismantled German aircraft stolen from Denmark by Danish patriots, has inspired *Dagens Nyheter* to some forceful reflections on Swedish neutrality, in which the paper deprecates as "unpardonably stupid" the continuance of "a narrow-minded system which threatens to make the policy of neutrality a conspicuous destroyer of Swedish dignity." Recently, however, there is evidence of a fear that these suggestions of an interventionist policy may be misinterpreted; *Stockholms-Tidningen*, 17th February, discussing a debate on the subject, is at pains to dispel exaggerated expectations, and *Morgonbladet* of the same date publishes a number of Norwegian opinions on the subject, indicating that intervention would be considered undesirable. The fact that the question has been widely discussed is, however, indisputable and possibly significant.

As a result of the disclosures in the Lönnegren-Paulsson espionage trial (*Summary*, No. 279), Colonel Wagner and four other members of the German Legation staff have been requested to withdraw from Sweden. On the other hand, on the 16th February, the Swedish press, led by *Dagens Nyheter*, opened an obviously inspired campaign against the Allied black-listing of Swedish firms, now that Swedish trade with the enemy has ceased.

At a meeting of the Council of the Finnish Social Democratic party on the 16th February, a resolution was carried expelling from the party members of the Opposition who were standing for election on lists other than that of the Social Democrats. A compromise proposal by M. Fagerholm, that such persons should merely be censured and further steps postponed until after the election, was not accepted. MM. Pekkala and Keto were consequently expelled from the party. M. Vuori also resigned from the party council, but it is not clear that his decision was affected by the resolution. He is not standing as a candidate, and is at present extremely busy with the task on which M. Paasikivi has asked him to concentrate, of organising the Finnish timber output. It must be remembered also that M. Vuori's main interest is the prosperity of Finnish Trade Unionism, and it is considered undesirable for this movement to become involved in the conflict between dissident sections of the Social Democrat party, a point which was clearly brought out by M. Härmäs, the vice-chairman of the Finnish T.U.C., who attended the Trade Union Conference in London. The decision of the Social Democrat Council is said by *Suomen Sosialidemokraatti* to please hardly any Social Democrats. *Arbetarbladet* also considers it a mistake.

Contrary to previous reports (see *Summary* No. 279) it is now announced that M. Horelli, one of the members of the Coalition Party who was asked to refrain from candidature, has, nevertheless, been nominated on the Coalition list for Vasa Län eastern district.

M. Fjellbu, the recently appointed Bishop in the liberated part of Norway, has issued a pastoral letter in which he emphasises that the breach between Church and State occasioned by the struggle with the quisling authorities must not be regarded as a permanent repudiation of the State connexion, but that the former relations will be resumed and the normal organisations reinstated as the constitutional Government recovers its authority. The Congregational Councils (Menighetsråd) will, however, need reconstruction, owing to the gaps created by mass evacuation.

The prospect of extensive unemployment in Norway, as a result of the discontinuance of German war industry, is giving rise to some concern, even in Quisling and German circles. It is possible that attempts may be made to meet it by some fresh method of labour mobilisation, but in any case the problem of employment is likely to be among the principal difficulties facing the country after liberation.

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LOW COUNTRIES.

The new Belgian Cabinet (see last *Summary*) has had a moderately favourable reception from the Press. The general line is that it should be given a fair chance and judged according to its performace. The fact that Catholics agreed to sit in the same Cabinet as Cammunists almost immediately after the Catholic Party had declared its opposition to such a coalition has aroused some comment. The Catholics are plainly uneasy, and some of them at least hope that the Communists will not long be represented in the Government. It is significant that, although the Government obtained large majorities in both the Chamber and the Senate, practically all who voted against it or abstained were Catholics. It is possible, therefore, that the coalition may break up in the near future owing to Catholic opposition. In this connexion it may be noted that the Minister of Agriculture is a Catholic, while the Minister of Food is a Communist. Co-operation between the two, which is peculiarly desirable, may be difficult to achieve.

Finance may also cause difficulties. Many of the Catholics and most of the Liberals disliked M. Gutt's proposals for a tax on capital increases (see *Summary* No. 273). These proposals will probably be modified by the new Minister of Finance, M. Eyskens. If the changes are too great, the Socialists and Left-wing Catholics will be annoyed; if they are not fairly considerable the Right-wing Catholics and the Liberals will not be satisfied. M. Eyskens is prepared to make some changes, but is reputed to be in general sympathy with Gutt's proposals.

But the most serious problem which the Government has to tackle is the shortage of food. It has already been announced that rations have been reduced, and this announcement will strengthen the feeling expressed by several papers that imports must forthwith be increased considerably. M. van Acker himself stated in his first speech to the Chamber as Prime Minister that "it is essential that our Allies should realise that Belgium cannot exist on her own resources. Belgium can no longer carry on under the economic system in force for the last five months. She must be helped if she is to survive." General Bedele Smith, General Eisenhower's Chief of Staff, and General Grassell, the head of the Civil Affairs Bureau of S.H.A.E.F., have both visited Brussels during the past week for discussions with the new Prime Minister on supply questions. His Majesty's Government, as also the United States Government and S.H.A.E.F., are fully alive to the potential dangers of the supply situation and are concerting urgent measures aimed at increasing deliveries of the most essential food-stuffs. At the same time it has been impressed on M. van Acker that the economic crisis has been aggravated by the failure of the previous Government to organise adequate distribution or to check the rampant black market, and that the Allies rely on him to take immediate steps to remedy this state of affairs.

M. van Acker's speech shows that he is making a good start. After a warm tribute to M. Pierlot, he promised that vigorous action would be taken against collaborators and the black market, and an announcement made that labour would be mobilised in order to increase the war effort and economic activity in general. The Prime Minister added that Belgium desired inter-Allied solidarity and that if changes were imminent "in this westernmost corner of western Europe, she will defend her rights and show her readiness to shoulder all the burdens which the new situation entails, determined as she is to safeguard her own interests. It seems unnecessary to add that sorely-tried and impoverished Belgium, in conjunction with her Allies, intends to claim compensation from defeated Germany for the damage she has done."

On the 17th Queen Wilhelmina broadcast to the Conference of the Association of Women Directors of the National Association of Broadcasters at New York. Her Majesty, in drawing attention to the plight of her subjects in the Occupied Netherlands, said "some relief is already being brought to Holland. . . . This relief, however, has only been possible on quite a small scale, and it is quite certain that, if it is not provided on an adequate one, and at once, it will no more fulfil its purpose."

FRANCE.

It was reported by the Press of the 14th February that General de Gaulle had informed the Council of Ministers on the previous day of the communications made to him by the Ambassadors of the United States, Great Britain and the U.S.S.R. about the Crimea Conference. Another communiqué, issued after the

meeting of the Ministers on the 16th February, stated that clarification of these communications was being sought in Washington, London and Moscow.

Inspired comment on the first of these communiqués showed satisfaction qualified by certain reserves. It repeated regret that France had not been present at the Conference and that her complete equality with the Three Powers had not yet been fully recognised. The Government, it emphasised, could not take an immediate decision about the precise limitation of the French zone of occupation and it regretted that France should not yet be associated with the Inter-Allied High Command. Press comment generally took the same line; and the idea that France should be placed below the Three Powers and on a level with China was particularly distasteful. The *Humanité* alone gave unreserved approval to the conclusions of the Conference; and M. Maurice Thorez in a speech at Toulouse on the 19th rejoiced and did not share "the regrets of those who are astonished that France was not invited to the Conference." Had France between 1934 and 1943 had the army of millions of men "which we wanted," she would have had her rightful place.

New light was thrown on French official reactions when it was reported that General de Gaulle had refused an invitation of President Roosevelt to meet him in the Mediterranean immediately after the Conference. This was revealed in various reports from Paris correspondents of the American Press printed on the 18th February, including the Paris edition of the *New York Herald Tribune*, but in none of the French newspapers.

A statement was finally issued from the White House on the 20th February, saying that General de Gaulle had been invited to meet the President in Algiers, pressure of time having made it impossible for the President to go to Paris as he had hoped. The invitation, sent from Yalta, six days in advance of the President's arrival in Algiers, had been given to General de Gaulle by Mr. Caffery. It "concluded with an expression of real hope that the alternative proposal for the meeting in Algiers would prove satisfactory to the French leader." The President was "much disappointed" when advised that official business did not permit the General to come to Algiers. "Questions of mutual interest and importance to France and the United States" were pending.

At midnight on the same day a statement, issued by General de Gaulle's office, was broadcast from Paris. It stated that on the 12th February Mr. Caffery had expressed to the General the President's regrets at being unable to go to Paris in accordance with the invitation given by the French Government in November 1944. If General de Gaulle would accept an alternative proposal to meet at Algiers, the date would be indicated later. General de Gaulle replied that he was glad to hear that the President intended to visit a French port, but that this invitation to go there had taken him by surprise at a time when many affairs required his presence in Paris, and on the morrow of a conference between three heads of Allied Governments in which France had taken no part, and the details of which she did not yet know. He still hoped the President would come to Paris, where the Government and the whole population would always be extremely happy to receive him. The statement concluded: "It is common knowledge that since then the French Government and services have been working actively on the necessary exchange of views between France and the Allied Governments on the conclusions of the Yalta Conference."

In a statement on the 21st February, M. Teitgen, the Minister of Information, stated that the invitation had been handed to General de Gaulle four hours before the three Ambassadors called to inform him of the decisions taken at the conference. He had thus, at that moment, no knowledge of what had happened at Yalta and told Mr. Caffery that he did not think it would be possible to accept, but he would consult his Cabinet. On the following day, after discussion, the Cabinet agreed unanimously that it was impossible to accept the invitation.

While the strict observance of the request for secrecy was given as sole cause of the absence from the French press for several days of any reference to the incident just mentioned, it is certain that the exiguous size of newspapers restricts full ventilation of issues, whether home or foreign. M. Vincent Auriol, President of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Consultative Assembly, in the *Populaire* of the 18th February found space, however, to express disapproval of French demands for sole control of the Rhineland. Only international control could, he urged, give France security in this region. Vital industrial regions in Eastern and Western Germany must be under the control of an international army, capable of dealing with military threats and attempts by German magnates to recover control of the industries. No separate alliance, however strong, could

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hope to ensure French security, and the country, while enthusiastic about the pact with Russia, wanted a similar one with Britain.

On the following day M. Bidault attended a meeting of the Foreign Affairs Commission and gave it what information he had on the Crimea Conference and the Government's attitude. They would whole-heartedly co-operate in working out an international system of security and peace and would obtain guarantees on France's eastern frontier against any further German aggression. This meant effective control of the Rhine. M. Bidault's statements (it was reported) would be discussed at the Commission's next meeting.

The Council of Ministers, at its meeting of the 13th February (see above), also dealt with matters relating to the Empire. Thus it approved the general plan for the creation at Dakar of a large military, naval and air base, intended to guarantee the communications of the French Empire, and a draft decree creating an inter-ministerial committee for Indo-China. General de Gaulle will preside over this Committee, whose task it will be to co-ordinate economic, political and military action for the reconquest of French Indo-China and its return to the French Commonwealth. Speaking on the 15th at the celebration of the Annamite feast of Têt, General de Gaulle declared that, after its liberation with the growing aid of French arms, France intended to make the political, economic, social and cultural development of Indo-China "a primary aim in France's renascent power and rediscovered greatness." France, who was her own trustee (*mandataire*) in this matter, would pursue her task by respecting the rights, customs and traditions of the peoples of whom she had charge.

M. Teitgen, Minister of Information, in a wireless talk on the 15th February gave some figures to exemplify the purge in the civil service, which was due to be completed on that day (see *Summary* No. 279). Of 500 agents in his own Ministry, 372 had been affected. Twenty leading officials of the Ministry of the Interior had been dismissed. The purge had especially hit high officials and in the Central administrations only good patriots remained, who were entitled to respect and gratitude. (See also under "Middle East.")

SWITZERLAND.

Nothing has yet transpired as to the course of the economic negotiations which are in progress at Berne. It is, however, symptomatic that on the 17th February it was officially announced that the Federal Council had decided to freeze German assets in Switzerland. The decision is in line with similar regulations made in 1940 and later for the freezing of the assets of a number of other States, including France, Italy and the U.S.S.R.

Meanwhile, the trade figures illustrate the conditions in which the Swiss find themselves for the negotiations. The January figures, published on the 15th February, showed a decline in imports of one-third and in exports of two-thirds as compared with December: the volume of imports represented only 6 per cent. of the normal monthly import of goods before the war. This decline is mainly due to the fact that, owing to transport difficulties, Germany can now deliver practically nothing to Switzerland. The Russian occupation of Silesia has in any case cut off the surplus of German coal normally available for Switzerland. As a result of all this the authorities are preparing the public for serious privations. The bread ration has already been reduced: fats, meat and potato bread rations are to be reduced from the 1st March and coffee and tea rationing is foreshadowed.

Comment on the Crimea Conference emphasises the remarkable way in which the communiqué blends the essential features of the western *bourgeois* democracy of the English-speaking peoples with those of the eastern socialist democracy of the Soviet peoples.

In the course of the recent international Trade Union Conference in London the Swiss delegation invited the Russian Trade Union delegation to visit Switzerland and the Federal Council has authorised the Department for Justice and Police to grant the necessary visas for this purpose.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

Immediately after the publication of the communiqué of the Crimea Conference His Majesty's press attaché in Madrid visited the Under-Secretary for Press and Propaganda in order to persuade him to give proper guidance to the newspapers in their presentation of this most important event. Mr. Burns

left with Señor Arias Salgado a memorandum explaining the communiqué, and the same points were made individually to the semi-official commentator, Manuel Aznar, one of the bulwarks of *Arriba*. This preparation was markedly successful; all the Madrid newspapers followed the lines indicated, and some even quoted verbatim passages from the memorandum. This is a welcome change from the practice of the bad old days, when it was the Germans who gave the Spanish press not guidance but directives. Another interesting event in the world of propaganda is the incorporation into the national system on the 12th February of the notorious Falange station Radio Valladolid. (The programmes, however, are still made up of splenetic tirades against democracy, liberal thought, capitalism and the U.S.S.R.) A few days later two bombs exploded in the Press and Propaganda section of the Falange. It is not known whether these petards were placed by some disillusioned "Old Shirt" as a protest against the new realism of Spanish propaganda, or whether they were intended as a gesture of encouragement by Anarcho-Syndicalist haters of Franco.

As a postscript to the reference in last week's *Summary* to Dr. Negrín's cross-channel journey, there is some interest in a report of his meeting with Señor Maura broadcast on the French Telegraph Service (AFP) on the 12th February. The announcement, seemingly put out by Negrín, which gave an impression of cordiality, said that "there exists no fundamental divergence of views between the Maura and the Negrín groups; the only difference is that of the methods to be employed." From a private source recently in close contact with Maura comes a very different account of the meeting which was achieved only after two abortive attempts. According to this story, after a few preliminary exchanges Negrín asked for Maura's support. Maura replied "When you have given a satisfactory account of the 45 million pesetas you took with you when you left Spain, we will talk about politics, but not before." The meeting then prorumped.

The Portuguese press is always slow in reacting to important events because the leaders writers wait for guidance from the authorities before writing their editorials. And in dealing with the Crimea Conference there was a longer delay than usual since no papers are published on Ash Wednesday. The adherence of the Russians to the principle of unconditional surrender is taken as a proof of success in achieving unity of purpose, and as an assurance that the U.S.S.R. will not try to set up a puppet Government in Berlin. The progress made in the security organisation is regarded as satisfactory, but most of the papers have their doubts of the possibility of holding really free elections in occupied territories, especially those under Russian control. And naturally the Nationalist and Catholic press is bitter over Poland. But in general the newspapers have given a good reception to the findings of the Conference which they describe as a solid contribution to the future welfare of the world.

ITALY.

The Congress of the General Confederation of Italian Labour, which began on the 28th January at Naples, came to an end on the 1st February. The delegates, 475 of them, including three from enemy-occupied Italy, had assembled there to rebuild the foundations of the Trade Union movement in Italy and to ensure that its unity as such should be preserved without regard to party politics. Throughout the Congress the raising of political issues was severely discouraged. The three Joint Secretaries, Achille Grandi, Christian Democrat, Oreste Lizzadri, Socialist, and Giuseppe di Vittorio, Communist, addressed the meeting, but di Vittorio was the outstanding personality and scored a personal triumph both by his powers of oratory and by his grasp of the various problems with which he was faced. After reporting the benefits already secured, such as the cost of living and Christmas bonuses and the right to work uncultivated land, the executive adopted a resolution recommending that a sliding wage scale adjustable to the cost of living should be fixed, that the South should share in the industries now concentrated in the North, and that requisitioned factories which are not doing essential war work should be handed back. The Labour Offices came in for strong criticism and a demand was made for the restriction of their activities, if not for their complete abolition. Agricultural and social insurance reforms, the protection of women and children in industry and improved pensions were voted and

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carried. The constitution and rules of the Confederation were drafted and adopted subject to revision by a new Congress when the North was liberated. In the opinion of observers, the Confederation has strengthened its position and deserves to be recognised by the Italian Government. But whether the Government will take any action before the North is freed seems doubtful, but it would seem of great value that the Government and the Confederation should keep in close touch, particularly as regards the industrial North.

In an attempt to check inflation, the Council of Ministers has passed certain measures. By abolishing the "political" price of bread, 5 lire a kilogram, and substituting an "economic" price of about 15 lire a kilogram, the Council estimates that the Treasury will be relieved of an annual subsidy of 12 milliard lire. The workers and their dependants are, however, to receive a compensatory allowance as well as increased wages, but whether the cost of this has been taken into account when calculating the saving to the Treasury is not mentioned. Reforms in taxation, directed particularly against Fascist and black market fortunes are to be introduced and agriculture is to be included in the excess profits laws. Fixed-price shops and restaurants, workers' canteens and co-operative stores are to be started by the Government in a further attempt to fight the black market. Finally the Council decided to double all army pay.

Although the Roman Press expresses satisfaction at the general results of the Yalta Conference it is a little disappointed that Signor Bonomi's telegram brought no specific reference to Italy in the communiqué. A Press report mentioned, however, that Mr. Eden was to meet Judge Rosenman, President Roosevelt's new adviser on European affairs, in order to discuss Italy's financial position and consider how the armistice terms could be adjusted to lighten the burden

On the 7th February the Communist paper *Unità* published an article on the Italo-Yugoslav frontier question. Italy, according to *Unità*, must pursue a pro-Yugoslav policy since she has nothing to fear from a strong Yugoslavia. Those parts of the Venezia Giulia which are prevalently Slovene must, if they wish, return to Yugoslavia, but a distinction is made as regards the four towns of Trieste, Fiume, Gorizia and Zara, whose population, the article points out, is mainly Italian. There are, however, other territories which are predominantly Italian and wish to remain Italian and it is this problem *Unità* says, which remains to be solved by the two Governments. But if the wishes of the population and the needs of the new Yugoslav States are taken into account, a solution, *Unità* is sure, can be found.

Neo-Fascist comment on the Yalta Conference is remarkable chiefly for its tacit acceptance of the prospect of an Allied victory. The main exception to this trend is in the comments of Farinacci, who still continues to reaffirm his faith in the final victory of Fascism; but his rival Pettinato, of the *Stampa*, whose articles have for some time expressed a more gloomy realism, is already discussing what sort of a peace Germany and Italy can expect.

Swiss papers report that the people of North Italy are increasingly conscious of the deteriorating military situation and its probable effect on themselves. The Russian victories are now openly discussed and the Fascists, especially the many thousands of refugees from the South, no longer conceal their anxiety about the fate in store for them. Fascist leaders are said to be making plans for the transfer of their families to Switzerland or Austria. Recent reports suggest that more German divisions are being moved north, both towards the Brenner and also through Treviso and Ljubljana in the direction of Vienna.

According to the press, the Committee of National Liberation for Northern Italy has informed the Rome Government of its decision to incorporate all partisans in Northern Italy in a single national army under a unified command. This will mean that the local and political groups will all come under recognised military leaders and political distinctions will be abolished. This step is said to have been taken on the initiative of the Communist Party. General Mark Clark has issued a broadcast appeal to partisans in the North, telling them that the time has now come for them to re-form their bands and prepare for the moment of attack.

THE VATICAN.

The Vatican appears to be taking Moscow's attacks on itself seriously. On the 10th February its wireless quoted a root and branch repudiation by the *Osservatore Romano* (see *Summary* No. 280 under "Vatican"). On the 13th it pointed out that the Pope wished "not a hard nor a mild but a just peace"; and on the 17th its wireless in English, Italian, German and Spanish denied the latest Soviet assertion, that "the Holy See was displeased with the results of Crimea, because it had not been invited to take part itself." The words of the denial obviously refer only to the second half of the charge: "The Holy See has never had the remotest thought of taking part in the Conference." There is undoubtedly a desire amongst Roman Catholics in many countries that the Pope should help in making the Peace. An article in the Spanish *La Vanguardia*, quoted on the Spanish wireless of the 13th February, ascribes the Russian attacks on the Pope to a desire to facilitate attacks on the Poles, to favour the Orthodox Church at the expense of the Roman Catholic and to undermine Catholicism in Italy, France, "and even Germany, where Catholics have always remained aloof from National Socialism, and could become an influential element in a future Germany." On the other hand, articles in United States and British Communist papers tell how the Russians have restored religious freedom to Catholic Poles and how both they and the Catholics are strictly observing the Concordat.

On the 14th February the Vatican wireless announced the baptism of the Ex-Chief Rabbi of Rome, Dr. Zolli. He chose the christian name of Eugenio. Two days later the enemy wireless broadcast a burlesque recording of the ceremony, in which the altar was decorated with seven branch candlesticks and Masonic symbols, and the preacher concluded his sermon with the words: "Through Roosevelt's intervention, the Churches have been opened to you as never before, with a breach in the walls. You have chosen the name Eugenio. His holiness has been touched by your act of loyalty: he therefore has felt bound to express his gratitude to your whole race by adding to his own name that of Ezekiel."

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

A small proportion of the German and Hungarian garrison of Buda appears to have fought their way out and reached the German lines; but most of those attempting to do so were rounded up. Elsewhere the front in Hungary has been stationary.

The clearance of the capital is now complete, and the next session of the Provisional National Assembly is to be held there. It will be attended by additional representatives, for areas liberated since its formation, including Budapest and its suburbs. Elections will be held here as soon as possible.

Recruiting for the new Hungarian army is so far proceeding by voluntary enlistment. Mass meetings to discuss the question have been held in several towns. The inflow of recruits is said to be good; about 6 per cent. are women. The city of Szeged has decided to raise and recruit a division bearing its name. In the internal field, local committees have been set up to establish lists of claimants for land under the proposed reform, and to designate land for distribution. The proposal of the National Peasant's Party is to set an upper limit of 200 *hold* (Hungarian acres) for peasants or 100 *hold* for the "feudal" class. The Communist Party has approved these proposals, but suggests that especially deserving recipients may get up to 300 *hold*. It is proposed to carry through the reform by the 1st October. The trade unions are also resuming activity. The invitation to them from the World Trade Union Conference was received with enthusiasm. The Peoples' Courts have executed further persons, including several officers, convicted of brutality to Jews in labour battalions.

A number of laws in execution of the armistice terms have been passed. The laws incorporating Yugoslav, Roumanian and Czechoslovak territory have been abrogated; German subjects are interned; German newspapers and books are to be destroyed; persons imprisoned for anti-German activities are released; security for anti-Fascist refugees in Hungary is guaranteed.

The British and American members of the Inter-Allied Commission have left for Hungary. The head of the British Military Mission is Major-General Edgcumbe; the political representative is Mr. Gascoigne.

The Courts of Arrow Cross, Hungary, have sentenced Colonel-General Veres, who in October last was commanding the Second Army (Transylvania) to 15 years' imprisonment, and Lt.-General Hardy, commander of the Danube Flotilla, to death. Hardy is said to have brought to Budapest an emissary from Tito, who then got into touch with N. Horthy, junior, "whom the German Security Service caught red-handed and arrested."

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The training of the first batch of Hungarian officers in Germany is reported to be completed. It is also reported that some Hungarian troops have been sent to Denmark.

Roumania.

The proceedings for the trial of "war criminals" still hang fire. A number of military officers, including Mareşal Antonescu have been dismissed from the army. Mareşal Antonescu has been a prisoner in Russia for the last five months so this order does not amount to much more than the giving of formal expression to a *fait accompli*.

The Trades Union Congress which opened in Bucharest at the end of January appears to have followed the usual lines of such gatherings. The Congress was made use of by the National Democratic Front for the purpose of advertising their programme, which includes getting control of the Government. So far little progress has been made in this direction and any success would depend upon Soviet support, which is problematical.

The directors of a leading industrial concern in Ploieşti report damage to their property caused by American bombing amounting to 17 million lei, and by Russian looting, 12 million lei.

Yugoslavia.

The enemy maintain their defensive positions in east Slavonia and north-east Bosnia. Behind that screen their Balkan retreat continues. They have retired from most of Hercegovina, and the partisans claim to be only 10 kilometres from Sarajevo. Meanwhile the enemy have secured their communications in Slavonia by establishing control of a broad belt north of Brod from the Save to the Drave, capturing Virovitica and eliminating the bridgehead south of the Drave. Partisan sources assert that the Croat forces under German command have been fighting very well. In Slovenia the enemy, continuing their drive to clear the province of partisans, have crossed the Krka river and advanced to the south-east. They have also reappeared in the valleys leading down to Gorizia. They captured several places in the hills north-east of Gorizia on the 7th and 8th February, but by the 14th the partisans had reoccupied them. In this area the Slovene partisans have the support of Italian Communist units, but have attacked the Italian Osoppo (non-Communist) partisans. The enemy have attacked westwards from Bihatch in west Bosnia and appear to aim at establishing control of all south Croatia.

Djilas, the editor of *Borba*, the official Communist organ, has written an article welcoming the pronouncements of the Crimean Conference. He wrote that they would put an end to the Yugoslav intrigues in London and gave international sanction to AVNOJ's legislation. As to the recommendation that members of the last Yugoslav Parliament should enter AVNOJ, this "appeared at first sight somewhat odd." For, Djilas emphasised, most of the members had been adherents of Stojadinovitch, whom he described as "a German agent." [Stojadinovitch was handed over to the British for internment in 1941 before the German attack on Yugoslavia.] However, he pointed out that a safeguard was provided in the reservation that only those members should be admitted who had not "collaborated with the invader." Subject to that proviso the partisans had no objection to the proposal; and the importance of the suggestion lay in the fact that it would assure *vis-à-vis* the Great Powers the legal, constitutional continuity between the new and the old Yugoslavia.

Partisan opinion in Belgrade holds that since over four-fifths of the last Parliament supported Stojadinovitch, an "enemy of the people," and the remainder supported Machek, also an "enemy of the people," few of them appear likely to qualify for admission to AVNOJ. Tito, however, appears to be hopeful that he will be able to dig out enough former Deputies to comply with the letter, if not with the spirit, of the undertaking which he has given.

Shubashitch and his colleagues of the Royal Yugoslav Government arrived in Belgrade on the 16th February. He gave very optimistic interviews to the press, suggesting that agreement on the Regents would be easy, and that all members of the last Parliament "who truly enjoyed the confidence of the people" would be able to enter AVNOJ. Pressed about the gold reserves of the National Bank, help from U.N.R.R.A., and the use of Yugoslav ships, he stated that the Allies were sympathetic and understanding.

Kardelj, Tito's chief political expert, has spoken on the national economy, in carefully balanced antitheses. There was no question of a change in the economic

system; but political democracy was useless without economic control by the State. Officialdom must be overcome by the organisation of the masses. The immediate need was hard work.

ERRATA.

Summary No. 280, p. 14, *Yugoslavia*, para. 2, l. 7, for "1935" read "1938"; and para. 6, l. 3, for "14,100" read "14,400."

Greece.

There would appear to be in Athens a general atmosphere of relief that the agreement with E.L.A.S. (see last *Summary*) has put an end to the fighting and that there is now a prospect of a return to more normal conditions. The more moderate papers at once expressed their approval of the agreement, though they criticised certain of its terms, as, for instance, the immediate lifting of martial law. The first reaction of the E.D.E.S. press was to express its anger and amazement that the Government had given the rebels absolution for their sins and begged them to return to the fold as if nothing had happened. What value, said these papers, could be set on the agreement, when so many earlier ones had been broken by the extreme Left? The same view appears to be held by General Gonatas, the veteran Venizelist, who had stated that the agreement gives no guarantees for further security. Later reports, however, indicate that the anti-E.L.A.S. press is now becoming more moderate in its comment, while *Rizospastis* and *Eleftheri Ellada*, which are now on sale again, are taking the same line as M. Siantos in his statement after signing the agreement, *i.e.*, that the agreement is a fair one, and that the extreme Left will honour its terms.

Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden had a great reception when they visited Athens on the 14th February on their way home from the Crimea Conference. It was not until three hours before their arrival that the news of their visit was generally known; even so, over a hundred thousand people assembled in Constitution Square to listen to their impromptu speeches. Mr. Churchill said that the freedom, prosperity and happiness of the Greek people was dear to all the nations of the British Commonwealth and Empire. He hoped that Greece would take her proper place in the circle of victorious nations. Party hatreds must die, and there must be unity and resolute comradeship. Mr. Eden remained in Greece a day or two longer than Mr. Churchill, in order to hold discussions with members of the Greek Government. Three T.U.C. officials have arrived in Athens to act as observers at the forthcoming Greek Trade Union elections.

Albania.

So far as internal reconstruction is concerned the Provisional Government has clear ideas as to its aims and how it will try to attain them. Constant emphasis, which is doubtless necessary, but cannot be welcome to an indolent people, is laid on the need for all to work, and it is reported that all persons between 17 and 35 will be mobilised for the purpose. Efforts are being made to end blood feuds as unfitting between comrades in the new democratic Albania. The educational aim is to do away with illiteracy by having classes for adults and a children's school in every village. In trade and industry, it is repeated, the Government proposes not to abolish private enterprise, but to control it in order to prevent excessive profit-making and anarchy in production. Part of the Government's agricultural policy is the fixing of prices for corn. Round the nucleus of one or two old craftsmen's guilds the Government has organised a general workers' union among the duties of which—as Sejfulla Malleshova, the Communist Minister of Propaganda, explained—it would be to support the economic system, the army and the workers' Government which had been set up thanks to the shedding of the workers' blood.

A partisan military court at Scutari has been imposing sentences of death or long imprisonment on "war criminals," which seems to mean prisoners taken in the recent fighting in the north or people who helped the Nationalists.

Bulgaria.

It is generally recognised in Bulgaria that the fierce sentences imposed by the People's Court on the ex-Regents, former Ministers and Deputies and others were dictated by the central Fatherland Front Committee, a body which is dominated by Communists and may be regarded as the supreme political organisation in Bulgaria and as roughly comparable with the Supreme Soviet in the U.S.S.R. While the more enlightened Bulgarians have been depressed

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and alarmed by the trials, the average Bulgarian reaction has been one of passivity coupled with a characteristic desire to be, or appear to be, on the strongest side—the Left. Meanwhile, the trials in the provinces of officers, officials and others involved in the repression of the partisans continue. At three places—Plovdiv, Gorna Orehovitsa and Trn—alone 141 have been condemned to death, 33 to imprisonment for life and some to lesser terms, while very few have been acquitted. New divisions of the People's Court have been set up at Sofia to deal respectively with army officers, former members of military courts and 111 members of the police. Besides this, 110 persons are to be tried for the persecution of Jews.

The Communists no doubt hope that the Fatherland Front coalition is merely temporary and that they will be able to hoist themselves into power from the shoulders of their present partners—viz., the Agrarians, the Social Democrats and the Tsveno. Knowing that if genuinely free election were held the Agrarians would sweep the board, the Communists have been taking all possible steps to make up for their lack of numbers by capturing key positions. In several branches of the Administration Communist influence already predominates. The Fatherland Front committees in the provinces, in Government departments and in industry are virtually Communist. More important, the Communists have gradually been acquiring a monopoly of physical force. Non-Communists have been disarmed, but a National Guard has been formed of Communists—mainly youths—and a number of members of the party have been secretly armed and keep an eye, for example, on every village. Anyone who proves recalcitrant to Communist influence—whether he be employer or workman or merely a potential subscriber to the much-boosted Freedom Loan—is liable to be denounced as a Fascist and to be arrested. In the face of this terrorism, the Agrarians, despite their numbers, are powerless and the bulk of the peasant population is passive, if not non-co-operative. According to one account—which may be based on nothing more than gossip—10,000 people had been killed in the "purge" before the trials began. The crux of the situation no doubt lies in the army. Besides the introduction of political commissars, Communists have already been put in several of the chief army posts and the People's Court may be expected to deal wholesale with non-Communist officers.

A delegation left Bulgaria on the 15th February, but failed to reach London before the close of the Trades Union Conference.

Turkey.

The Crimea Conference caused great satisfaction in Turkey and in a chorus of praise for its results the Turkish press described it as a success which demonstrated Allied solidarity and by solving thorny problems like those of Poland and Yugoslavia gave good hope for future peace and the rights of small nations. The Turks' chronic fear of Russian policy in the Balkans will not have been lessened by an article in the Belgrade Communist paper *Borba*, of the 14th February, sharply criticising Turkey's pro-German conception of neutrality and warning her not to meddle wth the Balkan countries' new-found unity. All indications, such as the Crimea decisions, that Russia will keep step in this area with Britain and the United States are very welcome to the Turks. The deep satisfaction, moreover, which they derive from the restoration of the Greek situation was reflected in an article in *Ulus* emphasising that between Mr. Churchill's two visits Greece had moved from deplorable chaos to being an example for all Balkan countries.

Under the auspices of the International Red Cross, caïques were to leave Izmir last week with foodstuffs for Rhodes, Leros and Kalymnos.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

The twenty-fifth anniversary of King Farouk's birthday was celebrated on the 11th February with greater elaboration than usual. The Egyptian army played a prominent part in the ceremonies, and articles in the press and eulogies by prominent Egyptians were even more numerous than in the past. One of the birthday gifts to the King was a collection of Russian arms presented by the Government of the U.S.R.R. through the Soviet Minister at Cairo.

Arab Union has once more come to the fore in Egypt with the meeting in Cairo, beginning on the 14th February, of Arab Foreign Ministers. An official communiqué issued by the Egyptian Ministry for Foreign Affairs on the opening day stated that this meeting was being held to "elaborate the principles which

should govern the League of Arab Nations." Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Transjordan, Syria and the Lebanon were all represented; the Yemen alone had been unable to send her delegate owing to lack of time. Musa Alami was again invited to represent the Arabs of Palestine. According to *The Times* of the 19th February, Abdul Rahman Azzam, head of the Department of Arab Affairs in the Egyptian Foreign Office, informed the press that draft statutes of the proposed Arab League might be ready before the end of the month. The Egyptian Government would then invite the Governments of the Arab States to send representatives to Cairo to approve them.

The arrival in Cairo last week of Shukri Quwatli, the President of Syria, on the completion of his talks with Ibn Saud, also attracted the interest of the Egyptian public. King Farouk gave an official dinner-party and reception in honour of Shukri, who himself entertained the King at the Syrian Legation in Cairo. No doubt Shukri took the opportunity of his visit to Egypt to discuss with the King and his Ministers the question of Syria, which has received of late a good deal of sympathetic attention in that country.

The visit to Egypt on their way back from the Crimea Conference of Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden, together with that of President Roosevelt, has naturally given rise to wide speculation. The official announcement, published on the evening of the 20th February, refers briefly to the Prime Minister's talks, in which Mr. Eden took part, with Haile Selassie, Ibn Saud, King Farouk and Shukri Quwatli. Discussions of importance took place at these meetings, as no doubt at those between President Roosevelt and his same three Royal visitors, but it would be unwise to assume that any final decisions were reached such as some wishful-thinkers in the press would have the world believe.

Up to date the Syrian Government is still awaiting from the French authorities the detailed proposals they have promised to make for a final settlement. We have urged the French Foreign Minister in Paris to see that these proposals, including the question of the *Troupes Spéciales*, are presented without further delay, and have emphasised to him the great importance of the proposals being stated in as conciliatory a manner as possible. M. Bidault has promised to let us have a reply by the 22nd February.

The State Department has also instructed the American Ambassador at Paris to urge the French Provisional Government to show moderation in their dealings with the Levant States, and in particular to abstain from the use of force. The State Department hopes that the French will agree to make certain concessions, if the Levant States for their part are ready to give assurances for the protection of French interests there. The concessions to which special reference is made are: the establishment of normal French diplomatic representation at Beirut and Damascus; the transfer of the *Troupes Spéciales*, subject to such supervision as may be thought necessary during the war; and the provision of equipment for the local gendarmerie. The State Department has likewise instructed the American Minister to the Levant States to impress upon the two local Governments the advisability of negotiating with the French an agreement defining their mutual relations.

Interest in the Syrian question continues to occupy the attention of Iraqi statesmen, official and unofficial. It need hardly be said that among the latter Nuri Pasha is the most prominent. During a recent visit to Istanbul he made a statement to the Arab News Agency, clearly implying that Iraq was prepared to assist Syria by furnishing her with arms, and ending with the words: "If the Syrian Government will define now the help it desires, Iraq will promptly meet its appeal."

On his return to Bagdad Nuri communicated his idea to the Regent, the Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, explaining that his proposal was to send, not only arms, but also five or six thousand "volunteers," to be chosen from Iraqis of Syrian origin already serving in the Iraqi army. These would form the nucleus of a national Syrian army, while the *Troupes Spéciales* would be given a status similar to that of the Assyrian Levies in Iraq, being maintained by the French in agreement with the Syrian Government. Thanks to the intervention of His Majesty's Ambassador, who pointed out the folly and danger of any such step on the part of Iraq, the scheme has been dropped for the moment, but the idea has caught on and may well be revived. Certain inflammatory anti-French articles having recently appeared in the local press, all editorial reference to Syria has now been forbidden by the Iraqi authorities until further notice.

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THE FAR EAST.

The Japanese claim that they were not taken by surprise at the American attack on Iwojima. *Domei* on the 16th February said that at the end of January an American task force had disappeared from Philippine waters, and that the Japanese military and naval authorities had been on the watch for its reappearance nearer Japan. An attack on Iwojima was expected because the island had been used as a forward air observation post to detect American bombers from Saipan and report their course to the Japanese fighter stations in Japan proper. Should the Americans take Iwojima they could establish an air base there for fighters which could then escort and protect the B29 bombers. The Japanese assert that they beat off four attempts to land on Iwojima and also allege that several American warships were sunk (*Domei*, the 18th February).

Japanese reports on the carrier-borne aircraft which raided the Tokyo area say that 1,000 aircraft took part in the first day's raid, but only 600 on the second day. The Japanese say that the attacks were directed chiefly against airfields and aeroplane factories around Tokyo, but that trains and shipping were also assailed. They admit that military objectives were the main target, but complain that, in Shizuoka, Chiba and Ibaragi prefectures, Buddhist temples used as refuges for evacuee children were attacked, though the evacuees sustained no casualties. The Japanese also allege that the aircraft dropped propaganda leaflets but say that these "ridiculous and amusing" handbills were immediately collected and turned over to the authorities. The Japanese Imperial Headquarters communiqué claimed that on the 16th February 147 American aircraft were shot down for a Japanese loss of 61; while on the 17th February the communiqué claimed 109 American aircraft downed for the loss of seventeen Japanese aeroplanes. The Japanese further asserted that only slight damage had been sustained through the bombing and that the Tokyo people had gone about their daily tasks with calm and resolution (*Domei*, the 17th and 18th February).

On the 14th February Iguchi, the spokesman of the Japanese Board of Information, gave foreign correspondents his views on the communiqué issued at the close of the Crimea Conference. According to the *Domei* broadcast in English, what Iguchi said was that, despite their professions of idealism, the United States and Great Britain "had sold Poland in one of the most shameful acts in the game of power politics that the modern world has known." Poland's fate was an example of the menace under which all small nations must live. After predicting the failure of the Crimea Conference objectives, Iguchi concluded: "Future world peace and security cannot be found by driving hard bargains for personal gains, at a cost paid by others, but by honest statesmanship, guided by the principles adhered to by Japan, which, as Shigemitsu has explained, exclude none, but invite the collaboration of all." The Japanese overseas service in German rendered Iguchi's concluding remark: "World peace can only be achieved by just government as outlined by Minister Shigemitsu in his speech on Japanese foreign policy. That is to say, peace is only possible by acting on Shigemitsu's principle of not rejecting any hand which offers peace."

The Japanese overseas service in English (the 15th February) indignantly denied that Iguchi had made any peace overtures to the Allies. It is said that the *Domei* version in English was the original one used by Iguchi and that the phrase "excluding none, but inviting the collaboration of all," embodies a familiar principle.

Shigemitsu, in his speech to the Diet on the 21st January, was quoted by *Domei* (the 24th January) as saying that the Anglo-American policy of force could never secure enduring peace and that a peaceful world order could be brought into being only in an atmosphere of international amity and co-operation which excluded none, but invited the collaboration of all. He went on to re-enunciate the five principles of the Joint Declaration of the East Asiatic Nations—originally promulgated in November 1943—the first principle of which is equality and reciprocity of nations. The Japanese Government are thus trying to represent themselves as the champions of the rights among small States and as opponents of "Great Power" politics. The *Domei* broadcast from Singapore (the 19th February) said that, following the Polish precedent, Chungking China would be carved up too, and that the internal strife between the Kuomintang and the Communists would facilitate this. Japanese radio and press comment on the forthcoming San Francisco conference betrays considerable uneasiness about possible Russian action against Japan.

The renewed negotiations between the Kuomintang and the Communist Parties, which began towards the end of January (see this *Summary*, No. 278), have again broken down and little sign of progress is seen. Chou En-lai returned to Yenan on the 16th February after giving out a statement to the press in which he said that the Kuomintang had rejected the Communist demand for the establishment of a coalition Government and of a joint High Command over all the military forces in China. The Kuomintang, he said, had insisted on the retention of its dictatorship, and had demanded that the Communist forces should submit to the control of the existing Kuomintang-controlled National Military Council. Chou declared that the Kuomintang had been willing only to hold a conference of parties of a consultative nature, with a prearranged agenda which would preserve the Kuomintang dictatorship. This proposal Chou had rejected and he had decided to return to Yenan to report to the Communist Central Executive Committee. He expressed the gratitude of his Party to the American Ambassador, Major-General Hurley, for his untiring efforts to promote a settlement (Yenan Radio, 17th February). According to Kuomintang sources the Chungking Government offered the Communists legal status for their party, participation in the Executive Yuan and National Military Council and creation of a joint Government Communist committee presided over by a neutral observer, preferably an American officer, for the reorganisation and supply of the Communist forces.

Chungking Press comment on the Crimea Conference has in general been favourable; the Chinese Catholic paper *Yi Shih Pao* (15th February), however, expressed dissatisfaction at the treatment of the Polish Government in London and also at the exclusion of General de Gaulle from the Conference. The paper expressed the hope that the "appeasement policy" would not be repeated at the San Francisco meeting, where China would have to make her opinions heard in order that "some happiness might result for the Far East and the seeds of yet another war be got rid of." The *Sao Tang Pao* (15th February) opined that the Americans and British would hasten to score victories in the Far East and Pacific so as to enhance their prestige at the San Francisco meeting. A Yenan daily paper said that there was no democratic coalition Government able to represent all parties, groups and classes in China and declared that the Kuomintang Government should be allowed to send only one-third of the Chinese representatives to San Francisco; the other two-thirds should be made up of representatives of the Chinese Communist Party, of the China Democratic League, and of "noted non-party figures who would represent the broad masses of liberated and occupied China and the Chungking-controlled areas." The paper (presumably the *Emancipation Daily*) hoped that this important point would receive due consideration from the three great Allies (Yenan Radio, 17th February).

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

On the whole it is undoubtedly true to say that the American reaction to the Crimea Conference continues to be extremely favourable. Sober praise is bestowed for the work accomplished and the conference has been hailed "as a milestone on the road to victory and peace." Several columnists have pointed out that, in part at least owing to the actions of President Roosevelt since the issue of the communiqué from Yalta, America has given a cautious endorsement which may be worth considerably more than a superficial enthusiasm. The principal significance of the decisions reached at Yalta, according to the *New York Times*, lies in the fact that they represent a sincere effort by the Three Big Powers to find common ground for collaboration in peace as well as war and that they mark the end of unilateral action. Considerable stress is laid on the tremendous importance of United States participation in European affairs in that, "while every move of every European Power is suspected of ulterior purposes, the United States is above such suspicions." As was only to be expected, a critical note is struck by the Scripps–Howard newspapers, which feel that "Stalin dictated most of the terms and [that] the Atlantic Charter pledges, other than the German disarmament, come off a bad second." Doubts about the Polish settlement continue to be expressed particularly by Congressmen of Polish origin and by representatives of the large Polish population of the United States.

The statement by Mr. Byrnes that President Roosevelt himself had proposed the formula for settling the complicated Polish question has helped somewhat to allay suspicions of a Russian victory, particularly as he also stated that the voting procedure for the proposed United Nations Security Council, to which Russia agreed, was also the President's suggestion. In response to questions at

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his press conference on whether there would be two Polish Governments present at the San Francisco Conference Mr. Byrnes made the statement that the Lublin Committee was the only Provisional Government, though he added that it must be reorganised and replaced. This, however, does not conform to His Majesty's Government's interpretation of the published Yalta document and they will continue to recognise the Polish Government in London until they are satisfied that a Government of National Unity has been properly formed as a result of the work of the Commission consisting of M. Molotov and the British and United States Ambassadors in Moscow. At the end of his press conference Mr. Byrnes said he hoped that the President would give a radio talk or would address Congress. This suggestion has been taken up by Vice-President Truman, the Chairman of the Senate, and it is reported to have received support from both parties.

Mr. Roosevelt's desire to give the fullest information to the American people is seen in Mr. Byrnes's speedy return from the Crimea. Not only is Mr. Byrnes particularly influential in the Senate, but he is an impressive speaker, and the elaborations and explanations he was able to give the press undoubtedly have helped to mould public opinion.

Even more important has been the President's brilliant selection of the United States delegates to the San Francisco Conference, which has been praised with remarkable unanimity. While Mr. Stettinius will head the delegation, satisfaction is expressed at the emergence from his retirement of his predecessor, Mr. Cordell Hull, who will act as Chief Adviser. Some papers go so far as to forecast the election of Mr. Hull as Chairman of the Conference. In addition to Democratic members of the Congress, Mr. Roosevelt has also appointed three Republicans, Senator Vandenberg, Representative Charles Eaton and Commander Stassen.

Particular emphasis is placed on the importance of the choice of Senator Vandenberg, who exercises great influence among the Republicans in the Senate on matters of foreign policy. It is understood that Senator Vandenberg will not signify his acceptance until he has had a talk with the President, though it is confidently expected that he will not refuse to serve. The selection of the former Governor of Minnesota, Commander Stassen, who is 38 and an ardent internationalist, has provoked considerable comment. In some quarters it is regarded as a snub to Governor Dewey, the titular leader of the Republican party, and as a "political pay-off" to Senator Ball (a follower of Commander Stassen), in return for his support at the November elections. It is even held that by his action the President has deliberately enhanced Commander Stassen's chances of securing the Republican Presidential nomination in 1948. The general opinion has been well summed up by the *Newark News*, which states: "The President has realistically given recognition to Congress, to women's stake in the world peace (a reference to Dean Virginia Gildersleeve, of Barnard College), and to the principle that our internal policy should be non-partisan; he has shown that he does not intend to repeat the mistakes of Wilson; he has acted to obtain essential unity; the balanced representation provides reasonable assurance that the nation and the Senate will support the decisions agreed upon, if they hold a promise of respite from war."

There are increasing indications of "high hopes" in connexion with the San Francisco meeting, which is often described as "the most important decision" reached at Yalta. While Americans were entitled to look forward with solid confidence to the work of the United Nations Conference at San Francisco, Mr. Grew, the Acting Secretary of State, has warned them against too great optimism, pointing out that "the peace plan which will emerge from the conference cannot possibly satisfy everybody." "It must be fashioned," he said, "through mutual adjustment by many minds, and by many nations. It will not be to everyone a perfect instrument. Yet, if we condemn and discard that plan simply because we do not regard it as perfect, the alternative will assuredly be another war."

The fact that Russia and China are both taking part in the San Francisco Conference and the additional fact that the 25th April is the last day for the renewal of the non-aggression pact between the U.S.S.R. and Japan have led to the widespread hope in many quarters that Marshal Stalin will join the Allies in the Far Eastern war.

A letter has been sent to the *New York Times* signed by Mr. John Davies, former United States Ambassador to this country, and consultant on international organisation to the State Department, Mr. Sumner Welles, former Under-Secretary of State, and other people, referring to Colonel Oliver Stanley's

recent address to the Foreign Policy Association in New York in which he is alleged to have referred to the mandate system as representing the "old theory on trusteeship." "It seems pertinent and proper to ask," said the letter, "whether we have correctly understood the policy of Colonel Stanley and whether he is now perhaps in favour of the annexation of mandated territories by the Power administering them. We also believe it pertinent to ask what is the policy of our own Government and the Government of other Powers on this point. In our opinion," the letter continued, "the Pacific islands formerly mandated to Japan should not be annexed by the United States, but should be governed by this country as trustee for the United Nations. Suitable strategic arrangements should, of course, be assured." The letter urges that this subject should be discussed at the San Francisco Conference.

American participation in the Bretton Woods financial programme was submitted to both Houses of Congress this week in a Bill which treats the matter as an executive agreement rather than a treaty. The measure was introduced into the Senate by Senator Wagner, Chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee, and by Senator Tobey, senior minority member of the Committee, while in the House of Representatives Mr. Spence, Chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee, introduced the Bill, which also provides for the repeal of the Johnson Act in favour of any of the affected countries which might become members of the proposed international institutions. Mr. Spence told the House of Representatives that the measure was the "fruit of non-partisan co-operation." The Bill also reserves to Congress such powers as changing the value of the dollar in terms of gold and continues indefinitely the United States Treasury stabilisation fund.

(See also under "France," "Low Countries," "Middle East" and "Latin America").

LATIN AMERICA.

The Mexico City Conference, which opened on the 21st, has been preceded by a series of significant, but not altogether surprising, moves in Latin America. As reported in last week's *Summary*, Chile, Ecuador, Paraguay and Peru signed the United Nations declaration in Washington on the 14th; on the 16th Venezuela announced the existence of a state of war with Germany and Japan, while the President of Uruguay has drafted a bill by which Uruguay will adhere to the United Nations' declaration. It is expected that the Chambers, at present in recess, will be summoned to consider this bill. All Latin America, with the exception of Argentina, will thus be at war with one or both members of the Axis, and it is even possible that Argentina may herself declare war (see below).

Before his departure for Mexico, the Brazilian Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs is reported to have emphasised "the outstanding part that would fall to Brazil in the Conference, by reason of her active participation in the war," and to have stated that one of the items on the agenda would be to see that the largest possible number of American countries had seats at the Peace Conference. The outstanding political problem before the Conference would be to adapt the Inter-American system to the world peace and security plan. The majority of the American nations would desire that, within the framework of the world security organisation, they should form a union "which, although accepting the general rules for the settlement of international disputes, should conserve its characteristics of a union of sister peoples."

Though the principal items on the agenda of the Conference are the questions of present co-operation between the American States during the war and the post-war transitional period, and their rôle in world organisation, the problem of Argentina cannot fail to be in the minds of the delegates, and indeed, figures in a subordinate position on the agenda. It is, therefore, of considerable interest that on the 18th February an exchange of notes between the Argentine and German Governments through the Swiss Legation was divulged in Buenos Aires. The Argentine Government accused Germany of holding Argentine diplomatic and consular officials as hostages and declared that if Germany persisted in this attitude, the Argentine Government would consider it a hostile act. They therefore reserved the freedom to take the necessary steps to defend their sovereignty and citizens. The Argentine note pointed out that the German Government had "sorely tried the patience and goodwill of the Argentine Government and the British and United States Governments"—much, presumably, as the first of these has "tried the patience" of the last two—and catalogued the tale of German procrastinations. The Acting Foreign Minister, however, informed the Press that he did not at present consider the question to be of such gravity as to be likely to lead to a declaration of war. This rather minor

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incident has obviously been pushed forward in such a way that it may be inflated into a full *casus belli* or allowed to resume its natural obscurity according to developments at Mexico City. Meanwhile, the Argentine Government are reported to have placed an embargo on German funds, and to have announced that Germany will be required to make good Argentine shipping losses and the cost of interning the crew of the *Graf Spee*. The pro-Axis newspapers *Cabildo* and *Federal* are now stated to have been closed down for an indefinite period, and the Argentine Minister of Justice, Dr. Rómulo Etcheverry Boneo, is reported to have resigned.

The Bolivian Government has raised the state of siege which has been in force since the Oruro rebellion last November, and in Ecuador President Velasco Ibarra is reported to have threatened to resign if the Constitution just elaborated by the Constituent Assembly is not amended.

On the 19th February recognition was extended to the Salvadorean régime of Colonel Aguirre Salinas by His Majesty's Government and the United States Government. At his Press Conference, Mr. Grew stated that it would rest with the Mexican Government to determine whether El Salvador should be invited to the Mexico City Conference. According to a Guatemalan broadcast the possibility of such an invitation has led the Guatemalan authorities, at least temporarily, to delay the departure of their delegation. The Minister of National Defence in the Guatemalan junta has published a denial of rumoured unrest in the army.

UNITED NATIONS.

World Trade Union Conference.

The World Trade Union Conference of Trade Unions held in County Hall, London, between the 6th–17th February, has been an event of considerable interest and significance. It has been the most representative international trade union gathering since the split in the ranks of international labour which followed the triumph of revolutionary communism in the Soviet Union. And the presence of delegations from three ex-enemy countries—Finland, Bulgaria and Italy (unexpectedly invited as a result of a decision of the Conference itself) in addition to delegations from most of the United Nations, made it the most representative international conference of any kind for many years. A large delegation of Soviet trade unionists was led by M. Kuznetsov, who made a deep impression on the Conference not only on account of his considerable force and ability, but also because of the restraint with which he used the position of ascendancy which he quickly established at the outset. (He did not press, for example, his original demand that invitations should be sent to the Lublin Poles.) Trade unionism in the United States was represented by delegations from the C.I.O. and the Railway Brotherhoods; but the A.F. of L. was a conspicuous absentee, having refused an invitation owing to its unwillingness to associate with Soviet trade unions or with the C.I.O. The presence of Señor Lombardo Toledano ensured that the point of view now dominant in Latin American trade unionism would be effectively expressed. It is significant that on most controversial issues the representatives of the Soviet trade unions, the C.I.O., the Latin Americans, and the French C.G.T., led by M. Louis Saillant, were closely in agreement.

A considerable part of the time of the Conference was devoted to the discussion of general resolutions relating to the part which should be played by trade unions in achieving victory, in the discussion of peace terms, and in dealing with the problems of post-war reconstruction. The discussion of these matters aroused little controversy though Sir Walter Citrine felt it necessary to warn the Conference that the employment of German labour for reparations under slave conditions might undermine trade union standards everywhere, and Señor Toledano made a pointed attack on the present régimes in the Argentine, Spain and Portugal.

The most dangerous threat to the success of the Conference arose over the discussion of future international trade union organisation. It was the hope of the British T.U.C., who were anxious to base any new organisation on the existing International Federation of Trade Unions (of which the A.F. of L., but not the C.I.O. or the Soviet trade unions, are members), that the Conference would confine itself to a non-committal discussion. But Mr. Sidney Hillman, of the C.I.O., expressed the dominant mood of the Conference in an eloquent speech moving that an entirely new World Trade Union Organisation should be established immediately. A compromise solution was eventually agreed whereby it was decided in principle to set up the new Organisation but to refer constitutional details (including the vital question of voting procedure) to a continuing Committee.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 282

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
28TH FEBRUARY, 1945.

Copy No. 183

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

THE 25th anniversary of the foundation of the Nazi Party was celebrated on the 24th February. Last year there was no proclamation by Hitler on this occasion, but a number of speeches were made by Party leaders, including Goebbels, Ley and Backe. This year, at the meeting of old Party members in Munich, an address by the Führer was read by the Under-Secretary of State, Esser, since Hitler's "duty and work" did not permit him to leave his headquarters. Hitler drew encouragement from the parallel between the successful struggle of the Party and Germany's present struggle. The German people, he said, was still facing the same coalition of deadly enemies—"the unnatural alliance between capitalist exploitation and Bolshevik murder"—as on the 24th February, 1920, when the Party had "declared war to preserve the nation." He admitted that the programme proclaimed then was not popular—many did not understand the salient points, and it was rejected by an overwhelming majority of the people. But without the National Socialist revolution, and Germany's material rearmament, the German people could not have risen to the present crisis. Hitler derided Allied plans for world security. "Asiatic Bolshevism" would not be hurled back in the "Geneva fun-fair" but by force of German arms.

He admitted that the struggle was difficult to-day, but repeated the familiar argument that "whatever we may lose in it is incomparably less than we should lose if the struggle were not brought to a successful end." Rome, after the battle of Cannae, did not win by attempting a "cowardly compromise" but by the "uncompromising decision to continue the fight for her existence by throwing in the uttermost strength left to the people." He promised that the turning-point would come this year, and appealed for continued and intensified determination by Front and Homeland, until a German victory could be placed in the hands of the young generation, the product of National Socialist education.

Hitler said that his life was only of value in so far as it served the nation, and referred to reports that the enemy intended to destroy his country home.

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He would be happy to share in "bearing to the last every burden which others have to bear. The only thing I could not bear would be signs of weakness among my people." He was working ceaselessly, not only for the strengthening of the fronts, but "if need be, for the elimination of all anti-social elements," elements "which either do not wish to participate in the preservation of our national existence or even try to oppose it." He concluded by declaring that, just as 25 years ago he had announced the victory of the Party, so to-day, "inspired as ever by faith in our people, I prophesy the final victory of the Reich."

This speech is the only one so far reported. Bormann sent telegrams to the Munich meeting on behalf of the party's leaders, and Hitler himself sent telegrams to Gauleiters Hanke and Koch from his headquarters, where he received Reichsleiters, Gauleiters and Formation leaders of the Party, to give them "directives for the victorious continuation of the struggle, for the comprehensive organisation of all forces of resistance, and for the unreserved employment of the party in the fateful struggle of the German nation."

Recent evidence, although fragmentary, confirms the impression that the Nazi party is relentless in its efforts to control the nation. A report from Bochum speaks of foreign workers as dispirited and angry but completely quelled by the armed vigilance of the S.S. Captured instructions for the evacuation of foreign workers from Alsace reveal meticulous care to guard and control them at every stage of their journey. Even the present travel difficulties have not prevented H.J. leaders from the entire Reich being given special training in Bavaria at the end of 1944. The course is said to have lasted several weeks, during which time all correspondence with the outside was forbidden to the boys. S.S "extermination units" are reported to exist in Bavaria and to have already carried out mass executions in Dachau. The Gestapo is said to have made a further extensive purge of possible "democratic" leaders in Vienna.

What can be said of the mass of the nation thus held in check? Letters and similar evidence show signs of increasing weariness and apathy which seems now to be expressing itself in more frequent if not more outspoken criticism, directed not so much against the authorities as against the fact that the war is still allowed to go on. Civilian letters in January contained references to the hopelessness caused by a breakdown in postal arrangements. One writer's only comment on the news was that, if the Russians could not be halted, then all was lost. Another saw no hope for peace in 1945, since "we won't be allowed to give in." The rising discontent is more clearly reflected, curiously enough, in the press. Leading articles written within the last ten days reprove those "weak-kneed" citizens who "meet the constant difficulties with the suicidal enemy slogan of 'Make an end of it' ('Schluss machen!')." Seibert wrote in the *Völkischer Beobachter* on the 20th that everyone was now asking how all this would end. The real danger he saw not in any collapse of the will to resistance but in "a kind of paralysis of initiative," a certain fatalism; "a heavy weight of psychic and physical burdens leads to an inner and outward fatigue which for hours, and even days, places us in a half-dreaming condition. We are not 'up to it.'"

The High Command communiqués gave prominence to the successful German attacks on the Hron bridgehead, and on the 25th announced that it had been smashed, and that elsewhere on the East Front German troops had persistently opposed Soviet attacks and made local counter-attacks. The Russians were being held on the Neisse. On the 23rd the O.K.W. reported heavy fighting in the inner fortifications of Poznan and Grudziadz. Since then these places have not been mentioned, and the communiqué has not yet admitted the loss of Poznan. Some anxiety and criticism at home as to the wisdom of defending encircled fortresses to the last is reflected in Dittmar's talk, which he devoted to a defence of the High Command's policy. There are signs that the German people are being prepared for the possibility that the Russians may launch a new large-scale offensive before the long-awaited German offensive begins. The Political Review of the 23rd suggested that the Command had not yet the "prerequisites" for passing from the defensive to the offensive.

In the West, the "long-expected large-scale attack" on the Roer was announced on the 23rd. Linnich, Jülich, and Düren were mentioned on the 24th and 25th, but it was claimed that no deeper penetrations had been made, and on the whole the tone of reports from the west is confident.

Publicity given to recent Allied raids on Berlin and Dresden culminated in a broadcast talk by Fritzsche on the 24th claiming that "the terrible crime of the 18th February on the town of Dresden had surpassed all previous examples of Allied cruelty." The speaker denied that Dresden was either a centre of war production or of communications: only "one thin line of communications" ran

through the city. The city was said to be full of refugees from more eastern districts; crowds of people took refuge in the parks, which were themselves bombed in the second raid. It was recently reported that several Government offices had moved from Berlin to Dresden and that space was being created to accommodate still more.

A recent S.H.A.E.F. review of the numbers of refugees and displaced persons in Germany stresses the fact that the total effect of all evacuation movements, whether from East or West, from invasion or bombing, is "to crowd the displaced persons into an ever-narrowing area of Central and South-western Germany." In this area all kinds of improvised movement are now taking place. People go on foot, in lorries and in horse-drawn vehicles to a railway centre, and then, if rail transport is not possible, may continue their journey as they have begun it. Prisoners of war have now joined the stream of migrants. The Protecting Power has obtained from O.K.W. a good deal of information regarding the fate of such prisoners evacuated from camps in Silesia and Saxony. For instance, over a thousand British officers of Stalag Luft 3 have been moved from Sagan to Lückenwalde, about 30 miles from Berlin on the main line to Dresden. Accommodation in this town (of 25,000 inhabitants) is said to be bad, overcrowding being such that the sick cannot be given separate quarters, and medical supplies are very short owing to the impossibility of transport of drugs from the Red Cross depots situated in Northern and Southern Germany. Treatment is reported to be on the whole good and there are said to have been few attempts to escape. But the severe cold, the lack of food and the necessity of travelling on foot are said to be causing much hardship, to civilians no less than to military prisoners. A further danger according to the Swiss authorities is the possible mishandling of prisoners in areas recently bombed. Representations have been made by the Swiss Legation to the O.K.W., who admitted that they had been surprised by events and promised to take remedial steps.

The German authorities have increasing difficulty in maintaining order in towns from which most of the men have gone. One report speaks of the lack of uniformed policemen in Germany, and the resulting large increase in robberies and crimes. The problem is complicated by the presence of large numbers of foreign workers. Round Chemnitz, which is now a threatened town, there are now said to be 700,000 foreign workers, more than four times as many as before the Russian offensive. They are becoming increasingly restive. Towards the end of last year, in many places, no foreign worker was allowed to live in a private billet, but there is evidence that this measure is not a sufficient safeguard. The *National-Zeitung* on the 28th January reported that "a few days ago the Deputy Ortsgruppenleiter of Alten-Essen was killed in a struggle with foreign burglars when he and two other Party leaders surprised a gang rifling food stores." This incident, said the paper, drew attention to a problem which "has been worrying the population for a long time." This confirms evidence contained in Kreisleiters' reports in October last year concerning the terrorisation of their neighbourhood by foreign workers. They are apparently able to break out of their camps, and the *National-Zeitung* calls for measures in the camps and the mobilisation of the Stadtwacht in the town to combat the danger. On the 2nd February the same paper appealed again for the help of everyone in fighting these "bandits," some of whom were armed, who hid in the cellars of partly destroyed houses, and burgled shops and storehouses.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

President Beneš's broadcast from London on the 17th February, referred to in last week's *Summary*, included a succinct account of the preparations his Government has made for the administration of Czechoslovakia in the transition period between its liberation and the holding of formal elections. These plans are, for the most part, embodied in Presidential decrees, and the present is an appropriate moment to summarise them.

The Czechoslovak governmental organisation abroad will be dissolved on the President's return to his own country; a new Government will be appointed immediately by the President and will include representatives of the home front; each commune will be administered by an elected local National Committee which will nominate its representatives to the district National Committee; the latter will send members to a provincial National Committee and the provincial bodies

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will then select the members of a Provisional National Assembly which will have legislative powers and to which the Government will be responsible. Regions containing a German or Magyar population will be administered by Government commissioners and Government commissions. At the earliest possible moment regular elections will be held; in Dr. Beneš's view this ought to take place not more than "six months from the moment when the whole Republic has been liberated." Speaking of his own position, Dr. Beneš said it would be necessary, after the establishment of a Government at home, "to settle the question of the status of the President of the Republic on democratic lines in conformity with our Constitution, and also to decide how and when a new presidential election is to be held."

That part of Slovakia which is regarded as outside the operational zone has now been handed over to the Czechoslovak Government Delegate, M. Nemec, by the Soviet military authorities. Its administration has been entrusted to the Slovak National Council, with its seat at Košice, in accordance with the agreement reached between the Council and the Czechoslovak Government. Mobilisation has been proclaimed for service in the Czechoslovak armed forces, but recruitment is so far on a voluntary basis. The Government Delegate has reported that practically no Jews remain in Eastern Slovakia.

On the 21st February President Beneš, speaking in the Home Service of the B.B.C., expressed his own and his nation's gratitude to the British for their help and hospitality during the past five years.

POLAND.

While the leaders of the various Polish groups in this country, preferring no doubt to await this week's debate on the Crimea Conference in the House of Commons, have refrained from defining their attitude towards those of its decisions which relate to Poland, the split within M. Arciszewski's coalition is becoming more pronounced. After a conversation with the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on the 20th February, M. Mikolajczyk had discussions on the 21st with M. Popiel, the Chairman of the Christian (Democratic) Labour Party, and with the Socialist leader, M. Stanczyk, both of whom had held portfolios in his Cabinet. On the following day the Committee of the Christian Labour Party announced its withdrawal from the Government. In the communiqué explaining this decision, however, the Committee was careful to point out that it was taken on the 5th February (*i.e.*, before the publication of the Crimea Conference communiqué); that the Party had already withdrawn one of its two representatives in the Cabinet on the 29th January; and that the reason for these measures was M. Arciszewski's failure to act on a proposal submitted by the Christian Labour Party on the 10th January, urging that the Government should be enlarged by the inclusion of representatives of the Peasant Party. At the same time, the communiqué also stated that the Christian Labour Party shared the views of M. Mikolajczyk as to the desirability of entering into negotiations with the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and the United States. On the 23rd February the Polish Ministry of Information issued a denial that the two Ministers in question had resigned, and asserted that they, with General Haller (the chairman of the Christian Labour Party's national council), questioned the legality "of the announcements made from time to time by a group of members of the party on its behalf."

In the meantime General Anders, the Commander of the Polish Forces in Italy, had arrived in London and had been received by the Prime Minister on the 21st February. On the 26th February it was officially announced that President Raczkiewicz had appointed him to be Acting Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Armed Forces, in accordance with the decree of the 29th September, 1944 (which entrusted the President with the issue of "necessary orders to secure the continuity of the functions of the Commander-in-Chief if he is unable to carry out his duties"), and in view of the fact that General Bor-Komorowski, who succeeded General Sosnkowski in October 1944, was still a prisoner in German hands. (For General Anders's reaction to the Crimean Conference communiqué which alone might be thought sufficient to make his new appointment inacceptable to the Soviet Government, see *Summary* No. 281.) In British official circles it was stated on the same day that General Anders's appointment had been made without the knowledge or approval of the British Government, which, as they had not been consulted, took no responsibility in the matter.

At the close of their stay in Moscow from the 14th to the 20th February, a communiqué was issued stating that MM. Bierut and Morawski and General

Rola-Zymierski had had talks with Marshal Stalin and M. Molotov, in which questions concerning Soviet–Polish relations and Soviet assistance in the reconstruction of Warsaw were discussed. On the 21st the Lublin radio announced that a conference had been held at Lodz between representatives of the "Provisional Government," of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., and of the Lodz textile industries, at which the Soviet representatives accepted orders from Lodz industries for the delivery of textile raw materials.

On the 21st February M. Lukasiak, the "representative in London of the Polish Provisional Government," issued a statement referring to rumours that the Association of Polish Shipowners intended to transfer their interests in the ships of the Polish merchant fleet, and giving due warning that such transfers, in so far as they involved shares held by the Polish State, would be considered null and void by the Polish "Provisional Government."

SOVIET UNION.

This has been a week of consolidation for the Red Army. In the Samland Peninsula north-west of Königsberg the communiqués speak of defensive fighting and of a slight retreat. There were minor advances south-west of Königsberg and also south-west of Danzig, including the capture of Czersk (21st February). The major event of the week, reported in an Order of the Day of the 23rd February, was the fall of Poznan after a month's siege. With it were taken 23,000 prisoners and much booty, whilst the enemy lost 25,000 killed. The restoration of the railway through Poznan will make a substantial difference to the supply position of Marshal Zhukov's troops, who have been held up in the Oder bend before Frankfurt. Further south Marshal Koniev's forces have reached the western Neisse south of Guben. Fighting continues for encircled Breslau. During the week aircraft of the Red Army have bombed Königsberg, Stettin, Stargard, Breslau and Bratislava.

On the 23rd February, Red Army Day, Marshal Stalin issued his usual Order of the Day, the first to be issued with the Red Army fighting on German soil, and its tone was correspondingly triumphant. He was also very cordial in his references to Allied co-operation, declaring: "The successes of our winter offensive have in the first place resulted in the disruption of the German winter offensive in the west, which aimed at the capture of Belgium and Alsace, and have enabled the armies of our Allies to launch an offensive against the Germans in their turn, and in this way to link up their offensive operations in the west with the Red Army's offensive operations in the east." Marshal Stalin revealed that in forty days of the offensive of January and February the Germans lost 800,000 killed and 350,000 prisoners. He ended with the warning that "The nearer our victory, the greater must be our vigilance, the stronger our blows at the enemy." In honour of the 27th anniversary of the Red Army he ordered a salute of twenty salvoes to be fired in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Petrozavodsk, Tallinn, Riga, Vilna, Kishinev, Tiflis, Stalingrad, Sevastopol, Odessa, and Lvov. The Order of Lenin "for long and faultless service in the Red Army" was presented to a number of high Red Army officers, including Marshals Budenny, Voronov and Rotmistrov.

Major-General Adrian Vasiliev, formerly Deputy Head of the Soviet Military Mission in Great Britain, has taken over the duties of representative of the U.S.S.R. on the Advisory Council for Italy from Major-General Susloparov. Major-General Susloparov has also been superseded as Soviet Representative on the Allied Control Commission by Major-General Kislenko.

The Soviet press has now for the first time come out openly against General Radescu's Government in connexion with the present Roumanian crisis. *Pravda* (the 22nd February) published a vigorous editorial stating that the broad popular masses in Roumania were being checked in their demands for reform by the "vacillating and ofter openly anti-democratic policy" of their Prime Minister. Radescu's speech of the 12th February in which he urged workers to engage less in politics and more in their work was singled out for special attack. "Elimination of the workers from participation in political life is typical of a Fascist, not a democratic régime." Unwilling to lean for support on the masses of the people, the Radescu Government had had to seek help from among the reactionary elements, and was thus deliberately fomenting the activities of Hitlerites. Much capital was made by *Pravda* of the delegations of printers who went to General Radescu to protest against the use of troops in their works to compel them to continue printing the National Peasant Party's newspaper *Dreptatea*. Radescu

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is reported to have threatened the delegation that he would mete out to the workers the same treatment that they had received in Greece. *Pravda*, commenting cynically on the "Greek" language of the General, pointed out that it was entirely his own fault that he was losing democratic support. The article concluded by stating decisively that the Soviet public could not watch with indifference this internal struggle between democratic and Fascist agents in Roumania; it was not purely an internal affair, for Hitler was not yet beaten and Roumania was in the rear of the Red Army. The historic decisions of the Crimea Conference demanded that an end should be put to pro-Fascist elements in the Soviet rear.

The War and the Working Class in its latest issue carried an article in similar terms, affirming that the National Democratic Front would once and for all crush the rising forces of reaction in Roumania.

The situation in Transylvania is still somewhat obscure. It is interesting that in the Maramureș, a district covering some 3,381 sq. kilom. in the extreme north of Transylvania adjoining Sub-Carpathian Ukraine, a meeting should have been called by the new prefect of the chief town Sighet, under the auspices, it is reported, of the local Soviet Command, requesting the union of the province with the Ukrainian S.S.R. This new prefect is probably one of those constituted locally by popular acclamation, of which there have recently been numerous cases throughout Roumania. The former mayor of Sighet, who fled to Budapest, maintained that the majority of the inhabitants were opposed to such a union. The account of the meeting and the petition is strongly reminiscent of the manifesto said to have been put out last November by a Congress of People's Committees of Sub-Carpathian Ukraine demanding union with the Soviet Ukraine. (See *Summary* No. 276 under "Czechoslovakia.") In the case of Maramureș, desire for incorporation in the U.S.S.R. seems less probable, as according to the Roumanian census of 1930 of a total of 161,575 inhabitants 93,207 were Roumanian and only 19,230 Ukrainian. Geographically, the area could clearly not be incorporated in the U.S.S.R. unless Sub-Carpathian Ukraine were also, for although there is a small frontier with Eastern Galicia, communications across the mountains would be impossible. The only road eastwards over the mountains goes into Roumanian, not Soviet, Bukovina.

Little has lately been heard of events in Soviet Bukovina, but on the 20th February the peasants of that region sent a message of thanks for their liberation to Marshal Stalin, stating that 500,000 acres of arable land had been distributed among them. (This was double the amount distributed under Soviet auspices in 1940–41.) In return, they had, over and above their deliveries to the Soviet State, given 11,000 tons of grain to the Red Army fund, subscribed 15,400,000 roubles to the State loan and given 11 million roubles to build a "Soviet Bukovina" tank column. These contributions seem very large from such a small, poverty-stricken and war-torn district.

The Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee of the Communist Party announced on the 24th February the death after a serious illness of M. Alexei Nikolaevich Tolstoy, outstanding Soviet writer and Deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

After the Revolution Count Alexei Tolstoy lived as a *émigré* until the middle twenties, when he returned to the Soviet Union. He visited England in 1937 as Soviet Representative at the Congress of Peace and Friendship and became a member of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. He was on the Presidium of the All-Slav Committee and the All-Union Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (V.O.K.S.), being made chairman of the new literary section of the latter in July 1944. He was also a member of the Extraordinary State Commission for Investigating Atrocities. In 1943, on his 60th birthday, he was decorated with the Order of Lenin, in addition to the "Red Banner of Labour" which he already held. He was awarded the Stalin Prize twice, first for *Peter the First*, which Gorky considered to be the best historical Soviet novel, and again for his best-known work, *The Road to Calvary*. His works have been published in the U.S.S.R. in more than 8 million copies in thirty-two languages. A tribute to his memory, signed by sixty leading writers, was published in the Soviet press.

SCANDINAVIA.

The statement made by M. Günther, the Swedish Foreign Minister, in the Riksdag of the 22nd February, in reply to a question, was framed in remarkably firm and serious language, particularly having regard to the speaker's reputation

for weakness. He was quite uncompromising in his denunciation of the German terrorism in Norway, and left no doubt that the question was to be regarded as being very important to Sweden. He naturally refused to make an official disclosure of the steps which his Government might consider it necessary to take, but he did not dissociate himself from the view expressed by his questioner, M. Ström, that "Sweden must become the fire brigade that can extinguish German murder and arson." M. Ström conceded, however, that intervention could only take place in agreement with the Danish and Norwegian people. A request from these quarters might, in fact, be of crucial importance in the determination of Swedish policy. Swedish opinion, as voiced in the press and in official quarters, is definitely contemptuous of the policy of eleventh hour intervention for purposes of influence or prestige, but there are indications that the practical object of helping a sister nation might, in certain circumstances, be differently regarded.

Railway traffic from Sweden to Norway via Riksgränsen was suspended on the 24th February, in consequence of an incident when a Norwegian State policeman searched a train and removed a Norwegian refugee, using threats to the railway officials. The State Railway Board has delivered a written protest to the German authorities, demanding the removal of the offending policeman.

A recent meeting of the Swedo-German Association in Stockholm is reported to have taken place in a funereal atmosphere. It was however attended by a number of socially prominent persons, including the Duke d'Otrante, a relative of the Swedish King, and a considerable sprinkling of army and navy officers.

It has now been disclosed that Iceland (C) is among the countries which have been given the opportunity to qualify for attendance at the San Francisco Conference by a declaration of war on Germany and Japan. The Icelandic constitution may however create a complication, since, at the time of its adoption, Iceland declared herself perpetually neutral. If an amendment should prove necessary, the time limit (1st March) for complying with the invitation might make the obstacle insurmountable.

The arrival of General Lindemann in Denmark has been associated with an intensification of German severities, for which it has been suggested that he is responsible. On the 22nd February it was reported that a general curfew had been proclaimed, though this has not so far been officially confirmed. There have, however, been a large number of arrests, and the Danish prisoners deported to Germany on the 16th February have now been removed to the notorious Dachau. Among a number of acts of "Schalburgtage" or "clearing murder," a particularly shocking case occurred on the 20th February, when masked men shot four doctors in Odense hospital. On the 23rd February, an attempt is reported to have been made to eliminate General Lindemann by blowing up a special train on which he was travelling. The General, however, escaped unharmed. On the following night the Aalborg to Copenhagen express was wrecked with bombs, and this incident is generally and reasonably interpreted as an act of retaliation, since no Germans were on the train.

In view of the conjecture in *Summary* 280 to the effect that the liquidation of General Marthinsen in Norway was the unauthorised act of an individual, it must be stated that the Home Front leadership has publicly assumed responsibility for this act, which it justifies on the ground that Marthinsen was particularly implicated in the policy of taking hostages, and was therefore a danger to Norwegian lives. It is noticeable, however, that the clandestine paper *Siste Runde* expresses some misgivings as to the soundness of this policy. The Home Front leadership indeed has made in clear that it is itself generally opposed to lynch law. In a recent directive it emphasises the importance of dealing with traitors by legal trial rather than by such methods. It points out the necessity for prompt and expeditious procedure, the lack of which in some recently liberated countries has given rise to unrest. It attributes such delay largely to the lack of immediately available evidence, urges Norwegians to begin the careful preparation of such material in an objective manner, and lists a number of matters on which evidence of this description is desirable.

THE LOW COUNTRIES.

It was announced on the 23rd February that Dr. Gerbrandy had completed the reconstruction of his Cabinet, (see *Summary* No. 280), with certain exceptions. Of the old Ministers only five—Dr. Gerbrandy himself. Dr. van Kleffens, Mr. de Booy and Jhr. Michiels van Verduynen and Dr. Bolkestein—remain, all in their former posts. The Ministries of Justice, War and Waterways have not yet

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been filled. For the time being Dr. Gerbrandy is acting as Minister of Justice, Mr. de Booy as Minister of War, and Mr. Wijffels as Minister of Waterways. According to Radio Orange the appointment of new Ministers of War and Waterways will shortly be announced. Dr. van Mook has relinquished, at his own wish, the Ministry of Colonies, now renamed Ministry of Overseas Territories, in order that he may remain Acting Lieutenant-Governor-General of the East Indies, since the two posts could not properly continue to be held by the same person. Admiral Furstnur has similarly relinquished the Ministry of Marine, in order to devote himself entirely to his duties of Commander-in-Chief of the Dutch Navy.

Of the political affiliation of the five new Ministers not much is known as yet. But some of them are reputed to belong to the Left-wing of the Catholic Party.

The official statement broadcast by Radio Orange on the 23rd announced that "men from the liberated territory who experienced the Occupation are members of the new Cabinet. The aim of the reconstruction has been to bring the Cabinet into harmony with the democratic nature of our State structure and our people, as far as was possible with the personalities available. The reconstruction has also aimed at making the Cabinet representative of the spiritual currents moving in the Dutch nation. The representatives of the resistance movement . . . . have been given the place in the Cabinet to which they are entitled in view of the part they have played. The reconstructed Cabinet sees its main task in the mobilisation of forces available for a united participation in the war against Germany and Japan, the organisation of the liberated territory for powerful assistance in the liberation of the entire Kingdom in Europe and Asia, the furthering of the reconstruction of the liberated South. In pursuing these labours close attention will be given to the creation of conditions propitious for the reinvigoration of the State and the people without unnecessarily anticipating fundamental measures. Fundamental measures must wait until the whole country is free. This does not, however, exclude provision for the creation of healthier social conditions in industry."

The reconstruction of the Cabinet was also the occasion of a broadcast by Queen Wilhelmina to her subjects, in which she stressed the importance of national unity and declared that "competent men who enjoy the confidence of the freed population have been found to enter the Cabinet." On the complete liberation of the Netherlands the Cabinet would resign; then the Queen hoped "to give instructions for the formation of a Ministry consisting of men possessing the confidence of the whole nation."

The Belgian press published a long statement by the Belga News Agency on the 23rd, which purported to correct certain statements made at the International Trade Union Congress and in the House of Commons. It was not true that Belgium had refused the aid of U.N.R.R.A. The Allied High Command had decided that for the time being the military authorities were to be solely responsible for imports; U.N.R.R.A. could not intervene till this stage had been passed. U.N.R.R.A. was ready to assist Belgium when the time should come, and Belgium would welcome such assistance. What she would not do, would be to receive goods without paying for them. Nor could the low level of Belgian rations be entirely imputed to the faults of the Belgian Government. It was true that mistakes had been made, but these had been largely due to the fact that the Pierlot Government, when in London, had failed to foresee that Belgium would be freed long before the complete liberation of the Netherlands and the collapse of Germany. Moreover, even if all the food in Belgium were to be equally shared, there would not be enough to provide 2,000 calories a day per person. Belgium needed imports, not merely of food, but also of the commodities that were required for the working of industry and transport. It is a matter of some significance that a semi-official statement of such a character should have been issued at this juncture.

(See also under "France.")

FRANCE.

On the invitation of His Majesty's Government M. Bidault came to England on the 25th February for talks with the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary which covered all matters of common interest to France and Great Britain. He was accompanied by M. Chauvel and M. Alphand. In particular the British Ministers gave their French colleagues an account of the subjects dealt with at

the Crimea Conference. Supply problems were also discussed at the Foreign Office with M. Alphand. M. Bidault returned to Paris on the 27th and reported to General de Gaulle.

M. Bidault has also held conversations in Paris with M. Spaak, the Belgian Foreign Minister, in which all questions of common interest were reviewed. They were in agreement on the security measures to be taken after the war and on the formation of a separate Rheno-Westphalian territory, although the political status of such a territory would have to be reserved for joint decision by the Allies. According to the Belgian home service report of a press conference given by M. Spaak on the 26th February the Belgian Minister was less explicit, saying that one thing was definite, namely the interest of the two countries in the freedom of the Rhine.

The economic results of M. Spaak's visit were announced in a French communiqué of the 23rd February. A commercial agreement designed to restore trade was concluded between France and the Belgo-Luxemburg Union; the rate of exchange between French and Belgian francs was fixed; it was agreed in principle to exchange information on the assets held in either country by nationals of the other country; and the Governors of the Banks of France and Belgium had conversations concerning an eventual payments agreement. In addition the Governments of France, Belgium, Luxemburg and Holland agreed to consult together regularly on the problems of reconstruction and on future economic co-operation. The French paper, the *Monde*, went out of its way to forestall possible Communist criticism by remarking that these agreements, which would enable the regional interests of France, Belgium and eventually Holland, to be brought into harmony, in nowise corresponded to what had come to be called a "western *bloc*" policy.

The first cargoes have begun to arrive in France from the United Kingdom and the United States under the Civil Imports programme, and the French have officially requested S.H.A.E.F. that military responsibility for civilian imports into France should cease with the March shipments. M. René Mayer has, however, complained that insufficient shipping has been allocated for imports from the French Empire, among which edible oils are particularly important in view of the shortage of fats in France. He stated that he was being subjected to increasing criticism and political pressure, and that while he would continue to defend the Allied shipping pool it was difficult to do this when the pooling arrangement was unable to ensure delivery of even a reasonable proportion of the supplies allocated to France by the Combined Boards.

On the 23rd February the Cabinet approved the draft Lend-Lease Agreement with the United States which M. Jean Monnet has been negotiating in Washington. This will cover military supplies, certain raw materials, rolling-stock and other goods, while France will pay a preliminary sum of 500 million dollars out of her dollar assets in the United States to cover imports to North Africa and civilian imports into France.

On the 22nd February the Consultative Assembly concluded a three days' debate on the estimates of the Ministry of Justice in which M. de Menthon's Administration came in for severe criticism. By 169 votes to 14 the Assembly carried a motion expressing regret that no notice had been taken of the Assembly's repeated resolutions on the purge and reserving the vote on the Minister's salary until the Bureau of the Assembly had been received by General de Gaulle and heard from him a full explanation of the Government's intentions. After this rebuff it remains to be seen whether M. de Menthon will offer, and whether General de Gaulle will accept, his resignation.

While the Minister of Justice was the scapegoat, the course of the debate and the motion showed that the real source of trouble was the Assembly's dissatisfaction at its treatment by the Government. Ministers have attended debates only when they themselves have been directly concerned. Some of them, in particular the Minister of War, have given offence by refusing to answer parliamentary questions. Furthermore, little notice has been taken even of the Assembly's most important resulutions, such as the one of the 28th December on economic and social reforms (see *Summary* No. 274). It is noteworthy that since this debate the *Conseil National de la Résistance* has issued a manifesto in which it declares its view that the advice of the Consultative Assembly should be taken into consideration by the Government "in a spirit of confident collaboration."

The position of the Parliamentarians who voted in favour of the grant of full powers to Pétain in July 1940 is also a subject of contention. The inclusion of nine of them in the list of fifty names of persons submitted for approval by the Consultative Assembly as jurors in the forthcoming High Court purge trials

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aroused vigorous protests from Radical and Resistance Deputies. The claims of these Parliamentarians that the Algiers Ordinance of the 21st April, 1944, should be revised so as to enable them to stand as candidates in the forthcoming local elections are also warmly contested by Resistance and Left wing representatives. The Government has not yet declared itself.

According to a German news agency statement Jacques Doriot, "President of the French Liberation Committee and leader of the French People's Party," has been killed in an air attack in south-western Germany. Doriot is the first of the chief French quislings in Germany to meet a violent end.

(See also under "Middle East" and "U.S.A.")

SWITZERLAND.

The economic negotiations are continuing in a good atmosphere, but the problem of meeting Swiss requirements in face of the present shortage of transport in France is not proving easy of solution.

The food situation continues to deteriorate. Owing to bad weather and the labour shortage the winter crops were one-third short of the target set. Industrial prospects are also unfavourable, and increased unemployment has only been averted by the fact that more men have been called to the colours.

The Zürich authorities have banned a concert which Furtwängler was to have come from Berlin to conduct. At the neighbouring city of Winterthur, which did not apply the ban, Furtwängler's visit evoked a hostile demonstration.

After a long delay the post of Swiss Minister in Paris has been filled by the appointment of Professor Karl Burckhardt, former President of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

The Soviet Trade Union delegation has found it impossible, owing to its fixed itinerary, to accept the invitations of the Swiss Trade Unionists to visit Switzerland.

SPAIN.

When, some twenty years before the sailing of the Armada, Philip II was casting an eager eye on the throne of Portugal, he looked round for all the support he could muster. So he approached Fray Luís de Granada, the confessor of the Portuguese Queen Mother, who was to become one of the great masters of Spanish mysticism. Luís de Granada replied that as a Castilian he would do all he could to further the ambition of the King, but that as a priest his functions were limited to beseeching God that He should endorse the dreams of his sovereign. General Franco has no ambitions in Portugal, but he does covet the continuation of the Caudilloship. And since here, as elsewhere, the right to a position is no more than the power to maintain it, Franco, like Philip II, looks about him. He now knows—and it has cost him something to arrive at this solid, severely intellectual conclusion—that Nazi Germany is beaten and is going to be destroyed. So he turns to Great Britain. But his blandishment fails, even though he may brazenly hint that the Prime Minister's reply to his amazing letter is an "open door" to friendly discussion. Then he lifts an eye westward, hoping as a Falangist that—

"not by eastern windows only
When daylight comes, comes in the light,"

and tries to cozen the United States of America with soft sooth about "Hispanity." Newspaper articles and broadcasts explain that Spain is forced to turn towards the United States because she has been misunderstood in Great Britain. All sorts of reasons are given. For instance, there is the sentimental argument that Great Britain has many friends in Spain, but that Anglophile sympathies would dry up if she were to interfere in Spanish affairs; and there is the practical one that the Americans appreciate better than the British the serious plight in which Europe would find herself should Spain, through internal disorder, cease to be the economic bridge for supplies to the devastated continent. But these fail too. (European attempts to play off Great Britain against the United States have not succeeded since the failure at the Washington Conference in 1921). The State Department, backed by American opinion, do not rise to the Spanish fly, and Franco will have to think again.

Another tactical move is seen in a statement of Señor Carceller, Minister of Commerce, published last week in the Barcelona newspaper *Vanguardia*, on the willingness of Spain to co-operate "for the sake of solidarity" in the reconstruction of Europe—provided, of course, that "the international organisations

which finance the schemes be successful in readjusting prices so as to facilitate the export of the required products." And when Señor Carceller says *readjust*, he does not mean *lower* the prices of the Spanish textiles which, owing to the shortage of shipping, would, if carried in Spanish vessels, be most useful in helping to supply the needs of the liberated countries. Once shipping is available to transport raw material, Allied requirements could be met from the resources of the Allied textile industries alone.

ITALY.

Discussions have been taking place in Washington as to the most practical way of fulfilling the joint declaration made at Hyde Park on the 26th September last by Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt which announced that, subject to the maintenance of law and order and the administration of justice, more control would gradually be granted to the Italian Government. The Supreme Allied Commander, Field-Marshal Sir Harold Alexander, has now been directed to give effect to these measures. Subject, therefore, to the demands of the campaign in Italy, the Italian Government is to have a free hand in matters of day-to-day administration and, in general, the rôle of the Allied Commission will be one of advice and consultation rather than one of control. Communications between the Italian Government and other Governments, with which the latter has diplomatic relations, may proceed directly instead of through the Allied Commission, but the Allied Commission is to be informed of any negotiations between the Italian Government and foreign Governments. The approval of the Allied Commission will no longer be necessary for the passing of laws and decrees or for the appointment of officials except in the case of certain appointments of military importance. Allied regional officers in areas under Italian jurisdiction are to be withdrawn as quickly as possible and local elections in these areas will be encouraged. Italian prisoners of war in Italy, with the exception of those who fought for the Germans after the Armistice, are to be released from their status as such, subject to the Italian Government giving satisfactory assurances that their services are available for work in connexion with the war when necessary. Steps are to be taken to resume cultural relations by means of the exchange of books and publications devoted to science, politics, philosophy and art, and every possible facility is to be given to visits, to and from Italy and the United Nations, of professional men, artists and scholars. As regards the economic side, the Supreme Allied Commander's directions are founded on the understanding that the Italian Government will build up a fair and efficient system of control and distribution of the consumption of the country's resources as well as imports and also do everything possible to improve production. In view of the needs of the armed forces, imports will, unavoidably, depend on available shipping. Subject to the above considerations, civilians are to receive additional kinds of goods for their essential needs, and the supply of these goods will form part of the military supply programme. The Italian Government will, in addition, be helped by the Allied Commission in drawing up a programme of the supplies necessary for the rehabilitation of Italian agriculture and industry. The resulting imports, which will be over and above the military programme, will be covered by the financial arrangements referred to in President Roosevelt's statement of the 10th October. Finally, as regards the granting of more responsibility to the Italian Government on financial matters, discussions are now taking place between the British and United States Governments.

Subsequently, in announcing these concessions at a Press Conference, Mr. Macmillan made a short review of the situation in Italy since the Armistice. Mr. Macmillan drew attention to the speed with which the Allies had begun the task of reconstruction, despite the fact that the war in Italy was still in progress. This was because they understood Italy's enslavement under Fascism and afterwards under Germany. Although Italy had gone through a dismal period of waiting, that time had not been wasted because the Italian Government had been gradually built up and increased authority had, by degrees, been granted to it. Mr. Macmillan then explained the difficulties in the way of implementing Italy's oft-repeated demands for an increased share in the war against Germany. The Italian force, now in the field, had been equipped by the Allies but owing to the enormous demands for our armies in other theatres, shipping had not been available for any further commitments. It was due to this shortage of shipping, Mr. Macmillan explained, that the uniform ration of 300 grammes of bread

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for Southern Italy had been delayed. This ration, was, however, now to be increased to the promised 300 grammes as from the 1st March. Mr. Macmillan finished by saying that, when the difficulties with which the Allies had been faced were understood, he was of the opinion that it would be generally agreed that Great Britain and the United States had nothing to reproach themselves with, either with the spirit in which our representatives had tackled their task or with the efficiency with which they had carried it out.

News from North Italy this week is scrappy and in some instances self-contradictory. For example, Mussolini received a delegation of workers from Padua, led by the Head of the Province, who recounted in some detail the progress made in Padua Province towards putting into effect Mussolini's socialisation schemes. Yet it must be clear to all concerned that such long-term plans are unlikely to come to fruition. Similarly, the socialisation of more industrial concerns is announced; yet Swiss reports state that work in some of these concerns is practically at a standstill—Fiat is particularly mentioned in this connexion.

Two Fascist Republican Ministers have resigned. They are Guido Buffarini-Guidi, Minister of the Interior, and Admiral Giuseppe Sparzani, Under-Secretary for the Navy. The latter's post has naturally been something of a sinecure, but Buffarini-Guidi's position is important, and it is only surprising that he has been allowed to remain in it so long, in view of the frequent rumours that he was attempting to make good his escape to Switzerland. He is said to be a personal friend of Mussolini, which may have kept him in office till now. According to anti-Fascist circles, he is accused of having under-estimated the seriousness of the resistance movement. He is now succeeded by one of the few "coming men" of the Italian Social Republic, Dr. Paolo Zerbino, formerly Under-Secretary to the Ministry of the Interior and High Commissioner for Piedmont Province, where, according to the Fascists, he has "practically eliminated" the partisan danger.

Mussolini has permitted the formation of an opposition group within the Italian Social Republic, to be known as the National Socialist Republican Group. This group is headed by Dr. Edmondo Cione, of Milan, whose ideas for a new Nationalist Party had already received some attention from Mussolini last autumn.

THE VATICAN.

On the 23rd February the Vatican broadcast in German a Statement by the Roman Catholic Hierarchies of England and Wales and of Scotland on the "principles of a just and lasting peace." It follows very closely the Pope's great Xmas Eve message and invites comparison with the United States Hierarchy's pronouncement after Dumbarton Oaks (see *Summary* No. 269 under "Vatican"). The three form parts of a sustained Catholic campaign to build an order in which man's rights derive "not from membership of any State or party, but from membership of the human family; in which Christian and eternal standards of truth prevail over mind-disintegrating propaganda; in which statesmen recognise their democratic obligation to educate and inform the people they exist to serve, warning them" in particular of any commitments they wish to propose for them to undertake; in which there is agreement not only on basic principles but also on the meaning of words. British and United States hierarchies are at one in pushing the acceptance of a world community to its logical conclusion and rejecting as untrue "the often repeated claim that its régime is the private affair of each nation." And point 7 of the British statement argues logically that true internationalism must regard "nations which refuse to allow their nationals to visit the outside world and receive ideas from abroad as wreckers of harmony in the whole world family." One further quotation confirms the breadth of this Catholic care for freedom: "During the war the liberation of citizens from foreign oppression has often meant subjugation to fresh oppression, either of foreigners or of native ideologists. With dismal regularity we have seen Christian families raise their heads in hope only to be crushed again by politicians determined to control their whole life."

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

There have been no appreciable movements on the front in Hungary. In Liberated Hungary, Miklos, the Premier, Gyongyössy and others have addressed meetings, and the Budapest National Committee has met. Recruiting for the new Hungarian army is in full swing. The Budapest People's Tribunal has

passed more death sentences and more war criminals have been arrested, including a gendarmerie officer accused of responsibility for the Novisad massacre of January 1942. Miklos, the Premier, has stated that the draft of the Land Reform Bill is now complete, and will be submitted to the next Cabinet meeting. The higher Catholic clergy are reported to have asked their flocks to co-operate with the Soviet authorities, and this has provoked an outburst of fury from Szálasi Hungary.

The Arrow Cross Foreign Minister has visited his opposite number in Zagreb. The communiqué reported full agreement, particularly on questions of minorities and frontier traffic. The supply position in Szálasi Hungary seems to be acute, and drastic requisitioning has been enacted to meet shortages.

Debrecen sources report that the Smallholders' leader, Bajcsy-Zsilinsky, has been murdered by his guards in prison.

The British Military and Political Mission has now arrived in Hungary.

Roumania.

In order to appreciate the latest phase of Roumanian affairs, the background is of greater significance than the actual events of the past week. It was understood from the start that Roumania was to be a country in which the U.S.S.R. "took the lead." A tripartite control commission was set up on which the function of Great Britain and the United States was to watch the course of events, to safeguard the commercial interests of their own countries, and to be "informed" beforehand, but not "consulted," about any important steps which the U.S.S.R. proposed to take. The British members of the Commission have found it an increasingly up-hill job to keep *au fait* with the U.S.S.R. moves. In the past, whenever anything happened which on the face of it looked like a display of high-handedness on the part of the U.S.S.R., the tendency has been to excuse it by attributing what was done to excessive zeal on the part of local Soviet officials, without any backing from Moscow. It must be admitted, however, that during the past few weeks this explanation has worn a bit thin. It is increasingly difficult to feel that what is happening is taking place without deliberate intention.

Since the 23rd August, 1944, the tiny Communist clique in Roumania has set itself to gain control of the country. All the usual phrases are employed in speeches and in the press about "democratic institutions," the "will of the people," "Fascist scum" (see the Soviet *Summary* on articles in *Pravda*). The fact is that most Roumanians have a cordial detestation of communism that they have not for many years had an opportunity of expressing their will, and being largely illiterate, would not know how to do it if they had. Communist agitators have been able to stir up a lot of trouble. Two factors have aided them. It is beyond question that at the start the Governments of General Sanatescu did not set themselves wholeheartedly to carry out the conditions of the Armistice. They tried to be too clever by half, and by so doing they played into the hands of the Soviet authorities, who could accuse them with justice of evading their obligations. The scales were also heavily weighted in favour of the Communists by the suppression of all liberal papers while Communist papers which have reprinted anti-Allied diatribes, are permitted to continue publication. Air Vice-Marshal Stevenson raised the question of freedom of the press at the last meeting of the Allied Control Commission and was promised an improvement. The Government claimed to have been deprived of the only forces on which it could rely for the preservation of order by their removal to the front. The forces at their disposal were certainly reduced, but their claim appears to have been exaggerated, since although the Communists had obtained a quantity of arms they were worsted in such disturbances as have taken place.

The whole situation has taken a turn for the worse since the arrival at the end of January of M. Pavlov as Soviet Political Representative.

On the 11th February, after the return of Mrs. Pauker, the Communist agitator from Moscow, the Prime Minister broadcast to the nation and addressed a meeting in Bucharest (see *Summary* No. 280). Communist efforts on the occasion resulted in a distinct score for General Radescu. It was obvious that the Communists would not sit down under this rebuff. A demonstration by the N.D.F. was fixed for the 24th February and there were rumours that it would develop into an insurrection. Meanwhile interviews took place between the Prime Minister and M. Pavlov. Members of the Roumanian Government have alleged that Pavlov was overbearing and truculent and attempted to wear down General Radescu's resistance and to force his resignation. Subsequent developments make it highly probable that this was so.

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Then, on the 20th February, an " incident " occurred at the Malăxa works in Bucharest. The employees resented the setting up of a self-elected committee of Communists and expelled them. They then proceeded to elect a committee by ballot in which the Communists obtained 60 votes as against 3,750. On the following morning a number of armed Communists arrived with Dl Gheorghiu-Dej, the Minister of Communications, and some firing took place in which a labour leader was wounded. A totally different version of the incident has been issued by the N.D.F. and has appeared in the majority of Moscow papers, and, judging by the reports which have appeared elsewhere, the Communists seem also to have ready access to the foreign press.

The demonstration fixed for the 24th February duly took place. Shots were fired at the Palace, and at the Ministry of the Interior and the Police Headquarters but order was restored before any serious clash occurred. Subsequently the Prime Minister broadcast a speech the substance of which was that the Government would remain at their posts to prevent the nation being " subdued by a few nonentities, under the mask of democracy." One result is that Admiral Bogdenko, in the absence of Pavlov and Vinogradov, who have gone to Moscow, has insisted that all broadcasts shall in future be submitted to Soviet censorship.

Meanwhile the British and United States Ambassadors in Moscow informed the Soviet Government of their Governments' concern at the present situation and their anxiety that interference in Roumanian internal affairs should not result in the assumption of power by a minority group. M. Molotov replied that these representations did not correspond with the facts of the situation, that the Radescu Government was controlled by Fascists and that the N.D.F. had wide popular support. He added that the Soviet Government had no wish to intervene in Roumanian internal affairs but could not tolerate disorder on the lines of communication of the Red army.

M. Vishinski arrived in Bucharest on the 27th February and at once had an audience of the King. Since midnight on the 28th February a good deal has happened. M. Vishinsky pressed strongly for the dismissal of General Radescu, who has resigned. Prince Stirbey, who was received by the King on the 26th February, on the 1st March reluctantly accepted the premiership.

Yugoslavia.

Field-Marshal Alexander arrived in Belgrade on the 21st February and spent four days in military consultations with Marshal Tito.

The agreement of Tito and Shubashitch on the three Regents has not been easy to obtain. They were agreed on Sernec, the Slovene. Shubashitch proposed Shutej as a Croat, and Grol, the leader of the Democratic party, as a Serbian. Both of these were unacceptable to Tito, who proposed Manditch as a Croat, and either General Simovitch or Professor Belitch, president of the Serbian Academy of Science, a non-political figure, whom the enemy propaganda describes as a Hungarian Jew, Sandor Weisz. Shubashitch took the line that the Tito-Shubashitch Agreement could not be implemented without the King's consent. He was reminded that the Crimean Conference's recommendation was addressed to him and Tito, not to the King. On the 26th Shubashitch agreed to accept Manditch; while Shutej was to enter the Government, together with the four other Ministers from London. For a Serb Regent Shubashitch has agreed to, and recommended to King Peter, one of the following four: Professor Belitch; Dr. S. Budisavljevitch, who was leader of the Independent Democrats, a party of Serbs of Croatia (he resigned from the Yugoslav Government in March 1941 rather than agree to the signing of the treaty with Germany. After the *coup d'État* of the 27th March, 1941, he became Minister of the Interior, and remained in office in London till June 1943. He is generally respected. But, as he does not come from Serbia his appointment might be unwelcome to Serbians); Dr. Obrad Blagojevitch, president of the Corporation of Barristers (he was said by the Neditch press to have gone into hiding after the collapse of the Partisan " Republic of Uzhice " in 1941 and to have been arrested by Neditch troops in 1943. In November 1944 he became the Partisan Deputy Commissar for Finance); Dr. Kirilo Savitch, a professor of Belgrade University

Concerning the Crimea Conference's recommendation that members of the last Yugoslav Parliament should enter AVNOJ, *Borba* has criticised such members on the grounds that most of them never had any considerable popular support and have collaborated with the foreign invaders or with Pavelitch, or Neditch, or Mihailovitch or Rupnik. It was stated that a committee would examine the records of all such members.

Two Serbian political groups have lately adhered to the Partisans; a number of members of the former " Napred " group, *i.e.*, Democrats who supported the federalisation of Yugoslavia, and Dragoljub Jovanovitch's Peasant Party, the Left wing of the Serbian Agrarians. Jovanovitch has long been in friendly relations with the Partisans and his policy of Russophilism, of socialism for the towns and co-operatives for the peasants, should facilitate his party's entry into the National Liberation Front.

Between the 9th December and the 17th January the press reported the execution of 96 persons and prison sentences on 38 others. Rumour places the figures far higher. What appears certain is that a considerable number of persons is in the custody of the secret police (OZNA), and that fear of OZNA causes many to avoid contact with foreigners.

With regard to the possibility of a Yugoslav-Bulgarian alliance, Tito has been informed that, in the British Government's opinion, an enemy State, and one with undischarged obligations to Greece, must be debarred from concluding a treaty with another State without the explicit approval of all the Allies with whom the Bulgarian armistice was made.

The temperature is reported to be rising on the Græco-Yugoslav frontier. The Partisan leaders in Yugoslav Macedonia discourage any public demand for Greek territory or support of ELAS. But there is much coming and going across the frontier.

On the 20th February *Borba* had a leading article entitled " Imperialist intrigues," demanding Venezia Giulia for Yugoslavia and especially attacking Italian proposals for an autonomous Slav area within Italy. A second article demanded the trial, as " war criminals," of Italian officials who took measures against the Yugoslav irredentist leaders in the area.

Greece.

On the 13th February General Simon Vlachos was sworn in as Under-Secretary of the Interior, with a seat in the Cabinet and control over Public Security independent of the Minister of the Interior. General Plastiras made this appointment without consulting his Minister of the Interior, M. Pericles Rallis, who immediately hastened to deny that a Security Ministry had been created; the police and gendarmerie, he said, were still under the Ministry of the Interior. A Ministry of Public Security is, of course, associated in the mind of the public with the Metaxas régime and the methods of M. Maniadakis. Further, M. Rallis, as a signatory of the agreement with ELAS, felt a personal responsibility for seeing that its provisions, and particularly those connected with public security, were duly carried out; he strongly objected to the creation of this special post, which was, to say the least of it, unfortunate. General Plastiras thereupon brusquely informed him that his services were no longer required, and M. Rallis resigned. It seemed at first likely that the other two signatories of the Varkiza agreement, MM. Sophianopoulos and Makropoulos, would also resign, so precipitating a political crisis, but in the end they did not do so, and, rather than provoke a serious crisis over one resignation, the Regent reluctantly agreed to the appointment of General Vlachos and to General Plastiras himself taking over the Ministry of the Interior. MM. Zevgos and Partsalidis, who, with other leading Communists, have now returned to Athens, called on M. Sophianopoulos to express their concern at the creation of the new Under-Secretariate, and there is no doubt that in many quarters grave doubts are felt as to the wisdom of the step taken by the Prime Minister, a step which he has now followed up by placing the Athens police and gendarmerie under the control of the Military Governor of Attica. Nevertheless, public opinion in Athens still appears to be in favour of General Plastiras remaining Prime Minister, believing that his continuance in office is a guarantee against further outbreaks by the Extreme Left.

Owing to the illness of the Regent, his proposed visit to Salonica had to be postponed, and he is now due to arrive there on the 27th. Meantime, he has received a message from Mr. Churchill thanking him for the reception accorded by the Greek people to Mr. Eden and himself on their recent visit to Athens and expressing confidence that Greece will regain peace and prosperity under his wise leadership.

On the 21st February, before a special tribunal, the trial opened of thirty-three persons accused of collaborating with the enemy. In fact, only twenty-five of those named in the various indictments were in court. Of the three Puppet Premiers accused, one had escaped to Germany, as had three other Ministers; one of the accused was assassinated before liberation, two were

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His Majesty's Government have informed Enver Hoxha, through the British liaison officer at Tirana, that they cannot recognise any Albanian Government until the internal situation becomes more stabilised, but that the offer to send a British military mission to him still stands.

F.N.Ç. headquarters recently complained that in early February the Royal Navy on three occasions stopped and searched Albanian vessels off Sarande (Santi Quaranta), and that one of these vessels was carrying F.N.Ç. troops. It has been explained to F.N.Ç. that the Royal Navy, which has been patrolling this area in order to prevent the infiltration of arms into Corfu, has for purposes of investigation twice sent ships into Sarande and once landed a party south of the town, and a promise has been given that in future no landings will be made on Albanian territory.

From a recent article in the F.N.Ç. paper it seems clear that the provisional Government contemplates drastic agrarian reform, especially in northern and central Albania. How, it is asked, can Albania be a democratic State if most of the land is in the hands of only three or four hundred families? The day of feudalism is over, and the farms of the Beys who have oppressed the people and been the tools of the enemy must be given at once to the peasants.

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In a dozen provincial places the People's Courts which have been hearing charges of persecution of the partisans have sentenced another 440 persons to death, more than another 100 to life imprisonment and others to less severe penalties. Among the condemned were a few civil administrators, but most were officers and men belonging to the army, gendarmerie and police. Death sentences were carried out at once, and few of those arraigned were acquitted. Replying to the charge of savagery, made "mostly abroad," the Fatherland Front paper declared that the process of purification continued and would continue, as the Bulgarian people had decided to rid itself of Fascism for ever. Considerable publicity was given to the unanimity with which two doctors and two archimandrites who were charged with testifying against Russia after their visit to Katyn or Vinnitsa, were now reported to have recanted and declared that both affairs were a German fake.

The order calling to the colours Dr. G. M. Dimitrov, who recently thought it wise to withdraw from the leadership of the Agrarian Party, was no doubt issued at the Communists' instigation as a means of eliminating still further their strongest potential rival. The order was revoked by the Minister of War, Colonel Velchev, who belongs to the Tsveno Party, on the ground that no other professional democratic politician had been victimised. All the same, the Communists seem to be in a fair way of encompassing the dissolution of the Agrarian Party, for Petkov, who, in deference to the Communists, was chosen as the new leader of the Agrarians, is so incompetent and so little trusted by the peasants that some of them may secede to the Communists. The Government talks—no doubt with Soviet approval—of holding elections in the near future. If, in compliance with the Crimea resolutions and contrary to all Bulgarian practice, the elections were genuinely free, the result could hardly be other than an Agrarian victory. But a new electoral law is being drafted, and it remains to be seen what devices Communist influence will introduce for the discomfiture of the Agrarians.

Early in February the Bulgarian Exarchate sent delegates to Istanbul to try to induce the Œcumenical Patriarchate to recognise the autocephalous Bulgarian Church. The successful conclusion of the negotiations ends a schism which, involving no point of doctrine, began in 1872, before the creation of Bulgaria. At that time Bulgarian-inhabited territory was part of Turkey, and the Œcumenical Patriarch refused to recognise the establishment of a Bulgarian Exarchate within his province. But since Bulgaria has been an independent country there has been no good reason for a schism which has served to embitter Bulgar-Greek relations. It is reported that the Œcumenical Patriarch did not entirely reject the suggestion that the Bulgarian Exarch might later be made a

Patriarch, and that the reconciliation was followed by a mass at the Phanar which consular representatives of the Soviet Union, Roumania and Yugoslavia attended.

Turkey.

On the 20th February Sir Maurice Peterson informed the Turkish Government of the decision taken at Yalta that if Turkey had declared war on Germany and Japan by the 1st March and if immediately thereafter she subscribed to the United Nations Declaration, she would be invited to the San Francisco Conference. With a promptness which was in marked contrast with her vacillation on previous occasions Turkey took this modest plunge or, as her Prime Minister called it, "historic decision" on the 23rd February when the Grand National Assembly in special session went through the motions of unanimously and formally approving the step. Comment in the debate and in the press left little doubt about the gratification felt by the Turkish Government at the prospect of having its say in the reorganisation of the world. Turkish participation in the war is unlikely to be active, and remarks like that of M. Yalçin in *Tanin* that "the whole Turkish nation is prepared to die for Turkish freedom and independence" only help to justify the derision which the Turkish declaration has provoked in some quarters abroad.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

Less than four months after the murder of Lord Moyne, Ahmad Maher Pasha, the Egyptian Prime Minister, has been likewise assassinated in Cairo. This time the murderer was an Egyptian, a young nationalist lawyer named Mahmoud Issawi, who is said to have been interned since the early days of the war for pro-Axis sympathies, and to have been released recently by orders of the Prime Minister himself. According to Makram Pasha the assassin said that there were twenty others like himself ready to kill any Egyptian Prime Minister who declared war. It may therefore be assumed that, however strange it may appear at this stage of the war, the Government's decision to declare war was the motive for the crime. The steps that led to this decision were as follows.

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Instead, however, of issuing the declaration before informing Parliament, the Prime Minister decided to inform the Chamber on the 24th February, and to ask for a vote of confidence. The debate in the Chamber proved longer than was expected, and the Prime Minister left to inform the Senate that there would be some delay. It was while he was on his way to the Senate that he was shot in the Pharaonic Hall, which lies between the two Houses. Although, therefore, at the moment of the Prime Minister's death the royal rescript on the declaration of war was already signed, its submission to Parliament was still uncompleted. The new Prime Minister has, however, since completed the task, and Egypt declared war against Germany and Japan on the 26th February.

Ever since the negotiation of the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936, in which he took a helpful and prominent part, Ahmad Maher Pasha has shown himself a consistently loyal ally. Only a few days before his death he told His Majesty's Ambassador that he was striving for the same democratic ideology as we, namely, the extirpation of Nazism and Fascism and all that they stood for. It is an irony of fate that Ahmad Maher should himself fall a victim to an assassin in Cairo nineteen years after his own trial—as some think, not without good reason—for complicity in the murder campaign that involved the death—among others—of Sir Lee Stack. He has been succeeded as Prime Minister by his Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mahmoud Nokrashi. The only changes made in the Cabinet are that Nokrashi takes over the Ministry of the Interior while remaining Minister for Foreign Affairs. Nokrashi has for long been a close friend of Ahmad Maher, and was indeed arrested and tried at the same time as the late Prime Minister for complicity in the murder campaign, but was acquitted for lack of evidence.

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The Wafd was not slow to announce its strong opposition to the proposed declaration of war. On the 25th February the Wafd issued a statement to the effect that successive Egyptian Governments had decided not to enter the war, and that Egypt had rendered to the Allies all possible help, even in excess of that laid down by the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty. The statement goes on to point out the supposed dangers of Egypt's becoming a belligerent, possibly necessitating the despatch of an Egyptian expeditionary force. The statement makes out that Egyptian aspirations are mainly confined to "the abolition of treaty restrictions and the completion of independence," which is a matter that should be settled between Egypt and Great Britain alone. It ends by asserting that the Wafd has therefore decided not to agree to a declaration of war; to warn the Government not to commit itself on the question; and to transmit its decision to King Farouk, to the Egyptian Prime Minister and to the representatives of the three Great Powers. There is, however, no reason to connect the Wafd with the murder of Ahmad Maher: indeed they have publicly denounced the crime.

Brief reference was made last week to the talks held between, on the one side, Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden during their recent visit to Egypt, and, on the other, King Farouk, Ibn Saud, Haile Selassie and Shukri Quwatli, respectively. These meetings were arranged primarily for reasons of courtesy. President Roosevelt had wished to take the opportunity of meeting Ibn Saud and Haile Selassie and had invited them accordingly. Mr. Churchill was naturally glad to avail himself of their presence in Egypt for meeting them subsequently, and also of having a talk with King Farouk and the Syrian President. The conversations were general in character, and no decisions of political importance were either envisaged or reached. They covered many of the topics of major interest in the Middle East, but no new views on them were expressed by any side.

Meanwhile the "sub-committee" of Arab Ministers for Foreign Affairs has continued its discussions in Cairo for the constitution of the proposed League of Arab States. There has been some difference of opinion between Iraq and Saudi Arabia over one point in the Alexandria Protocol, but apparently a satisfactory compromise has been reached. The Lebanese delegation has been chiefly anxious to emphasise the independence of Lebanon, and to combat any attempt to impose an Arab Union that might compromise Lebanese freedom to act independently of the League.

The discussions that Mr. Churchill held in Cairo with the President of Syria have, it seems, borne good fruit. In an interview on the 23rd February with His Majesty's Minister, Shukri Quwatli said that he would carefully consider the French proposals, when they were submitted, but hoped that they would be soon ready and that in the interval the French would refrain from staging military parades or otherwise acting provocatively. Shukri also raised the time-worn questions of equipment for the gendarmerie, and the transfer of the Troupes Spéciales, both of which matters he hoped would be discussed by us with M. Bidault in London. Shukri seems genuinely anxious to make a settlement with the French as long as it will not affect Syria's independence, but he is clearly determined not to grant any pre-eminent position to France. Much will depend on the way in which the French deal with the question themselves. If there is further undue delay, or if the French proposals are unreasonable, there may well be a return to the original impasse. In that event the position would be very unpromising.

The Syrian Government has decided to declare war on Germany, no doubt in the hope that Syria will be invited to participate in the San Francisco conference. The Syrian President, however, has been informed that his country is not to receive an invitation to the conference even if she does declare war, as she is not included in the list of States agreed at Yalta as qualifying for invitation. The same argument applies to the Lebanon, which intends to follow suit. No other reason has been given, but it would appear that, as the Levant States are still technically under mandate, difficulties might have arisen with France on that score, were they to have been included. Nevertheless, by declaring war the two States will have clarified their position as belligerents, which up to now has been held in some quarters to be in doubt.

Ibn Saud returned to Jedda on the 20th February in good spirits and much pleased at having met Mr. Churchill in Egypt. The question of Saudi Arabia being invited to San Francisco was discussed at Yalta. Saudi Arabia is not included in the official list of "associated nations," but she is in our opinion entitled to special consideration, owing both to her refusal in 1940 to receive a German Minister and to the friendship and help she has accorded to the cause of the United Nations. At the Crimea Conference M. Molotov opposed the participation of Saudi Arabia, but has since agreed that, if Saudi Arabia were

to qualify by declaring war before the 1st March, and adhering to the United Nations declaration, she should be asked to attend the conference at San Francisco. However, Ibn Saud, to whom the advantages have been fully explained, has not yet decided to take action in the sense contemplated. It is still uncertain, therefore, whether Saudi Arabia will be represented at San Francisco.

THE FAR EAST.

Domei on the 21st February announced that Sotaro Ishiwata, previously Finance Minister, had been appointed Chief Secretary to the Cabinet and Minister of State without Portfolio. Hisatada Hirose had been relieved of these two posts, which he had held for only eleven days (see this *Summary*, No. 280). The new Finance Minister is Juichi Tsushima, previously the president of the North China Development Company. Yutaka Tanaka, Director of the Revenue Bureau of the Ministry of Finance, has become Vice-Minister of Finance; for the time being he remains Revenue Director as well.

Domei (22nd February) said that there was considerable significance in the latest Cabinet reshuffle because it concerned the vitally important post of Chief Secretary of the Cabinet, the holder of which was now also "Chief of Staff of the War Cabinet"—meaning presumably the Supreme Defence Council on which the Prime Minister and a selection of his colleagues sit with the Chiefs of the Army and Navy General Staffs. Ishiwata was Chief Secretary to the Yonai Cabinet from January to July 1940; he has twice held the Ministry of Finance; he has also been Secretary-General of the Taisei Yokusankai, and Supreme Economic Adviser to the Nanking Government. He is thus a bigger political figure than is Hirose. There may be some significance in the fact that both Ishiwata and Tsushima have held high office in connexion with Japanese economic policy in China, which is at present undergoing another overhaul.

Koiso is endeavouring to remedy the various deficiencies in his Administration, which were the subject of criticisms in the recent session of the Diet. He has set up a War-time Price Investigation Committee, to replace the former Central Price Committee; he himself is chairman and Ishiwata vice-chairman of the new committee. It remains to be seen whether the new body will have more success than its predecessor in reducing black market activities and in providing adequate supplies, especially if certain food-stuffs, at reasonable prices.

Domei (23rd February) reported that a War Construction Corporation would be set up, which would have a management appointed by the Government from among private concerns, and whose functions would include the construction or removal of important war enterprises, except those under the direct operation of the military or civil authorities. Presumably the chief task of the new organisation will be the dispersal in face of air raids of all enterprises engaged on war production, but still under private management. Government control over shipping is to be further enhanced by the establishment of a Shipping Management Corporation; in view of the critical shipping situation the opposition to this scheme on the part of some shipping companies has been overcome (*Domei*, 24th February).

The desperate struggle for Iwojima continues; Japanese accounts have been full of the fanatical resistance of the garrison troops, and the heavy losses by land and sea which they claim to have inflicted upon the Americans. *Domei* (21st February) said that every inch of the island was strongly defended and criss-crossed with gun emplacements, pillboxes, blockhouses, tunnels and shelters. Iwojima was too small for an invading force to carry out any outflanking tactics; the Americans were compelled to make a frontal attack on the defences, and must therefore be prepared for heavy losses. The Japanese allege that the American losses up to the evening of the 23rd February were over 17,000 killed and wounded. *Domei* on the 26th February referred to the Japanese 1,000-pound rocket bomb, and said that the shock it caused was all the greater because, unlike the German V weapon, the new Japanese bomb was actively used in front-line engagements.

The Japanese Government-General of Korea have established a war-time industrial headquarters, composed of four sections, to enhance the output of war industries and to co-ordinate central and local economic activities. As a conciliatory gesture to the Korean people and probably also to encourage the migration of Korean labourers to Japan, the special restrictions on Koreans travelling to Japan are to be abolished and Koreans are henceforth to come under the same regulations as Japanese with regard to travel within the Empire.

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The Chungking Radio (22nd February) said that a Korean revolutionary, whose name was given as Lee Ping-chan, had arrived in Chungking from Seoul. Lee said that an underground force of 300,000 had been organised in Korea and was awaiting its opportunity. He further declared that since the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese conflict 200,000 Koreans had been arrested by the Japanese for alleged revolutionary activities; of these, 70,000 were still in jail. Lee remarked that the Korean revolutionary army in Manchuria would play an important part in the final liberation of Korea. According to him there were in December, 1944, 3,800 factories in Korea engaged on war production; they turned out arms, aircraft, shipping, motor vehicles and uniforms and accounted for 35 per cent. or more of the total war production of the Japanese Empire.

The Chinese Communists are taking an interest in Korea; on the 5th February a Korean Revolutionary Military School was formally inaugurated in Yenan. Lin Tzu-han, chairman of the Communist Border Administration, Chu Teh, and Susumu Okano, the Communist leader of the Japanese Emancipation League, were among those who attended the ceremony. Chu Teh said that the Korean revolutionaries should learn how to establish a national united front against the Japanese and to establish their own armed forces to fight for national independence and liberation. Okano declared that the liberated Korea and Japan of the future would be brother-countries on a footing of equality and help. It is unlikely that a liberated Korea under Communist auspices would be welcome to Chungking; on the 26th February Chungking Radio said that a group of young Koreans in Chungking had organised the "Korean Democratic Party" to organise guerrilla warfare in Korea. This may be intended as an offset to the Communist activities. The Korean Provisional Government, which is patronised, though not officially recognised, by the Chinese Government, is formed out of an alliance of four parties, of which the Conservative Korean Independence Party is the largest; the Communists have a minority representation.

The Chinese Press has voiced alarm lest the failure to achieve an understanding between the Kuomintang and Communist Parties should prejudice China's independence and equality of status. The *Ta Kung Pao* (the 20th February) said that, if China failed to achieve internal unity, she would sink to the level of a colony. The *Kuo Min Kung Pao* of the same date said that, if it depended on China's own efforts whether she shared in making the decisions which would be arrived at during the San Francisco Conference, or whether she would have decisions made for her. The *Yi Shih Pao* (the 21st February) feared that liberation committees might be set up in foreign countries "in the name of the so-called nations" in the border area of Chinese territory. "On the surface this would seem like national self-determination, but in fact it would represent the partitioning of a weak country by stronger Powers."

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Initial enthusiasm on the Yalta Agreement continues to give way to more sober and realistic evaluations of the Conference's achievements; that is apart from continued attacks by the Russophobe and Catholic press, particularly on the proposed Polish Settlement. While there is general satisfaction that there was so much "give and take" at the Conference, particular satisfaction continues to be expressed at the evidences of Allied solidarity, and there is little criticism of the doctrine of American responsibility for, and participation in, European affairs. There has even been no notable criticism in Congress or the press, and indeed surprisingly little comment, on the President's colourful meetings with the leaders in the Middle East. In fact there is evidence that Americans are beginning to adjust themselves to the inevitability of a continuing rôle in international politics now and after the war. Even in Conservative circles there is a tendency to anticipate the acceptance, possibly with modifications, of the Dumbarton Oaks and Bretton Woods proposals. The Administration, for its part, is doing all it can to enlighten the public. The State and Treasury Departments have launched nation-wide educational campaigns, on the radio, press and public platform, to drive home the crucial issues facing the United States. The first of seven broadcasts entitled "Building the Peace" was delivered this week by Mr. Stettinius, assisted by two Assistant Secretaries of the State Department.

Sympathy and understanding continues to be expressed for the supersensitive feelings of France, but even among General de Gaulle's supporters there has been a good deal of resentment against his refusal to meet the President in Algiers. There are signs, however, that the larger interests, such as the San Francisco

Conference, will prevail over this resentment and stress is being laid on the importance of French-American friendship to both sides. It is hoped that the situation will be improved if the President pays his proposed visit to Paris and London after the forthcoming conference.

The May–Bailey (Work or Fight) Bill, which was adopted a few weeks ago by the House of Representatives, has been held up by the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate, despite burning pleas from Mr. Stimson. The excellent war news, and the absence of General Marshall and Admiral King, both of whom were at Yalta (and who had previously striven strenuously against the attacks of the Trades Unions and Employers organisations on more stringent man-power controls), have resulted in a decline of public interest. The Senate Committee substituted two alternatives, which are now being debated, the Kilgore and the Revercomb Bills, both of which purport to contain less compulsion and regimentation, and both of which oppose the integration of the civilian with the military man-power problem. Neither are likely to provide a real solution to the problem, however.

Meanwhile, the prospects of serious shortages in certain items of war production are beginning to loom up. Mr. J. A. Krug, the Chairman of the War Production Board, emphasised the need for more stringent man-power legislation, in drawing attention to the serious position of the steel industry, which maintains it requires an additional 100,000 workers in order to keep the plant working to capacity. The industry is expected to start the second quarter of the year with unfulfilled commitments amounting to 2 to 2½ million tons compared with the deficiency at the beginning of the year of 1½ million tons. Military requirements have gone up a million tons, so that the gap between supply and requirements is more likely to be in the region of 3 million tons. So great is the shortage that the War Production Board has reluctantly cut the allocation of carbon steel to the Office of Defence Transportation from 1,254,838 tons in the first quarter of the year to 1,065,000 tons in the coming second quarter.

To make matters worse Mr. John L. Lewis and his United Mine Workers have served notice to the War Labour Board, the National Labour Relations Board, and the Labour Department that, owing to a dispute on wages, a strike-vote would be taken in 30 days' time, when the existing wage contracts expire. So there is a prospect of a coal strike at the moment when stockpiles of coal are dwindling; partly because of increased demand, partly because the recent severe weather which seriously interfered with freight shipments. Labour is once more making a frontal attack on the "Little Steel" formula. The majority of the War Labour Board are standing by the formula, though the Board has lately been making adjustments and concessions on a scale which has disturbed Mr. Vinsen, the Director of Economic Stabilisation and led to pronouncements from his office which have angered the Labour Chiefs.

The expectation that Mr. Lewis and his powerful Union would be readmitted into the American Federation of Labour has been upset at the last moment by Mr. Lewis's demand for representation on the Executive Council It is thought, however, that this obstacle will be overcome in the next few weeks.

After much manœuvring, the George Bill, divorcing the lending agencies from the Department of Commerce has been passed by the House of Representatives by 204 to 196 votes. It is now thought there will be little difficulty in obtaining Senate approval of Mr. Wallace's nomination as Secretary of Commerce, particularly as the President has indicated that he will accept the George Bill.

(See also under "Latin America".)

LATIN AMERICA.

At the first plenary session of the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace at Mexico City, Mr. Stettinius addressed the assembly and reaffirmed the belief of the United States in the good-neighbour policy and the development of inter-American co-operation as indispensable to a peaceful and democratic world order, and in the building of this world order by all nations, large and small, acting together as sovereign equals. Mr. Stettinius expressed his confidence that the American republics would join in whatever co-operative measures might be necessary to stamp out utterly every vestige of Nazi influence in the hemisphere, in combating Axis economic and political penetration and the flight of Nazi funds and underground leaders. He reminded his hearers that the Dumbarton Oaks proposals recognised the value of regional agreements for promoting peace and security: the United States Government believed that the

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stronger they could make the Inter-American system in its own sphere of activity the stronger the world organisation would be.

At the preliminary session six principal committees were set up: (1) War Problems (chairman, the Brazilian Acting Foreign Minister), (2) International Organisation proposed at Dumbarton Oaks (Mr. Stettinius), (3) Relations between the Inter-American system and the world security organisation (Colombian Foreign Minister), (4) Post-War Economic Problems (Cuban Secretary of State), (5) Economic Problems of the War and Transition Period (Peruvian Foreign Minister) (6) Co-ordination Committee (Uruguayan Ambassador in Washington).

Press reports state that discussion will be given to an Uruguayan proposal for a definite treaty engagement which should bind the American nations to protect each and all against aggression, to a Colombian resolution to guarantee territorial integrity and inviolability, and to various United States proposals, including a declaration in favour of freedom of the press and the abolition of all censorship as soon as possible after the war, and a series of reforms in the Pan-American system. These latter comprise the holding of an international conference every four years, an annual conference of Pan-American Foreign Ministers, an increase in the size of the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union, the creation of an Inter-American, Social, Economic and Cultural Commission, and the co-ordination of the thirty-six existing inter-American organisations. The Brazilian delegation is reported to have put forward a proposal in six points covering the legal equality of all sovereign American States, the right of each to "respect for its individuality," condemnation of all wars of aggression and repudiation of the use of arms except in the case of defence against aggression or when used in conjunction with other nations as authorised by a competent international organisation, the solution of all international controversies by pacific means, the unity of American nations against external aggression against any one of them and, in the case of aggression by one American country against another, immediate consultation with a view to the defence of the country attacked.

The Argentine question was raised at the preliminary session by the Paraguayan delegate, who proposed that its discussion should be given a principal place on the agenda. The suggestion was opposed by Sr. Padilla, and the motion defeated. At the opening of the conference the President of Mexico was reported to have expressed the hope that "circumstances would soon permit the official reincorporation of Argentina into the family of American nations."

Meanwhile on the 23rd February the Argentine Government issued a decree cancelling the existing prohibition on Argentine shipping against entering war zones. It has been reported that elections are again under contemplation, but there is no evidence that a declaration of war is appreciably nearer.

Uruguay signd the United Nations declaration on the 24th February.

On his way to Mexico City M. Stettinius visited Rio de Janeiro, where he saw President Vargas. An official note stated that relations between Brazil and the United States, both during and after the war, were discussed, together with the "results of the inter-American system" and the significance of the Crimea Conference.

At a meeting of the Brazilian Cabinet on the 22nd February, President Vargas was presented with a long report on the constitutional position, which recommended that elections for the Presidency, Chamber, Senate, and State Governors and Chambers should be by direct popular suffrage, instead of by a plebiscite (to ratify the Constitution of 1937) followed by the complicated indirect system proposed in that Constitution. On the same day the *Correio da Manhã* published an article by Sr. José Américo (the Opposition candidate for the presidency in 1937) which constituted the most comprehensive public attack on the President and his régime that has appeared for many years. This was followed by an interview in *O Globo* in which Sr. Américo declared his support for Air-Brigadier Gomes as presidential candidate. Neither of these articles had been submitted to the President Vargas's Press Censor, whose authority appears to have been successfully challenged. Dr. Aranha has also given his support to Air-Brigadier Gomes. It is reported that the opposition is ready to meet any action that the President may take, and his position now seeems to depend on the loyalty or otherwise of General Dutra, the Minister for War.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 283

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
7TH MARCH, 1945.

Copy No. 183

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

THE past week has seen the capture of important towns of western Germany. Trier had in peace-time 79,000 inhabitants, München-Gladbach 126,000 and Krefeld 165,000. There is now fighting opposite Düsseldorf, Cologne has fallen and the armies of the western Allies have reached the Rhine along a considerable distance. The main item on the other side of the account is that the crucial encounter with the main body of the German army has not taken place and that Rundstedt has succeeded in withdrawing his best troops across the river, in order, says a Berlin report of the 5th, "to fight the decisive battle of this war."

The communiqués of the German High Command were less informative than the Front Reports and surveys, from which "map-gazers" (*cf.* P.I. *Summary* No. 277) could get a fairly good idea of the Allied gains. These, although according to the Germans made only with difficulty and at great cost, were still continuing. On the 1st March the O.K.W. spoke of violent battles south of Trier, and on the 2nd, of the advance of United States tanks as far as Neuss, and an advance along the Düren–Cologne road. The fact that no break-through had yet taken place was stressed as a great feat in view of the Allied material superiority, a factor which is continually emphasised in reports from the Front, together with very heavy Allied losses. On the same day a D.N.B. transmission reported artillery fire on Cologne, and said that the fringe of Trier had been reached. The Political Review prepared the public for fighting to the last in Cologne and elsewhere. "Even if the enemy were to succeed at the cost of terrible sacrifice of blood in pushing further ahead, nothing will prevent us from defending every town, every building, every ruin," Cologne was already destroyed by bombing, and "what do we care if the ruins of former cultural monuments are wholly pulverised in house-to-house fighting?" On the 3rd the communiqué spoke of determined resistance east and south-east of Goch. What is called "the great defensive battle between the Roer and the Rhine" had extended to the sector between Kempen and Geldern in the North, and to the area north-west of Düsseldorf. German forces in the München-Gladbach sector were holding

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their positions, and there was bitter fighting for the Neuss bridgehead. The "superhuman efforts" of the German troops had caused a halt in the advance on Cologne, said one commentator. Shells were bursting in the centre of the city. On the 4th, the O.K.W. admitted that the enemy had penetrated into Krefeld, while Scheelkopf, in a Front report, said that "during the last few hours the enemy had reached the Rhine on a broad front north and south of Düsseldorf."

The relation between the western and eastern fronts was frankly discussed in the *Völkischer Beobachter* of the 1st March. "The German Command has had again to decide since the 12th January whether it regards the western or eastern front as decisive, and it has made its decisions about the distribution of forces according to the relative strength of our two enemies." Allied advances across the Roer were "naturally connected with events in the East." This is an admission that there are not enough German reserves for both fronts. Whatever Germans may think of the importance of the attack from the West, propaganda lays continued emphasis on the East as the decisive front.

Pomerania has been the main centre of attention. On the 28th the O.K.W. said that enemy tank forces had thrust far to the North in East Pomerania, west of Rummelsburg. On the 1st March, the fall of Poznan was announced, rather belatedly, and there was said to be street fighting in Breslau. On the 4th the communiqué announced the loss of Rummelsburg, and a Front Report described the "fighting on a broad front with advancing enemy tank packs and infantry following up."

The heavy and widespread Allied raids on the Reich continue. Every aspect of German life is affected by the bombing, and over an area wider than ever before. On the 22nd the 8th Air Force alone attacked forty-two different localities, most of them important marshalling yards and traffic points. Mosquitoes have raided Berlin almost nightly. No wonder that Goebbels should on the 1st March refer to this bombing as "hardly bearable."

Recent reports from Berlin indicate some of the technical difficulties which beset German propaganda. News Agency and Press buildings have been destroyed. Particularly since the Berlin raid of the 3rd February, the *D.N.B.* and other Press services have been frequently interrupted and irregular. There have been further severe restrictions in the size of the daily newspapers. On the 5th January the *National-Zeitung* announced cuts, due to shortage of paper pulp and to transport difficulties. On the 23rd January the President of the Reich Press Chamber announced general restrictions. All newspapers were to be reduced to two pages on three days a week, and would thus appear on alternate days with two and four pages. On the 16th February the *Bodensee Rundschau* said that the Reich Press Chamber had decreed that all German papers were to appear five times a week with two pages and only once with four. *Front und Heimat*, the Forces newspaper, is now reduced to half its size. On the 18th February the *Angriff* announced that from the 19th onwards it would be merged with the *Berliner Illustrierte Nachtausgabe*. A *Transocean* broadcast, describing one of the last issues of the *Angriff*, said that "the papers, consisting of only two pages, have entirely changed in form and content. The huge headlines give a poster-like effect. News has completely disappeared from the papers except for an essential minimum." Yet it is reported from Berlin that the only shop windows sure of attracting crowds are those of newspaper offices.

On the 28th February further "temporary" ration cuts were announced, in addition to the prolongation of the 72nd and 73rd periods, announced on the 2nd February (*cf.* P.I. *Summary*, No. 279). Reductions of 200 grammes of bread, 25 grammes of fat, and 50 grammes of Nährmittel per week have been made, apparently only in the 73rd period. These new cuts mean that since the beginning of the year, the rations of the normal consumer have been reduced by 20 per cent. in bread, 30 per cent. in fats, 11 per cent. in meat, and 51 per cent. in Nährmittel. It is calculated that the normal consumer now receives about 15 per cent. fewer calories. The same announcement by *D.N.B.* says that "Food Offices may in future in exceptional cases extend the validity of ration coupons beyond the period to which they apply, if, owing to transport difficulties or other reasons, the retailers are unable to supply goods on these coupons during the stipulated period." This is known to be the practice already in west German towns.

An article in the Gelsenkirchen edition of the *National-Zeitung* said that "owing to the present situation, a gradual change-over to vegetarian food will be unavoidable." But coupons are now required for vegetables and must be surrendered for meals served in restaurants. The situation is naturally most difficult in towns which are approaching, or actually undergoing, a state of siege,

such as Breslau or Cologne or Berlin. Milk is available in Berlin only for children and invalids. Members of the Volkssturm, can feed from field kitchens and this eases the problem for most families. On the 12th February the Mayor of Berlin announced that coupons for vegetables might in future be honoured with frozen vegetables or fruit. The potato shortage is acute. About one quarter of Germany's potato production has been lost in the East. Backe recently ordered that all potatoes suitable for seed should not be used for consumption, but for extended contivation : that all supplies over and above the delivery quota and not intended for self-supplies should be surrendered : and that producers, like consumers, must give up one quarter of the quantities intended for their own use. Further measures were announced on the 3rd March. Persons who have stored more than 100 kg. must manage with these quantities until the 24th June, 1945. Those who have stored 150 kg. must surrender 25 kg., and if they do not comply by the 31st March, will receive reduced rations of bread, Nährmittel, &c.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

An agreement between the Czechoslovak Government and U.N.R.R.A. concerning relief for Czechoslovakia was signed in London on the 26th February. U.N.R.R.A. supplies to Czechoslovakia will be handed over to the Czechoslovak Government for distribution and the latter will afford U.N.R.R.A. facilities for supervision. Proceeds from the sale of these supplies are to be made available to meet the expenses of the Administration in Czechoslovakia and the balance will be at the disposal of the Czechoslovak Government for further relief and rehabilitation expenditure under programmes to be agreed. The Soviet Government has informed U.N.R.R.A. that Black Sea ports as well as land transport will be at its disposal for the despatch of these supplies. The agreement is to be reviewed after six months.

On the 26th February, London and Moscow radios broadcast simultaneously an appeal to the Czech people in the Protectorate to rise against the Germans and assist in their final destruction. The appeal was signed by eighteen leading Czech politicians, nine in London and nine in Moscow, representing the chief political parties. The Protectorate Government has replied with a proclamation condemning the appeal and warning the Czechs of the devastation that would ensue if they were to oppose the Germans.

Prague radio of the 3rd March reported that Chvalkovsky, the Protectorate Minister in Berlin, had been killed in an air-raid on the German capital. Hitler and other German leaders have sent their condolences to President Hácha.

POLAND.

The Commission of Three, comprising M. Molotov, Mr. Harriman and Sir Archibald Clark Kerr, held its first consultation on the 23rd February in Moscow; discussions concerning procedure, the issue of invitations to representatives of the several Polish elements, and the despatch of British and United States representatives to Poland who will report to the Commission on conditions there, are still in progress.

Meanwhile, in the course of the three-day parliamentary debate (27th February–1st March) on the Crimea Conference, the position of His Majesty's Government in regard to the decisions affecting Poland which were taken there has been made more explicit. Doubts concerning the exact delimitation of the southern sector of Poland's eastern frontier were resolved by the Prime Minister's defence of the Curzon Line, "including, of course, the exclusion of Lwow from Poland," as "the fairest division of territory that can, in all the circumstances, be made between the two countries." The "substantial accessions of territory in the north and west which the Yalta communiqué promised to Poland were now defined by Mr. Churchill as comprising, certainly, the city of Danzig, the greater part of East Prussia west and south of Königsberg, and "a long, wide seafront on the Baltic," and the German province of Upper Silesia in the west; and, further, "such other territories to the east of the Oder as it may be decided at the peace settlement to detach from Germany after the views of a broadly-based Polish Government have been ascertained." The Prime Minister added, however, that "it would be a great mistake to press Poland to take a larger portion of these lands than is considered by her and by her friends and Allies to be within her compass to man, develop and, with the aid of the Allies and the world

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organisation, to maintain." It is assumed, the Secretary of State told the House, that the German population in the areas attributed to Poland will be removed.

The Prime Minister assured those who feared for the future independence of Poland that: "The Poles will have their future in their own hands, with the single limitation that they must honestly follow, in harmony with their Allies, a policy friendly to Russia." It would be for the Poles themselves, with the assistance of the Allies, to agree upon the composition and constitution of the Polish Government of National Unity; and His Majesty's Government would thereafter, through their representatives in Poland, use all their influence to ensure that free elections should be fairly carried out. The Secretary of State further stated, in this connexion, that if, as he hoped, the new Polish Government should ask for international supervision of these elections, "we should certainly be prepared to join it. We could not agree to any inter-Allied supervision to which we were not parties, in view of our treaty relations with Poland." Both the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State were at pains to make it quite clear that His Majesty's Government had no intention, pending the formation of the new Provisional Government, either of recognising the Administration at present functioning in Poland, or of withdrawing recognition from the Polish Government in London. Nor, Mr. Eden declared, would they recognise a new Government which they did not think representative; if a representative Government did not come into being, then "we remain as we are to-day . . . ."

At the conclusion of his speech opening the debate on the 27th February, Mr. Churchill paid a tribute to the gallantry of the Polish Armed Forces serving under British command: His Majesty's Government recognised, he said, that these troops owed allegiance to the Polish Government in London, but he expressed the hope that, given the establishment of a new and more representative Government, "means would be found of overcoming these formal difficulties in the wider interest of Poland." Above all, His Majesty's Government were resolved that as many as possible of the Polish troops should be enabled to return in due course to Poland, "of their own free will and under every safeguard . . . ." He added that, subject to the reservation that matters affecting citizenship must be discussed with the Dominions, he earnestly hoped it might be possible to offer to the Polish troops the citizenship and freedom of the British Empire, if they should so desire.

An article published by M. Mikolajczyk's organ *Jutro Polski* (25th February), exhorting Poles in this country to accept the assurances given in the Crimea Conference communiqué and not to be afraid of returning to Poland, has drawn upon its author, Professor Grabski, a violent attack by the Polish Government organ, *Dziennik Polski* (27th February), which has also published reports from Poland of mass arrests of members of the Home Army, carried out by "agents of the Lublin Committee" in close co-operation with the N.K.V.D. (His Majesty's Government have raised with the Soviet Government the question of the recently reported arrest in Poland of the wife of the Polish Prime Minister in London, Mme. Arciszewska, and of others working with her in the Polish Red Cross, and have received from them the assurance that Mme. Arciszewska shall be released.) A few days later M. Mikolajczyk contributed to *Jutro Polski* an article strongly condemning the appointment of General Anders as Acting Commander-in-Chief, as provocative to Russia and as contrary to the best interests of Poland and the Polish troops, who, he maintained, should be assisted to return to Poland, rather than encouraged to believe that return meant exile to Siberia. Lublin broadcasts, by contrast, have refrained from comment on General Anders' appointment.

A Soviet Commission of experts arrived in Warsaw on the 2nd March to implement the Soviet Government's promise to assist in the reconstruction of the city; it is of interest to note that the commission is led by M. Khrushchev, the Head of the Government of the Ukrainian Republic and includes M. Pronin, Vice-Chairman of People's Commissars of the R.S.F.S.R.—both of whom are presumably town-planning experts, as they were formerly second and first secretaries, respectively, of the Moscow City Soviet. The arrival in Lublin of a delegation of the United States Red Cross is also announced. On the 3rd March the Soviet Ambassador, M. Lebedev, presented his credentials to M. Bierut. The Lublin radio announced on the 4th that the first meeting of the Supreme Council of the Polish Socialist Party had been held in Warsaw; the Council had been broadened by the co-option of new members, and now numbered 57 persons. (See also under "United Nations," "United States of America" and "Vatican".)

SOVIET UNION.

Slight advances have been made towards Königsberg from the south, but the main centre of interest in the fighting this week has been in Pomerania. Marshal Rokossovsky's troops captured Neustettin on the 28th February, Rummelsburg on the 3rd March, and Koeslin on the 4th March, the sea being reached on the same day. The Germans in Danzig are thus cut off from the Reich. The day before Marshal Zhukov's forces broke through to the Baltic near Kolberg (25 miles west of Koeslin). On the 5th he took Stargard and Naugard, and is closing in on Stettin from the east. The only other progress reported for the Red Army has been in Slovakia, where a slow advance continues to be made in the difficult country north-west of Lucenec.

Attacks on General Radescu "the ill-starred candidate for the dictatorship of Roumania," and on MM. Maniu and Bratianu have continued with unabated vigour in the Soviet press since the arrival of M. Vyshinsky in Bucharest, while the fact that Dr. Groza had been asked to form a Government has been hailed with unqualified approval.

As noted in last week's *Summary*, the earlier attacks on General Radescu contained oblique references to the situation in Greece. Together with this the fact that the first overt Soviet comment on Greece should have appeared on the 2nd March might suggest that it is the efforts of the British and American representatives in Bucharest to intervene in the Roumanian situation that have caused Moscow to break its former silence. The *Tass* report from Athens, in which these comments were embodied, stated that elements of the extreme Right in Greece were endeavouring to exploit the recent agreement as a means of enabling them to disarm and then suppress all elements of the Left. It was alleged that, in spite of complete liberty of the press being granted under the Agreement, the E.A.M. papers *Rizospastis* and *Elefteri Ellada* were having to circulate illegally since ruffians of Nationalist organisations were smashing the news stands and beating up the newsmen, while the police were arresting the newsmen and not their attackers. This may be an indirect reply to British criticism of the suppression of National Peasant organs in Roumania. The establishment of "the public security organisation" even under its new guise of "Under-Secretariat of the Interior" was criticised strongly as reminiscent of the Metaxas régime.

Turkey's declaration of war on Germany provided an occasion for unfriendly comment in the Soviet press and wireless. Yermashev, in a Soviet Home Service International Review, queried the value of the Turkish Government's decision "now that Germany, with whom Turkey has maintained the closest relations during the whole war, is doomed to a rout." *Izvestiya* (the 1st March) joined in the hue and cry against Turkey, Egypt and a number of South American countries who were hurrying to join the United Nations' camp symbolically, "and to buy their fare to the San Francisco Conference." The presence "even now" of hostile organisations in the Near East, such as the "New Turanists" in Turkey and "Young Egypt," was also recalled by *Izvestiya* in connexion with the murder of the Egyptian Prime Minister "by a band of Hitler's mercenaries." A Soviet broadcast in Roumanian recently attacked "certain Turkish Fascist circles who are plotting the creation of an anti-democratic *bloc* under Turkey's influence." Indeed, fear that Turkey hopes eventually to resume her former leading place in Balkan affairs may play a part in inciting these recent Soviet attacks upon her.

The All-Slav Committee has recently been showing considerable activity. A big joint meeting was held in Moscow with the Union of Polish Patriots for a simultaneous celebration of Red Army Day and the liberation of Poland, at which the solidarity of Poles and Russians in the Slav family was reaffirmed. Leading members of the Moscow All-Slav Committee, including the Chairman, General Gundorov, went to Sofia on the 1st March for the big Slav meeting there (see under "Bulgaria"). Academician Derzhavin, who made the chief speech on behalf of the Russian delegation, maintained that the Slavs had been defeated in the past by the Germanic world not only because of their disunity but through lack of technical progress. Slavs must in the future strengthen their economic as well as their cultural relations with one another. He insisted that the Russian nation was democratic to the bone, loathed all national oppression and was a champion of national culture, religious toleration and the State independence of all the nations.

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SCANDINAVIA.

On the 4th March the Finnish authorities published an announcement that Finland considered herself to have been in a state of war with Germany since the German attack on Hogland on the 15th September, 1944. A similar pronouncement is said to have been made by M. Paasikivi in the Finnish Cabinet on the 1st March. The announcement can hardly have been inspired, as suggested in *The Times*, by a hope of being invited to participate in the San Francisco Conference; it seems more likely that it is a step in the improvement of Finno-Russian relations. This interpretation is confirmed by an article in *Uusi Suomi* on the 5th March.

In some interesting reflections on the Yalta Conference broadcast by M. Vuori on the 2nd March, the speaker frankly admitted that, "according to the Yalta definition, Finland is an ex-Nazi satellite." He considered that a nation's absolute right to self-determination was obviously outside present-day realities, and that the Yalta Conference tended to limit freedom of action by the obligation to organise life on a democratic basis. "To win a place in post-war Europe, Finland must make some essential changes in her political and social life." The Yalta Powers had asserted their right to intervene to establish democratic conditions.

Reduced to realities, this seems to reflect a perception that much must be done to conciliate Russian susceptibilities. In this connexion, the Stockholm correspondent of *The Times* states that he was informed in Helsinki that M. Ryti and M. Randell would not only be removed from political activity but would be forced to leave their posts as heads of the Bank of Finland, and that other leading figures of the pro-Axis period would also certainly be removed. On the 2nd March the report with regard to Ryti and Randell was, however, denied by Tauner.

On the 5th March air traffic between Finland and Sweden was stopped. The reasons for this measure are at present obscure, but it is generally attributed to Russian influence.

An important Swedish view of post-war organisation was put forward by the Defence Minister, M. Sköld, in a recent speech on the 20th February. He said that the international peace organisation contemplated by the Great Powers was not ideal, and even conflicted with Swedish conceptions of international justice, since it provided no guarantee of the inviolability of minor States. Chances of success, on a realistic view, were uncertain, depending as they did on the capacity of the Great Powers to co-operate and abstain from conflicts of interest. Later in his speech M. Sköld betrayed even more scepticism, pointing out the necessity for continuous preoccupation with defence "having regard to the fact that the basis of peace was something so uncertain as the ability of the Great Powers to co-operate." If the organisation were to function successfully, Sweden would not be interested in regional alliances, and, if it were to fail, she should be even less inclined to join an alliance headed by one Great Power, which might well result in his country being used as a spearhead against another powerful State. In such case he therefore preferred a return to the policy of neutrality, in which he hoped he would be followed by other Scandinavian States.

Considerable progress has now been made in the discussion on future financial and trade relations with Sweden which has been proceeding for some time. A serious obstacle to agreement was, as disclosed in an article in the *Manchester Guardian* on the 28th February, the reluctance of the Swedes to accept payment in sterling. This difficulty has now been surmounted, and a Payments Agreement was signed in London on the 6th March.

After secret sessions of the Icelandic Althing on the 25th, 26th and 27th February, it was decided not to qualify for invitation to the San Francisco Conference by declaring war on Germany and Japan. The minority favouring the course rejected is understood to have consisted mainly of the Communists.

The important successes achieved by recent Danish sabotage were emphatically acknowledged in a communiqué from S.H.A.E.F. on the 5th March. The disruption of railway communications was specially noted as a most effective contribution to current military operations both on the eastern and western fronts.

The Danish press service (D.P.T.) announced the execution of ten Danish patriots during last week. No German announcement appears yet to have been made, but obituaries of three of the victims were published in the Danish press on the 2nd March, stating that they died on the 27th February, which was therefore presumably the date of the execution. No executions have been officially announced since the end of last June, but, apart from those now reported, some thirteen others are understood to have taken place in the interval.

LOW COUNTRIES.

The Luxemburg Cabinet has been enlarged in order to make it more representative; the old Ministers remain in office, but two new Ministers have been appointed. Further, it is announced that, as Parliament cannot do business owing to the impossibility of assembling a quorum, a consultative assembly of 45 will be appointed by the Grand Duchess on the advice of her Ministers. It would appear that the Ministers will be responsible to this assembly, though it will not exercise legislative powers. Full legislative powers, it may be added, were conferred upon the Grand Duchess in 1939 just before the outbreak of the present war.

The economic position of the Grand Duchy is by no means good. Coal is in very short supply, and a large part of the agricultural area was devastated during the recent German offensive—the industrial area fortunately escaped serious damage. In these circumstances, the *Sunday Times* reports, a demand for reparation has been put forward by both the Luxemburg Government and the Luxemburg Press, which last points out that reparation could suitably consist of adjoining areas of German forest and agricultural land; forest land would be of value to Luxemburg because her own formerly extensive forests were greatly reduced by extensive felling during the German occupation. When Prince Felix was questioned about Luxemburg's territorial claims by a reporter he replied: "All I can say is that the dam on the River Our, proposed for many years, but impossible so far because some of the territory needed was outside Luxemburg, could be of the utmost importance in providing electricity, essential for our industry and agriculture. In another 60 to 80 years our iron ore reserves may be exhausted and we shall need our own electricity for new manufacturing industries."

Speaking of the need for a rapid increase in imports to Belgium, the Belgian Minister of the Interior bluntly told a correspondent of the *New York Times* that "chaos will break out in Belgium unless the United States furnishes plenty of food, medical supplies, and raw materials without delay."

The Governor-General of the Congo made a long speech on colonial questions at a luncheon in honour of Captain Balfour, the Resident Minister in West Africa, during his recent visit to Léopoldville. M. Ryckmans pointed out that world opinion was in favour of the development of backward regions; at the same time those United Nations that had large industries were seeking markets. It seemed, therefore, that it would be a simple matter for Europe and America to sell to Asia and Africa. Some, however, pointed to Soviet Russia as an example of what could be done in the rapid development of backward areas. But Soviet progress has been achieved by restricting imports and by imposing sacrifices on the consumer. A five-year plan on the Russian model was not what was wanted in the colonies. But there was a happy medium between such a solution and the exploitation of colonies by the mother countries. To invest money in a territory in order to secure markets and collect the profits was not to develop that territory in the interests of its own inhabitants. The Congo, as King Leopold had pointed out in 1933, must not be burdened with crushing interest and amortisation payments.

None the less, continued M. Ryckmans, the development of colonies for their own well-being would lead to an increase in their purchasing power. But the process would take time. At the moment the population of the Congo was tired and could not be asked to work harder. The productivity of labour could be increased only as the result of improvements in education and social services, a land-conservation policy, and a scientific investigation of the Congo's potential sources of wealth. How were these schemes to be financed? Certainly not by creating a debt whose service would cripple the Congo. The money must be obtained by setting aside a fair share of the profits of local enterprises and by subsidies from the mother country. The British Colonial Welfare and Development Fund was an example to be imitated.

M. Ryckmans ended by saying that there was room for inter-colonial collaboration. The studies and solutions which were of value for the British West African colonies were often of value for central Africa, and *vice versa*. "An exchange of information, a specialisation eliminating overlapping, the pooling of experiments and results" would be to the advantage of all.

The news of the appointment of the new Dutch Cabinet (see last *Summary*) appears to have been received without either much enthusiasm or hostility in the Liberated Netherlands.

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FRANCE.

Mr. Churchill's important references to France in his speech in the House of Commons on the 27th February did not evoke much comment in the French press, nor did it discuss his reaffirmation of Britain's endeavour to preserve a special position for France in Syria and the Lebanon (for this and for recent discussions with M. Bidault see under "Middle East"). The Radical *Aurore*, while giving headlines to his insistence on the need for a strong France, wished that he had not sought to disguise the fact that the Three Great Powers had set themselves up "as a directory of Europe and the World," and M. Buré, of the *Ordre*, objected to Mr. Churchill's "patronising tone." Mr. Roosevelt's references to France in his speech to Congress led the *Monde* to ask if the conclusion to be drawn was that there was a certain hierarchy among the Great Powers. (See also under "United States.")

France was finally omitted from the inviting Powers, when the invitations to the San Francisco Conference were issued on the 5th March. It was explained in inspired Paris comment that French sponsorship of the invitation involved tacit acceptance of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals which France had had no share in formulating. French efforts to have the invitation reworded in view of this difficulty had failed; but the Provisional Government would participate in the Conference (see also under "United Nations").

General de Gaulle made his long awaited declaration of the Government's internal policy in a speech in the Consultative Assembly on the estimates of the Ministry of Reconstruction, after M. Dautry had, with striking figures, stressed the vastness of a task which would take from 9 to 13 years. General de Gaulle said 400,000 workers were fully unemployed and 1,200,000 partly, and enumerated the great material difficulties of the situation. But the Government had the confidence of the entire country. On arriving in Paris on the 25th August, 1944, he had received a message from a representative of Pétain authorised to concert with him "a solution such as would avoid civil war." He had shown him the door—and where was the civil war?

The Government, he added, had resolved to give absolute priority to the war effort. Their armed forces now totalled 1,200,000 even before the mobilisation of the 1940, 1941 and 1942 classes (this had been announced on the 27th February). By September they would again be producing tanks. They had strengthened the internal and external credit of the State, had restored all the traditional liberties and would soon proceed to local elections. But to achieve the goal of power which he set before them there must be much greater and more rational production with the co-operation of employers and workers and the co-ordinating action of the State. While they wished to foster individual initiative and keep as large a "secteur libre" as possible in industry, the State must take charge of the exploitation of the major sources of power, of transport and of tele-communications and control credit and investment. It was, in fact, already directing the entire life of the country. But they should not proclaim changes by legislation which they could not apply. It would be for the elected representatives of the nation to confirm or alter the Government's provisional measures. In the meantime they needed to train personnel to carry out the State's undertakings, and this brought him to the problem of lack of men. France needed 12 million babies in the next ten years, she must reduce the death-rate and encourage suitable immigrants. A profound reform of education was equally necessary, and must be carried out by the whole nation. They should derive their inspiration from the men and women of the Resistance. These should not, however, form any single Resistance Party or League, but set an example inside each group by bowing before the higher interests of the nations. Between the soft twilight of decline and the clear cold light of renovation France's choice was certain.

Criticism in the debate which followed and in the press was sharp—particularly from the Socialists and the Communists; and the absence of more precision on the Government's internal policy has created disappointment even amongst older supporters of the régime. The speech of M. Duclos and the attitude of the *Humanité* points to the abandonment of the short-lived rôle of whole-hearted supporters of the Government, recently adopted by the Communists (see *Summary* No. 278). The *Populaire* deplored the Government's intention to postpone major reforms indefinitely. Whole-hearted approval came only from the press of the Right and Centre.

The speech and the criticism which it aroused threw further light on the differences between the Government and bodies such as the Consultative Assembly and the Conseil National de la Résistance. The demand of the C.N.R. that the

Government should heed the advice of the Consultative Assembly (see last *Summary*) was repeated by M. Saillant at the meeting of the departmental liberation committees on the 28th February and 1st March, when he declared that the Assembly ought either to be listened to or else be abolished. In an attack on General de Gaulle's foreign policy he said that if the Government could demand "reforms of the geographic structure" of the country before general elections were held, it could also carry through a reform of the economic structure before that date. On the morning of General de Gaulle's speech the Socialist and Communist Parties issued a joint manifesto demanding immediate nationalisation of key industries in accordance with the programme of the C.N.R. General de Gaulle, however, implicitly rejected these proposals when he said at Limoges on the 5th March (as reported by the *Daily Telegraph*) that the State was alone entitled to exercise power and that the consent of the vast majority of citizens was needed for the economic reforms demanded by the Resistance Parties.

(For renewal of Franco-Italian relations, see under "Italy").

SWITZERLAND.

The economic negotiations are continuing in an excellent atmosphere. There are good prospects of reaching an agreement by which Switzerland will discontinue all coal traffic from Germany to Northern Italy; will take steps to prevent Swiss banks becoming a safe deposit for German assets, and will reduce their remaining exports to Germany to an extremely small figure.

By a most unfortunate coincidence several violations of Swiss airspace—a matter on which Swiss public opinion is particularly sensitive—have occurred during the course of the negotiations; in the two most serious of these incidents, on the 22nd and 28th February, Allied aircraft caused twenty-one deaths, while a considerably larger number of persons was wounded.

The Federal Council has decided to lift the ban on extremist parties both of the Right and the Left, whilst reserving for itself the right to prosecute individual persons for activities dangerous to the State. At the same time, the definition of what constitutes treason under the Penal Code has been stiffened so as to bring within its ambit attempts to change the constitutional order by other than legal means. The chief object of these measures is to restrain the relatively small number of Communists who, when their party had been banned, simply reorganised themselves under other names.

Some regret has been expressed that Switzerland will not be invited to the San Francisco Conference in spite of her democratic experience and proved loyalty to her international engagements.

A steady flow of refugees is reaching the Swiss Northern frontier, including persons coming from as far as the Baltic States. Meanwhile, M. Musy, a former President of the Confederation, who is rumoured to have close relations with some of the Nazi leaders, has returned from a visit to Germany together with a contingent of 1,200 Jews whose liberation from a concentration camp he claims to have succeeded in procuring.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

It is clear that General Franco has not properly understood the implications of the Prime Minister's reply to his letter, and there is evidently a hope in high Spanish circles that the Allies would be prepared to come to terms with a Franco who had been "defalangizado." The Caudillo is undoubtedly convinced that his continuation in office is a Spanish interest; with all the sincerity born of vested interest, he believes that any change of régime would merely weaken the power of Spain to resist the pressure which he expects Russia will apply so soon as the war is ended. That belief is doubtless reinforced by the murder last week at their local headquarters of two minor Falangist officials who were shot by gunmen of the other persuasion. This useless liquidation, which was probably an act of private vengeance rather than of public justice, tends to strengthen the régime, for it merely increases the general fear of the "Reds." The execution of sixteen Communists followed this disturbance of Falange tranquillity.

There have been rumours for some time about the impending departure of General Orgaz from Tetuán, and on the 3rd March, among other changes in the military command, it was announced that Lieutenant-General Varela had been appointed High Commissioner in Morocco, and that Lieutenant-General Orgaz was to be provisionally attached to the Supreme General Staff. General Varela was Minister of War until the Cabinet reshuffle in August 1942 which saw the

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fall of Serrano Súñer; his succession to General Orgaz, a bull-like, blustering "Barlasch of the Guard" sort of man, who gave us much trouble in Tangier, is a welcome event and probably the only one of any political significance. Of the other generals involved in these military changes, General Muñoz Grandes, who relinquishes the charge of General Franco's Military Household in order to command the First Military Region (the area west of Madrid), is the best known. It will be remembered that he was the first commander of the Blue Division.

The prospect of Portugal not being invited to the San Francisco conference was naturally wounding to the susceptibilities of the Portuguese public who are notoriously touchy about their national honour, and there has been some criticism of the foreign policy which has led to this exclusion. An article, seemingly inspired by Dr. Salazar, in the *Diário da Manhã* of the 27th February, defended the Portuguese position, and produced evidence to show that Portuguese neutrality was approved by England, her oldest ally. Dr. Salazar himself is keenly interested in the results of the Crimea Conference, but does not appear to be either surprised or disappointed at not being invited to San Francisco. He feels strongly that the privilege of attending the conference would not compensate for the loss of dignity involved in a pier-head jump to victorious belligerency. Portuguese neutrality is too tender and too lovely a bloom to be crushed by the eager fingers of even a British Bellona. This attitude, consistently maintained throughout the whole course of the war, is to Dr. Salazar's credit.

A draft bill for an increase of up to 15 per cent. in official salaries (except in those of members of the Government) which has been sent by the Government to the National Assembly for consideration is not unconnected with the discontent, especially in the Army, which was at the root of the recent, and for the moment abortive, attempt to oust Dr. Salazar (see *Summary* Nos. 277 and 278). Although reports still come in to the effect that the Army intends to maintain its demand for a change, Dr. Salazar is in the best of spirits and has the situation thoroughly in hand. Dr. Caeiro da Matta, the Minister of Education, admitted to Sir R. Campbell that there was widespread discontent because Portugal was not moving with the times and was in danger of becoming a mere museum piece in the Europe of to-morrow. The situation, he said, had been discussed at a series of Cabinet meetings, and Ministers realised that something must be done to "blanco up" the régime for the peace parade, but were divided in opinion on how to set about it. Dr. Salazar was by no means the most backward, and Dr. Caeiro da Matta said that his mind was slowly evolving. The trouble was that a mind as rigid as Dr. Salazar's took a long time to adapt itself to changing circumstances. We in this country have good reason to subscribe to the Minister's diagnosis of the Salazarian problem.

ITALY.

Italy's disappointment that no specific reference was made to her (see *Summary* No. 150) in the Yalta Conference communiqué has been largely mitigated by Mr. Churchill's references to that country in his speech of the 27th February. Mr. Churchill's recognition of the value of Italian co-operation and in particular of the part played by the partisans, as well as his hopes that Italy will quickly resume her place amongst the great peace-loving nations of Europe, have given general satisfaction. Pleasure has also been expressed that Mr. Churchill recognises the difference between Fascist Italy and the Italy of to-day. A section of the Centre and Right-wing press, however, points out that the basis of Allied policy towards Italy remains the same, that the provisions of the Armistice have not been altered and that Italy has still not been granted Allied status. Mr. Churchill, speaking of the difficulties which may be encountered in the north when it is freed, mentioned the additional burden the Allies and the provisional Italian Government will have to bear in feeding the large population. This reference to the "provisional" Italian Government seems to have rather puzzled the Trade Union paper *Il Lavoro* and to have produced mixed reactions, but why does not seem clear, since all parties recognised that, with the liberation of the north, the Government would have to be reconstituted. The Communist Party paper *Unità*, while expressing satisfaction at the increased independence of the Italian Government, comments unfavourably on there being no mention of a greater Italian participation in the war. *Avanti*, the Socialist Party paper, recognises that the new concessions are an important step forward and says that the Italian Government will no longer be able to justify its inaction by throwing the blame on the Allies. Despite these minor criticisms Mr. Churchill's promise of material aid of which Italy will receiver her share, and of British and Allied goodwill in the nation's efforts to re-establish herself,

has undoubtedly greatly encouraged the Italian people. Finally, Mr. Churchill's statement that no divergence of policy exists between the British and American Governments in regard to Italy and that the two countries "can proceed in the closest confidence and unity" will not only help and strengthen the Italian Government but will revive the drooping spirits of Italians who, in general, have been much depressed. In this connexion Count Carandini, the Italian Government representative in London, was instructed by Signor De Gasperi, the Italian Foreign Minister, to convey to Mr. Churchill a message of thanks for his generous remarks and to inform him of the satisfaction which they have given both to the Government and to the Italian people.

Direct relations are to be re-established between the French and Italian Governments. M. Couve de Murville, the French representative on the Advisory Council, is to be France's representative with the rank of ambassador. Italy is to send a representative to Paris in due course and Count Sforza's name has been mentioned in this connexion. Count Sforza has, however, denied this rumour and has stated that, after so long in exile, he wishes to remain in Italy. The two Governments have also agreed on the appointment of Italian consular agents in Paris, Toulouse and Marseilles. The status of Italians in Tunisia had been the chief obstacle to the resumption of diplomatic relations, but according to the Paris press the Italian Government has informed the French Government that it acknowledges that the 1896 Conventions are no longer in force. The French Government, on its side, has told the Italian Government that it is ready to negotiate another convention, based on the principles of international law, to determine the status of Italians in Tunisia (*i.e.*, presumably an ordinary treaty of establishment).

The escape of General Mario Roatta has been reported in the press. General Roatta has been on trial since the 22nd January, accused of aiding and abetting the Fascist régime, but has been in hospital, at various times during his trial, as he suffered from heart trouble. The Italian Government has offered a reward of 1 million lire for evidence leading to his recapture.

In North Italy, there have been some reactions to the formation of Professor Cione's new opposition group, referred to in last week's *Summary*. According to Transocean, the group has not yet begun its political activities, but publication of its paper, *Italia del Popolo*, was to begin on the 1st March, and the political press censorship imposed last autumn has been lifted "as it cannot be reconciled with the existence of a free opposition." It remains to be seen how far the new group will, in fact, be allowed to voice any open criticisms of Fascism. Farinacci, in an article in *Regime Fascista*, confesses that he started out with an initial scepticism regarding the new group, but found in Professor Cione's recent statement of his views in the *Corriere della Sera* much that coincided with Farinacci's own frequently asserted criticisms of Fascism on the ground that it failed to remain true to its original tenet of "a totally Fascist State with a capable and courageous ruling class."

In the meantime, another source of criticism of the Italian Social Republic has been silenced. Concetto Pettinato, the editor of the Turin *Stampa*, a well-known journalist whose articles during the past months have reflected an increasing scepticism, appears at last to have gone too far in an article of the 20th February, in which he openly admitted that Italy's disappearance from the political horizon was her own fault, and suggested that her only hope now was to put aside internal strife: "hands should be held out even across the barrier of foreign bayonets." This attitude was stigmatised by Farinacci as defeatist, and Pavolini denounced Pettinato to the Party Disciplinary Commission, ordered his removal from the editorship of the *Stampa*, and replaced him by Francesco Scardaoni.

The Fascist-controlled radio has announced that no more Italian workers will be taken on for work in Germany. The alleged reason for this step is that a large number of former internees in Germany have now become free workers in Reich industries, with the result that "the contingent has been completed." A more probable reason may well be found in increasing unemployment in Germany owing to the crippling of her industries by bombing and transport difficulties.

THE VATICAN.

On the 1st March the Pope granted an audience of some 30 minutes to the German Ambassador to the Vatican.

During Lent the Vatican has been broadcasting lectures on "Questions of the Eastern Church." The first two insisted that the Catholic Church of the future would be less "overwhelmingly Latin than it was now," and argued that

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those Catholics who maintained that there was an inherent superiority in the Latin rite were jointly responsible for the persistence of the schism between West and East. "Only on the basis of an honestly recognised equality of all rites can we hope for a return of the separated Eastern Churches to Catholic Unity. The Church of Jesus Christ is, as Pope Benedict XV said, neither Latin, nor Greek, nor Slavonic, but Catholic." It is worth recalling that Popes have long hoped that the schismatic Orthodox would find it a small step to join their neighbours, the Uniats or Catholics of the Eastern rite.

Though the Vatican has not pronounced publicly on the Crimea decisions, the Roman Catholic Hierarchies of England and Wales and of Scotland made a statement on the principles underlying a lasting peace (see *Summary* No. 282 under "Vatican"). Now the Roman Catholic Hierarchy of Scotland has issued an unusually forthright application of those principles to the Polish question; and justified its intervention on the grounds that the "fate of a great Christian nation of 35 million persons is a moral issue." Archbishop Griffin of Westminster, on the other hand, exercised iron restraint when he addressed the Anglo-Polish Catholic Association on the 5th March, recommending the Christian virtues of faith and forgiveness: "I appeal to you in the name of your great Christian tradition to give the Soviet Union a chance to redeem itself. Give to your British Allies a last opportunity to honour the pledges which have been sealed by Polish and British blood."

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

On the 6th March the Germans opened a sharp local offensive on both sides of Lake Balaton.

The Debrecen Government published further details of its draft Land Reform Bill, now before the Cabinet. Recipients are to receive this land in freehold, paying the State for it. Payment is to be spread over 10–20 years, no payments being made during the first three years. In the distribution, priority is given to members of the new army or of the resistance movement; and this was made a special feature of numerous appeals to the population of German-occupied Hungary, which was urged in its own interest to "group itself round the clandestine National Committees" which were organising the underground struggle. Hungarians joining the force being organised in Germany were warned that by doing so they forfeited their claim to land.

There is no reliable information on the real strength of those "underground Committees"; but increasing numbers of desertions to the Red army, the Slovak partisans and the new Hungarian army were claimed.

The accounts of conditions in Liberated Hungary vary. The Ministers of Industry and of Trade and Communications made optimistic reports on the speedy restoration of industry and transport, but it was admitted that the agricultural situation, on which the future food supply depended, was serious, "as the Nazis have stolen the larger part of our livestock and agricultural implements." The Szálasi Government's propaganda added to its usual stories of looting and rape by the Red army repeated allegations that large numbers of Hungarians—a figure up to 250,000 was given—were being transported to the U.S.S.R.

A new Lord Mayor of Budapest has been appointed: he is M. J. Csorba, a Deputy from the Smallholders' Party.

A group of "Hungarians" are reported to have escaped from Birkenau and returned to Hungary. They are presumably Jewish deportees.

The Roumanian crisis was greeted with expressions of smug satisfaction at the discomfiture of the "Fascist reactionary Radescu." Hungarian democracy wished to live at peace with Roumania, but the condition of this co-operation was that Roumania, too, should become truly democratic.

In Szálasi Hungary Dr. J. Gera has replaced F. Rajniss on the Regency Council. The local German troops have been ordered to help the population in agricultural work.

Roumania.

The situation in Roumania has seriously deteriorated.

Prince Barbu Stirbey, after consultation with the various parties, found himself unable to form a Cabinet. Vyshinsky intimated to the King that Dr. Grozea, the leader of the "Ploughmen's Front," was the person in whom the U.S.S.R. had confidence, and the King then commissioned Grozea to attempt

to form a Cabinet composed of "all democratic parties in normal proportion." When this item of news was broadcast the "all" in this sentence had been removed by the Russian censor. It has become known on good authority that in recommending Grozea to the King, Vyshinsky asked the King not to tell the British or Americans that he had done so. Grozea produced a plan for a new government in which 14 out of a total of 19 places were assigned to Communists and parties of the Left, and this the King declined to accept. This was the position at midnight on Sunday. Grozea told the King that a Communist demonstration had been arranged for Monday, the 5th March, and that if his list of ministers is not accepted, he will not be responsible for the consequences. The King asked the advice both of His Majesty's Government and the American Government as to what action he should take. The two Allied Governments have not felt able to do more than offer negative advice that the King should not take any irrevocable action. The two Allied Governments propose a conference on the matters in dispute as provided for by the Crimean Conference. It has been suggested that such a conference should be held at Washington, but the Soviet Government have as yet shown no disposition to accept these proposals.

Some fears are felt for the safety of General Radescu. After refusing to have special protection to begin with the General has himself come to realise that his position is precarious. Representations have been made to the Soviet authorities as to the disastrous impression which would be created if the General were arrested.

The Communist demonstration fixed for the 5th March has been postponed for 24 hours. The Committee announced that the population is "to be given political enlightenment," and the inhabitants of Bucarest are invited to attend at one of four halls, one in each of the municipal districts, directions for finding which are given with some care and detail.

Yugoslavia.

In reply to the nominations for the Regency sent to him by Shubashitch and Tito (see last *Summary*), King Peter has accepted Sernec, the Slovene, Manditch, the Croat, and Budisavljevitch, the Serb.

While at Belgrade Field-Marshal Alexander was the object of remarkable demonstrations, large crowds remaining all day outside his billet and cheering him whenever he appeared. Rumours that he had come, accompanied by General Scobie, to liquidate the régime and himself assume the regency were exploded by the cordial speeches exchanged by the Field-Marshal and Tito and splashed in the press.

Between the 19th January and the 7th March, besides military supplies, the Allied Military Liaison have sent to Yugoslavia these civilian supplies—11,500 tons of food, 80 tons of medical stores, 330 vehicles and 930 tons miscellaneous, including clothing.

In Bosnia the Partisans have occupied Travnik and pressed on towards Sarajevo, which the Germans seem likely soon to evacuate. The German Division which retired from Vishegrad down the Drina suffered badly, and the Partisans have recaptured Zvornik. The Partisans have also regained Petrovo Selo in Lika, an important road junction between Dalmatia and Croatia.

Another party, J.N.S. (the Yugoslav National Party, consisting mainly of Serbians together with some anti-clerical Slovenes, which was created to support the dictatorship in the early 1930's, was in opposition from 1935 to 1941, and had very little popular support) has applied for inclusion in the National Liberation Front of Serbia. Its application has been rejected on the ground that it was a "Pro-Fascist" and Great Serbian Party, and that since 1941 most of its leaders either collaborated with the enemy or supported Mihailovitch. Individual members of the Party, who satisfy the Partisans' tests, can join the Front.

In Macedonia civil servants who held office during the foreign occupation have been ordered to register with O.Z.N.A. (the political police). Unofficial sources state that those so registering are being imprisoned.

On the 11th March Radio Free Yugoslavia, its mission accomplished, ceased to operate. It was not stated where the station had been located, but only that "certain technical considerations did not allow it to play the full rôle demanded of a radio station." It had not been able to give transmissions from Partisan meetings. But its significance for the Partisan cause had been enormous.

In *Borba*, Mosha Pijade, a Vice-President of A.V.N.O.J., has written with savage sarcasm about Turkey's entry into the war. He said that "the masses in Great Britain" had been disappointed in their Turkish Ally, who had kept out of the struggle when her help would have been valuable and had given economic and political assistance to Germany. The "Balkan democracies" would not

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tolerate Turkish pretensions to interfere in Balkan affairs. Similarly Radio Belgrade attacked the Roumanian Government, saying that "democratic forces" in that country "signed the Armistice with the Allies and declared war on Germany," but that "Fascist elements" were still active there; nevertheless "the national masses" would carry on the struggle.

Greece.

Speaking in the House of Commons on the 27th February Mr. Churchill alluded to the rapturous welcome with which he and Mr. Eden had been greeted in Athens. He could recollect no subject on which the policy of His Majesty's Government had been more completely vindicated than in regard to Greece. Peace without vengeance had been achieved; a great mass of arms had been surrendered; public order and security had been so established that U.N.R.R.A. was about to resume its functions. There were, of course, many difficulties ahead; the Greeks must not expect that the whole process of their restoration could be accomplished by British labours or American assistance.

On the 1st March an agreement was signed in Athens between representatives of the Greek Government and U.N.R.R.A. The agreement provides for rehabilitation and relief on a large scale throughout the whole of Greece, including the islands; according to the Deputy Director-General of U.N.R.R.A.'s Bureau of Supply, U.N.R.R.A. will assume financial responsibility for Greek relief as from the 1st April, and will probably have taken over completely from M.L. by about the beginning of May. General Plastiras has expressed his gratitude to M.L. and his steadfast hope in U.N.R.R.A.

The Regent's visit to Salonica was a great success; he had a tremendous reception, his every appearance being greeted with spontaneous and prolonged cheering. In the course of a long speech in which he expressed the gratitude of the Greek people to the Allies, and particularly to Great Britain, the Regent said that Greece must in good time consolidate her position by the side of the Allies. Greece would claim from her Allies nothing but justice, because justice meant recognition of the Greek contribution to the common struggle. There was no justice while Greek populations were still suffering under an enemy yoke, no justice while such enemies remained unpunished. The Regent went on to condemn the "unspeakable atrocities" committed by the Bulgarians, and was greeted with cries of "Revenge! Sofia! Greater Greece!"

Meantime the Athens press reports great activity by the political parties, old and new. M. Sophoulis has issued a statement that the Liberal Party declares itself unreservedly in favour of a kingless democracy, in reply to which the Populist Party, maintaining that the question of the régime ought not to be a subject of political controversy between the parties, has appealed to the Liberal Party to reconsider its decision.

Albania.

Athens and Tirana have been engaging in wireless polemics about Southern Albania, or, as the Greeks call it, Northern Epirus. Dr. Omer Nishani, the Albanian Foreign Minister, in a newspaper article which was broadcast accused General Plastiras of harbouring designs on the Albanian towns of Korça and Argyrokastro, as MM. Tsouderos and Papandreou had done before him. On the other hand, the committee of Northern Epirus irredentists in Greece, which is led by the former Greek Bishop of Argyrokastro, has urged the immediate occupation of Northern Epirus by Greek troops to stop the alleged persecution of the Christian inhabitants.

In contrast with this, Albanian relations with the Tito administration are very friendly. An Albanian military mission arrived in Belgrade early in February, Enver Hoxha and his colleagues have received A.V.N.O.J. decorations and, more important, F.N.Ç. forces continue to fight alongside the Tito partisans. In the political sphere, according to an unofficial report, agreement has been reached that Kosovo shall be an autonomous member of a federated Yugoslavia.

Bulgaria.

Up to the 21st February the People's Court had sent almost 600 people to execution in Sofia and the provinces. The trials are still going on, but it is hoped to finish them by the middle of March. The proceedings taken, no doubt at Russian instigation, against those who participated in the Germans' "international medical commission" at Katyn and Vinnitsa resulted in relatively light sentences. Two doctors were acquitted and three archimandrites and the

former Director of Propaganda were condemned to between two and five years' prison, fines and the temporary loss of civil rights.

On the 3rd and 4th March a Slav Congress was held in Sofia and attended by delegations from Russia and Yugoslavia. In the course of what appear to have been enthusiastic proceedings messages were sent to President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill as well as to Marshals Stalin and Tito and it was frequently repeated that Germany was the inveterate enemy of Slavdom, and Russia the saviour of Bulgaria.

On the 22nd February the paper of the Tsveno party, which is led by the Prime Minister and stands particularly for Bulgar-Yugoslav collaboration, carried an article urging that with a view to an economic union between the two countries the recent postal agreement should be followed by Bulgar-Yugoslav agreements about customs, railways-and trade. As regards political matters it is undesirable that Bulgaria's new wish for close relations with Yugoslavia should at this stage find expression in a treaty. It is all to the good, therefore, that the press published on the 28th February a categorical official denial that M. Gheorghiev had discussed Greek Macedonia with Marshal Tito.

Although the original policy of the Fatherland Front was to bar "outside influences" in education, the Ministry of Education recently announced that voluntary religious teaching would continue to be given in the schools once a week by the priests.

Turkey.

There is some evidence that the Turks regard the measure of Allied agreement reached at Yalta as too good to be true. They are perturbed by Russian predominance in Roumania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria and can hardly persuade themselves that Soviet deference to Anglo-Saxon views will in fact be such as to remove all menace to Turkey's position in Europe and on the Straits. Nevertheless, they hope than San Francisco may bring this about, and the traditional Turkish view that Great Britain and the United States will need Turkey as a make-weight against Russia is reflected in Turkish press comment to the effect that Turkey has influence enough to play an important part at the conference. The Soviet Ambassador has returned to Turkey after a prolonged absence, and the Turkish press has evidently been told to observe extreme caution as regards Russia, for it has been submitting mutely to the constant flagellation of the Moscow wireless (see "Soviet Union").

In order to contribute towards easing the world tonnage situation and towards the carriage of relief to liberated countries the Turkish Government has agreed to release three of the five British merchantmen which were originally chartered to Turkey in 1943 to bring munitions and other supplies from Egypt.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

The assassination of Ahmad Maher Pasha has greatly shocked the Egyptian public, and has been condemned by all responsible sections of political opinion. There seems to be no doubt that the opposition of the Wafd to Egypt's declaration of war, culminating in their manifesto that this meant for Egypt all sorts of material sacrifices, helped to excite public apprehension and to influence unbalanced persons like the assassin of the late Prime Minister. To that extent, therefore, the Wafd may be held to have had some indirect responsibility for the crime.

The fears of the public, thus falsely aroused, were, however, largely reduced by a British statement explaining that the Egyptian declaration of war would not in any way affect the assistance to be furnished by Egypt in virtue of her treaty with Great Britain, and that there was no intention to call upon Egyptians for service abroad.

When Mahmoud Nokrashi, the new Prime Minister, resumed on the 26th February the question in Parliament—held up for two days owing to Ahmad Maher's assassination—he obtained a vote of confidence in the Government's decision to declare war by 214 votes to 2 in the Chamber of Deputies, and in the Senate by 66 votes to 35. The vote in the Senate is noteworthy as indicating a marked reduction of the Wafdist vote, the total number of Wafdist Senators being 65. The loss of Ahmad Maher at this juncture is lamentable. Nor is the new Prime Minister to be compared with his predecessor. Nokrashi is difficult and touchy, and his despotic nature and pettifogging mentality will not help him either with his non-Saadist colleagues in the Cabinet or in the handling of Anglo-Egyptian problems.

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It looks as if political assassination in Egypt was becoming infectious. On the 2nd March an attempt was made on the life of Amin Osman, the Minister of Finance in the Nahas Government and a firm upholder of the Allied cause. Fortunately, he escaped injury from the knife aimed at his breast through having a small Koran in his pocket, which turned the blow.

The discussions of the sub-committee on the constitution of the League of Arab States terminated in Cairo on the 3rd March, when the members present signed the *procès-verbal* including the proposed statutes. The Egyptian Prime Minister announced that he would communicate the draft statutes to the preparatory committee to be summoned shortly, and hoped that this committee would approve them quickly so as to enable the Council of the Arab League to meet in the spring of this year. He declared that the Arab League would be an important element in the service of peace, and would help to develop Arab prestige.

Apparently on the initiative of Abdul Rahman Azzam it was proposed that the Arab League should help "non-independent" countries to become independent and to join the League. No names of such States were given, but Palestine may be inferred, as well as Libya and other North African States. It was pointed out to Nokrashi that such a resolution if proceeded with would create difficulties for them, and though at a subsequent meeting of the conference he is said to have made light of this argument, it is believed that the relevant clause has been considerably modified. Another matter that has been raised concerns the signature by Musa Alami, the Palestinian representative, of the agreed instrument on the 18th March. Musa has attended the conference not, of course, in an official capacity, but as representing unofficially the Arabs of Palestine; and it is therefore open to question whether he has even any authority to sign. He certainly has no authority to commit Palestine to the provisions of the act.

In his speech in the House of Commons on the 27th February, the Prime Minister referred to the position of His Majesty's Government in respect of Syria and the Lebanon and in relation to the French. "That position is governed," said Mr. Churchill, "by the statements made in 1941, in which the independence of these Levant States was definitely declared by Great Britain and France. At that time, and ever since, His Majesty's Government have made it clear that they would never seek to supplant French influence by British influence in the Levant States. We are determined also to respect the independence of these States, and to use our best endeavours to preserve a special position for France in view of the many cultural and historic connexions which France has so long established with Syria. We hope that it may be possible for the French to preserve that special position. We trust that these States will be firmly established by the authority of the world organisation, and that French privilege will also be recognised.

"However, I must make it clear that it is not for us alone to defend by force either Syrian or Lebanese independence or French privilege. We seek both, and we do not believe that they are incompatible. Too much must not be placed therefore upon the shoulders of Great Britain alone. We have to take note of the fact that Russia and the United States have recognised and favour Syrian and Lebanese independence, but do not favour any special position for any other foreign country."

Lebanon followed the example of Syria by declaring war against Germany and Japan on the 27th February. Both States are greatly disappointed that they are not to be invited to the conference at San Francisco. In protest at the exclusion of Syria, the Syrian President, not without a touch of humour, quoted an Arabic proverb: "If you ask thirty guests and *not* me, does it mean that you have insufficient food or that I am not house-trained?" Perhaps in the hope that they may still be invited, both States are making enquiries in Washington as to what steps are necessary for their adherence to the United Nations' declaration. No applicant who has declared war has so far been refused adherence to the United Nations' declaration; but, even if the Levant States are permitted to adhere, there are difficulties in the way of inviting them to San Francisco.

Mr. Eden briefly discussed the Levant States in his talks with M. Bidault during the latter's recent visit to London. M. Bidault explained that all France desired in the Levant was a military base, a cultural convention and a pre-eminent position for the French representative; to which Mr. Eden replied that we wanted nothing there, except for the French to get their treaty. The French have not yet delivered their proposals as promised some time ago to the Syrian Government. General Beynet has twice interviewed the Syrian President, but nothing definite seems to have emerged. General Beynet is intending to leave

for Paris this week to report on his conversations and to receive instructions. Unfortunately, he still does not appear to appreciate how strong the feeling is in Syria about the *Troupes Spéciales* and the special position which France claims in the Levant; nor does he seem to realise the increasing difficulty which the Syrian Government will have in controlling the situation, should the French still further delay their proposals, or should these proposals be too ambitious.

After consulting the Crown Prince and others in Nejd, Ibn Saud decided at the last moment to declare war against Germany and Japan as from the 1st March. The Holy Places of Mecca and Medina are, however, specifically excluded from being in a state of war. As Ibn Saud says in his communication to His Majesty's Government announcing his decision: "Because of their sanctity we reserve for the two Holy Shrines complete neutrality; they shall neither wage war nor shall war be waged against them, for the area in which they lie is one of peace and security for all its inhabitants and for all Moslems who proceed thither." Arrangements will be made in due course for Saudi Arabia to adhere to the United Nations' Declaration, and she has been included among the forty-five nations to be invited to San Francisco.

Mr. Wallace Murray, Director of the Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs in the State Department, has been appointed United States Ambassador to Persia.

THE FAR EAST.

The Japanese Diet, which is still in session, although for the time being in recess (see this *Summary* No. 280) is to reconvene. Koiso has agreed to this in consequence of a demand by political leaders in both the House of Peers and the House of Representatives. The chief subject of interest in the reassembled Diet will be the new political party which is to replace the Taisei Yokusankai and the Seijikai. It is now fairly apparent that a struggle is going on behind the scenes between Koiso, Kobayashi and the "moderates," on the one hand, and Hashimoto and the extremists on the other. The "moderates" may be defined as those who desire to retain the traditional Japanese political system of compromise and balance between various group interests; the "extremists" are those who favour a totalitarian single-party régime which would exercise absolute control over all political and economic activities. In regard to the war, it seems probable that the "moderates" would like a compromise peace if they could get one and there are reports in the American press that they have sounded out the United States through a non-Japanese medium, utilising the Bolshevik bogy in Asia as their chief argument. The "extremists" are for a war without compromise and believe that Japan might yet win.

Koiso has entrusted Admiral Kobayashi, the head of the Seijikai, with the task of forming a new political party in such a way as to ginger up the war effort and stiffen the morale of the people without yielding too much to the "extremists." So far, Koiso and Kobayashi appear to have had the better of the struggle within the Taisei Yokusankai. Hashimoto, who has been a member of the Diet since 1942, in August 1944 became vice-president of the Youth Association of the Taisei Yokusankai and director of its headquarters; he was also standing counsellor of the Taisei Yokusankai and bureau director at large. He has made the Youth Association—which is not confined to young men—a centre of extremism and has sought to utilise it as a means of gaining control over the whole Taisei Yokusankai. But on the 27th January last *Domei* reported that Hashimoto had resigned his directorate of the Youth Association headquarters and had been replaced by Sakio Tatebayashi. Hashimoto thus lost his key position in the Youth Corps. He was also a member of the Seijikai, but he was one of seven members who were reported by *Domei* (18th February) as having resigned on account of dissatisfaction with the way in which Koiso and Kobayashi were organising the proposed new party. The *Tokyo Shimbun* (26th February) hinted pretty plainly that the new party would not mean any decisive reform either in economics or politics because its formation was in the hands of the bureaucrats and of big businessmen who still put profits above their country.

Kobayashi has resigned his position as Minister of State without Portfolio in order to give his full time to the organisation of the new party. He has issued an appeal for support to some three thousand influential persons, including members of both Houses of the Diet, businessmen and administrators. He has secured as sponsors of the new party 141 members of the House of Peers, 174 members of the Lower House and 129 other prominent men. These sponsors have formed a sub-committee to work out the organisation and programme of the new party and to select its leaders (*Domei*, 5th March). Presumably, when

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this sub-committee has finished its labours, Koiso will call the Diet together to approve the results. He may obtain such approval, backed as he is by the conservative military and naval men, bureaucrats, industrialists and court officials who are opposed to full-blooded totalitarianism. But unless the new party is instrumental in securing a more favourable turn of events for Japan—a highly unlikely contingency—it will in its turn be denounced as inadequate and Hashimoto and his friends will return to the charge.

In Chungking on the 1st March Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek announced that the National People's Assembly would be convened on the 12th November of this year. He said that the Assembly would inaugurate constitutional Government and that this would entail the return of power from the Kuomintang to the people and would place all political parties on a legal and equal status. Referring to the recent negotiations with the Communists (see this *Summary* No. 281) Chiang declared that the Communists had rejected all the offers made to them by the Government; these offers included the proposal that an American General should command the Communist troops after these had been incorporated with the national forces and that an American officer should be made chairman of a proposed Committee of three persons who would resolve any problems of a military nature which might arise between the Kuomintang and the Communist forces. The Generalissimo said that he rejected the Communist demand that power should be transferred to a coalition of various parties; the result of such a surrender would be unending friction and the eventual collapse of the central authority altogether. He attacked the Communists for conducting a campaign of defamation against the Kuomintang during the course of the negotiations, and he also declared that it was his unvarying experience that no sooner were some Communist demands met than they raised fresh ones. He concluded by saying that the Kuomintang was the Party of National revolution, liberation and progress.

An answering broadside came from Yenan where it was declared (4th March) that the Generalissimo's speech reflected the views and plans of the most reactionary clique in the Kuomintang which meant to persist in one-party rule. This clique would make only a pretence of giving up its authority and would so manage the National Congress as to preserve its "Fascist dictatorship." Yenan radio hsa also continued its general onslaught upon Kuomintang policy both in the political and economic spheres. It asserted that the proposed military committee of three would have had no real power; that the Communist forces would have come under the control of the "incompetent one-party Government" and this would have resulted in the Japanese reoccupying the areas liberated by the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies. The Communists also denounced Chungking's economic and financial measures which they asserted would lead to further inflation and increased hardships for the people.

However, it is possible that the Communists are uneasy lest their uncompromising rejection of the Government's proposals should alienate popular sympathy. The *Ta Kung Pao*, on the 2nd March, said that the Communists wished to resume the negotiations and to send Tung Pi-wu to Chungking for this purpose. Thus the verbal fireworks on both sides are not likely to result in a general armed clash, which neither Party at present desires.

General Chen Cheng, the new War Minister, is grappling with the task of Army reform. On the first March he announced that 396,759 officers and men had already been disbanded and that during 1945 a total of 1,800,000 would be discharged. The forces retained would be better equipped and would receive substantial increases in pay and allowances. Military training schools were also to be reformed and redundant ones were to be abolished or amalgamated with others.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

On Thursday, the 1st March, President Roosevelt paid his first visit to Congress since January 1943 in order to present his report on the Crimea Conference. His speech, which was simultaneously broadcast over the radio networks, has become this week's main topic of conversation, overshadowing even the military news. That he was wise and prudent to make a personal and prompt appearance before Congress even his political opponents admit. His informal, almost conversational manner, his conciliatory and persuasive tone, his concern for the constitutional processes of the United States, and his explicit recognition of the treaty-ratifying powers of the Senate, together with his emphasis on the fact that world peace is not, and can never be, a party issue, have secured the

speech a reception which, if not exactly enthusiastic, is on the whole distinctly favourable. Although one or two papers have been at pains to point out that Mr. Churchill had already skimmed the cream, and that Mr. Roosevelt added little to the Yalta communiqué, the general opinion would seem to be, to quote the *Baltimore Sun*, that the President's report was his "most effective effort to bring the American people to full acceptance of the responsibilities which must be ours if we are to avoid another world war." Mr. Roosevelt spoke for over an hour and constantly departed from the prepared text which he had written. "It has been a long journey. The question of whether it is to be entirely fruitful or not," he told Congress, "lies to a great extent in your hands. For unless you concur in the decisions reached at Yalta and give them your active support, the meeting will not have produced lasting results." After detailing the Conference decisions, which as a result of friendly and frank negotiations had been accepted by the Three Powers, Mr. Roosevelt stated his belief that "the Conference in the Crimea was a turning point in American history. There will soon," he continued with reference to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, "be presented to the Senate and to the American people the great decision which will determine the fate of the United States and of the world—for many generations to come. There can be no middle ground here. We shall have to take the responsibility for world collaboration or we shall have to bear the responsibility for another world conflict. The Crimean Conference was a successful effort by the three leading nations to find the common ground for peace. . . . . It spells the end of the system of unilateral action, and exclusive alliances, and spheres of influence, and balances of power, and all the other expedients which have been tried for centuries—and have failed."

Later Mr. Roosevelt told the press that several minor treaties, arising from the Crimean Conference, as well as the world security charter which would be drafted at San Francisco, would be submitted to the Senate for their approval. Mr. Roosevelt also said he thought the periodic meetings of the Foreign Secretaries would ensure that there would be no recurrence of the incidents which this winter had disturbed the friends of world-wide collaboration.

The proposed Polish settlement remains the focal point of opposition which argues that the proposal was a capitulation to Russian demands and a betrayal of the principles of the Atlantic Charter. One of the most significant and disarming of the President's statements, which is not to be found in his prepared text, was the remark, after admitting that the decision with respect to the Polish boundaries was a compromise, "Frankly I did not agree with all of it by any means. It did not go as far as I wanted in certain areas. But all of the British and Russian desires were not satisfied." Quite apart from this specific issue, doubts concerning Russian good faith continue to be expressed in anti-Russian and ultra-Conservative papers. In several quarters the President's interpolation on prima donnas has been interpreted as a sly reference to General de Gaulle, despite the fact that this was made in discussing Yugoslav affairs.

With the exception of a small group of Nationalist and anti-Russian papers, there runs through press and radio comment a conviction that the American people realise the gravity of the challenge and are determined to play their part in the "give and take" of international compromise and collaboration. In general there is considerable support for the conclusion of the *Christian Science Monitor* that Mr. Roosevelt "by appearing to share freely with his fellow citizens the partial failures, as well as the successes of the Yalta Agreement, went far to disarm criticism."

Congressional opinion which had already reacted favourably to the President's bi-partisan selection of delegates to attend the San Francisco conference, has on the whole endorsed the President's speech. It is now believed that more than the necessary two-thirds majority of the Senate would be willing to accept American membership of a world security organisation involving the use of force. Senator Vandenberg (Republican, Michigan) has accepted the invitation to be one of the American delegates at San Francisco. He has stated that the President had assured him that he would not in any way be bound at the conference and that he would retain his freedom of action. An excellent start towards the goal of collective security had already been made, and the Senator said he wanted to do everything in his power to establish a practical system. In his view no permanent peace was possible, however, without a constant and conscious mandate to seek and maintain justice as the basis of peace, and he would have proposals to submit to his colleagues along these lines.

The United States Senate has confirmed the nomination of Mr. Henry Wallace as Secretary of Commerce by 56 to 32 votes, not all of which, however, followed strict party lines. Ten Republicans voted for Mr. Wallace and five

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Democrats against him.' The way for the acceptance of Mr. Wallace's nomination was paved by the passage of the George Bill separating the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and its associate agencies from the Department of Commerce. The appointment of Mr. Fred M. Vinson to succeed Mr. Jesse Jones as the new Federal Loan Administrator has now been announced. Mr. Vinson leaves the Office of Economic Stabilisation. Previously he was a member of Congress and later on the Bench. Like Mr. Jesse Jones, Mr. Vinson is a Southerner and there seems little doubt that his nomination will be confirmed since Mr. Jesse Jones himself has hailed it as "an excellent appointment." No successor to Mr. Vinson will be named until the Senate has approved of his nomination.

In spite of violent protests by owners of night clubs, especially in New York City, the new order closing all places of amusement by midnight has gone into force throughout the United States. The main reason given for the imposition of the order, which on the whole has been approved by the press and radio, is to prevent absenteeism. It is maintained that war workers sit up most of the night and then miss a day's work. The secondary reasons given are to save fuel, electricity, food and man-power. This Act, which affects all the small cafes on the highways and applies to establishments in small as well as large towns, may bring to Americans a wider realisation of the implications of the war. It is interesting to note that a recent Gallup Poll on the question "Have you had to make any real sacrifices for the war?" found 60 per cent. of people had the refreshing honesty to reply "no" as against 36 per cent. who replied "yes."

(See also under "Middle East," "Latin America," "Poland," "United Nations" and "France.")

LATIN AMERICA.

The "Act of Chapultepec," which was presented on the 3rd March at the Mexico City Conference, opens with a Declaration proclaiming the juridical equality of sovereign States and the right of every State to respect for its individuality and independence, and providing for consultation in the event of aggression. "During the war and until treaty arrangements recommended in Part Two hereof," the signatories recognise that threats and acts of aggression call for such procedure, "within the scope of their constitutional war powers, as may be found necessary," including the use of armed force. Part Two is a Recommendation that the American Republics should consider the conclusion of a treaty providing for the use "by all or some of the signatories" of similar procedures. Part Three states that the Declaration and Recommendation provide for a regional agreement which "shall be consistent with the purposes and principles of the general international organisation when formed."

A proposed Economic Charter put forward by the United States delegation aimed at the continued mobilisation of economic resources until the achievement of victory, an orderly transition to peacetime conditions, a constructive basis for economic expansion, increased industrialisation, the development of transport, agriculture and power, and the improvement of labour standards and working conditions, including collective bargaining. Ten guiding principles were proposed. These comprised "co-operation in eliminating discrimination," equal access to trade and raw materials, early consultation for the effective reduction of trade barriers (especially the stabilisation of currency and international investment), Government action to prevent the stifling of competition by cartels, the renunciation of economic nationalism, just and equitable treatment for foreign enterprise and capital, and the encouragement of private enterprise and elimination of State enterprises for the conduct of trade. Latin-American reactions to the Economic Charter, particularly to its free trade clauses, were not wholly favourable, and the proposals are reported to have been referred to the Inter-American Economic and Technical Conference to be held in Washington in June.

Further proposals include one by the United States and Cuba which would bind the American nations to hand over war criminals for judgment and punishment.

The Argentine question seems to have passed for the moment into the background, and even the Argentine Government is apparently discouraged by the lack of support at Mexico City for the Paraguayan move (see last week's *Summary*). In Argentina Colonel Perón, in a Press interview, has expressed his desire for the full restoration of cordiality with the United States, comparing his own efforts to improve the lot of the working-class with the New Deal, and expressing his admiration for President Roosevelt. Asked what steps the Argentine Government could take to restore harmony with the United States, he said

that they could not be expected to declare war, but that there had been an important evolution in the Government and the men who initiated the policy that alienated Argentina from the Pan American system were no longer in power. Colonel Perón said that the Government would "follow events with loyalty" until the elections: "the problem would then have disappeared." A sudden declaration of war on Germany, he added, would be undignified: the dispute with Germany over the repatriation of diplomats (see *Summary* No. 279) had been completely and satisfactorily terminated. Elsewhere in the interview, Colonel Perón declared that he had long considered that Argentina could not ignore Russia and should establish normal relations with Moscow.

On internal affairs, Colonel Perón affirmed his desire for formal elections, adding that the political parties could count on full liberty to choose candidates "after undesirable elements had been eliminated."

Clashes between the police and armed bands have been reported in the Press from Buenos Aires.

On the 1st March the Brazilian Government published a Constitutional Amendment which provides for the election of a President, Chamber, Federal Council and State Governors. The date of the election is to be announced within ninety days, and all Brazilians of both sexes over the age of 18, except other ranks in the forces, are entitled to vote. However, no sudden plunge into the unaccustomed waters of democracy need be feared. Parliament is to sit for only four months a year, and the President retains the right to prorogue, postpone, or summon it in extraordinary session. He is elected for six years (and the legislature for only four), is enabled to issue decree laws "which should be explained in parliament," and has powers to proceed by decree law alone if he declares a state of emergency. The reform of the Constitution may be initiated by the President or the Chamber, the former having the right to call a plebiscite if a conflict of opinion should occur between him and the Chamber. The President remains in office until his successor takes over. It appears, therefore, that apart from the promise of elections at an indefinite date, the President has maintained his autocratic powers almost intact, together with much of the authoritarian Constitution of 1937.

Dr. Vargas is reported to have told journalists that the freedom of the Press would be guaranteed, "subject to restrictions connected with the state of war." It is reported that Dr. Agamemnon Magalhães, the astute Interventor in Pernambuco, has been named Minister of Justice.

Like Colonel Perón, Dr. Vargas has also faced the problem of relations with Russia: having made the curious statement that diplomatic relations had only been "interrupted," not broken off, in 1917, he has declared his opinion that the moment has arrived to examine the possibility of recognising the U.S.S.R.

Incomplete results of the Chilean elections held on the 4th March show the parties of the right as having gained a majority of one in the Senate, while the coalition of the left retains its majority in the Chamber.

UNITED NATIONS.

The invitations to the San Francisco Conference: the Proposals as to voting.

Invitations to the San Francisco Conference have been issued by the United States Government on behalf of itself, the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R. and the Republic of China to 40 other States in order to prepare the Charter for a General International Organisation for the maintenance of international peace and security. They suggest that the Proposals drawn up at Dumbarton Oaks shall be considered by the Conference "as affording a basis for such a Charter." There will be great regret that the French Government have not found it possible to join in the invitation because they were not associated in the discussions of the "basis." It should be emphasised, however, that they would still have been able, as are the other inviting Governments, to discuss the basis and make suggestions for its improvement. The French Government have, however, accepted the invitation to take part in the Conference. All the invited States have declared war on the Axis Powers and possess the other qualifications necessary to become one of the United Nations. It has not yet been possible to send an invitation to a Polish Government. The United States Government is prepared to receive any views or comments on the Proposals which any of the invited Governments care to make in advance of the Conference and transmit them to the other participating Governments.

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This formula, the result of long discussions between the four inviting Governments, is the same as that suggested by the British Delegation at Dumbarton Oaks after its original proposal that parties to a dispute should not vote had been rejected by the Soviet Delegation. This compromise received a considerable measure of approval there, but it was not at that time possible to come to such agreement as would enable it to be put in the Proposals. Subsequently, the United States Government, which in the first stages of the Dumbarton Oaks discussions had shown more disposition than that of the United Kingdom to insist on the unanimity of all the permanent members, even if one was a party to a dispute, took the initiative in again proposing this solution to the Soviet Government, which had been the strongest advocate of the veto of the permanent members in all cases.

It may be hoped that the compromise will be widely welcomed. It must be remembered, in comparing this proposal with the practice of the League of Nations, that the Security Council has much greater powers than the Council of the League. It was not possible for the Council (or Assembly) of the League to inflict sanctions on a recalcitrant State. It could only recommend them, and it was left for each State to decide whether it had the duty and power to join in them. Under the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals States agree to join in economic sanctions at the request of the Security Council and to make special agreements which will place military forces at the disposal of the Security Council for the same purpose.

Under the voting Proposal the Security Council will be able more easily than under the Covenant to take cognisance of a dispute or situation and to make recommendations for its settlement. Whereas the Council of the League could only take decisions by unanimous vote, with the exception of the parties to the dispute, the Security Council will be able to make such decisions by seven affirmative votes, the parties to the dispute not being allowed to vote, but the votes of all the other permanent members being necessary to the decision. And, if sanctions cannot be imposed on a permanent member, this position has been accepted because it is felt that the success of the organisation must depend on the unanimity of the Great Powers. If this cannot be achieved after the Security Council has considered the dispute and made recommendations for its settlement, sanctions would mean a major war and the organisation would have already failed to accomplish its main purpose. But it may be hoped that the means afforded by the Security Council for harmonising the policies of States and the constant association of all the Great Powers with one another and representatives of the smaller States will prevent this catastrophe from occurring. This process must, of course, be accompanied by the promotion of economic and social co-operation, which is provided for under Chapter IX of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals and by other specialised agencies, so that peace may be not merely a negative process but concerted action for the advancement of common interests.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 284

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
14TH MARCH, 1945.

Copy No. 183

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

WITHIN the past week Germany's military position has deteriorated on both east and west. The Red army has closed in on Danzig, approached within striking distance of Stettin and captured Küstrin. The Western Allies have not only reached but crossed the Rhine, have captured Cologne with surprising rapidity and have forced the powerful forces assembled by Rundstedt around Wesel to withdraw west of the river. These heavy blows have been tempered rather than transmitted by German propaganda, which has been more incoherent and evasive than usual. The High Command announced on the 10th and 11th repeated and powerful Russian attacks against Gdynia and Danzig. First place in the official bulletins has been given to the fighting in Hungary; the Allied advance in the west has been reported as secondary to events on the eastern front. The fall of Cologne has not been directly announced in these bulletins. The possession of an American bridgehead at Remagen was admitted for the first time on the 11th, accompanied by the statement that north of Andernach several German bridgeheads were still held on the western bank. The surrender of Bonn "after gallant resistance" was reported on the 10th. The same bulletin contained a curious new phrase referring to "sacrificial fighting" in defence of the Wesel position.

As usual, German news for foreign consumption has been much more circumstantial than that given to the home public. *Transocean* on the 9th quoted a military spokesman to explain away the fact that a Rhine bridge had been left intact. This "fortuitous event" he said had allowed the Americans to establish no more than weak forces across the Rhine; it should be regarded as a tactical success which could hardly produce any strategic result. A D.N.B. reporter said on the 11th that the American drive across the Rhine at Remagen, although unpleasant, had ceased to be dangerous. Similar attempts were made to explain, even to the inhabitants of the Reich, that things were not yet hopeless. Sertorius said on the 8th that Eisenhower had no longer any hope of fighting

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the decisive battle against the Germans on the left bank of the Rhine. The *D.A.Z.* was quoted for the view that the military situation was "extremely serious," but a broadcast to German Forces explained the advantage of the "elastic warfare" now resorted to. The fact that Germany was faced with large-scale attack from both east and west at the same time was used as excuse to explain elastic withdrawals in the west. The danger from the east, said the *Völkischer Beobachter* on the 9th, had increased to such an extent that Germany had been compelled to use the greater part of her armed force to repel this threat to Europe. D.N.B. put the point more crisply on the same date: "Where would our western enemies be now if our hands were not tied in the east?"

Perhaps the best German propaganda card of the moment is the claim that things might have been worse. This was put across to German Forces on the 11th in a forceful broadcast by a Party Political Guidance Officer: "One cannot speak," he said, "of a flight of the German armies, and even less of signs of disintegration in the German forces, for despite extremely painful loss of territory, in a short time they have built up improvised new lines of defence and continually go over to counter-attacks." The stubborn resistance put up by the élite German troops west of Wesel bore out this contention, although it now appears that in general, Rundstedt's forces are considerably disorganised, and need time to regroup for effective action. Furthermore, Allied progress has been achieved despite more extensive employment of the German Air Force than has for some time been the case. In the first days of March enemy fighters were reported to be operating over the battle area in increased strength. Night fighter opposition to the raid on Dessau (7th March) was also reported. The Germans also employed (on the night of the 3rd) 80 intruder planes to follow our bombers home and engage them over their own bases. This operation was repeated on a smaller scale on the following night.

The confusion into which events have thrown German propaganda is illustrated in the contradictory treatment of what D.N.B. called "the battle for Cologne." Before the event much was made of the determination to defend every inch of the Reich and it was suggested that such fanatical defence would be fully revealed in the case of a major city. The spirit of Königsberg, said one broadcast (2nd March), would prevail in the west. "Nothing will prevent us from defending every town, every building and every ruin." A week later the public was given a glowing description of "Frontstadt Köln." Its Gauleiter was described as energetically arming the whole male population with any weapons that were to hand. Yet the amount of such bombast was not great and it was clearly belied by the event. Cologne was not described as a fortress, as Breslau had been. Nothing was heard of or from its Gauleiter, Grohe, after the 8th March, although he was noted as a fanatical Party man. "Intense fighting" was reported to be going on in the town on the 6th, but such references were brief and were rapidly succeeded by explanations that Cologne no longer existed, having been converted into ruins by Allied bombing. Indeed, although as a broadcast phrased it, "the eyes of Germany were upon Cologne," the contrast between Nazi propaganda and the actual fate of the city must have been clear to many within the Reich. The evasions of propaganda are now much more obvious; the public has not been told even the names of several larger towns west of the Rhine which have been captured within the past fortnight.

It should not be supposed that the Germans' main difficulties are in the field of propaganda. Those of traffic congestion, of movement of population, of blocked food supplies can only be inferred from imperfect information, but it cannot be doubted that they contribute to a general situation of economic dislocation and political uncertainty. A Kreisleiter was praised for his initiative in organising defence within Cologne, but very little has been said of the Volkssturm in the west and there is evidence that both Party leaders and Volkssturm members have decamped at the enemy's approach. A recent decree (reported by D.N.B. on the 9th) orders all such people to report their presence wherever they may be and attempts to enforce against all who do not do so the refusal of both lodging and food. This decree follows several similar announcements as to the necessity of reporting for work or military duty, and the number of these makes it clear that the authorities can no longer keep as firm a check as they would like upon the people. A captured document gives a figure of persons evading wartime service in the latter half of 1943 as over 213,000, and the increased pressure on Germany during 1944 and 1945 must have considerably raised this total.

Many Germans are no doubt aware of what the Reich has lost economically by the Allied advance to the Rhine. The loss in production has not been felt

all at once, since many of the mines and plants now captured have probably been crippled for some time past by bombing and transport dislocation. But these areas included between 10 and 30 per cent. of the Reich capacity to manufacture various heavy chemicals; they included a number of important electricity generating stations, transmission plants and coalfields, both of hard and of brown coal. Textile firms, armament firms, steel alloy plants, have also been captured. All navigation on the Rhine north of Coblenz has ceased. The Dortmund-Ems and the Mittelland canals are closed to through traffic. The main railway line on the east bank of the Rhine is out of service. Ruhr transport is subjected to constant and annihilating air attack. Miners in the Ruhr are reported to be working only three days a week, and although coal continues to accumulate at the pitheads the railways are unable to remove even the restricted amount now produced.

Hitler issued a Proclamation to the German Armed Forces on the eve of Heroes' Day, which was celebrated on the 12th by a ceremony in the blasted war memorial on the Unter den Linden, attended by Göring, Dönitz, Keitel and Schach, Deputy Gauleiter of Berlin. Himmler was represented by SS-General von Gottberg. Hitler's message consisted of an explanation of the war on the lines of his recent speeches. He defended the introduction of conscription ten years ago as an action without which Germany would already have ceased to exist. He praised "the magnificent resistance" of the Reich through six years of war and in spite of the "shameless desertion" of most of its allies. He foretold that present disasters would change and that 1918 would not be repeated. He again demanded fanatical resistance and told his countrymen what they had to do: "to continue to resist, and to strike at our enemies until in the end they grow weary and finally break."

Whatever be the Führer's present condition of mind there is no reason to doubt that in this message he meant what he said. To those Germans who ask rational grounds for a way out or for any hope of victory he had and has nothing to offer. To those who still want a call to dogged and desperate resistance, this message will perhaps bring new courage. But there is good reason to believe that Hitler and his colleagues are quite determined that there shall be no repetition of 1918, in other words no such capitulation as would probably have resulted had the attempt on Hitler's life been successful last July.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

President Beneš and most of the members of his Cabinet have now left this country en route for Czechoslovakia. The party is expected to stay for some weeks in Moscow, where negotiations for the formation of a new Government will take place. The members of the present Government will take part in these discussions as representatives of their political parties and not as Ministers. Dr. Ripka, Dr. Slávik and Dr. Feierabend, who have remained behind, will meanwhile carry on current Government business in London. M. Masaryk, who is to head the Czechoslovak delegation to San Francisco in April, will return to England after a short visit to Czechoslovakia.

On the 28th February the Swiss Government severed diplomatic relations with independent Slovakia and expressed its wish to resume relations with the Czechoslovak Government. Normal contact has been established and an exchange of Ministers is being agreed upon. Italy, too, has re-established diplomatic relations with the Czechoslovak Government, and M. Vanék has been appointed Czechoslovak Minister in Rome.

In the fighting in Slovakia the Red army on the 6th March took Liptovsky Svatý Mikuláš, on the Košice–Bohumin railway, and on the 7th March Banská Stiavnica, a German strong point barring the way into the interior from the south. Czechoslovak troops took part in the former action.

In liberated Slovakia the Slovak National Council passed a decree on the 27th February confiscating land owned by Germans, Hungarians and traitors. At the same time it was announced that the confiscated land was being distributed to needy farmers and agricultural workers.

POLAND.

No public pronouncement has as yet been made on the progress of arrangements for setting up the projected Polish Provisional Government in Warsaw.

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In reply to a question in the House of Commons the Secretary of State said on the 7th March that he had no evidence that any decree had been issued by the Lublin Administration outlawing the Polish Home army as a whole. Many members of that army were alleged to have resisted measures taken by the Lublin Administration, and to have refused to submit to its authority. This Administration had announced its intention of taking severe measures against these allegedly irreconcilable elements of the Home army.

"In the view of His Majesty's Government," said Mr. Eden, "if the necessary atmosphere of confidence is to be created which alone can ensure the success of the present consultations in Moscow, it is imperative both that the Lublin Administration should take no measures against Poles merely because they do not recognise their authority, and that such Poles should cease active resistance to the local authorities which endangers the lines of communication of the advancing Russian armies."

In Poland, all of which has now been freed from German rule except Gdynia and the south-western corner of Silesia, provincial, municipal and industrial councils are being rapidly set up. General Zawadski has been made Voivode (Governor) of Polish Silesia, his place as head of the Political Education Service in the army being taken by his one-time deputy, M. Spychalski, recently Mayor of Warsaw. Dr. Iwerkiewicz, for years kept prisoner by the Germans in Oswiecim, is now Mayor of Cracow. The Supreme Court has been established at Lodz, with M. Barcikowski, described as "a well-known democrat" and barrister, as its President. The newly reconstituted trade unions, which claim a membership already of 500,000, have held a general council in Warsaw at which they called on all Polish workers to work their hardest for the restoration of Polish economic life. The Central Union of Co-operative Associations also met in Warsaw last week.

Land distribution, already completed in the provinces east of the Vistula, is reported to be nearly complete in Cracow Province, well in hand in that of Kielce, and begun in others. Industry is reported to have been either kept going or restarted in Lodz, Dombrowa, Polish Upper Silesia and other places, including the big railway works at Poznan, where wholesale German destruction was avoided. Warsaw and the central industrial region suffered more: while in German Upper Silesia it is stated that there is an almost complete lack of workers. Industries are at present working in large measure on orders for the Red army; and are given help, *e.g.*, with raw materials for the Lodz textile mills and transport of coal. Other help has been given by the U.S.S.R. in the form of grain, soap, lorries, trolley buses, pre-fabricated houses, &c.; while the Soviet Commission for aid in the reconstruction of Warsaw (mentioned in the last issue of the *Summary*) is stated to have said that the U.S.S.R. would contribute up to 50 per cent. towards that end. In Poznan it is announced that 10,000 Volksdeutsche have been set to work on clearing up the town.

The State universities in Warsaw and Lodz have been reopened. The churches of Lodz, all of which are reported to have been closed by the Germans, have been restored to the ecclesiastical authorities, who are hampered by the grave lack of clergy, owing to the large number of deportations and executions at German hands.

It is announced from Paris that M. Roger Garreau, formerly French representative in Moscow, is now in Warsaw "charged with a mission to the Polish Provisional Government."

SOVIET UNION.

No change has been reported in the military situation round Königsberg. Marshal Rokossovsky's troops of the Second Byelorussian Front have closed rapidly in on Danzig and Gdynia from south and west. In the process Grudziadz was captured on the 6th March, Starogard on the 7th, Lauenburg on the 10th. On the 12th March the sea was reached in the Gulf of Danzig at Puck, only some 10 miles north of Gdynia. Meanwhile, Marshal Zhukov's troops of the First Byelorussian Front took Belgard on the 6th, and Gollnow on the 7th. Pomerania is thus also entirely under the control of the Red army. On the 12th March Küstrin also fell to Marshal Zhukov. Further south the only change reported from the Soviet side was the capture of Banska Stavnica on the 7th March. The communiqués have spoken of "heavy defensive fighting north-east and east of Lake Balaton," and it is clear that the Germans are making a determined counter-offensive here on a considerable scale. So far, however, no withdrawal by the Red army has been admitted.

The past week has produced the first public signs of a coolness between the Soviet and French Governments. It is now clear that it was the Soviet Government which objected to the French proposals for modifying the formula for issuing invitations to the San Francisco Conference, though it did in the end agree to a delay to give the French an opportunity to reconsider their position. *Tass* of the 8th March published a detailed refutation of the French thesis as put out by the London correspondent of *France Presse* concerning France's withholding of her consent to be one of the sponsoring Powers. According to *Tass*, the Soviet Government had not found it possible to accept the French amendments as they would have entailed a revision of the decisions of the Crimea Conference on the subject, which would have resulted "in a weakening of these decisions, which does not correspond to the interests of the post-war security of the peace-loving nations." However, in view of the importance of France's participation in the sponsoring of the invitations, the Soviet Government had expressed readiness to postpone sending them out for a day or two in order to give the French Government time to make a final decision. *Tass* maintained that the statement put out in *France Presse* that M. Molotov had bluntly asserted that the formula should be adopted as it was or not at all and that the debate was thereupon terminated was a complete fabrication. What M. Molotov did in fact state on the 1st March was that the amendments proposed by the French Government were equivalent to a change in the Crimea Conference decisions and that the Soviet Government therefore considered it impossible to agree. It is interesting in connexion with this stiffening of the Soviet attitude towards France that M. Maisky should have spoken critically about France in conversation with His Majesty's Ambassador in Moscow. He stated that he saw no reason why France should receive any reparations at all, seeing that she did not bear responsibility for the main organisation of the war, had made no outstanding contribution to victory, and had not suffered as severely as other claimants. M. Maisky also thought the French claim of an occupation zone extending as far as Cologne "ridiculously large."

The Soviet Union has taken prompt steps to support the new Groza Government in Roumania by the immediate return of Northern Transylvania to the Roumanian administration. According to the *Tass* account, the initiative was taken from the Roumanian side, the Premier and Vice-Premier addressing a letter to Marshal Stalin on the 8th March, requestng the handing over of Northern Transylvania and promising that the rights of nationalities would be respected, and that perfect order should be maintained behind the battle front. The Marshal's reply made the return conditional on the strict carrying out of these promises. *Pravda* and *Izvestiya*, in long articles discussing Northern Transylvania, pointed out that last autumn, immediately after the ejection of the German and Hungarian troops, the Soviet authorities had found it possible to start handing over the promised territory to the Roumanian Government, thus "showing their trust in the new Roumania." The papers alleged, however, that the Roumanian authorities, spurred on by Maniu's volunteer detachments, had maltreated the local Hungarian population and had allowed German Fascist agents to carry on subversive activities, thus creating "absolutely intolerable conditions" in the immediate rear of the Red army. The Soviet Command had therefore been compelled to establish order, and thus to take over administrative functions in Transylvania.

The escape of General Roatta has called forth sharp comment from M. Zaslavsky, and has also provided the occasion for a long article in *The War and the Working Class*, criticising the Italian Government for its dilatoriness in bringing war criminals to justice. The Vatican was again arraigned as an accomplice of fascism: "The Vatican wants to preserve as far as possible Fascist principles without the Fascist signboard, and without the most compromised Fascist leaders." In this connexion it may be noted that the recent activities of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Great Britain on behalf of Poland have not failed to elicit the expected comment in *Izvestiya*, which was vigorously sarcastic at the expense of "politicians in cassocks."

It was reported on the 13th March that M. I. V. Sadchikov had been appointed Soviet Ambassador to the new Yugoslav Government.

A message telephoned from London by Mrs. Churchill to Soviet women in connexion wth International Women's Day was broadcast *verbatim* by the Soviet Home Service. Having conveyed the congratulations of British women to the women of the Soviet Union on this occasion, Mrs. Churchill announced her impending visit to the Soviet Union, and dwelt on the wartime bonds of losses and separation which united the women of Great Britain and of the Soviet Union.

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The Soviet Government accepted the proposal of the Government of the Dominican Republic to establish diplomatic and consular relations between the U.S.S.R. and the Dominican Republic, in an exchange of notes between the Soviet Chargé d'Affaires in Mexico and the Foreign Minister of the Dominican Republic on the 8th March. It has been suggested that as a result of the recent conference at Mexico City, the establishment of diplomatic relations between the U.S.S.R. and a number of Latin American States which do not yet recognise the Soviet Union may be discussed in the near future.

The current issue of *The War and the Working Class* contains a long article analysing the composition, proceedings and results of the World Trade Union Conference. The widely representative character of this Conference in which representatives not only "of the land of Socialism" but also of "dependencies and colonies" took part was stressed, as was the unrepresentative nature of the I.F.T.U. Nevertheless, declares this journal, "there were of course ticklish moments." Among these, Sir Walter Citrine's opposition to the invitation of the representatives of the former enemy countries and of liberated Poland to the Conference is cited in the first place. In this connexion it is pointed out that there is no justification for ignoring the extremely important changes that have taken place in the international situation since the Conference's composition was originally discussed by the General Council of the T.U.C. in 1943. As a result of a compromise proposal by the United States delegate an unpleasant situation was averted but "the trade unions of liberated Poland were unjustly left out of the Conference." The decision to set up an Organising Committee for the new International Trades Union Centre is greeted with great satisfaction but, it is pointed out, "the work of uniting and consolidating the ranks of organised workers in the democratic countries is only beginning; enormous tasks still lie ahead."

Since the establishment of the new Republican Foreign Commissariats in February 1944, little or nothing has been heard about their internal organisation or relations with All-Union Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. It is now reported that the diplomatic rank of Minister, Second Class, has been conferred on the following Republican Foreign Commissars: Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tadjikistan, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Kirghizia, Armenia, Georgia and the Karelo-Finnish Republic. So far there is apparently no mention in this connexion of the more important republics: R.S.F.S.R., Byelo-russia, Azerbaidzhan, Ukraine and Kazakhstan, which have frontier contacts with other countries.

SCANDINAVIA.

A number of somewhat disquieting rumours seem to have been laid to rest by the announcement on the Finnish radio on the 10th March that Field-Marshal Mannerheim has now resumed his duties as President of the Finnish Republic. His illness has been widely interpreted as diplomatic, and even pro-Allied sources have shown an inclination to follow the line of German propaganda, and to regard the illness as a pretext or a preliminary for resignation. Independent reports, indeed, seem to support the view that Mannerheim is unwilling to go so far as, for example, M. Paasikivi in concession to Russian wishes, but he appears willing at present to remain at his post, though there remains a widespread impression that he will retire from office not long after the forthcoming elections.

Some misgivings with regard to the Soviet attitude are inevitably colouring the question of these elections, which are fixed for the 17th and 18th March. How far, it is asked, will these elections be allowed to be a free and unfettered expression of Finnish public opinion? So far, there has certainly been no direct pressure, and the closing of the air service between Finland and Sweden, though the date of it provided a rather ominous coincidence, has been explained as due to military reasons. But the extreme views of the Democratic League, as expressed in *Vapaa Sana* and *Kansan Sanomat*, the organ of the Finno-Soviet society, as well as by the Finnish Freedom Radio, which is believed to operate from Russia, are being regularly echoed by *Tass* and the Soviet press, and these views would seem to amount to condemning as Fascists and war criminals practically all sections of Finnish opinion which are opposed to their own. The committee appointed on the 8th March to consider the reorganisation of the State police is justifiably regarded as a concession to pressure from the Left, which has obtained Russian press support for its condemnation of this body.

At present, the most general apprehension is not of a direct interference with the freedom of the elections, but of intervention at a later stage, if the result of these elections does not conform to Soviet desires. If, as seems likely, the

success achieved by Finnish Communism and the near-Communists of the Democratic League is insufficient to give them control, a possibility is feared of organised disturbance which may have the support of the Soviet Union. M. Orlov's hint that the result of the elections would be regarded in Russia as a test of Finnish *bona fides* is not an isolated phenomenon; there seem to have been further indications that the Soviet authorities are not prepared to accept whatever arrangement of political parties the Finnish electorate may favour. The position must therefore be regarded as somewhat critical, though on the other hand it seems that the bulk of Finnish opinion is convinced of the necessity for a break with the past and a cultivation of as friendly relations as possible with the Soviet Union.

On the 10th March the German authorities in Denmark officially admitted the executions of Danish patriots reported in last week's *Summary*. Since the date of these executions there have been ten more, unofficially but reliably reported on the 8th March. Of these, however, only five appear to have been executed in fulfilment of regular judicial sentences, the remainder are said to have been taken from prison and killed, and then thrown down in various streets of Copenhagen. There is, however, no sign that these severe measures are having a deterrent effect upon sabotage.

There have recently been repeated reports of outbreaks of mutiny among the German troops in Denmark. It does not appear, however, that the occupying Power is any longer apprehensive that Denmark may become a theatre of war, since the country is now being increasingly used as a place of refuge for German civilians. A conference attended by Dr. Best and General Lindemann is said to have been held recently in Berlin on the subject of accommodating these refugee contingents.

It was announced on the 12th March that a group of New York banks have arranged a credit of 16 million dollars to facilitate the financing of Norwegian industry and trade during the post-war period.

The monetary agreement between the United Kingdom and Sweden, the signature of which on the 6th March was reported in last week's *Summary*, has now been published as a White Paper, and has had a favourable reception in the press of both the nations concerned, with the exception of the Swedish Nazi organ, *Folkets Dagblad*. This paper indulges in sensational headlines: "British blackmail. Swedish people to become Britain's slaves. Big Swedish exports to Britain without payment. National Bank to collect worthless paper pounds."

LOW COUNTRIES.

M. van Acker has sustained a defeat in the Senate. The Bill to confer special powers upon the Government which has passed the Chamber by 84 votes to 29 and 10 abstentions met with a far stronger opposition in the Senate, where an amendment providing that undertakings could be closed only by the judgment of a court—and not, as in the original draft of the Bill, by a Minister's order—was carried by 66 votes to 63. M. van Acker thereupon announced that the Bill would be withdrawn.

The vote of the Senate placed the Catholic Ministers in a difficult position, since the majority consisted of 53 Catholics, 9 Liberals and 4 others, while only two Catholics voted for the Government. Press comment, which was divided upon the merits of the amendment, indicated a general desire that M. van Acker should remain in office. In a broadcast, delivered on the 11th, M. van Acker appealed to the country to support the Government's programme, which was to increase Belgium's participation in the war effort, to step up the output of coal, to stamp out the black market, to complete the purge, to secure reparation from Germany, and to co-operate in a system of collective security. The passing of a special powers Bill was essential if the Government was to do its job; but the ameendment carried by the Senate had so mutilated the original Bill that its withdrawal had been imperative. The Government, however, would introduce another Bill, which would grant powers for six months only. This Bill must become law if the black market was to be suppressed. Without such powers as the Bill would confer it would be impossible to govern the country.

Mr. Attlee has visited Brussels in order to confer with M. van Acker and other Belgian Ministers about Belgium's supply problems. Before leaving Brussels, Mr. Attlee sent a message to the Belgian people, in which he said he knew the winter had been a hard one; military requirements had prevented the Allies from releasing as much shipping as they would have wished for the import

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of food and raw materials; but the war was going well and he was confident that, if all did their duty, conditions would improve. He thanked the Belgian people for their hospitality to the British troops and hoped that the long-standing friendship between Britain and Belgium would become yet stronger.

FRANCE.

The Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, visited Paris first in the course of a journey of enquiry into the material needs of France, Belgium, liberated Holland and occupied Germany He saw General de Gaulle and the leading French ministers, and before leaving Paris for Brussels on the 7th March in an interview expressed admiration for the French people's efforts during present difficulties.

Another event which will make for the strengthening of bonds between France and Great Britain is the inauguration of the French European wireless service in English on the 11th March, when Mr. Duff Cooper and M. Bidault spoke, as well as Jacques Duchesne—the creator of the London team "Les Français parlent aux Français."

The circumstances surrounding the French decision not to sponsor the San Francisco Conference are now generally known; but it remains difficult to understand why, in addition to their unilateral declaration of the 28th February, in which they agreed to be one of the inviting Powers, but at the same time explained the conditions on which their acceptance was based, the French Government insisted on an alteration in the text of the invitation. To this the United States and British Governments agreed, but not the Soviet Government (see above under "Soviet Union") and as there was no time for the matter to be examined more fully the invitations were sent out by the United States Government on the 5th March in the name of the four Powers. Thereupon, the French Government published a further statement on the 7th March regretting that "it was not possible for the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and China to reach agreement" on a formula "within the time limit they had set themselves," but stressing that the Government, "firmly attached to the principle of collective security," would participate in the Conference and collaborate fully in the working of the new pact. Inspired comment in most papers emphasised the Government's desire to retain full liberty of action; that in the *Figaro* also made the point that the Government had been influenced by learning that the Three Powers had decided independently on the creation of a Rheno–Westphalian State and that "further surprises of this sort" might be in store.

Though the Government's statement received some general support, *Libération* and the Communist-inspired *Humanité* and *Front National* were critical and at a meeting on the 9th March, M. Thorez said the Government's attitude had not been in accord with France's interests. The Paris wireless has reflected the differences of opinion, Maurice Schumann (the former London spokesman of General de Gaulle) defending the Government's action, while Pierre Bourdan (the former political commentator of the B.B.C. French team) criticised the abstention as quixotic. M. d'Ormesson was quoted as taking a somewhat similar line in the *Figaro*: the enormous responsibilities awaiting France were incompatible with pin-prick tactics. After hearing M. Bidault, the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Consultative Assembly issued a statement on the 10th March calling for the strengthening of the links "between France and her great friends and allies," agreeing that "there can be no true French security outside collective security," regretting misleading reports and asking for an interview with General de Gaulle "to make collaboration effective between the Commission and the Government."

Much severe criticism of the Government was made in the debate of the Consultative Assembly on the Press, but M. Teitgen, the Minister of Information, is reported by the press and wireless to have turned what looked like a defeat into a triumph by his speech of the 9th March.

It was announced on the 10th March that by ordinance the President of the Civil Court of the Seine had ordered the sequestration of the property of all Vichy ex-Ministers.

Considerable publicity has recently been given to renewed activities of the Parti Social Français (formerly the *Croix de feu*), whose newspaper, the *Petit Journal* continued to appear in Vichy France until July 1944, but whose leader was arrested by Vichy in March 1943 and deported to Germany in 1944. M. Duclos devoted most of his recent speech (see last *Summary*) to the P.S.F.

and the press states that at its meeting on the 9th March the Government took note that the P.S.F. remains dissolved in view of the legislation of the Republic and decisions of the Paris Court of Appeal.

The food situation is one of the two subjects (the other being the purge) on which the Government has been most attacked, and the debate in the Consultative Assembly on the 22nd, 23rd, 27th and 28th February was marked by violent criticisms, mainly from the Communists and their friends, of the organisation of the Ministry of Food, of its personnel and of the system of food transport and collection. The fact that the full rations, which are in any case lower than the minimum considered necessary for existence, have not been available in Paris during the winter, and that for two months there has been no butter at all, lends weight to these criticisms. Recourse to the black market is a necessity, and it is difficult to see how it can be suppressed until the legal rations can be increased and fully honoured. Milk is one of the worst shortages, and M. Debû-Bridel stated in the debate that, according to a member of the Academy of Medicine, infantile mortality in Paris rose by 40 per cent. this winter. The debate on public health on the 12th March also emphasised the gravity of the present situation.

M. Ramadier, the Minister of Food, pointed out that since the beginning of the year a new system of food collection and distribution had been set up and that by the end of March no trace of the Vichy system would remain. He was able to announce on the 4th March that the transport situation was improving, thanks to Allied co-operation, and that it would now be possible to build up stock of food instead of living from hand to mouth. The lorries which the Allies are supplying to the French began arriving at the beginning of the month. The French have also been encouraged by the sympathetic manner in which their appeals for short-term assistance from the United Kingdom were heard during the recent conversations in London and on the occasion of Mr. Attlee's visit to Paris.

The Lend-Lease Agreement concluded between France and the United States (see *Summary* No. 282) includes provision for post-war aid to France. Thus deliveries of raw materials and civilian goods now under contract may be continued after the cessation of hostilities in return for payment in thirty yearly instalments. The Agreement also provides for deliveries of capital goods necessary for the war effort to France, for which she will pay 20 per cent. of the price in cash and the rest over thirty years.

(For the Japanese *coup* in Indo-China see under "Far East.")
(See also under "Poland" and "Middle East.")

SWITZERLAND.

After negotiations extending over nearly four weeks an agreement was signed between Switzerland and Great Britain, the United States and France on the 8th March. The Swiss have made very considerable concessions, the chief of which are: the prohibition of the carriage of coal, iron, scrap iron and steel from Germany to Italy, other traffic being limited to 14,100 tons monthly as compared with a monthly average of 460,000 tons during the first half of 1944; the reduction of total exports to Germany to 2½ million francs for each of the next three months and one million francs thereafter, as compared with a monthly average of 24½ millions in 1944 and more than twice that in 1942, all important items, such as precision instruments, being virtually eliminated; the taking of all practicable steps to cut off the supply of electricity to Germany; the prohibition of all dealings in foreign currency and the continuance in force of the decree blocking German funds; the co-ordination with the Allied Supply Authorities of purchases of scarce commodities and co-operation with United Nations in rehabilitation and relief in Europe. In return the three Allied Powers undertake to do everything in their power to reserve from world stocks a due share for Switzerland and to ensure its transport by water and land. A major part of the discussions was devoted to the ways and means for carrying this undertaking into effect.

The Swiss press has welcomed the agreement with satisfaction. Whilst it is recognised that Switzerland has exchanged solid concessions for nothing more concrete than hopes and promises, the upshot of the negotiations is regarded as a political success, since Switzerland has been lifted out of a dangerous position of isolation and has been able to explain her difficulties to the Allies, and especially

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to the United States. Moreover, she has emerged with her cherished neutrality intact. The principal anxiety at the moment is regarding the supply of coal, on which no assurances were given in the Agreement: the progress of the operations in the Saar Basin is being watched with tense interest as the maintenance of Swiss industry depends on the Silesian coal supplies being replaced from Allied sources.

The lifting of the ban on the extremist parties mentioned in last week's *Summary*, has been quickly followed by a meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist party in Zürich, at which a committee was appointed to draw up a programme. Among the points which, it is foreshadowed, will be embodied in this, are the election of the Federal Council by popular vote, the repeal of all indirect taxes, the adjustment of wages to the increased cost of living, and the abolition of the extraordinary war-time powers of the Federal Council. Collaboration with organisations with similar political programmes in other countries is also to be promoted.

Lieutenant-General Spaatz, Commander of the United States Strategic Air Force in Europe, paid a visit to Berne on the 8th March and conferred with the Federal military and political authorities in connexion with the recent bombing incidents.

PORTUGAL.

Dr. Salazar seems, at least for the moment, to have emerged with tolerable success from the most serious crisis of his régime (see *Summaries* Nos. 277 and 278). It is not yet clear whether the malcontents have been assuaged by the promised rise in pay; whether, in fact, it is check or checkmate. But the present situation and the future possibilities are so interesting that it is worth while making an analysis of the background to the attempted *coup*, which was seemingly planned within the higher ranks of the army.

More than any other form of government, a dictatorship depends for its power upon the goodwill of the armed forces. Franco would be nothing without the support of the Spanish generals, and Dr. Salazar is equally dependent upon the Portuguese officer class. The fact that he is an ardent pacifist and has no great esteem for the military men has, perhaps surprisingly, not turned to his disadvantage because the army is devoted to the old President, General Carmona; so long as Dr. Salazar enjoyed his confidence he could afford to behave rather inconsiderately towards the colonels and generals. The doctor's main preoccupation in home politics has been the effect of an Allied victory upon the long-suffering, liberty-starved Portuguese public, and this *Summary* has referred more than once to Dr. Salazar's probable reaction to the popular clamour for a return to democratic institutions which will inevitably break out so soon as Germany is defeated. It never seemed likely that he would yield to any such outcry; *vox populi* for him is far from being *vox dei*, and he has never hesitated to use the firm hand in dealing with any industrial unrest (*e.g.*, see *Summary* No. 200, the repression of the strikers in Lisbon in May 1944). And the Cabinet changes last September, for instance, were all in the direction of preparation for a repressive policy. Of course, the determination to use strict measures against a popular movement implies a belief in the continued loyalty of the army. It looks as if Dr. Salazar stretched the patience of the officers rather too far when, announcing the last budget on the 29th December, 1944, he refused to provide for a much-needed rise in army pay, and, moreover, did it in a supercilious way which merely added insult to injury. Besides economic distress, other causes of discontent were Dr. Salazar's failure to implement his promise, made at an army banquet last May, to stamp out corruption in the *gremios* (employers' associations); the Winter Help campaign, which, besides having a Nazi odour, was not efficiently organised; and the lavish spending of public money on monuments such as the new stadium near Lisbon, while hospitals for the poor were not even planned.

The crisis came to a head about the middle of January, when a group of officers provocatively calling themselves the "Military Committee of National Liberation" presented General Carmona with a memorandum of complaint. Dr. Salazar retired to his country house at Santa Comba Dão, as he always does when there is high political tension, and went back to Lisbon a few days later. Then on the 13th February came the official statement of the increase in the pay of all Government servants. (The rise was given to the whole civil service in order to camouflage the concession which was made only to appease the army.) This decision must have cost Dr. Salazar dear, not only because he lost face by

such a rapid surrender, but because he passionately hates having to change his mind. But there was no choice; with the prospect of trouble from the masses in the near future, he simply could not afford to antagonise the army further. And he doubtless hoped that the increase in pay, amounting to 15 per cent., would keep the soldiers quiet. If he has succeeded in buying them off, Dr. Salazar will have gained a victory, but it will be a victory at the expense of his prestige, which depended upon a profound belief in his moral integrity and constant, but wise, intransigence. And to that extent he will face any future crisis in the army or elsewhere with his outstanding position weakened. However, Dr. Salazar is not only a good, but a very clever man.

ITALY.

General Roatta's escape has caused general indignation in Rome which culminated in a public demonstration before the Quirinal. While the Carabinieri were trying to restore order a bomb was thrown by someone in the crowd killing one person and wounding two or three others. At this the Carabinieri fired some shots over the heads of the crowd which then dispersed, carrying with them the body of the dead man, which they took to the office of the President of the Council, Signor Bonomi. A deputation from the crowd was received by Signor Bonomi and demanded the resignation of the Government. Signor Bonomi replied that he could not abandon his post at this juncture but that he would bear the entire responsibility before the Council of Ministers. At the subsequent Council of Ministers it was decided that nothing would be gained by breaking up the present coalition Government, while a great deal might be lost since, when calm had been restored, it might be possible to re-unite in the present Government all the parties of the Committee of National Liberation—an unspoken invitation to the Socialist and Action Parties to re-enter the Government. Various measures were then agreed to. These measures coincided, more or less, with demands which the Communist Party executive had published after the disturbance as a condition to their future adherence to the Coalition. (1) General Orlando, the officer commanding the Carabinieri, was to be dismissed and General Bruno Brunetti was chosen to replace him; (2) the police were to be made more effective; (3) the smaller part of S.I.M. (Military Intelligence Service), which functioned under the Italian Supreme Command, was to pass under the direct jurisdiction of the War Minister. This step was agreed to by the Allied Supreme Command on the condition that the larger part of S.I.M., which had for some time been working with the Allies, should continue under the Allied Military authorities. In addition, the details of the transfer of the smaller section of S.I.M. to the War Ministry were to be approved by Allied Supreme Command before it took place and it was to be organised in such a way as to prevent it becoming a political instrument and ensure that it should co-operate fully in the Allied war effort; (4) "Socially dangerous elements of the old régime" were to be immediately interned; (5) a list of persons genuinely anti-fascist and of "absolute political impartiality" was to be drawn up, with a view to appointing them to political posts in the Provinces and to intensifying the purge of public organisations; (6) finally, four Ministers were appointed, with the task of reorganising the Purge Commission, of drafting a decree to hasten the punishment of fascism in whatever way it may manifest itself and of establishing a legal procedure for taking action against Fascists in North Italy. The four Ministers are Cevelotto, Labour Democrat and Minister of Communications, Brosio, Liberal Minister without Portfolio, Tupini, Christian Democrat and Minister of Justice, and Scoccimarro, Communist and Minister for occupied Italy. The publication of the Government communiqué seems to have been fairly well received, although the Socialist Party paper *Avanti* complains that no real change has been made either in the composition or in the policy of the present Government and it turns down the offer to join the Coalition. The Action Party paper also finds fault with the communiqué, which it considers weak and evasive, while *Unità*, the Communist Party paper, says that the Party's support of the Government will depend on the manner in which the measures set out in the communiqué are applied.

There seems no doubt that the Government will find itself in difficulties unless it takes stronger measures against subversive elements. In general, the Government's intentions are viewed with suspicion in Rome. The feeling has been growing in the public mind that there are certain forces within the Govern-

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ment over which the Government itself has little or no control. The most generally accepted theory is that, hidden below the surface, there still exists a Fascist organisation with which the King, the Government, the General Staff and the Carabinieri are believed to be involved.

Risorgimento Liberale reports a meeting of the National Committee of the Italian Liberal Party on the 2nd March in Rome. Signor Cattani, the Secretary of the party, after making a general report, made some remarks about the Institutional question. He said that the Liberal Party would not be asked to vote for either a monarchy or a republic in the abstract, but that the party would have to choose between a parliamentary constitutional monarchy and a parliamentary republic. Cattani stated that, in the party, there were some who desired a monarchy and some who desired a republic, but that the Institutional question must not be allowed to break the national unity. The people's choice must be accepted and revolutions, either by the Right or the Left, must not be allowed to hinder Italy's revival. The Liberal Party held a centre position against any Right or Left totalitarianism. Cattani finished by saying that, in the Liberal view, the Committees of National Liberation should act as consultative and liaison organs between the parties, but that they must not attempt to crush their individuality or independence.

In the north, Mussolini has addressed a large group of National Republican Guard officers at Brescia, in what he describes as the first of a series of meetings by which he intends to make contact with officers and legionaries. In his speech, which was evidently aimed at providing the N.R.G. officers with stimulating thoughts which could be passed on to the legionaries, he dwelt on the need for faith in victory and reiterated his conviction, recently expressed on several occasions, that Germany cannot be beaten—" for her, as indeed for us, it is a matter of life or death." The Italians would defend the Po Valley " town by town, house by house." Mussolini stressed the need for loyal collaboration with the Germans, at the same time hinting at the friction which must exist; he spoke of " difficulties of language and of temper," but added that " it is necessary to remember that we are on the same ship and we want to reach port together victoriously." This speech seems to have been given great prominence in the Fascist Press, the *Corriere della Sera* speaking of a resurrection. Later in the week Mussolini also addressed troops in Mantua.

According to Swiss reports, the Germans, who had hitherto opposed any attempt on Mussolini's part to move from Lake Garda to Milan, as he wished to do in December, now appear to have withdrawn their opposition, and the Duce is moving, not to Milan, but to Monza, some 10 miles to the north. The same reports state that preparations are being made to convert Milan into a fortress and to defend it to the last.

Fascist propaganda regarding Roatta's escape has made the most of the situation to discredit the Government in the south. No sympathy, however, was shown for Roatta, who was described as a " bad Italian " and a Badoglio man; there could be no question of Fascist complicity in his escape, for " the Fascists' only interest would be to execute him."

VATICAN.

On the 9th March the Vatican broadcast in Spanish a talk on the " Church and International morality in the Pope's messages." Both title and content are significant. It pointed out the futility not of war but of " aggressive war," and argued strongly for an international authority from whose decisions no State would be immune. All States would renounce certain rights, and " their absolute sovereignty would become a relative sovereignty more in keeping with the general good of the human family, and of their own members."

Last Sunday the Pope addressed the Italian Christian Workers' Associations. Recently a General Confederation of Italian Labour was set up and the Christian Associations joined it. He was a little apprehensive of this co-operation, whose success he thought depended on the Trades Union " remaining within the limits of its essential mission, and not taking on the right to control the workers entirely." The Christian workers must fight to ensure that justice prevails over material force and charity over class-hatred. Socialisation was justified only when the common good really required it. What he called the " democratisation of economy " had two equal foes, monopolies and the preponderant power of the organised masses, ready to use their power against Justice and the rights of others.

" The time has come to repudiate empty phrases and to attempt to attain that higher unity which is a bond between all who co-operate for production to satisfy the needs of the community."

A notable Vatican broadcast in German, to commemorate the Pope's Coronation Day, summarised his attitude to world events. It began in gloom—" impenetrable is the night of our age "—but seemed to find hope in a new missionary spirit to human beings—" within the upright heart begins the true rebuilding of the world "—and in a concentration on social problems—" more than ever before must the Church assume a social character in the proclamation and realisation of the gospel."

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

The German offensive in Hungary developed in strength during the week, and also extended southward, crossings of the Drave being made from Srem. The Germans achieved some local advances.

The official comment of the Debrecen Government on the decision to transfer the administration of northern Transylvania was to emphasise Marshal Stalin's insistence that the rights of the minorities should be guaranteed, while the further lesson was drawn " that only full and honest compliance with the terms of the armistice agreement can ensure the new democratic national development of Hungary and Roumania."

The armistice condition which General Miklós is sincerely anxious to fulfil, because of its potential effect on the future, is the raising of a new army. This does not seem to be going too easily, in spite of repeated appeals and the throwing open of the ranks to women. Miklós, however, has stated that he had collected two divisions, and the ceremonial liberation of several thousand prisoners of war, reported this week, will provide at least one division more. The men have, however, no arms except rifles, and need equipment from the U.S.S.R. if they are to become an effective fighting force.

Meanwhile, although some friction is reported between the Government and local National Committees, in which the Communists form the majority, the Soviet authorities have hitherto supported the Government in maintaining order.

Reports of conditions in Budapest show the situation there to be serious. There is much under-nourishment and many deaths from starvation. Shops are closed and food coming in is distributed in the streets. There is no light and little water. There has hitherto been no serious outbreak of disease, but both typhus and typhoid have appeared and medical supplies are urgently needed, as are food and milk.

Radio Kossuth has described as a " Fascist lie " the allegations of deportations made by the German-controlled wireless.

A private report from a Swedish paper says that of 250,000 Budapest Jews, 150,000 were saved, 55,000 have perished and 45,000 are in labour camps in Germany or Austria.

Roumania.

After the King had declined to accept Grozea's first list of new Ministers demonstrations were organised in the approved Roumanian manner. These took place on the 6th March. The crowds marched to the Royal Palace to present petitions demanding the formation of a " Democratic " Government, that is to say, a Government representing the Communists and parties and groups in sympathy with them. The King accepted a Government in which fourteen out of eighteen places were assigned to the parties of the National Democratic Front, as he felt that to refuse would be an affront to Marshal Stalin. The Soviet Government have been quick to honour the first of Mrs. Anna Pauker's promises that the establishment of a Communist régime would be followed by the re-establishment of Roumanian administration in Northern Transylvania. Roumanian administration was restored after the conclusion of the armistice, but some trouble ensued as a matter of course between the Roumanian officials and the Hungarian section of the population, and the direction of affairs was taken over by the Soviet authorities. Roumanian control has now been formally restored with a proviso that order must be kept on Malinovsky's lines of communication and the right of minorities safeguarded. Other promises made by Mrs. Pauker included the return of Roumanian prisoners of war from Russia and agrarian reform, which Radescu did not consider could be undertaken until the conclusion of hostilities.

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General Radescu, who felt that his life was in danger, has been given sanctuary in the British Legation building. This step has been approved by His Majesty's Government but M. Molotov is painfully surprised at this action, as he does not consider that the general was in any danger. Some fears are entertained for the safety of Maniu.

The press censorship and broadcasting are occupying the attention of those on the spot. Some resentment was aroused by a Soviet broadcast to the effect that the "British army" had intervened to prevent Radescu firing on demonstrators. The country is known to be in a state of economic chaos. Details have been withheld by the Soviet censorship.

The British and American representatives have declined invitations to be present at the celebrations to be held at Cluj on the 13th March on the occasion of the restoration of Roumanian administration in Northern Transylvania, on the ground that acceptance might be interpreted as signifying agreement with the events of the past two weeks.

The present Roumanian Government continually refer to the restoration of Roumanian administration as "the return of Northern Transylvania" to Roumania. The "return of Northern Transylvania" was effected by the armistice of last September, and this phraseology suggests an attempt by the Communist parties to take to themselves the whole credit for what was actually done by agreement between the Allied Governments and the first Government of General Sanatescu.

Mr. Le Rougetel, the British Political Representative, after being delayed for some days at Bari, has returned to Bucarest in an American plane.

Yugoslavia.

The United Yugoslav Government has been formed. The three Regents were sworn in on the 5th March—Budisavljevitch by the Orthodox Metropolitan Josip, Manditch and Sernec by the Catholic Archbishop of Belgrade (whose execution was reported by the enemy propaganda in January). (The Belgrade press omitted to mention that the Regents swore loyalty to King Peter.) Thereupon Shubashitch handed to the Regents the resignation of the Royal Government; and Tito handed that of the National Liberation Committee to Dr. Ribar, chairman of the Presidium of AVNOJ. The Regents consulted Dr. Ribar about a Premier. They then asked Tito to form a Government. This did not take him long, and the new Government was announced on the 7th.

It consists of :—

1. Tito (Premier, Defence, Commander-in-Chief).
2. Grol (Vice-Premier).
3. Kardelj (V-P and Constituent Assembly).
4. Shubashitch (Foreign Affairs).
5. Smodlaka (without Portfolio).
6. Zechevitch (Interior).
7. Frol (Justice).
8. Ribnikar (Education).
9. Zhujovitch (Finance).
10. Shutej (without Portfolio).
11. Vujasinovitch (Transport).
12. Hebrang (Industry).
13. Petrovitch (Trade and Supply).
14. V. Chubrilovitch (Agriculture).
15. Filipovitch (Forests).
16. Andrejev (Mines).
17. Vukosavljevitch (Colonisation).
18. Krzhishnik (Social Policy).
19. Sremec (Health).
20. Marushitch (Post).
21. Pribichevitch (Works).
22. Kosanovitch (Information).
23. Prodanovitch (Serbia).
24. Gregoritch (Croatia).
25. Kocbek (Slovenia).
26. Cholakovitch (Bosnia).
27. Chuchkov (Macedonia).
28. Djilas (Montenegro).

The chief constitutional novelty is the presence of six Ministers for the six prospective federated regions; with a Serbian for Serbia, and so on. Of the other 22 Ministers, 7 are Croats (Nos. 1, 4, 5, 7, 10, 12, 19; though Tito's bonds with Croatia are slight by now); 5 are Serbians (2, 6, 8, 9, 14, though 14 is of Bosnian origin); 5 are Serbs from outside Serbia (11, 13, 17, 21, 22); 3 are Slovenes (3, 18, 20); 16 is a Macedonian, and 15 a Bosnian Moslem.

The Government includes 8 members of the Communist party (1, 3, 12, 16, 24, 26, 27, 28); 16 Ministers were members of the National Liberation Committee (1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 18, 19, 21, 25, 27); 6 are men from London of whom 4 (2, 4, 10, 22) represented the pre-1941 political parties, and 2 (17, 20) were Tito's nominees; and 6 (14, 16, 23, 24, 26, 28) are new-comers.

The least-expected appointment was that of Grol, whom Tito had rejected for the Regency. It should do something to reassure the Serbian Opposition.

Grol has been allowed to write an article in *Politika* in praise of free discussion, so long as it is Progressive.

On the 5th Tito broadcast a long and masterly declaration of policy. The Government's chief aim would be to strengthen the army and expel the Germans. They would also aim at securing for Yugoslavia the territories which she failed to get after 1918. They would faithfully carry out AVNOJ's decisions of November 1943 and the equality of the six federated peoples. They promised freedom of religion, of speech, of the press and of association, as far as these were possible under war conditions. While showing severity to collaborationists, they would eschew mere revenge and offer the misled the chance to make good. For the urgent task of economic reconstruction they wished to enlist all the support possible and were proposing to add to AVNOJ uncompromised representatives of progressive and democratic groups (not just uncompromised members of the last Yugoslav Parliament, as the Crimea Conference recommended). They expected from their Allies assistance proportionate to Yugoslavia's sacrifices. As soon as possible a Constituent Assembly would be elected by universal secret ballot and would have the right to review the acts of AVNOJ and the temporary Parliament.

Greece.

Replying to a question in the House on the 7th March, Mr. Eden said that the number of Greeks detained by the British authorities in Africa amounted to about 12,000, of which 8,000 were E.L.A.S. prisoners. Arrangements were in hand to transfer all these men to Greece, and it was hoped that 1,500 would arrive about a week hence. Probably not more than about 200 would be charged with offences not covered by the amnesty. About 4,000 men were still under detention as a result of the mutinies of April 1944, and all of these would be repatriated as and when transport became available. Meantime, such of them as liked were being re-employed in the Greek armed forces. Those who did not wish to accept re-employment or who, from a strictly military point of view, were considered unreliable, could not be released in the Middle East and must be detained in camps; they could not expect to return to Greece before the loyal elements in the Greek forces. There were virtually no Greeks detained in India. In two camps near Athens under British control, in which a total of 5,000 men were detained, hunger strikes had taken place, but they had ceased after an E.L.A.S. liaison officer attached to General Scobie's headquarters had addressed the prisoners. Of these 5,000 men 150 were charged with crimes not covered by the amnesty. Of the rest, all except 18 had now been released.

Now that E.L.A.S. has been officially dissolved and that more than the specified quantity of arms has been handed in, the Communist leaders have evidently decided to abandon force as a weapon, and have returned to Athens to work as a legal Opposition. Their first move was to publish in the Left-wing press a report alleging that the Government was not keeping to the terms of the Varkiza Agreement; they also personally presented their complaints to General Plastiras, the Regent, M. Sophianopoulos, and His Majesty's Ambassador. Briefly, they allege that the police are preventing the Left-wing press from circulating freely in Athens and that they are making illegal arrests; that ex-members of the Security Battalions are now members of the National Guard and gendarmerie; that Left-wing civil servants are being dismissed; that certain security measures which have recently become law are contrary to the spirit of the agreement; that the Metropolitan of Janina, whose behaviour in April 1941 appears to have been open to grave suspicion, is to try two bishops who deserted their dioceses to join E.L.A.S.

Two new ministerial appointments were announced on the 7th March: M. A. Novas (Progressive) takes on the Ministry of the Interior, which had been held by General Plastiras since the resignation of M. Pericles Rallis (see *Summary* No. 282), and M. Stavros Nikolaïdis (Liberal) becomes Minister of Labour. Six new under-secretaries have also been appointed.

Athens Wireless reports that the Greek Government has accepted an invitation to the San Francisco Conference, and that the Greek delegation will probably be headed by M. Sophianopoulos.

Albania.

Brigadier Hodgson has proceeded to Tirana as head of a British Military Mission, Enver Hoxha having thought better of his refusal to receive such a mission in Albania. There are United States and French officers without official status in Albania, but neither Washington nor Paris proposes at present to

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recognise Enver Hoxha's Government. It was apparently Enver Hoxha's hope to postpone elections until he had obtained recognition of his Government from the Allies and established diplomatic relations with them, and this indication that he still feels unsure of the internal situation is borne out by the efforts which his Government is making to dispose of political opponents. The so-called "People's Courts," which have now begun to sit, bid fair to rival the Bulgarian People's courts, on a small scale, as a means of eliminating actual or potential rivals. Former cabinet ministers and officials who held office under the various quisling Governments are being tried on charges of promoting the Fascist occupation, opposing the F.N.Ç. and persecuting the people. The court at Tirana is composed of F.N.Ç. officers and other amateur judges. Another court has been started at Argyrocastro. An insistent demand is continually kept up that the Allies should surrender for trial not only Abas Kupi, Midhat Frasheri and other non-Communists who, with or without Allied assistance, have made their way to Italy, but also the three Italians whom the F.N.Ç. regard as the chief agents of the occupation: Jacomoni who was Minister and later Governor-General, his secretary and General Agostinucci who was head of the carabinieri in Italy.

Bulgaria.

The dominating note in the final speeches at the Slav Congress at Sofia which was reported last week was the need for unity among all Slavs. Petkov, the new Communist-minded secretary of the Agrarian Union, declared that this would be achieved in the near future. Vlahov, representing Macedonia, was confident that that country, being already united with Tito's Yugoslavia, was now indissolubly linked with the southern Slav peoples. Representatives of Poland, Byelorussia and Czechoslovakia also spoke. While devotion to Russia underlay all the proceedings, friendly references to Britain and the United States were not omitted.

On the 9th March, a congress of the Fatherland Front opened at Sofia. Its ostensible purpose was to report progress and to develop contact with the masses. Its real object was probably to establish a common platform for the elections which Moscow appears to demand. Thanks to the People's Court, to numerous arrests—sometimes on no charge whatever—to beatings and perhaps to executions without trial, the Communists have managed to intimidate Agrarians, Social Democrats and other non-Communists. But at heart 60 per cent. of the population may be Agrarian, and if the Communists were to be given their head they might precipitate a reaction which would paralyse the country's present contribution to the war. A continuance of the Fatherland Front coalition may therefore be in the general Allied interest, but not much confidence is inspired by a decree-law of the 8th March authorising severe punishment or death for "forming or leading an organisation of Fascist ideology" in order to upset the Fatherland Front, and at least five years' prison for belonging to such an organisation.

There was a considerable reaction to the Greek Regent's plea (see "Greece" in last *Summary*) that in view of the Bulgarians' insolent demand to be considered as co-belligerents the unspeakable crimes which they had committed should not be forgotten nor go unpunished. The Bulgarian papers contended firstly that the Bulgaria of to-day had broken with the shameful past, and hoped that if the Greeks cried "to Sofia," it would only be to hold out the hand of friendship. Secondly the press insinuated that Bulgaria was now making a much greater contribution to Allied victory than Greece. This was capped by a rather truculent speech in which Petko Stainov, the Foreign Minister, asseverated that the Bulgarians were not alone but, as the Slav congress had shown, were recognised as fellow Slavs by Marshals Stalin and Tito and all Slavdom, and that sooner or later their services against the Germans would be recognised.

Turkey.

The vituperation to which the Russian wireless has been treating Turkey is in part explained by the report that some sixty people are being tried in Angora, and rather more in Istanbul, for spreading Communist propaganda. The Turkish Republic has always repressed Communism within its own borders, and it is not surprising that it should be doing so at a moment when Russian policy in the Balkans causes it particular apprehension. No doubt it hoped to mollify the Russians by prosecuting Panturanians at the same time. But while denouncing the Communist trial as a persecution of "democrats," Russian commentators describe the Panturanian trial as mere eye-wash.

Suggestions in the Belgrade press that Turkey should have no say in Balkan affairs produced a firm Turkish reaction. M. Yalçin wrote that Marshal Tito's proposed Slav *bloc* would produce Balkan chaos, since it would outbalance a Turco-Greek-Albanian *bloc*—particularly if he annexed Trieste and Fiume—and that it was in fact directed against Turkey. On the constitution of the Tito-Shubashitch Government, however, the Turkish press and radio hastened to wish it well.

Although there has been some tendency in Turkey to resent foreign criticism of the country's inactvie share in the war and to regard the invitation to San Francisco as one addressed to poor relations, there is no doubt that the new Turkish Ambassador to Washington, M. Baydur, will make the most of his opportunities as head of the Turkish delegation. For one thing, he seems likely to object to the dropping of the undertaking to preserve the territorial integrity and political independence of all members of the League which was contained in Article 10 of the Covenant.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

The declaration of war against Germany and Japan by the Egyptian Government on the 26th February has begun to be viewed in a truer perspective by the public, although apprehensions still exist in the provinces, where it is feared that it may involve trouble for Egypt. It is reported, but not yet confirmed, that the Prime Minister, Nokrashi Pasha, will himself head the Egyptian delegation to San Francisco, and that he will be accompanied by Abdul Hamid Bedawi Pasha, whose appointment as Minister for Foreign Affairs was announced on the 8th March, and possibly by a military member as well. Bedawi, who was a useful member of the Egyptian delegation to the Capitulations Conference held at Montreux in 1937, and has been Minister in several previous Cabinets, is a highly intelligent man with a subtle lawyer's mind. Nokrashi Pasha, from whom Bedawi has taken over the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, is still in charge of the Ministry of the Interior, where he is said to be very unpopular. There is, indeed, a general feeling that, owing to his unadaptable temper and overbearing manner, he may not last long as Prime Minister. If, however, he remains subservient to the Palace, which is inclined to support him, he may survive.

The enquiry into the assassination of Ahmad Maher has not yet revealed any associates or connexions of the murderer, Mahmoud Issawi. According to the Director-General of Public Security, he was released from internment not, as at first reported, by Ahmad Maher, but by orders of the Wafd Government in June 1944.

Arab Union is still much to the fore in Egypt, and the Preparatory Committee has been summoned for the 17th March, when it is to examine the statutes of the Arab League prepared by the sub-committee. The statutes follow the general line of the Alexandria Protocol, but two important annexes are attached. The first of these recommends that the Preparatory Committee should establish "a basis of co-operation" with non-independent Arab countries, while the second proposes that there should be a Palestinian delegate on the Council. The wording of the first annex has been considerably modified, and is both briefer and more general than that of the original draft. But while the Arab delegates, as distinct from their Egyptian *confrères*, now realise the necessity of going slow on the subject of non-independent Arab States, they have made it clear that they will support Egypt in her opposition to the return of the Italians to Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. While, therefore, the Preparatory Committee may be able to gloss over the general question, it may well insist on some definite resolution concerning those two States. After approval of the statutes, it is understood that the Committee will convert itself into a general conference to draw up the constitution of the Arab League.

The claim of Syria and Lebanon to be admitted to the San Francisco Conference seems to be becoming a major issue in Middle Eastern politics. In Egypt Nokrashi Pasha has told the press that his Government attaches great importance to it. In Bagdad, the Iraqi Prime Minister and others have taken up the matter with His Majesty's Ambassador, representing that the exclusion of the Levant States would be regarded as an affront to the newly formed Arab League. Ibn Saud has also requested that we and the United States should reconsider the question of inviting Syria and Lebanon to the conference. At Beirut His Majesty's Minister has received communications from the Governments of the Levant States, informing him of a motion taken in their respective Chambers, urging them to secure an invitation to San Francisco.

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Other steps are being taken by the two Governments with this end in view. The Lebanese President has telegraphed to President Roosevelt and to Chiang Kai-shek, and the Lebanese Prime Minister to M. Stalin and Mr. Churchill, setting forth the claims of the Lebanon to participate in the conference. On the 6th March the Syrian and Lebanese Ministers in London called at the Foreign Office and left a note on the subject. They were informed that it was not in our power alone to secure invitations, but that we would consult with the other principal Allied Governments to see whether anything could be done. The matter is primarily one for decision by the Government of the United States of America, in consultation with the Soviet Government and ourselves. Though His Majesty's Government would have no objection to an invitation being extended to the Levant States, it cannot be assumed that the French Provisional Government would take the same view. Nevertheless, French publicity in Syria has been at pains to disclaim any French intervention against the issue of an invitation to the States. Meanwhile, the Egyptian Minister at Washington has approached the State Department with the same request, and has been told that a reply cannot be given until the United States Government has consulted with its "principal associates."

No more will presumably be known of the main French proposals to the Levant Governments until the return of General Beynet from Paris, where he has gone to report on the present situation and to receive instructions. The French have, however, presented to the Syrian Government a new draft *convention universitaire* which the Syrians are still considering. Before leaving for Paris on the 9th March, General Beynet made a statement to the press, to the effect that there was no conflict between France and Syria, but merely divergence of views. France did not seek any position in Syria prejudicial to Syrian sovereignty; what she desired was to conserve her cultural mission and to strengthen her relations with Syria in that field. Asked whether a treaty was necessary for this purpose, General Beynet replied that an agreement would place France's cultural position outside political vicissitudes, and that a treaty would be the best conclusion of 25 years of friendly collaboration with Syria. This statement was no doubt designed to calm public opinion during the absence of General Beynet; but, if he returns with what Syrian opinion regards as less moderate demands, the local reaction may be all the more violent.

The Saudi Arabian Government has accepted the invitation to San Francisco sent by the United States Government on behalf of the four Powers. It is probable that the Amir Feisal, second son of Ibn Saud and Minister for Foreign Affairs, will lead the delegation. He visited the United States in 1943 at the invitation of President Roosevelt, and has been several times to this country.

A demonstration occurred outside the Majlis building in Tehran on the 6th March, when a crowd of students tried to enter the courtyard, with the object of securing the return to the Majlis of Dr. Musaddiq, who, a few days before, had accused the Majlis of condoning corruption, and declared that he would never again take his seat in the assembly. The Military Governor thereupon gave orders to disperse the crowd; with the result that one person was killed, at least one wounded, and several deputies injured. Musaddiq is one of the Persian Prime Minister's chief supporters, but the demonstration in Musaddiq's favour, with its resulting casualties, can hardly benefit the Prime Minister, whose position is in any case far from secure.

THE FAR EAST.

The past week has been marked by an event which will have important political and military repercussions; this is the Japanese suppression of the French administration in Indo-China. Indo-China had previously been unique among the Japanese-occupied colonial territories of Western Powers, for here the Japanese had preserved the existing administration. It was convenient for them to do so as long as they could rely upon the French to maintain order in Indo-China and carry on the ordinary tasks of governance, while the Japanese were free to occupy strategic points and to exploit the country economically. The Japanese forces in Indo-China were stationed there under the terms of the Pact concluded between the Vichy Government and Japan, on the 29th July, 1941, which provided for the joint defence of Indo-China. The fall of the Vichy régime was not considered by Tokyo to have invalidated the Pact, as the Government-General of Indo-China was entrusted by Pétain with full powers to act on its own. The theoretical status of the Indo-Chinese Union was

held to be that of an ally of Japan, who has been represented by an Ambassador at Hanoi. This post was held by Kenkichi Yoshizawa from October 1941 until December 1944, when he was replaced by Shunichi Matsumoto. Both Yoshizawa and Matsumoto had professed satisfaction with the attitude of Admiral Decoux, the French Governor-General.

Beneath the outward show of amity a crisis had for some time been brewing. Decoux had made it plain that he regarded the Pact with Japan and the practical separation of Indo-China from France as of a temporary nature only, and that he looked forward to the time when the authority of France would be fully restored in Indo-China. He had remained cool to Japanese overtures about the future for Indo-China in the "Greater East Asiatic Order." He had also made no secret of his dissatisfaction at the one-sided economic agreements forced upon Indo-China by the Japanese. Neither he nor his subordinates had any love for the Japanese military in Indo-China who had exhibited their usual arrogance, brutality and greed. The Japanese had also been intriguing with Annamese nationalists, while Decoux had tried to counter this by giving the Annamese and other native peoples a somewhat larger voice in affairs of government. Tokyo had for some time shown signs of nervousness about the attitude of the French in Indo-China and some months ago a section of the Japanese Press declared roundly that Japan would tolerate no Darlan there.

The Japanese *coup d'État* in Indo-China was revealed by an Imperial Headquarters communiqué which said that "owing to the utter lack of sincerity of the French Indo-China authorities," which had rendered the joint defence of Indo-China impossible, Japanese forces in Indo-China had begun "to take the necessary measures" on the night of the 9th March. *Domei* broadcasts in English from Tokyo (9th and 10th March) made a list of charges against Decoux and his followers, who were said to have removed the Pétainist members of the administration and spoken openly in favour of General de Gaulle and of the approaching liberation of Indo-China. They were accused of having moved troops and supplies so as to be ready to attack the Japanese forces in concert with an invasion of Indo-China by United Nations troops; of assisting American air and naval raids upon Indo-China; and of refusing to hand over to the Japanese American airmen who baled out. Matsumoto had made repeated representations on these matters, but had been accorded no satisfaction, consequently on the 9th March he presented an ultimatum to Decoux; this was rejected and the Japanese military action followed. The Japanese say that some eight hours of fighting took place in Hanoi, but that the native troops went over to them and that the resistance of the remaining French forces was overcome. The leaders of the French administration either voluntarily surrendered to the Japanese or were arrested; those in custody include Decoux himself and the commanders of the French military, naval and air forces. Fighting also took place in Haiphong, Cholon, Langson, Vinh, Saigon and other cities, but in these, too, the Japanese claim that they quickly overcame the resistance. In Hué the Japanese arrested the Resident-Superior of Annam and got control of the Emperor Bao Dai, with the members of his family and his Ministers. A Japanese broadcast in Italian (12th March) said that the lives and property of the French in Indo-China had been guaranteed except in the case of Decoux and other high Government officials. By the 11th March the Japanese military had got control of all Indo-China except in the Dong Dang and Moncay sections along the northern border, where the French forces were still resisting (*Domei*, 12th March).

The Japanese Diet reconvened on the 11th March and heard a speech by Koiso. He asserted that the pro-Gaullist attitude of the French in Indo-China and the possibility of an enemy attack on this territory had left the Japanese no choice but to take over the defence of the country. The military measures would be kept to the absolute minimum and Japan's policy would be to help the races of Indo-China to attain their independence, in accordance with the principles of the Greater East Asia Joint Declaration.

On the 11th March the Emperor Bao Dai issued a proclamation in which he declared that the Franco-Annamese Treaty of 1886, whereby France secured a protectorate over Annam, was abrogated, and that Annam was henceforth independent. "As a member State of Greater East Asia it would co-operate with Japan with all its power, trusting in the sincerity and goodwill of the Japanese Empire." A report from Hanoi said that representatives of various independence parties had met there and established the "National Federation of Tongking" to secure independence and to co-operate with Japan (*Domei*, 10th March). The King of Cambodia has also been made to declare his independence of France. But the Japanese are maintaining the French administrative forms; the Japanese military commander is to be Governor-General, with

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Shunichi Matsumoto as his supreme adviser. Cochin-China, which is a French colony, as distinct from a protectorate, is to have a Japanese governor, Consul-General Minota. The rulers of Annam, Cambodia and Luang Prabang are to have Japanese advisers and Tongking a Japanese Resident-Superior. The Siamese have been told to arrest any French troops or police who seek refuge in their territory and to follow the example of Japan in the treatment of French diplomats and civilians already in Siam. The Siamese have perforce agreed and have temporarily closed the border between Siam and Indo-China.

The Japanese apparently do not regard their action as constituting formal war with France. The Japanese Commander in Indo-China proclaimed that his action was taken only against the existing administration and that, if any French civil servants wished to work for the new régime, they could do so at the same salaries (*Indo-China Overseas Service*, 10th March). Kusumoto, the Japanese Minister in Peking, said that Japan would not regard France as her enemy (*Domei*, 10th March). (It should be noted that the French National Committee declared war upon Japan on the 8th December, 1941. See *Summary* No. 219 under "France.") However, Henri Cosme, the (Vichy-appointed) French Ambassador in Tokyo, has been told by the Japanese that his official activities must cease; French (chiefly Annamese) troops and police in the French Concession in Shanghai have been disarmed, and French private residents in the Japanese-occupied areas of China have been warned to be sparing in their contacts with subjects of third Powers. They have been guaranteed their safety and property, provided they make no attempt to work against the Japanese. Koiso told the Diet that the Japanese Government were ready to approve the restoration to (Nanking) China of the leased territory of Kwanchouwan, which had been administered by the French as a part of the Indo-Chinese Union.

On the 10th March a spokesman of the Ministry of Information in Chungking said that, as soon as the Allies landed in Indo-China, Chinese troops in southern Yunnan would proceed southwards to link up with them. He declared that the native inhabitants of Indo-China would aid the Allies and that some of them had already formed units for guerrilla operations.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The capture of Cologne and the crossing of the Rhine has everywhere been greeted with the wildest joy. Developments on the Western front are seen as marking the "last convulsion of the dying German military machine." While exact predictions concerning the end of the war in Europe are absent, it is felt that anything can now happen and most editorials see the war shortened by months. The popular view is that this present drive, coupled with the Russian crossing of the Oder, "might be the one to deliver the final knockout." Everywhere there is a spirit of buoyant optimism, and there is general agreement, in the words of the *St. Louis Star Times*, that "the walls of the Reich are falling in; the end may be weeks on months away, but inevitable disaster to Germany is plain." One or two papers are fearful lest this mood lead to a slackening on the home front, and cause serious repercussions on the war in the Far East.

Despite President Roosevelt's expressed preference for man-power legislation which relies on authority rather than on the voluntary method, Congress presents a slightly Gilbertian spectacle of one House undoing the work of the other. The Senate has now sent back to the House a man-power control Bill which calls for co-operation between management, labour and Administration in canalising workers where they are most needed. Penalties for infringement are aimed at employers rather than at employees. This Bill has been labelled "a monstrosity" and "a fatal compromise," while the *New York Times* has described it as "a grim joke." The House of Representatives, however, is unlikely to accept it and may press for the reconsideration of the May–Bailey (Work-or-Fight) Bill, which it passed and forwarded to the Senate, who, however, preferred their own compromise, in spite of the pleas of the Secretary of War and the Assistant Secretary of the Navy.

A third measure, the Revercomb Bill, is also being mooted. This Bill provides that men of 18 to 45, not employed in direct war work, can be inducted either under the Selective Service system or be directed by the War Manpower Commission to an essential job. The Bill also provides for employment ceilings in factories. Its merit is that it resolves the dispute between the civilian *versus*

the military man-power agencies and makes them jointly responsible. As one or two papers feared, the break-through in the West has engendered great optimism, and approaching victory will not only increase the turnover of personnel in war plants but may well end any chance of a man-power Bill at all, although, as has been pointed out by responsible spokesmen, the United States is still short of soldiers and workers in war plants. The confusing nature of the picture is further emphasised when it is remembered that the House of Representatives, by a vote of 347 to 42, have passed and sent to the Senate a measure proposing the conscription of all unmarried registered nurses up to the age of 45 (see *Summary* No. 282, p. 21).

Despite Mr. William L. Clayton's remarks at the Mexico City Conference that he "confidently expected" that the Bretton Woods proposals would be accepted, the Administration is vigorously pursuing its policy to make the general public familiar with the issues involved, and the public relations campaign goes from strength to strength. The hearings in the House of Representatives on the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction began on the 7th March. The Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Morgenthau, the first witness, contended that the world security organisation proposed in the Dumbarton Oaks plan "needs the Bretton Woods agreements." "We cannot say that we will join the other nations in an organisation to maintain peace, but will not help to remove one of the most dangerous causes of war—economic dislocation." This view has been re-echoed by several speakers, notably by Mr. Dean Acheson, Assistant Secretary of the State Department, who maintained that "Bretton Woods is the complement of Dumbarton Oaks." The Wall Street bankers continue their attacks, but the Independent Bankers' Association, comprising 2,000 of the smaller banks, the National Cotton Council and the American Farm Bureau, one of the two most powerful farm groups in the country, have all pledged their support. The Congress of Industrial Organisations and other non-official bodies are assisting the Treasury in conducting a mass education campaign in the press and radio. The Bill itself has been skilfully drafted to disarm critics, and it is possible that before the final vote is taken further modifications, to meet the bankers' criticism, will be accepted.

Without a dissentient vote the Senate has approved the nomination of Mr. Fred M. Vinson as Federal Loan Administrator. In his place as Director of Economic Stabilisation President Roosevelt has appointed Mr. William H. Davis, Chairman of the War Labour Board. Mr. George W. Taylor, Vice-Chairman of the W.L.B., now becomes its Chairman. For several months there has been disagreement between Mr. Davis and Mr. Vinson over so-called fringe-wage increases or, in other words, increases which do not involve basic wages. The recommendations of the War Labour Board that certain groups of industrial workers should receive wage increases for improved output and for being up-graded into higher wage categories have been held up by Mr. Vinson because he feared that to accept them would lead to inflation. Naturally this view has aroused the antagonism of labour and particularly of the Congress of Industrial Organisations, whose members of the W.L.B. have threatened to resign. Congress, however, was delighted with Mr. Vinson's attempt to hold the wage line, and he has in consequence secured the reputation of being economical with public funds. Now that Mr. Davis is the Economic Stabilisation Director it is expected that fringe-wage increases will be immediately granted. The President has also appointed Vice-President Truman as his special link with the Senate on post-war policies. This appointment has caused great pleasure, since Mr. Truman is as popular with the Senate, over which he presides, as Mr. Henry Wallace was apparently unpopular.

Mr. James Byrnes, the Director of War Mobilisation, has created an executive board to investigate the exports of rationed produce. The new committee takes over the job of the War Food Administrations in deciding how the dwindling food reserves of the United States should be allocated among the American armed forces, the civilian population and the Allies. All food exports or contracts for food abroad, other than for essential military purposes, such as Lend-Lease, have been prohibited unless approved by this new Board. Mr. Leo Crowley, Foreign Economic Administrator, will be chairman and the other members will represent the State Department, the War Shipping Administration, the War Production Board, the War Department, the Food Administration and the Navy Department. It has been further announced that supplies of meat, sugar, butter, fats and canned goods in the United States are now at the lowest point in the war. "It must be recognised," said Mr. Byrnes, "that aid in occupied enemy countries may be provided under the existing law only to the

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extent required in the wake of battle. All other requirements for relief, rehabilitation and other export purposes must then be evaluated against our minimum essential civilian economy. Our foreign commitments must not disrupt our own economy." This view is seen to indicate that Germany has little hope of receiving supplies from America. In certain quarters the opinion has been advanced that stocks in Britain are too large and that they should now be used in part to feed liberated Europe, particularly as there is no longer any serious danger of enemy blockade.

Commander Stassen, one of the three Republican delegates to the San Francisco Conference, has given a national broadcast in which he urged that the United States should join now with the Allies to build a lasting United Nations organisation and to assist in forming a world police force. He proclaimed his faith in a higher level of world government, and even expressed his willingness to curtail national sovereignty. He also maintained that the welfare of America was inseparable from that of the rest of the world. The first reactions to the speech are strongly favourable. It is agreed that Commander Stassen "spoke out boldly," and several papers hail him as the new Willkie. A few papers expressed friendly reservations, but on the whole his speech is unreservedly approved and he is held to have justified his selection as a delegate to the forthcoming Conference.

While no particular enthusiasm is expressed over the formula for the voting in the Security Council, apart from all-out internationalists who express some disappointment at the alleged victory of Marshal Stalin, the plan is accepted by most newspapers as politically practical, particularly as it has the blessing of the Big Three. There is general agreement with the *Springfield Republican* that "preferential position for the big Powers is inevitable; it is that or nothing." The *New York Times* emphasises the fact that if the point is reached when a Great Power must be coerced by force, then the peace will already have been lost.

(See also under "Latin America.")

LATIN AMERICA.

The Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace at Mexico City ended on the 8th March. At a Plenary Session on the 6th March the Conference approved a proposal that centres of subversive influence be eliminated in the Americas and that the Emergency Committee for Political Defence be asked to submit recommendations for the political defence of the Continent after the war. It adopted resolutions providing for the military collaboration of the Republics, for the establishment of a permanent military advisory board, and for government control of the manufacture, distribution and export of armaments. It endorsed the Declaration of Mexico, proclaiming the rights of man and the juridical equality and inviolability of American States, the Act of Chapultepec (described in last week's *Summary*), and proposals for reorganising the Pan-American Union (see *Summary* No. 282). It was further resolved that information on the economic, financial and monetary situation of all the Republics be collected for the forthcoming Economic Conference at Washington (see last week's *Summary*), and that international law be incorporated into national legislation. About fifty other decisions are reported to have been taken.

The parts of the Economic Charter proposed by the United States delegation (see last week's *Summary*) referring to tariff reductions and the diminution of Government control of industries were much criticised by Brazil, Chile and Uruguay, while Venezuela announced her intention of maintaining exchange control; and major economic decisions have, in point of fact, been postponed.

Chile is reported to have proposed that Canada should be invited to enter the Pan-American Union, and Guatemala "reserved" her "rights" to Belize (British Honduras) in the final act of the Conference.

The Drafting Commission submitted for the approval of the Conference a declaration to the effect that the American Republics were determined to co-operate with each other and with other peace-loving nations in the establishment of a general international organisation, that they desired to harmonise the Inter-American system with that organisation, and that the Dumbarton Oaks proposals constituted a basis for, and a valuable contribution to, such an organisation. This was accompanied by a resolution that the Secretary of the Conference should transmit to the forthcoming San Francisco Conference and the nations invited thereto the views of the American Republics "that did not participate in the Dumbarton Oaks conversations." These include the desirability of amplifying and making more specific the principles and purposes of the Dumbarton Oaks

proposals, of amplifying the powers of the General Assembly and "harmonising" those of the Security Council with such an amplification, of giving adequate representation to Latin America in the Security Council, and the desirability of solving inter-American controversies by inter-American procedures.

On the 7th March the Conference unanimously approved a resolution regretting that the "Argentine Nation" had not found it possible to take measures that would have permitted its participation in the Conference, but recognising that it was, and always had been, an integral part of the union of American Republics, and expressing a desire that the "Argentine Nation" might find itself able to adhere to the principles and declarations of the Conference. It was hoped that the "Argentine Nation" would identify itself with the common policy of the other American Nations and "orientate its own policy towards incorporation in the United Nations as a signatory of the joint declaration." The final act of the Conference was declared to be open to adhesion by the "Argentine Nation" "in accordance with the criteria set up in this resolution," and Sr. Padilla was authorised to communicate the resolutions of the assembly to the Argentine Government through the Pan-American Union.

There seems to have been some doubt about these "criteria." According to broadcast reports from Buenos Aires, the Brazilian Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs appears to have stated that it would not be necessary for Argentina to declare war in order to secure recognition and that Argentina's adherence to the Act of Chapultepec would bring about the renewal of diplomatic relations "in the near future." In Buenos Aires, the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs had declared to the press (on the same day as the conference passed its resolution affecting his country) that Argentina had always maintained the need for perfecting the system of international co-operation, categorically rejected aggression, and "reaffirmed her determination to remain within the framework of continental solidarity, repudiating any ideology foreign to the Republican and Democratic tradition of the American nations." On the following day he described the conference's invitation to Argentina as "a courteous and honourable formula."

The Argentine Government have suspended postal services with the Axis, and are rumoured to plan to hold elections in September—though such plans are doubtless extremely fluid. The Government obviously desire to give the impression of goodwill without committing themselves to definite action.

The Brazilian Minister is reported to have stated that elections (see *Summary* No. 283) will be held in September. President Vargas has appointed Sr. João Alberto as Chief of Police: Sr. Alberto may be expected to display forcefulness and some independence of judgment, without the brutality of his predecessor, Sr. Coriolano Goes (see *Summary* Nos. 249, 256).

The Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Dominican Republic has announced that the establishment of diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. was agreed upon on the 8th March.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 285

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
21ST MARCH, 1945.

Copy № 183

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

THE Rhine continues to be the focal point of the fighting in the west. On the 14th March Hitler's communiqué reported slow progress by the Americans in the Remagen area. On the 15th it announced a "large-scale attack on the Moselle, the Saar and in Lower Alsace," and the Allied crossing of the Moselle was admitted. The home public were told on the 17th that American troops had reached the Cologne–Frankfurt Autobahn from the Remagen bridgehead, and that seasoned units had had to be sent to narrow down and eliminate it. Previously the danger from the bridgehead had been minimised, and the Allied crossing of the Rhine was dismissed as an accident which had come as a surprise to the Allies and was now proving an embarrassment to them. Now, however, a more serious view is taken of the situation. Scheelkopf told his listeners in the Reich on the 18th that this bridgehead constituted a danger for the German defence which was ever present in the minds of the commanders. A "handful of cowardly undutiful men, who in the meantime have met their death," were responsible. The supplement to the communiqué gave the names of these five officers who were sentenced to death by court-martial on charges of cowardice or neglect of duty in the field, "for failing to blow up the bridge at Remagen in good time, or else to defend it with determination." The officers included the commander of the A.A. forces stationed there, and the commander of the Remagen sector (who was sentenced in his absence). Scheelkopf said that the Allies had gained "valuable ground," and reached the Rhine on a very wide front. All recent Allied operations from Holland to Alsace were nothing but a preparation for the Battle of the Rhine.

Krull, for listeners abroad, spoke of the "step-by-step intensification," of the fighting in east and west, and said that the enemy's spring offensive was now, on the whole, synchronised—(a situation which the High Command has been trying hard to avoid).

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In the east there was news of a new large-scale Russian attack on East Prussia on the 14th. General Rendulic was said to be in supreme command of formations fighting there, which confirms a report that shortly after the Russian break-through north of Warsaw, Rendulic was transferred from his command in Norway to replace General Reinhardt. Kolberg was holding out in "self-sacrificing fighting against the onslaught of superior Russian forces," said the *O.K.W.* of the 16th, and these ominous words were followed on the 18th by a report for European listeners that the remnants of the garrison had been embarked. The Transocean agency said that 60,000 women and children, including many refugees from East and West Prussia, were evacuated by sea from Kolberg, and 4,000 by air. The loss of Küstrin was persistently denied at home and abroad.

Front reports give a vivid picture of the devastation caused by Allied bombing. "It is almost impossible," said one observer, "to relate what the Rhineland and its population have suffered. . . . . I have never seen a town so much destroyed as Coblenz. Coblenz, in whose ruined streets there is fighting to-day, is no longer anything more than one large heap of rubble. And on the other side of the Rhine, things look hardly any better." Letters written by the people of these bombed towns in January and February are terrible evidence of the strain under which they live. One woman wrote after a raid on Düsseldorf, to an officer, in despairing tones: "I simply can't go on." Another woman wrote from the Rhineland to her husband that "we might be on the moon here, only it's not so peaceful." Postal and transport services were almost at a standstill, the two schools were hospitals, almost the only traffic in the streets was Red Cross vehicles. A similar picture of conditions, with no light, no post, no papers, no radio, ends in the comment: "Life is scarcely bearable . . . . who knows what lies before us?" A report from Berlin speaks of the serious psychological effects, especially upon older people, of the continued air raids. It also said that the strain of Mosquito raids every night was as effective as a mass daylight raid, that disturbances had already occurred over food distribution and that the authorities feared more serious incidents if raids continued.

Some recent broadcasts to troops on the eastern front have given evidence of the prevalence of desertion. On the 14th March one such broadcast called for "less fake politeness and more simple truth." A man should not be described as a "straggler looking for his superior authority" if, in fact, he was a coward who had run away. On the 16th the D.N.B. Home agency broadcast a long warning to the public not to help deserters. It blamed "enemy agents in German uniform" for stirring up unrest and exerting a "demoralising influence on the German troops." Isolated elements, due not least to the sinister influence of these agents, were deliberately trying to shirk their duty to serve and were becoming deserters. Such persons were "liquidated immediately and ruthlessly." The German people were told that they must not offer shelter to a soldier or give him food or ration cards without the necessary papers. "Any soldier who asks for shelter or food should therefore be directed in a firm and determined manner to the nearest Armed Forces Office." In addition, any strange soldier who appeared in a district, on suspiciously long leave, or without any apparent duties, must be reported to the nearest military authority.

The German peace feeler announced in *The Times* of the 16th was not the first, as it is not likely to be the last, of such attempts. German propaganda has for some time been very busy suggesting that it is an interest of the Western Allies to forestall a German collapse. Goebbels has often enough tried to split the Allies by insisting that Britain would be the first to suffer from a Russian victory. Seyss-Inquart, in a recent broadcast, described National Socialism as a harmless political creed at the same time as he emphasised the fact that any defeat of Germany would mean a temporary and not a permanent eclipse. The latest attempt at diplomatic contact seems to have been conceived in much the same fashion. The conversation which, after considerable difficulty, took place between Ribbentrop's emissary, Herr Hesse, and a leader of democratic Sudeten refugees in Sweden, apparently lasted four hours, Herr Hesse stressed the effect of bombing by Anglo-American forces and the new wave of hatred which this had enflamed throughout Germany. He suggested that the only way for the Western Allies to avoid "fatal consequences" arising out of this state of things was to conclude with Hitler a peace which would adequately guarantee the continued existence of Germany. No terms of such an offer were mentioned, but unless some such offer were made, Hesse was emphatic that Germany would continue the fight for some time yet, and that, if forced to capitulate, she would do so to Russia rather than to Britain and the United States. He finally expressed a desire to discuss the whole matter either with Mr. Churchill or Mr. Eden or Mr. Bevin.

This "peace offer" was officially ignored, but was communicated to the Governments of the United States and Russia. Having failed, it may well be followed by a similar approach to Russia, for the leaders of Germany are in such a desperate position that they are likely to make every possible effort to make peace on terms which would both preserve Germany intact and would also save themselves.

Evidence of friction between Himmler and Bormann has recently come to hand in a captured circular issued by Bormann in August of last year, in which he instructs Gauleiters how to reply to an enquiry from Himmler. As Minister of the Interior, Himmler had apparently demanded how a Prussian Oberpräsident (also a Gauleiter) had fared in carrying out a circular issued by Bormann which appears to have had reference to a future comb-out. Bormann asks the Gauleiters to give *him* the required information and to reply to all other requests with the plea that a Gauleiter may not deal directly with supreme Reich authorities but only through the head of the Party Chancery. The circular provides an illustration of the administrative difficulties inherent in the Party-State dualism. The Gauleiter in many cases combines in his own person three separate offices, being always Reich Defence Commissioner, and usually head of the regional administration (Oberpräsident, Reichsstatthalter). He is, that is to say, head of his Party Gau, head of the State Administration of a province and in charge of defence measures in his Gau. In the first of these three offices he is responsible to Bormann, in the other two to Himmler. It is probably not rash to conclude that, in this instance, Bormann is not merely dealing with a routine conflict of competence, but is defending his own authority as head of the Party organisation against the threat of encroachments upon it by Himmler, whose authority had been greatly expanded after the July Putsch.

Another striking example of Bormann's activities is the captured text of a lecture given to the Security Police and circulated to Gauleiters in May of last year on the prevalence of corruption in Germany. This supplies, from an unimpeachable source, first-hand information regarding widespread evasion of war-time controls. The lecturer, whether Bormann or another, chose his most revealing examples from the building trades, such as the supply of inferior material for defence works, faulty execution of drainage plans for aerodromes, poor-quality concrete for shelters and gun emplacements—in fact, a failure to deliver according to agreed specification, which was estimated as costing the Reich "millions if not milliards" of marks. What was a serious enough evil within the Reich he considered to be far more prevalent in the occupied territories, where police measures could not be as effectively enforced. Among the lurid features outlined was the reckless misappropriation of supplies for the German army in Roumania. The remedies sounded rather feeble, amounting to little more than a hope that, realising the danger, controlling authorities would act more energetically in future.

Yet control of any kind in the Reich is more difficult now than in 1944 and there are certain indications that the increasing corruption and venality of officials is still alarming high quarters. A recent report stated that Mutschmann, the Gauleiter of Saxony, and thus probably one of those to whom Bormann sent the lecture, is being watched by the Gestapo for complicity in such practices.

ERRATUM.

Political Intelligence Summary No. 284, page 1, line 5: For "west of the river" read "east of the river."

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

President Beneš arrived in Moscow on the 17th March. Among those who met him at the air-port were MM. Molotov and Vyshinsky, representatives of the Czechoslovak colony, and members of the diplomatic corps in Moscow. Dr. Beneš's brief and formal speech on stepping from the plane was made in Russian. At present it is expected that the President will leave the Russian capital for Košice before the end of March.

The Red Army recorded further progress into the interior of Slovakia from the south with the liberation of Zvolen, described in a Stalin order of the day as a key-point in the German defence of the Hron, on the 14th March. Subsequent Soviet communiqués have announced further advances to the west and south-west of Zvolen. In the north, the Bratislava Government has claimed

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that the Russians have been forced out of Liptavský Svatý Mikuláš which was reported as taken by the Red Army last week. On the 17th March the Soviet communiqué reported that the Red Air Force had bombed Moravská Ostrava during the previous night.

The 14th March, the sixth anniversary of independent Slovakia, was celebrated by an order of the day from Tiso and speeches and articles by the leading members of his Government. All these were in familiar language and covered familiar ground. The anniversary of the Protectorate on the following day was signalised in the same way, the most important event being a long radio speech by Moravec extolling the benefits the Czechs had received from German protection. Hitler paid both Tiso and Hácha the compliment of a congratulatory telegram to mark the occasions.

On the 16th March the Soviet European Service broadcast an account of conditions in liberated Slovakia. The Praskovice metal-workers have been re-equipped and have resumed work; three tobacco factories, a glass factory and a paper-mill are operating again; all the technical workshops and mills in Košice are working; and railway traffic has been restored on some lines.

The London Czechoslovak Communist weekly of the 17th March published a report of the first conference of the united Communist Party of Slovakia, held in Košice on the 28th February. The main speech was made by Dr. Gustav Husák, deputy-chairman of the Party's central committee, who laid down the Slovak Communists' programme. According to this report Dr. Husák made the following points: the Czechoslovak Republic should be a popular democratic republic of two equal peoples, the Czechs and the Slovaks; the Slovak people fully respect the will of the Carpathian Ukrainians to join the Soviet Union; the equality of the Slovaks should be expressed by means of a Slovak democratic Parliament which would decide all Slovak matters not touching the joint interests of the two peoples; there can be no discussion about frontiers, the frontiers of 1938 being "inviolable and indivisible"; the Communist Party of Slovakia desires a national front with the widest possible representation of all sections of the Slovak people, but the Agrarian Party must perish along with the Hlinka Party; the land should be returned to those who work on it; the Communists stand for religious freedom and are willing to collaborate with the democratic representatives of the Church.

POLAND.

The Polish Government in London issued on the 15th March the text of a note which had been delivered three days before to the British, United States, and Chinese Governments protesting against the fact that it had received no invitation to the San Francisco Conference. The note suggested that this was "the first disquieting case of the right to veto of a Great Power." Actually the omission is a necessary consequence of the fact that the Polish Government is not recognised by all the Powers sponsoring the invitations and of the agreement reached by the Three Powers at Yalta, that they would endeavour to bring about "a new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity" which all could recognise. It would for obvious reasons be desirable that the new Government should be formed and secure the recognition of the Allied Powers in time for it to attend the Conference; but it is a familiar experience that the implementation of such agreements after a long war takes much longer than the time spent in framing them. Time has necessarily to be spent in agreeing on the interpretation to be placed on such phrases as "The Provisional Government which is now functioning in Poland should, therefore, be reorganised on a broader democratic basis with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland itself and from Poles abroad." It is indeed obvious that discussion may arise over the criteria to be followed in deciding who are to be classed as democratic leaders. Are they to be necessarily persons who have been recognised leaders of the parties as they were before September 1939? Or may one or other of the groups to be consulted put forward new names, unknown to the other groups? Is it desirable, or not, to insist that persons called for consultation should have declared themselves unequivocally in favour of the Yalta Agreement? Should persons who have supported the "Sanacja" (the pre-war Polish Government), or taken part in M. Arciszewski's Government, or been members of the Nationalist Party, be excluded. All such questions clearly have to be decided between the three Governments represented on the Moscow Commission before consultations with Poles can begin.

Moreover, it has been suggested that the phrasing of the communiqué implies the giving of a prior right of consultation to the Warsaw Administration about the other democratic leaders to be included in the new Government. It seems, however, that such an interpretation would clash with the primary object of the relevant section of the Yalta Agreement, as stated in its first paragraph, which is the formation of "a *new* Polish Provisional Government of National Unity."

Time is of importance, not only because Polish representation at San Francisco hangs on it, but because the internal administration in Poland, and the situation of the Parties there, are rapidly developing; while all delay in forming a united Provisional Government lengthens the time of suspense, during which the officials appointed in Poland by the London Government, the Party leaders and members who give allegiance to it, and the various agents hitherto employed by it, remain in an acute dilemma, having either to renounce it, or be liable to find themselves suspect of some form of disobedience to the *de facto* civil or military authorities in the country.

Some significance may certainly be attached to two fresh Party developments. In Poland it is reported that a group belonging to the Nationalist Party has decided to throw in its lot with the Warsaw Administration. In London an important group of the Polish Socialist Party, led by the former Minister of Labour, M. Stanczyk, has renounced allegiance to M. Arciszewski's Cabinet and indicated its sympathy with M. Mikolajczyk.

SOVIET UNION.

There is less to record from the Soviet-German front than for many weeks. The Red Army is pressing hard upon Königsberg, Danzig and Gdynia. Kolberg, the last German stronghold on the Pomeranian coast, was captured on the 18th March. Zvolen, in Slovakia, fell on the 14th March. Heavy fighting has continued between Lake Balaton and Budapest.

Attacks on General Franco have recently been renewed. The supplement to the Soviet communiqué of the 9th March contained an account of the capture of two soldiers from the Spanish Legion on the Second Ukrainian Front. Thus, according to this report, all the while that Spain was advertising her neutrality a Spanish Legion was fighting against Yugoslav patriots and against the Red Army in its campaign to liberate Czechoslovakia. A Soviet broadcast in Spanish of the same day again denounced Munoz Grandes and Esteban Infantes, former commanders of the Blue Division, as war criminals. M. Hoffman, in *Krasnaya Zvezda* of the 16th March, attacked Spanish Falangist intrigues in Latin America. "The Blue Legion [*sic*], with its headquarters in Innsbrück and its soldiers on the Soviet–German front, with the Falange reaching out tentacles like an octopus into Latin America—this is how neutral Madrid envisages international co-operation." There was also an article on the same theme in *Trud*.

Events in Roumania have continued to be the subject of much comment in the Soviet press, and British adverse treatment of the new Government has not been allowed to pass unobserved; Alastair Forbes, of the *Daily Mail*, for example, was said to be playing straight into the hands of Goebbels, who was already shedding copious tears over the fate of MM. Maniu and Bratianu. Roumania was now linked with Yugoslavia and Bulgaria as a country well on the road to putting the Crimea decisions into practice, and *Pravda and Izvestiya*, in long admonitory articles, made very clear the hope that the forthcoming elections would bring Finland also into line (for details see under "Finland"). It was announced on the 17th March that the Soviet-Finnish Commission had completed the demarcation of the Porkkala–Udd area ceded to the U.S.S.R.

The People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs has now told the Greek Ambassador in Moscow that a Soviet Ambassador is not at present to be sent to Greece. It had been stated at the beginning of January that M. Mikhail Sergeyev had been appointed to this post, so this holding it in abeyance may be connected with the increasingly unfavourable Soviet view of the present Greek Government. M. Sergeyev has now been appointed Soviet Ambassador to Belgium (*Tass*, 20th March).

Current rumours of a new Soviet-Vatican rapprochement have been officially repudiated from the Russian side; *Tass* (14th March) issued a denial of reports put out in the Rome bulletin *Servizio Informazioni* to the effect that negotiations were proceeding between the Soviet Union and the Vatican for the conclusion of an agreement, Great Britain and the United States acting as mediators (for Vatican denials see under "Vatican").

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The Soviet Overseas Service in Persian recently introduced a new note in its regular admonitions to Persia. The latter country was told to take warning from recent events in Roumania. "Disgraced generals who are only Fascist idiots [*sic*] and reactionary elements associated with the police and army were preparing a Fascist *coup d'Etat*. These intriguers built up stocks of arms and were attacking the democratic elements. The nation's blood was shed in Bucharest and in other Roumanian towns. Is Persia's present position different from that described here?" Strong language subsequently described the reactionary elements, "feudalists, the superstitious and the supporters of the Reza Shah régime" who are alleged to be aiming at cutting the bonds uniting Persia to the Soviet Union and "are the country's enemies."

(See also under "Latin America.")

Writing in *Izvestiya*, M. Korovin, a Professor of International Law, commented with asperity on critics of the voting procedure in the world security organisation. "While aggressive nations and States exist on the earth," he said, "real and not fictitious international equality can be assured to weak States not by proclaiming juridical 'equalisation'—which failed disgracefully in the inglorious practice of the Versailles League of Nations—but by charging the strong peace-loving States with full responsibility . . . ." The Fascist international bandits were charged with doing everything possible to frustrate the effective organisation of world security, "using for this purpose the well-tried weapon of filthy lies and slander." "It is worth while noticing," the article concluded, "the striking similarity between German arguments and the criticism of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals coming from certain allies and neutral circles (American Isolationists, the Hearst press, Lewis, the Vatican, De Valera, Yalcin and others)."

SCANDINAVIA.

The true attitude of a large section of the Finnish nation to the election which has just been concluded is probably accurately reflected in the current epigram reported from Helsinki—"If it goes badly it goes well, and if it goes well it goes badly." The choice of the electors has been left quite free, in the sense that a man driving along a precipice is at liberty, if he chooses, to leave the road. In practice, his course is prescribed unless his intentions are suicidal, but he may none the less dislike the road which he is following. The necessity for allaying Soviet distrust by a complete reorientation of policy, and the view that this new policy demanded new men and a rejection of those associated with the errors of the past, was strongly emphasised by M. Paasikivi in a speech broadcast on the 15th March. The moral was reinforced by articles in *Pravda* (12th March) and *Izvestiya* (16th March), both organs of the Soviet Union strongly supporting the election claims of the Democratic League and adopting its view that practically all alternative parties were tainted with fascism. The electorate was left in no doubt as to the line which it would be prudent to follow.

In these circumstances, there was little substance in the complaint put forward by the Democratic League that it was unfairly handicapped by lack of electoral machinery and of newspapers championing its cause. In the latter respect, indeed, the group has had since last November the influential papers *Vapaa Sana* and *Vapaa Pohjola* as official supporters, while *Kansan Sanomat*, organ of the Finland–Soviet Society, could be relied on to throw its weight on the same side, and apart from these at least three new papers have recently been started—*Kansan Ääni* in Vasa, *Uusi Nuoriso* in Tampere, and the Swedish-language *Folktidningen* in Helsinki. Any possible handicap was moreover compensated by an arrangement which gave the group an allowance of six periods in the party election broadcasts, as against two for each of the parties opposed to it.

Its prospects were further improved by the disintegration of the old Social-Democrat Party, so predominant in the last election; apart from those members who have seceded to the Democratic League, it also suffers from an opposition within its own ranks, led by Fagerholm, Kallinen, Voionmaa and Wirtanen. This, though sufficiently distinct to be allowed separate representation in the pre-election broadcasts and to indulge in criticism of the official leaders of the Party, still claims to be an integral part of it. Its spokesman on the 16th March rather naïvely admitted that it could not be called a completely united group, since as to the reasons for its creation there existed as many different opinions as there

were men composing it. Its existence, however, was obviously detrimental to solidarity.

Considered against this background, the success of the Democratic League, though greater than was generally forecast, is not perhaps surprising. Most of the seats which it has captured seem to have been at the expense of its proletarian rival, the Social Democrats, who have none the less succeeded in running more or less neck and neck with it for the position of the strongest single party in the new Riksdag. Final figures are not yet available, but the Social Democrats are credited with 52 or 53 seats, and the Democratic League with 50 or 51. The Agrarian Party, while it has lost 8 or 9 of the seats it held in the previous Riksdag, still follows pretty closely with 47 or 48 seats. The other Parties of the *bourgeois bloc* substantially retain their former strength, a fact which indicates a considerable degree of real independence in the voting of the electorate. Unless—as seems unlikely—the rival representatives of the proletariat unite, they can be outvoted by a combination of the Coalition, Agrarian, Progressive and Swedish Parties, even though the component parts of this *bloc*, considered separately, have none of them a representation equal to either of the groups or Parties of the Left. How far such a situation is likely to be viewed with satisfaction by the Soviet Union or its Finnish protégés remains an open question at the time of writing.

Turning to the rest of Scandinavia, the principal recent events have taken place in Norway, where, on the 14th March, an outstanding act of sabotage destroyed the main (east) station of Oslo, together with the buildings containing the German central administration of all Norwegian railways, while at the same time communications were disrupted by the destruction of numerous lines, bridges and rail crossings on the Östfold, Vestfold and Sörland railways. A considerable number of casualties were caused among the German personnel.

The Germans were quick to react to this occurrence with their customary severity and lack of civilised justice; on the 17th March it was announced that fourteen death sentences had been passed and executed on persons none of whom was accused of complicity in the action in question, though it was claimed that all were in fact saboteurs.

Norway was again prominent in the news on the 19th March, when the information was released that some 525 Norwegians had been rescued and removed to this country by British warships from the island of Söröy, west of Hammerfest, after preliminary arrangements had been made on the spot by an advance party of Norwegians.

LOW COUNTRIES.

M. van Acker has won a great victory. The new Special Powers Bill (see last *Summary*) has become law after passing the Chamber by 125 to 1 and 8 abstentions and the Senate by 119 to 2 and 2 abstentions. The passing of the Bill will inevitably increase the prestige of the Belgian Prime Minister, who has shown firmness, calm and good temper in a serious crisis. The popularity of the Government in general has also been increased by the publication of a new rationing table for the period the 17th March–15th April, which announces that the fat ration has been appreciably raised. Much of the credit for this will naturally accrue to the Communist Minister of Food, M. Lalamand. But he has been criticised in several quarters because the new table was published by the *Drapeau Rouge* a day before it had appeared in the official *Moniteur* or in any other paper.

As an inducement to the Belgian farmers to increase the output of food-stuffs they have been promised higher prices. The consumer, however, will not have to pay more, as the Government will subsidise the production of food.

In reply to a question in the House of Commons on the 14th March, Mr. Churchill expressed the deep concern and sympathy which was felt for the Dutch people in their present ordeal and admiration of the magnificent spirit shown by them in the still occupied areas in resisting the repeated efforts of the enemy to exploit their distress. Though unfortunately we could do little to bring immediate relief to the occupied areas, we had already facilitated certain relief shipments through the blockade by the International Red Cross Committee and the Swedish Government and the possibility of extending such shipments was being urgently considered. A considerable stock of essential food-stuffs had also been accumulated which would be sent into Western Holland with all possible speed as soon as the Germans were driven out.

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FRANCE.

General de Gaulle followed up a brief statement on the 11th March on the Japanese *coup* in Indo-China (see last *Summary* under "Far East") with a broadcast on the 14th March. He paid a tribute to the brave Frenchmen and Indo-Chinese who had made a stand under desperate conditions in 1940 and 1941 when Allied help could not be given, condemned Vichy's policy of renunciation, and maintained that France had never wavered in her resolve to free Indo-China. "To-day the struggle . . . . in Indo-China goes on in accordance with the Government's plan and under the orders of the leaders nominated by it." It was not only France's fault that the forces which she had long prepared to assist Indo-China had not been brought into line side by side with those of the Allies. France's honour was at stake and so was the future of Indo-China.

Though it would appear that by the 17th March the large Japanese forces, estimated at 45,000, were virtually in complete control, French resistance was continuing. Indeed, on the night of the 16th March an official French communiqué stated that resistance was developing according to established plans and civilian elements had joined French troops engaged in guerrilla operations.

M. Teitgen, the Minister of Information, at a Press Conference on the 16th March dealing with San Francisco, said that France supported the system of collective security which all civilised nations had striven for since 1914. In submitting amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, as modified at Yalta, the French aimed at being constructive and achieving co-ordination between the collective security system and bilateral agreements. He rejoiced that the United States was determined to enter an organisation for collective peace; but while that organisation still remained rudimentary, "particular securities" must not be sacrificed to it.

The Financial Agreements concluded between France and Belgium (see *Summary* No. 282) have been followed by a Financial Agreement between the French and Swiss Governments which was approved by the Cabinet on the 13th March (see below under "Switzerland"). The French Government's ordinances of the 15th and 17th January on exchange control are reported in the French and British press to be causing some alarm in foreign business circles in France since they prohibit the acquisition by foreigners, or corporate bodies including foreigners, of real estate or stocks and shares, and compel French banks, &c., to disclose all assets they hold for account of foreigners. It is, however, stated in the preamble that these measures will not be applied rigidly and that they will be relaxed in favour of residents in countries with which agreements on exchange control have been made. It is generally expected that a Franco-British Financial Agreement will soon be concluded.

One of the issues raised in the recent Information debate was the supply of newsprint. On this point the Minister of Industrial Production made no attempt to defend the muddle which had led to the refusal of a United Kingdom offer in January, and paid a tribute to the assistance given by the Economic Adviser to His Majesty's Ambassador in securing a renewal of the offer. This offer was confirmed by Mr. Eden when, in reply to a question in the House of Commons on the 14th March, he stated that in response to urgent French appeals, British newspapers had agreed to make 2,000 tons of newsprint available for immediate shipment to France. This addition should suffice to cover essential French needs pending the arrival of consignments which the French are expecting from South America.

The hostility shown by the Communists and a number of Resistance representatives to M. Teitgen (see last *Summary*), brought out the Mouvement Republicain Populaire (the Catholic Left) in defence of one of their Ministers and sharpened the opposition between them and the rest of the Resistance and of the Left. In this connexion, a recent decision of the Finance Committee of the Consultative Assembly is of considerable importance: by 16 votes to 7 it decided to recommend the cessation of the subsidies to Church schools (*écoles libres*), which were established by Vichy and have been provisionally continued by the present Government. M. Mauriac and others have pleaded in the press against the reintroduction of the anti-clerical issue into the arena of French politics; and the National Education Committee, while drafting a resolution asking for the famous Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques to be nationalised, is reported to be seeking in the matter of the (Catholic) *écoles libres* a solution such as would preserve the unity achieved in the Resistance while returning to the "objective secular spirit of the Republic." As so often before, it would seem, however, that

a major issue has been raised by the educational question, and one which looks like swinging the "Catholic Left," who almost alone represent Catholic elements in French political life for the present, further towards the "Right."

The number of French prisoners liberated by the Red army in its advance (see *Summary* No. 280) is still uncertain, but some are already on their way home. On the Western Front, also, considerable numbers are being liberated and trainloads are arriving daily in Paris. The Government has made detailed arrangements for their reception, rehabilitation and re-employment but these are frequently criticised in the press as inadequate.

The first of the treason trials held by the High Court of Justice in Paris ended on the 15th March when Admiral Esteva, French Resident-General in Tunisia under Vichy, was condemned to life imprisonment, military degradation, national degradation and the confiscation of his property. Extenuating circumstances were admitted on the grounds that he had liberated patriots imprisoned in Tunis and had aided Allied subjects to escape before the arrival of the Germans. But the charge of treason was maintained on the ground that he had recruited labour and soldiers for the Germans, that he had incited Free Frenchmen to desert and had replied to Ribbentrop's letter of congratulation on his conduct during the Tunisian campaign.

(See also under "Middle East.")

SWITZERLAND.

One aspect of the recent economic negotiations which has been particularly welcomed is that they have put an end to the difficulties with France, which had political as well as economic bearings. The holdings in Switzerland of persons resident in France, which have been frozen since July 1940, will remain so and the French Government will be consulted before any change is made. This is a matter to which the French Government attaches much importance.

Professor Burckhardt, the newly-appointed Minister to France, has recently visited Germany, in his capacity of President of the International Committee of the Red Cross, to discuss with the German authorities the organisation of the transport of food, medical supplies and clothing for prisoners of war and internees of all nationalities and also the possibility of certain exchange measures.

The economic agreement with Germany, which had expired, is not being renewed, but the present clearing machinery will be maintained.

Relations have been re-established with Italy and Czechoslovakia, recognition having been withdrawn from the representative of the Slovak Government of Tiso.

SPAIN.

On the 23rd February the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires left at the Foreign Office a second letter from General Franco acknowledging the receipt of Mr. Churchill's letter of the 15th January. The tone is friendly—to the conventional courtesies at the end Franco added in his own hand the expression of his "particular esteem"—and it is quite clear that he has not understood the implications of the Prime Minister's letter. He still professes to consider that only some further "clarification" is needed to enable His Majesty's Government and the Spanish Government to reach agreement. Such monumental misunderstanding, however Machiavellian it may seem, is quite genuine. Everything goes to show that Franco really does believe a very great deal of what he says. He is perfectly satisfied with his war record, having successfully emulated that chieftain of whom the First Player in Hamlet said—

> "So as a painted tyrant Pyrrhus stood
> And, like a neutral to his will and matter,
> Did nothing";

and he feels that there is no reason why, with the support of Great Britain and the United States, he should not safely guide Spain in the critical days of world peace. Franco is impervious to chilling words. They certainly mean less to him than to most citizens, for the increase of political executions recently reported signifies not only an astonishing self-confidence in the interpretation of justice, but a blindness to world opinion which, if it were not Spanish, would be disconcerting.

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The arrival in Madrid of Mr. Norman Armour, the new United States Ambassador, gives additional force to the joint policy of His Majesty's Government and the United States Government towards the anomalous Spain of to-day which may well become the equivocal Spain of to-morrow. Joint diplomatic action in Madrid will continue to impress upon Franco that, while we have the friendliest of feelings towards the Spanish people, we dislike the present Government and the Falange, whom we consider an obstacle to good relations. But it is for the Spanish people themselves to decide what régime shall succeed Franco; and the nature of that Government is no more predictable than the date of its taking office. Franco's position is as strong as ever, and it will not be destroyed by the mere expression of disapproval.

When the Marquis of Santa Cruz presented General Franco's acknowledgement of the Prime Minister's reply, he said that he had received instructions to seek an early interview with the Secretary of State in order to discuss Anglo-Spanish relations. He was apparently instructed to express regret that the Spanish Government's recent attempts to improve relations had not been as successful as they would have wished, and he enquired what further steps His Majesty's Government would like to see the Spanish Government take. This is realistic enough, but the Spanish Government cannot expect His Majesty's Government to solve their problem for them.

Realism, as opposed to what the Spaniards like to call quixotry, is shown, too, in an anti-Japanese campaign which was launched in the Spanish press on St. Patrick's Day and which will be treated more fully in next week's *Summary*. This will hardly serve as a back door to San Francisco, but it looks like a determined attempt in the sphere of foreign policy to anticipate the sort of demand which is never likely to be made. One paradox of the Spanish problem to-day is that in the field of foreign policy, where Franco is most willing to make concessions, there is really little of serious importance to complain about—unless, of course, one is a member of the Soviet Government; it is the régime itself and the horrid working of the Falange upon Spanish minds and bodies that stinks to high heaven—" and that," in effect, says Franco, " is my business." But it is not his business alone, for the Falange régime is a magnet for mischief, a potential centre of infection of danger to the outside world. How and when this fact will impinge upon the mind of Francisco Franco is one of the most interesting political questions in Europe to-day.

ITALY.

On the 4th March the National Committee of the Christian Democrat party unanimously approved a declaration which stated that the most important question of the moment was whether the reconstruction of the new Italian State was to take place " with the people, for the people and by the people." The people must realise their responsibility and help to build up this new State, but in order to do this the people must be able to make free decisions. Any resort to force, violence or dictatorship must be vetoed at the outset, particularly if originating from active minorities, who, taking advantage of the present confused situation, may try to present the solution of fundamental questions to the people as accomplished facts, questions which only the Constituent Assembly should decide, as has already been agreed by all parties. If democracy is to mean anything in Italy every current of democratic opinion must combine to bring this about, since " democracy " will be judged by the outcome.

The same applies to the economic situation. Everyone must help to rebuild their devastated country. Italy will, however, need the help of the Allies, particularly as regards machinery and raw materials. " These vital requirements and the need for safeguarding the national frontiers in their essential lines will define the direction of a responsible foreign policy." The declaration concludes by saying that now that Italy has resumed friendly relations with France, she turns her eyes to the opposite shore of the Adriatic " with the same sentiments and aspirations."

The Liberal party paper, *Risorgimento Liberale*, has published a protest against alleged Communist interference with Liberal party meetings and asks Signor Togliatti, as Head of the Communist party, as well as other members of the Government, to put a stop to this state of affairs. *Risorgimento Liberale* adds that the Party's patience is exhausted and that it is determined to oppose any recourse to violence with all its strength. *Unità*, the Communist party organ, while denying any responsibility, accuses the Liberal party of lack of

zeal in the complete purge of Fascist elements, elements who were not only responsible for the escape of Roatta, but who were secretly doing their best to keep Fascism alive. According to *Unità*, disciplined democracy and a static Government in Italy depend upon the destruction of Fascism, and if agitation and discontent exist amongst the people it is because " some people " have not understood the truth of this. *Avanti*, the Socialist party paper, considers the Liberal party's championing of public liberties to be ridiculous, and reminds the Liberals that it was the workers who assumed this rôle during the Fascist Régime. If liberty is threatened, says *Avanti*, there are better men to defend it than Liberal reactionaries, who are merely cloaking the defence of their privileges in this new warlike attitude.

The Head of the Government Press Office made a statement to the press on the 13th March. Recent events had shown that a danger still existed from underground Fascist elements. The Government were determined to take energetic steps to suppress any form of Fascist revival and would immediately put into force the decree which provided for the internment of anyone who was considered to be pro-Fascist or even of doubtful political views.

Filippo Anfuso, at present the Fascist Republican Government's Ambassador to Berlin and the most prominent diplomat who adhered to the Fascists, has been appointed Fascist Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs in succession to Serafino Mazzolini, who died in February. Anfuso was sentenced to death for treachery on the 12th March by the Italian High Court of Justice.

THE VATICAN.

On the 18th March the Pope spoke to great crowds of Romans who had taken part in the Lenten mission. Many diplomats were also present. Two of his references to the international situation were significant. He condemned the " Servile docility of those who had allowed themselves to be led astray by the advocates of violence," and urged them to a " definite repudiation of absolute nationalism, of pride in race and blood," &c. This is a striking departure from the Pope's previous attitude to the question of a people's responsibility for its Government. Before his Christmas Eve message he seemed to regard a people as the innocent subjects of its Government. Now he accepts the logical consequences of his Christmas Eve distinction between a " people " and a " mass," and sees the relations between Government and people as the Western Democracies see them, as a living interdependence. " Reconciliation between the peoples can only endure if carried out in a spirit of truth and justice, loyalty and generosity." He then went on to what many will interpret as a condemnation of Russian policy. " We would be loath to say that there is anyone who takes advantage of the present situation to derive personal profit from the organisation of peace against all rules of justice. Such a one could pose for a time as one who contributed to deliver the world from oppression. He is, in fact, to be classed with those who betrayed the expectations of the peoples, on whom untold sufferings had conferred inviolable rights."

The United States press has been filled with Edward J. Flynn's " mission " to Moscow, where he is supposed to be working for a Vatican and Russian agreement. The mystery surrounding this " mission " is described in the *New York Daily News* of the 7th March: " Do you want to see the dignified worthies of the White House and the State Department turn hand springs and utter goose calls? Ask them just what former chairman of the Democratic National Committee, white-haired, world-travelled Edward Joseph Flynn, was doing in Russia when the Great White Father and Winston Churchill talked things over at Yalta." Rumours of Vatican–Soviet negotiations spread, and in the *Figaro* of the 13th March, Vladimir D'Ormesson, former French Ambassador at the Vatican, thought an agreement not impossible; for the " Vatican had never countenanced the Germans' ideological crusade in defence of Christendom."

The Vatican would welcome an agreement guaranteeing to the Roman Catholics in Russia and within Russian spheres freedom of organisation and of communication with Rome. For long the Vatican has had no news of Church life in Poland, the Baltic States and Finland. Only from Bulgaria can the Apostolic Delegate still communicate with the Vatican in cypher. The Vatican's great anxiety over Poland may be judged from an article in the *Osservatore Romano* of the 14th March, which describes the repressions and confiscations of the Lublin Committee. All the same, the Vatican has officially denied recent rumours of negotiations with U.S.S.R., and has no knowledge of Mr. Flynn's mission. For a *Tass* denial, see under " U.S.S.R."

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SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

The German offensive in Hungary, after gaining little ground, was brought to a standstill about the 17th March. It had cost the enemy 20,000 officers and men and 600 tanks, self-propelled guns, &c. The Soviets explained this costly effort by the German need to retain the oil and bauxite of West Hungary; and also important secret industries said to be located north of Lake Balaton. The agricultural resources of the area were also used for Germany's food supply. After the 18th March the Red Army, assisted by Bulgarian troops and by Allied bombing, resumed the initiative on the Balaton front and against the bridgehead established by the Germans across the Drave.

The main preoccupations of the Debrecen Government remained the same. Radio Kossuth announced on the 15th March that any soldier crossing over from the Szálasi side would not be detained, but given the free choice of enlisting voluntarily in the new army or returning to his home and resuming civilian work. M. Fedorov, however, in his "commentary," issued a pointed warning that there was no room in the new army for "repentant Fascists" and that professional solidarity must not whitewash war criminals as repentant sinners.

The Budapest National Committee has set up a Committee to investigate Fascist atrocities. Its chairman is B. Várga, Vice-President of the Smallholders' Party. It contains one Communist and two Social Democrats, but most of its members are University teachers, medical men, including some of the most famous in Hungary, or prelates, including the Director of the *Actio Catholica*. The People's Courts have passed some more sentences. Reported arrests include that of A. Jaross, Minister of Interior under Sztojay at the time of the Jewish deportations for which his Ministry was responsible. The Szálasi Government had reported him as speaking in the rump Parliament in Szombathely only a day or two before Radio Kossuth announced his arrest in Budapest.

Parliament is to be convened for the 5th April, if possible in Budapest. It will have before it, amongst other measures, the Land Reform Bill, and Deputies are to be elected to represent Budapest and other liberated areas.

A private source gives the Party affiliations of the present 230 Deputies as follows: Communists, 68; Smallholders, 59; Social Democrats, 34; National Peasants, 13; Democrats, 10; Independents, 19; various small parties, 27. The Communists are to be divided into two groups: the "orthodox" or "international" Communists, who want complete obedience to Moscow, and the "Hungarian" or "national" Communists, a group founded in the summer of 1944, mostly from ex-Social Democrats, who want to "communise and democratise the Hungarian social order," but on the basis of an independent Hungary. Of the Ministers, Nagy is an "Orthodox" Communist; Molnár is probably a "National"; the affiliation of Gábor is unknown.

The Yugoslav delegates to the Allied Control Commission have left for Hungary.

Roumania.

The strictness of the censorship has prevented news from Roumania from reaching this country for some time past. During last week notes on events in Roumania began to appear in English newspapers, and on Wednesday Mr. Eden made a statement in the House of Commons. In the American press accounts were much fuller and in general the information supplied to American papers was accurate. Roumania is regarded as a suitable test case for Yalta conclusions. The United States Ambassador at Moscow has been instructed to ask for a conference to be held forthwith at Moscow on the Roumanian situation, with particular reference to the necessity of setting up a coalition Government until elections can be held. This proposal, in which His Majesty's Government has joined with the United States, has been definitely rejected by the Soviet Government on the ground that the present democratic Government of Roumania (which, according to all except Russian reports, is in fact a minority Government) has restored order in the country and that the situation does not call for any special action by the Allied Governments.

The celebrations at Cluj on the occasion of the setting up of Roumanian administration in Northern Transylvania have been duly held and written up in the Roumanian press. These enthusiastic accounts do not altogether square with the observations of eye-witnesses. It appears that about 80 per cent. of those present were Hungarians, the King looked off-colour and depressed, and declined to make a speech, and although banners were paraded in the usual manner with

captions demanding the "arrest of the assassins, Radescu and Maniu," these aroused little interest amongst the crowds.

The promised land reform has been started by the simple method of allowing Peasants' Committees to confiscate and divide up land in their neighbourhoods. This was the method adopted in Russia when the large estates were expropriated. The aim is to provide holdings of 12½ acres. At first sight this move looks as if it might produce considerable popularity for Grozea's Government, but as the last land reform showed the mere possession of land without either implements or capital is apt to leave the proprietor worse off than before.

The Prefect of the Bucarest Police has announced that, in order to maintain order, a new organisation of mixed patrols is to be created to be known as "Citizen's Guards." This ingenious dodge has the look of conferring official status on the Communist Party guards, who were allowed to retain arms when the other Party guards were disarmed.

It is reported but not yet confirmed that Maniu has retired from the leadership of the Peasants' Party. It is felt both amongst the adherents of this and of the Liberal Party that under present conditions there is no future for them, unless the party organisation is adapted to meet Soviet wishes.

Yugoslavia.

Mr. Stevenson arrived and reopened His Majesty's Embassy at Belgrade on the 12th March. Recognition of the present Yugoslav Government is implicit in the ambassador's arrival. Dr. Ribar, President of A.V.N.O.J., has decorated Brigadier MacLean, head of the British Military Mission, with the Partisan Star, First Class, and expressed the deepest gratitude to the Brigadier and to Great Britain for the assistance received from them.

Petrovitch, the Minister for Trade, has stated that the Allied Military Liaison's civilian supplies have alleviated the distress in Dalmatia, but not in the interior, from lack of vehicles. He also asserted that, whereas the agreement of the 19th January provided for 60,000 tons a month, only 10,000 tons had reached Yugoslavia by the 7th March. In fact the agreement does not mention any specific amounts. For the interim figures for supplies delivered by the 7th March see *Summary* No. 283, p. 13. Mr. Stevenson stated to the Belgrade press on the 17th that over 15,000 tons of supplies had been delivered.

A meeting of leaders of the Serb Agrarian Party has resolved to adhere to the National Liberation Front. The leaders concerned were mainly Serbs from outside Serbia. The resolution condemned Gavrilovitch, hitherto leader of the Party and now in London; and a new Party committee has been elected.

Shubashitch, now Foreign Minister, has expressed the hope that "freedom from fear" can be attained by an early restoration of the regular courts of law, when the so-called "people's courts" could disappear.

Tito, emphasising the severity of the fighting in Srem, has said that the Yugoslavs have 70,000 wounded in hospital. He estimates Mihailovitch's chetniks in North Bosnia at 16,000, armed with light weapons. (The figure may well be considerably higher.) The Belgrade press asserts that a number of Bosnian chetnik leaders, and Ljotitch, who collaborated with the Germans in Serbia, are in North-East Istria with their followers. Their propaganda line is that the British will come and restore King Peter.

The civil mobilisation proclaimed in Macedonia covers all persons, of both sexes, from 16 to 65, and all factories, businesses, &c. Foreign persons and concerns are not exempt. At the same time elections for local National Liberation Committees are being held in Macedonia. The ballot is stated to be secret, but it is made clear that the voters will be able to choose only between candidates acceptable to the régime. Meanwhile Macedonian agents in Sofia and Belgrade are reported to be working for the immediate creation of a customs union between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. The view of the British Government concerning any such plans is that treaties between Balkan States, especially exclusive ones, should not be made till conditions are more settled, and that Bulgaria, with undischarged obligations to Greece, cannot be treated as though already rehabilitated.

Greece.

Athenian newspapers of the 15th March carried messages to the Greek Government from three islands of the Dodecanese, Symi, Nisyros and Astypalaia, which announced that the population of these islands had unanimously proclaimed their union with Mother Greece and asked that representatives of the Greek Government be sent there forthwith. These messages, which had been handed

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to General Plastiras by representatives of the Dodecanese Association, were given to the Press by his "chef de cabinet" without consulting the Regent or the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and caused considerable embarrassment to the Regent, who was immediately bombarded with demands to send Government delegates. Radio Athens spoke of the deep feeling that had been aroused by these messages in political and other circles, and said that the action of the islanders was in full accord with the principles of the Atlantic Charter. General Plastiras is reported to be in favour of sending detachments of the new National Guard to the islands, a step which, as the Dodecanese are not part of the Greek kingdom, seems neither feasible nor desirable; the Regent, feeling that some friendly gesture is indicated, thinks of sending an ecclesiastical emissary to convey his greetings to the islanders.

On the 15th March MM. Siantos, Partsalidis and Tsirimokos called on Mr. Macmillan and submitted to him a long memorandum, on the same lines as the protest referred to in last week's *Summary*, pointing out that, while E.A.M. had fulfilled the terms of the Varkiza Agreement, the Government was contravening them. Briefly, the memorandum alleged: that the National Guard and other security bodies were, with the connivance and assistance of the Government, persecuting the Resistance Movement; that Bishops and Professors who had assisted that Movement were being dismissed; that the circulataion of Left-wing papers was being interfered with; that E.L.A.S. officers and men who had handed in their arms were the victims of organised terrorism in the country districts; that the conditions agreed for the formation of a National Army were not being carried out, since recruits were being asked for certificates of "national sentiment"; that E.L.A.S. officers were not being employed, nor were collaborationists being weeded out; that E.L.A.S. men belonging to the classes that had been called up were not being accepted for the National Guard; that the public services were not being purged; that a police-State, opposed to E.A.M., was being set up; that the extreme Right did not hesitate to express its hatred of Greece's great Ally, the U.S.S.R. The memorandum continued with a demand for a representative Government which would restore freedom and justice, mobilise all the moral and material forces of the country, see that Greece was properly represented at the forthcoming international conferences, and hold free and genuine plebiscite and elections. It concluded with a request for an Inter-Allied Commission which would "examine the situation in Greece and take such measures as would ensure for the Greek people democratic liberties, an indispensable and vital prerequisite if the result of the plebiscite and the elections were to be genuine."

See also under "Soviet Union."

Albania.

According to an unofficial report many Albanians had hoped that the Yalta Conference would pave the way for a regency in Albania. In any case there has been great disappointment that Albania has not been invited to San Francisco and the official paper contends that Albania, whose forces are still fighting alongside those of Marshal Tito against the Germans, should have a say in shaping the future. With regard to Greek designs in Korça and Argyrocastro (see *Summary* No. 283) it is likely enough that the provisional Government would have practically the entire country behind it in resisting the detachment of areas so vital to Albania. However, it may be hoped that these Greco-Albanian bickerings will have received a quietus from the opinion expressed by Mr. Churchill in the House of Commons on the 14th March that such territorial questions should be settled at the peace conference.

Bulgaria.

The People's Courts have continued to sit at Sofia and in the provinces and, besides sentences to imprisonment for life of varying terms, more than 850 people had been executed by the 16th March. Among these were nine generals, twenty other officers and a sergeant held guilty of furthering the pro-German policy to the detriment of the country and showing cruelty in the repression of the Resistance movement.

The Fatherland Front Congress reaffirmed the principles of private property and private initiative and the need for continued unity in the coalition. As expected, the congress resolved that new elections should be held and that a new electoral law should provide for coalition lists of candidates, extension of the franchise to young people and, if possible, to the army and militia, proportional representation and revocation of the mandate of any Deputies contravening the

coalition programme. A rider emphasised that candidates must be "true adherents of the Fatherland Front, anti-Fascists and honest Democrats." A decree-law on these lines will no doubt be promulgated and the ensuing elections seem likely to be even more of a farce than is usual in Bulgaria. Not only will non-Fatherland Front candidates be excluded, but within the Fatherland Front itself the Communist minority will almost certainly be strengthened by the new electoral measures which it seems to have jockeyed its Agrarian, Social-Democrat and Tsveno partners into accepting. Before the conference, there was reason to think, the Communists were uneasy about their future. They now seem to have a good prospect of establishing a Communist dictatorship behind a democratic façade. Indeed, the purge effected by the People's Court and by more direct measures is going to such lengths as to facilitate the development of single-party government into dictatorship.

Neither this conception of democracy nor the report that Bulgaria is sending supplies to Yugoslavia before making any attempt to provide reparations for Greece, is calculated to dispose the Western Powers in favour of accepting the Bulgarian demand for the status of co-belligerent.

The economic negotiations at Moscow, the conclusion of which was reported on the 3rd March, are stated to provide for the supply of Bulgarian strategic raw materials in exchange for certain Russian goods necessary to Bulgarian industry. There is, apparently, no question of Bulgaria exporting to Russia any of the food-stuffs which under the armistice she should have made available immediately to Greece and Yugoslavia.

Turkey.

Financial discussions with the Turkish delegation now in England are proceeding. Turkish experts have placed in this country orders for 1 million pounds' worth of railway material which British manufacturers are in fact in a position to supply. In spite of the magnitude of this order the Turkish authorities announce that Turkish railway experts now in the United States will order a further 5 million dollars' worth of material. Turkey's real economic trouble is that she has not yet seen fit to bring down her prices—by devaluation or otherwise. This is the only step which can revive her export trade.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

The composition of the Egyptian delegation to the San Francisco Conference has been announced in Cairo. It will be headed by the Prime Minister (Nokrashi Pasha), who will be accompanied by the Minister for Foreign Affairs (Abdul Hamid Bedawi) and the Minister of Finance (Makram Ebeid), and six or seven others, including two ex-Prime Ministers. All parties except the Wafd are represented on the delegation. It is true that one member, Wasif Boutros Ghali, was formerly a Wafdist, but he has been out of politics, and indeed out of Egypt, since 1939, and the Wafd certainly do not regard him as an adequate representative. The Cabinet apparently decided to exclude the Wafd owing to their opposition to the Egyptian declaration of war. Though the Wafd not unnaturally resent being thus publicly cold-shouldered, there is reason to believe that they are secretly gratified at escaping from representation at San Francisco. If, as might happen (so the argument runs), the Egyptian delegation tried to air its country's alleged grievances and got snubbed for its pains, it would return with unfulfilled promises to a disappointed Egypt, and Wafdist stock would correspondingly rise.

It is reported from Cairo that the Preparatory Committee of the proposed Arab League held its first meeting on the 17th March. Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Transjordan and Saudi Arabia were all represented but not Palestine and the Yemen. The Egyptian Prime Minister, in welcoming the delegates, said that the meeting would decide on the charter for the League drafted by the sub-committee. A statement issued the same evening announced that the committee had discussed the project and had accepted it in principle. On the 18th March the Preparatory Committee approved the statutes of the Arab League with a few verbal modifications. The two annexes regarding non-independent Arab countries and the representation of Palestine were to be considered on the 20th. It is thought that on the same day the Preparatory Committee may convert itself into a general Arab Conference to approve the statutes, after which they will be referred to the States' respective Governments for final approval.

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It is believed, however, that San Francisco, rather than the Arab League, took pride of place at the first day's meeting, when the question of the representation of the Levant States at the World Organisation Conference was discussed. The omission to invite these States to San Francisco has roused considerable feeling in Egypt, as well as in other Arab countries. It has been sharply criticised in the Egyptian press, which, however, tends to absolve the British from blame. It rather imputes the responsibility jointly to the Three Powers at the Crimea Conference, and suggests that the French would favour an invitation being extended to the Levant States.

In answer to a question in the House of Commons on the 14th March, Mr. Eden stated that applications by the Governments of Syria and Lebanon to be invited to San Francisco were under consideration, and that there was nothing further which he could say at present. In fact, His Majesty's Government favour the two States being invited to the conference, provided, of course, agreement can be reached between the other leading Powers. Steps have already been taken to secure the agreement of the United States, the U.S.S.R. and China. If, as now seems likely, France also agrees that the Levant States should be admitted to the United Nations and included in the list of those to be invited to San Francisco, the matter will be solved in their favour. There is, of course, no time to be lost, and a decision may be reached very shortly.

It is reported from Cairo that the Iraqi Government has accepted the invitation to attend the San Francisco Conference, and that the delegation is in process of formation.

There has been talk recently in Bagdad about a possible change of Government. The Regent, who will be leaving before long for his projected visit to the United States, seemed doubtful whether the present Cabinet was strong enough to maintain itself during his absence, and thought of inviting Nuri Pasha once more to form a Cabinet. He has, however, after further deliberation, decided not to make a change of Premier until after his return to Iraq. This is no doubt a wise decision. Nuri has definitely lost ground since last autumn, and he will have to re-establish his position in the country before he can resume the leadership with any hope of success. Meanwhile, the Minister of Finance is to go, and may be followed by his colleague of the Interior.

The President of Syria paid a short official visit to Bagdad at the beginning of last week. It was not much of a success. The Regent at first wanted to absent himself from Bagdad during the visit, and though persuaded to remain and to entertain the party at dinner, H.R.H. did not receive the President at the airport nor did he accept his return invitation. Nuri Pasha also saw fit to suffer from a "diplomatic illness," and saw nothing of the party. In Iraq, where, as in other Arab countries, the hospitable reception of guests is so highly rated, such seeming discourtesy is rare. In this case the reasons are not far to seek. The Regent regards Shukri Quwatli as the head of a State upon whose throne he considers a Hashimite should sit, while the refusal of the Syrian Government to let the Amir Abdullah pay a visit to Syria in August last still rankles. The fact, moreover, that Shukri had visited Saudi Arabia before Iraq caused much local resentment. All this may be very petty, but in the circumstances is perhaps understandable.

Some anxiety has been expressed in Persia as to the extent of the discussions on that country at the Crimea Conference. In reply to an enquiry by the Persian Ambassador in London on the 7th March, Mr. Eden told M. Taqizadeh that reference had been made informally at Yalta to the position of Persia, but that the matter was not raised at the conference table, nor at the meetings of the three heads of Governments. Mr. Eden went on to say that he thought the Russians fully understood the concern with which we had watched recent developments in Persia, and the sincerity with which we had held to the terms of the Tehran Declaration. The Persian Ambassador seemed slightly comforted by this assurance, but hinted that there could be no real easing of the situation as long as foreign armies remained on Persian soil; to which Mr. Eden replied that the Allies were bound to withdraw their troops within six months of the end of the war with Japan, and that our policy, which was to see a strong and independent Persia, remained unchanged.

THE FAR EAST.

The Japanese have evidently been considerably shaken by the heavy and repeated American air attacks upon their principal cities. Japanese official communiqués angrily describe the raids as indiscriminate terror attacks upon

residential areas; they deny any serious damage to war industries and allege that the American losses in heavy bombers are outstripping their replacements. Thus *Domei* (18th March) said that the Americans had started night raids because of their previous heavy losses in daylight attacks. It asserted that the first night raid was made against Tokyo on the 9th March, with 130 B29 machines, and that of these 15 were shot down. An identical number raided Nagoya on the 12th March and 22 machines were lost. 90 attacked Osaka on the 14th March, of these 20 were lost. The Japanese say that the armament of the Super-Fortresses had been reduced so as to make possible a greater load of incendiaries and that this made them more vulnerable to Japanese night fighters.

It is questionable how far these flamboyant and untrue assertions will reassure the Japanese people who have been made painfully aware of the inadequacies of the arrangements for fire-fighting, for care of the injured and homeless and for evacuees. On the 14th March the House of Peers held a plenary session on the question of relief measures for air raid victims and urged that drastic measures should be taken. Members of the Taisei Yokusankai called on Koiso and said that the measures he was considering were still inadequate. Thousands of refugees are reported to be crowding the Tokyo railway stations in an endeavour to leave the stricken capital, others are getting out by all kinds of vehicles, including rickshaws. There is a shortage of eye specialists, so that the numerous persons with eye injuries do not receive adequate attention. Three days after a raid people were wandering about burned districts trying to get news of their missing relatives. The Government is urging all non-essential persons to evacuate Tokyo and other cities, but at the same time cannot assure them adequate transport and food (*Asahi*, 15th March). In the Chugoku region (south-western Honshu) the Japanese military authorities themselves described the arrangements for fire-fighting as "awful," and said that the public negligence was extremely surprising. Although this region contains some important military and naval bases, as well as industrial centres, many of its inhabitants thought that they were safe from air raids (Japanese Home Service, 8th March). It is fairly evident that the Japanese people were not led to expect air raids as heavy as they are now suffering and they are likely to be infuriated with the Administration in consequence. Meanwhile the War Ministry has announced that firemen called up for military service will be demobilised; and also the creation of the post of Inspector-General of the Anti-Aircraft Artillery Corps to be held by Lieutenant-General Kaoru Takeda.

On the 16th March the Japanese Board of Information announced that the Premier, General Koiso, would directly participate in the general conduct of the war at Imperial Headquarters on the same footing as the Ministers of War and of the Navy. Koiso himself declared that the Imperial Headquarters and the Government would unite as one body. This is an unwonted step, because normally the Emperor exercises his powers of supreme military command through organs which are quite separate from, and independent of, those which advise him in general matters of State. In time of war the supreme military command is concentrated in the Senji Daihonei, or Imperial Headquarters. The Emperor's leading advisers in this body are the Ministers of War and of the Navy, the Chief of the Army General Staff, the Chief of the Naval General Staff and the Chief Aide-de-Camp to the Emperor. A closer link between Imperial Headquarters and the Cabinet was established in the time of the Tojo Government, because Tojo was not only Premier, but also Minister of War and (in the end) Chief of the General Staff, and was therefore doubly entitled to attend Imperial Headquarters. His Minister of the Navy was also made Chief of the Naval General Staff. This concentration of offices was not well regarded by conservative Japanese circles and did not work well, especially in the case of Tojo, who was a veritable Pooh Bah, and greatly overburdened. There was a return to normal practice when Tojo fell. Koiso became Premier only, and so has not hitherto been a member of Supreme Headquarters; Sugiyama is War Minister, Umezu Chief of the General Staff, Yonai Navy Minister, and Shimada Chief of the Naval General Staff. Now, as Koiso has intimated, the approach of the war to Japan itself, in the form of air attack and of threatened invasion, has necessitated a closer liaison between Imperial Headquarters and the Cabinet. But the Tojo experiment has not been repeated; Koiso attends Imperial Headquarters by special command of the Emperor.

The new political association has now taken shape; it is to be known as the Dai Nippon Seijikai, and it will hold its inaugural meeting towards the end of March. It is said to be fundamentally different from the Taisei Yokusan

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Seijikai in that, whereas that body was concerned with political activities within the Diet and was chiefly active in Tokyo, the new association will give much more emphasis to organising the provincial areas and will be "an executive body for the popular movement for the defence of the Fatherland" (*Domei*, 18th March).

A "Civilian Special Attack Corps" is being organised throughout Japan for the defence of the country against possible enemy invasion. The Youth Association (see this *Summary* No. 283) is the guiding spirit in this movement and gatherings of local leaders from surrounding districts are meeting in Toyama, Mito, Kofu and other Japanese prefectural capitals.

In this *Summary* No. 275, reference was made to the establishment by Koiso of a Korea-Formosa Greater Poltical Privileges Investigation Committee. Its deliberations have now resulted in a draft Bill, which has been approved by the Privy Council and laid before the Diet. This Bill makes Koreans and Formosans eligible as members of both Houses of the Diet. Twenty-three Koreans and five Formosans are to be elected to the Lower House and the Emperor can nominate a maximum of ten Koreans and Formosans to the House of Peers. The inhabitants of Karafuto (Japanese Saghalien) are to have three elected representatives in the Lower House and one imperial nominee in the House of Peers. The Diet will thus become a sort of Imperial Parliament, although very late in the day. There were 405 members of the House of Peers in 1937 and the electoral reform of 1928 fixed the number of members of the Lower House at 464. There are seventy-five million Japanese, about twenty-five million Koreans, and some six million Formosans (mainly Chinese), so that the colonial representation in the Diet will not be very great, or in proportion to respective populations.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The appointment of an interagency Committee on "Foreign Shipments," which was reported in last week's *Summary*, is now the subject of considerable discussion. Majority opinion, particularly the internationalist, welcomed the formation of the Board as likely to result in improving the allocation of supplies at home and abroad. Meanwhile President Roosevelt remarked at his Press Conference that the war is not over, and that "the American people have got to tighten their belts," adding that he thought the United States would support the idea of keeping some other people from starving by restricting distribution at home. He said that a small percentage cut in the United States consumption of commodities which were in short supply, would keep people in other countries from starving, and he affirmed his belief that Americans were decent people, who would understand this when it was explained to them, though he pointed out, compared with other nationalities, they had not suffered much and they were not going to. Press and radio commentators have echoed the President's words, saying that the Americans are "the best fed people in the world," and they too declared that they believed that American food supplies should be shared with the destitute liberated areas. President Roosevelt's remarks have been followed by a 12 per cent. cut in the civilian meat allocation for the next three months and from the 1st April there are also cuts in the rations to industrial and commercial users of sugar, fats and oils.

Following the announcement of these cuts a minority have continued to protest that "the United States is not the food basket of the world," and protests have also been made in the Senate that too much food was being shipped from the United States to Europe, particularly to Britain and Russia. Senator Eastland (Dem. Mississippi), for example, complained that too much salt pork was being shipped to Russia.

During this discussion accusing fingers have been pointed at Britain, which is alleged to have large stocks, prepared for the possibility of invasion which could now be used for the liberated peoples in Europe. An 87 per cent. reduction in Lend-Lease shipments of meat to Britain during the next three months has since been announced. Instead of shipping 207 million pounds as was done during the first quarter of the year, only 25 million pounds will be shipped. Colonel Llewellin and Mr. Lyttelton may go to Washington to discuss the food situation and Anglo-American plans for meeting the acute shortage. It is generally agreed that the world food position is likely to be difficult for the next two years at least.

It is announced that Senator Vandenberg, one of the Republican delegates to the San Francisco Conference, has filed with the State Department proposals to amend the Dumbarton Oaks plan to provide for a review of war-time political

decisions which might threaten future peace. He has declined to discuss these proposed amendments, but has declared that the San Francisco Conference faces the "tremendous responsibility" of deciding whether the projected international security organisation would be limited in its operations to the enforcement of decisions taken at the peace-table which could not be changed. "Peace-making," he said, "and peace-keeping are two different things. The San Francisco Conference will deal only with peace-keeping. It must be followed with another making peace."

Governor Green of Illinois, one of the die-hard isolationists, has sent a letter to Senator Vandenberg and Representative Charles Eaton suggesting that the armed forces should be represented at the peace arrangements and that therefore the San Francisco Conference was premature. Senator Vandenburg has, however, countered this by inviting the armed forces to advise him of their immediate views on his duties as a delegate to San Francisco. He has also stated that he will insist on the representation of men of the armed forces at the final peace table.

The Left-wing New York paper *P.M.* takes a gloomy view of the probability that the United States will endorse the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. In response to questions regarding the attitude of United States Senators to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals it found that while 49 were in favour and 4 probably in favour, 34 expressed themelves as doubtful and 9 could not be reached, or declined to answer. On the other hand, the *Christian Science Monitor* made its own deductions without, however, inviting replies to a *questionnaire*. In its view, 70 Senators are in favour, which is 4 more than the necessary 66, or two-thirds of the Senate, and 13 were listed as definitely opposed and 13 as doubtful. While there are obvious dangers ahead, there is, however, increasing evidence of the co-operative attitude towards United States participation in international affairs since the Crimea Conference. This is evidenced by the reception of Commander Stassen's recent speech, the restraint shown in criticism of the proposed voting procedure on the Security Council, and the almost unanimous approval of the decisions reached at the Mexico City Conference.

It is probable that several Senators who told *P.M.* that they were doubtful are on the whole in favour of an international organisation, though they may object to some of the terms of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, or they may be perturbed at some of the Yalta decisions. For instance, there is increasing comment on the political crisis in Roumania, which is seen as one of the tests of the Yalta Conference. (For fuller treatment of this see under "Roumania.") Even Mrs. Roosevelt, in her column "My Day," has expressed the view that she expects and favours revisions to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals following the nation-wide discussion which has been stimulated by the State Department.

Mr. Isidor Lubin has been appointed United States representative on the Allied Reparations Committee which will sit in Moscow to determine the reparations to be paid by Germany. Mr. Lubin for the past few years has been technical economic adviser to the President at the White House, and a member of the War Production Board and the Munitions Assignment Board.

LATIN AMERICA.

The Argentine Government have been engaged in attempting to define their attitude towards the Mexico City Conference which closed on the 8th March. As the resolution inviting Argentina to adhere to the final act of the Conference has not yet been officially received, no pronouncment has been made upon it, but the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs is reported to have said that "the terms of the invitation authorise the hope of a satisfactory and dignified outcome for the Argentine nation."

Meanwhile, Argentina has resumed her seat on the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union, and the Government continues to disseminate the impression that there will shortly be a return to "constitutional normality." Colonel Perón has let it be known that the revision of the electoral lists is almost completed, leaving the impression that the date for elections will soon be announced; and his own candidature is now coming into the open. The Under-Secretariat of Information, for example, has pointed out (with regard to his candidature) that "men on active service may take part in politics, but not actively belong to any political party. This does not prevent any member of the army from being President or from exercising any other Government office which the laws and constitution allow any Argentine citizen." On the whole

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it would seem that the position of the extreme Nationalists has been considerably weakened, and the Nationalist Press is now reduced to *Fronda*. On the other hand, the Radicals are acutely uneasy at the possibility that Colonel Perón may achieve recognition or election, and the Socalists are loud in condemnation.

It is reported that those professors dismissed for signing the manifesto in favour of democracy in 1943 and recently reinstated (see *Summary* No. 280) have reaffirmed their declarations. Not all have in fact been reinstated, and there have been renewed student disturbances in La Plata University, which led to the summoning of the police by the rector, the use of téar-gar, and the arrest of some students. A party of students complained of the police to the Interventor of Buenos Aires, and Dr. Bramuglia was careful to explain that properly-conducted meetings might be held.

President Vargas has stated publicly that he is not a candidate in the forthcoming Brazilian elections, but that nothing will cause him to abandon his position until his successor takes office. The name of the Minister of War has been advanced as a candidate, but he has not yet accepted nomination. An impression exists that the President's declared abstention and General Dutra's alleged candidacy may be designed to split the Opposition and rally the army. As the Opposition appear to be united only in their detestation of President Vargas, it is possible that his eclipse may confuse them; in any case General Dutra's forceful figure may well attract more support than the less-known Air-Brigadier Gomes (see *Summary* No. 282).

The final result of the Chilean elections (see *Summary* No. 283) gives the Right wing 23 seats and the Left wing 22 in the Senate, and the Right 71 and the Left 76 in the Chamber of Deputies. The gains of the Right are significant, if not sweeping, and are counterbalanced on the extreme Left by Communist gains. It remains to be seen whether the weakening of the moderate Left coalition will contribute anything to the stability of Chilean politics.

In Colombia the Government announced on the 10th March the discovery of a large quantity of bombs in the Cathedral at Bogotá and elsewhere. Some hundred persons were arrested, including a number of army officers retired after the Pasto *coup* (see *Summaries* Nos. 249 and 250); the Minister of War is reported as saying that no more than five officers are involved. *El Siglo* has protested the innocence of the Conservatives, but not very convincingly.

In Cuba President Grau San Martín has referred to an attempt on his life and that of his army chief of staff: he had no proof that ex-President Batista was involved, "nor that he was not involved." The revolutionaries were led by Colonel Pedraza, a chief of police under the Batista régime. Colonel Batista, in San Francisco, affected to denounce violence and expressed his concern about political events in Cuba.

In Bolivia President Villarroel's car was fired on in La Paz on the night of the 11th March, and it was later announced that the shots were fired by men who were "without political convictions" but who were very drunk.

It has been officially announced in Caracas that the Ambassador in Washington was authorised on the 14th May to exchange notes with the Russian Ambassador establishing diplomatic and consular relations.

The President-elect of Guatemala, Sr. Arévalo, assumed office on the 15th March. Of the former governing revolutionary Junta the civilian member, Sr. J. Toriello, has retired, but the two young officers retain control of the Army. The situation remains overcast.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 286

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
28TH MARCH, 1945.

Copy No. 183

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

THE Rhine has been crossed in strength and evidence accumulates that a great strategic victory has been won which threatens complete disruption of the German forces in the west. The classic Rhine barrier has been overcome with suprising ease; Allied troops are firmly established on the eastern bank on a broad front; German resistance west of the Rhine has been practically eliminated. In the week ending 22nd March 100,000 prisoners were taken and 30,000 Germans were estimated killed. On the night of the 22nd/23rd a new bridgehead was won across the Rhine in the Oppenheim area, which was extended and consolidated by the 24th. On the night of the 23rd/24th March, the Northern Group of armies attacked across the Lower Rhine, north of the Ruhr. Wesel and Rees were entered. They encounterd stiff opposition, as the best German forces remaining in the west are concentrated in this sector. Airborne troops dropped several miles further east have linked up with the ground forces, and the British 2nd Army has linked with the American 9th Army on its right. The American 1st Army has broken out of the Remagen bridgehead: and further south the 3rd Army has a strong bridgehead between Mainz and Worms. Darmstadt has been cleared, and General Patton's men, striking swiftly and deeply, have captured intact a bridge across the Main, and are reported to have pushed armoured units well into the Frankfurt plain.

The German public has had to judge of the serious news of the situation in the west from the names appearing in the High Command official communiqué. This announced on the 21st that the "weak garrison of Coblenz" had been withdrawn across the Rhine; on the 23rd it admitted the loss of Bingen, bitter street fighting in Mainz, and a penetration into Worms. On the 25th it admitted the new crossings of the Rhine, the airborne landings and fighting in Wesel, where, however, it claimed that the enemy had been thrown back to the Rhine

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bank. On the 26th it spoke of "fairly deep penetrations" on the Lower Lippe. The general tone of German reports suggests fatalistic recognition of an almost incredible Allied superiority in material.

From Dittmar the home public heard an ominous name—that of Avranches. He said that the American advance was "an operation of considerably larger geographical scope than all the offensive movements since Avranches." Another commentator, on the 25th, said that the enemy was trying, by using "a gigantic amount of material, on the scale of the first invasion days, to prise open our defence lines between Rees and Wesel," but had only managed to achieve penetrations into the main fighting zones. For the first time since the opening of the Russian offensive in January a report (from the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*) spoke of the centre of gravity of military operations as being in the west, as a result of the "all-out offensive on the middle Rhine." The *Völkischer Beobachter* emphasised the importance of the airborne landings, more of which, it said, were expected on a large scale. Public anxiety was reflected in a front report on the 22nd March: "Everybody will ask, 'was it not possible to stop these quickly advancing enemy armoured formations? Have our troops lost their power of resistance?'"

It is now reported that Kesselring has been brought from his command in Italy to take charge of the desperate situation. On the 6th March a German military commentator praised Rundstedt's strategy for having made it impossible for Eisenhower to "jump the river barrier with a flying start." (Dittmar, broadcasting on the following day, apologised for the fact that the Germans had at the moment no other strategy save "constant makeshifts.") Some indication of uncertainty as to whether Rundstedt was still in supreme command was furnished in a report that Model had been appointed joint Commander-in-Chief with Rundstedt. At this stage it is profitless to enquire whether Rundstedt has thrown in his hand, or whether Hitler in desperation has called in a new expert in defensive warfare. The underlying fact, which does need emphasis, is that German forces in the West are facing enveloping attack of unparalleled intensity, that they are dwindling in numbers and are unsupported by adequate strategic reserves. Even more serious than this inferiority in numbers is the morale of the German troops, which is known to have been recently causing anxiety to commanding officers.

On the east, assurances that the front is more stable are belied by new danger signals in home propaganda. A Russian effort to "pinch off our front salient at Küstrin" was reported on the 24th. A Home Service survey mentioned a Soviet assault against Troppau (which is on the Czech-Silesian border). Another Home report stated ominously that in Hungary "the Bolsheviks intensified their pressure to prevent us building up new shortened lines of defence." Hungary still takes first place in the O.K.W.'s communiqués. Tolbukhin's advance has been reported as making use of "strong armoured forces" and as being opposed by the "dogged resistance" of German troops. Only to foreign listeners has it been admitted that the Hungarian fighting has increased in scale and ferocity. The German public are not encouraged to imagine the dangerous consequences of this latest thrust at the Reich.

The battle of Western Germany is being waged in the air as destructively as by ground forces. The week ending on the 23rd March has seen the greatest sustained effort by the Allied air forces since early June of last year. There have been heavy bomber attacks against enemy communications, oil targets and airfields. Bridges as far east as Bremen have been cut; movement through the city of Essen was thought to be virtually impossible after the attack of the 11th March. In addition to the great airborne operation already mentioned, invaluable tactical support has been rendered to the ground forces by air attack on German artillery positions and on concentrations of troops.

The continuous air attacks on industrial and communication centres in and around the Ruhr region had succeeded in closing the last two main railway connexions eastwards out of the Ruhr via Hamm and Schwerte before the main operations on the Lower Rhine began. The north-eastern route via Münster was closed at Löhne and the southern route via Kabel-Siegen was closed both at Wetzlar and Dillenburg. Thus for all practical purposes the economic isolation of the Ruhr from the rest of the Reich was completed in the middle of March.

The devastating effect on actual production in the Ruhr–Westphalian region of the intensified air bombardment which began in the beginning of October 1944 is substantiated in a recently captured document of the Vereinigte Stahlwerke A.G. This combine controls roughly 50 per cent. of the steel production in that region. In February 1945 its daily steel output amounted

to barely 20 per cent. of the rate prevailing in September 1944. Assuming that the entire Ruhr–Westphalian region was affected to an equal degree, the global Reich steel production as at the 1st March would probably not be much more than 11 million tons. The maintenance of an adequate output of armaments appears to be virtually impossible on such a reduced steel production.

A direct result of this bombing, affecting the life of every German, is the increasing difficulty of distributing food in the Reich. Stock, on the 21st March, said that the various economic regions of the Reich would have to use "exclusively indigenous agricultural products." Transport conditions alone would dictate this, he said. But there were also the "millions of Germans repatriated from the frontier areas," who had to be fed on the shrunken territory. The *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten*, on the 17th March, said that before the war Germany had to feed 137 persons per square kilometre. Now, the figure was 304 per square kilometre. New measures were in prospect to deal with this situation.

These have already been made public. The German rationing system is to be drastically reorganised in the next rationing period, which begins on the 9th April. In future, food cards will have blank coupons only, and the Food Offices will announce the foodstuffs to be available. There may be local variations. The object is to make the control "more elastic" and to "facilitate the local exchange of individual allocations in case of transport difficulties." In view of the supply and transport situation it will no longer be possible to know sufficiently long in advance what supplies may be allocated. As a rule, says the announcement, the rations for basic foodstuffs such as bread, fat, meat and potatoes will continue to be fixed uniformly throughout the Reich, and the proposed amounts of these foodstuffs are given for the 74th period. Bread and meat show a reduction of 75 grammes per week; compared with the last rations received by the people, this means a reduction of approximately 4 per cent. in bread and 25 per cent. in meat. But there is obviously no guarantee that these rations will be available throughout the Reich, and the new system is clear indication that the authorities find it impossible to maintain a uniform distribution of food. In addition, the elaborate classification of age groups and special categories of workers is greatly simplified. Only the two groups of children under six, and from six to eighteen, and heavy and very heavy workers will continue to receive special allocations.

In parts of Germany threatened by the western Allied advance Germans are no longer dependent on their own propaganda for knowledge of their plight. The frequent instructions broadcast by S.H.A.E.F. have within the past fortnight given to the inhabitants of the Ruhr almost daily warnings and instructions as to how to get out of the danger zone. These messages are addressed to specific sections of the population, to foreign workers, to armament workers, to railwaymen, to women. These people are told in plain language that "the whole Ruhr area will become a death trap," that the districts in which they live are now combat areas, within which "no shelter or refuge can be considered safe." Civilians in the Frankfurt, Mannheim and Ludwigshafen regions were told that they lived "in one of the key areas of German war industry," and that "to prevent the further prolongation of a lost war, the whole armament industry of that area would "be subjected to a merciless bombardment." There is some evidence that precisely in this area workers acted on these instructions to seek safety, and that some 200 of them unfortunate enough to be caught by the SS were hanged outside their factories.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

A meeting took place in Moscow on the 19th March between President Beneš and Marshal Stalin, with the Czechoslovak Ambassador in Moscow, M. Fierlinger, M. Molotov and M. Šramek in attendance.

Under the leadership of President Beneš discussions are in progress among the representatives of Czechoslovak political parties to determine the membership of the new Government which is to be set up shortly at Košice. The Slovak National Council at Košice is represented in these discussions by a delegation of political and military leaders.

Further diplomatic appointments have been announced. M. V. A. Zorin is to be the Soviet Ambassador and M. Werblowski the Polish Ambassador to the Czechoslovak Government. The Czechoslovak Ambassador in Warsaw is M. Hejret.

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The Red army has made important progress in its drive against the vital Moravian Gateway, which links Germany with the Danube lands. Marshal Koniev's forces have carried out a successful movement outflanking Moravska Ostravá (on the north-west). This large manufacturing town is the main German fortress of the corridor region. This followed on the break-through of the German positions south-west of Oppeln on the 21st March, since when all the foothills between the Oder and the Czechoslovak mountain frontier in this area have been overrun. On the 24th, a Stalin Order of the Day announced the occupation of Neisse and Loebschuetz, two important rail centres controlling routeways across the mountain frontier into Moravia. Supporting this advance, Red army aircraft bombed concentrations of German military transports in the railyards at Moravská Ostrava.

The same period has seen an advance by the troops of Marshal Malinowsky in the Carpathians and across the River Hron. The offensive, starting from the newly-taken base of Zvolen, led to the occupation of Banská Bystrica, a large and important town on the Hron, and formed the subject of an Order of the Day on the 26th. This movement parallels that of the Soviet forces south of the Danube sweeping towards the Austrian frontier. It constitutes an obvious threat to Bratislava, the Slovak capital, and is reflected in the increasing nervourness displayed there, in broadcasts and reports of hurried defence measures.

Italy-based Allied aircraft have carried out the strategic bombing of more targets in Czechoslovakia. Two airfields near Prague, railyards at Budejovice, and engineering works were attacked.

There are more details available of the recent land-reform decree of the Slovak National Committee. Under the slogan : " Slovak land belongs to the Slovaks," it orders the confiscation without compensation of land belonging to traitors and enemies of the people, regardless of nationality. Land owned by Germans, even if not guilty of collaboration with the enemy, is to be confiscated, as well as land owned by Hungarians with estates exceeding 50 hectares. Forests go mainly to local councils, buildings and machinery to peasants or co-operatives. The Slovak Agricultural Fund will administer land so confiscated until the local Peasant Commissions have completed their distribution, and will collect payment for buildings and machinery over a period of 15 years. The income thus derived is to be used on behalf of the small farmers to repair war damage and to pay for improvements.

POLAND.

Optimistic reports have been circulating in London anticipating an early summons for consultations in Moscow of a selected body of Poles in this country who are not committed to a policy of opposition to the Yalta Agreement. It is true that discussions here have narrowed down and improved the lists of Poles both in Poland and in Great Britain who are suggested for invitation. It is not, however, true that the Commission of Three has yet reached agreement either on the list of invitees or on the procedure to be followed in the consultations (see last *Summary*).

The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State has confirmed the position previously taken up as regards Polish representation at San Francisco, mentioned in the last *Summary*. In a written reply to a question in the House of Commons on the 21st March Mr. Hall said : " The Soviet Government do not recognise the Polish Government in London, and the other Allied Governments concerned do not recognise the Provisional Government established at Warsaw. In these circumstances, Poland can only be invited to the Conference if a Polish Provisional Government of National Unity, which will be recognised by all four Powers, can be formed in Poland in accordance with the recommendation of the Crimea Conference." On the 22nd March the Provisional Administration in Warsaw addressed a declaration to the four sponsoring Powers of the San Francisco Conference, claiming that, as Provisional Government in Poland, it should be represented by its delegate at the Conference.

On the 21st March the Polish National Council in London, appointed by President Raczkiewicz as a consultative body in February 1942, was dissolved, and it is stated that a new Council is shortly to be nominated. This body has no representative character, but has so far been selected from the four principal parties. Since M. Mikolajczyk's resignation the Peasants have been unrepresented, and lately there have been resignations by members of the other parties who support his efforts for agreement with the U.S.S.R. It is to be feared that these co-operative elements will either be much reduced or even completely absent from the new

Council. It is, indeed, supposed, in well-informed Polish circles in London, that the President was partly led to dissolve the Council owing to the probability of strong opposition being offered by the Council to the coming budget proposals of the Arciszewski Cabinet.

It is reported on the 18th March that the Warsaw provisional administration incorporated in Poland the towns of Gleiwitz and Hindenburg (Zabrze), which are in the part of the Upper Silesian industrial triangle retained by Germany after the plebiscite of 1921. Such action was foreshadowed in a statement made by M. Bierut on the 2nd February. In view, however, of the fact that no definite Allied agreement has yet been reached as to the disposal of any German territory, it is possible that these German towns are being given civil administration under the Red Army Command, which is doubtless anxious that their economic life should be uninterrupted and as far as possible contribute to its own needs.

It has been stated in Paris that M. Garreau, whose appointment to Warsaw was mentioned in *Summary* No. 284, has merely succeeded M. Fouchet as liaison officer concerned with the care of liberated French citizens.

An announcement made on the 9th March from Moscow that the Belgian Government had made a large advance to the London Polish Government has been explained by the Belgian Minister of Finance, who has now declared that in January 1945 60 million francs were placed at the Polish Government's disposal for assistance to Poles now on Belgian territory. According to *Tass* a further 240 million francs were to be paid by instalments.

SOVIET UNION.

The guns of Moscow have thundered nine times this week in honour of renewed Soviet advances. In the approaches to Königsberg Marshal Vassilevsky, who has taken over the Third Byelorussian Front, formerly commanded by the late General Cherniakhovsky, captured Braunsberg on the 20th March and Heiligenbeil on the 25th March. The latter was described in Marshal Stalin's Order of the Day as " the last stronghold in the German defences on the coast of Frisches Haff." A wedge has been driven between the encircled German troops in Gdynia and Danzig by the capture of Zoppot, on the coast, on the 23rd March. On the Oder the only advance recorded was the capture of Altdamm, opposite Stettin, on the 20th March. Marshal Koniev meanwhile had broken through in Silesia south-west of Oppeln. On the 22nd March the fall of Neustadt was announced, and two days later the advance had reached Neisse and Leobschütz, the latter on the Czech border. Marshal Malinovsky's troops, continuing their difficult advance in Slovakia, took Banska Bystrica on the 26th March. In the Order of the Day recording this victory the co-operation of Roumanian formations was mentioned. In Hungary Marshal Malinovsky's troops are advancing on both sides of the Danube. Esztergom and Tata were captured on the 25th March, and Komárno is threatened. Further south Marshal Tolbukhin has at last beaten off the fierce German counter-offensive with heavy losses, and has himself swept forward between Lake Balaton and the Danube. Székesfehérvár was recaptured on the 24th March, and by the 26th March Pápa and Devecser, 45 miles to the west, had also fallen. Prospects are thus opened up for a rapid advance on Bratislava and Vienna on both sides of the Danube.

For the Soviet denunciation of the Soviet-Turkish Treaty see under Turkey. Commenting on this step, *Izvestiya* on the 21st March pointed out that the international situation had entirely changed since the treaty was signed in 1925. Twenty years ago relations with Great Britain were not as friendly as they are now, the article stated, and the Soviet Union did not even maintain diplomatic relations with the United States. The consolidation of friendly relations with democratic neighbours of the U.S.S.R., like Poland and Czechoslovakia, was another significant change which had occurred in the interim. " In the light of these and a number of other most important circumstances, the inconsistency with the new situation of the Soviet-Turkish Treaty . . . . strikes one's eye." Under the conditions of the present war Soviet-Turkish relations at certain moments left room for improvement. It would not be in the interests of the two countries, or of the fruitful development of international relations as a whole, " to leave automatically valid a Treaty concluded in a quite different situation." This presumably amounts to saying that the Soviet Government would like to see a revision of the Straits Convention, and may possibly indicate that she would

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be prepared to consider a military alliance with Turkey such as already exists with Czechoslovakia and has been offered to Poland.

A commentary on the situation in Poland in the light of the Crimea decisions was published in *The War and the Working Class* (22nd March). The achievements of the Provisional Government on the lines of the 1921 Constitution were extolled, and it was stated that the Crimea decisions on Poland (which ignored the "utterly discredited London *émigré* Government") had been arrived at in the light of the facts of the situation inside Poland. The familiar charge was made that the protests of the *émigré* Government against the Yalta Agreement were inspired by the handful of magnates in that Government who feared to lose their estates through the new land reform and by a "clique of reactionary politicians" who were afraid that the abrogation of the 1935 Constitution would make them lose their posts. Their objections to the accession of territory in the north and west at the expense of Germany were based on their dream of reverting to the pro-German and anti-Soviet policy which they had pursued in the period between the two wars. The British M.P.s who opposed the Crimea resolutions on Poland were severely criticised: having regard to their record it was evident that they were more concerned about hostility to the U.S.S.R. than they were to serve the best interests of the Poles. However, "attempts to place old prejudices above the actual state of affairs have never succeeded and never will." The article ended by stating flatly that "the Provisional Government now functioning in Warsaw . . . . must serve as the basis of the future Polish Provisional Government of National Unity." Although additional democratic leaders from inside Poland and abroad should be included, there must be no attempt "to galvanise into life again the political corpses of the bankrupt leaders of the utterly decayed camp of Polish reactionaries." The Crimea decision passed by the London Government, and "nobody will succeed in preventing the Crimea Agreement on Poland from being put into effect."

President Beneš, now in Moscow on his way back to Czechoslovakia, was received by Marshal Stalin on the 19th March. *Pravda* (25th March), in a long editorial inspired by the President's visit, laid emphasis on the historical roots of Soviet-Czechoslovak relations, and recapitulated the diplomatic developments of those relations since the Treaty of Mutual Assistance of 1935. The article sounded a slightly admonitory note by underlining the necessity not only of restoring, but also of strengthening, democratic liberties in liberated Czechoslovakia, and of finding a correct solution for the national problem. It closed by reaffirming that the foundations of Czechoslovakia's future foreign policy would be the establishment of close relations with all freedom-loving countries, and in the first place with her neighbours and blood brothers, the Slav States. Such a policy would correspond fully to her own interests and to the interests of her friends. The appointment of M. V. A. Zorin as Ambassador to Czechoslovakia was announced on the Moscow wireless on the 21st March, 1945. Previous to this appointment he was Chief of the Fourth European Department of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. In November 1944 he was awarded the order of the "Red Banner of Labour" for outstanding services to the Soviet State and for successful fulfilment of the Government's assignments.

The current issue of *The War and the Working Class* discusses the Anglo-American colonial problem with the familiar pre-war Soviet bias. It points out the war-time failure of German and Japanese agents to incite the colonial peoples against the principal Powers in the democratic camp but states that it is obvious that the system of colonial enslavement of millions is a dangerous obstacle on the path of social progress. The interpretation of the Atlantic Charter with regard to the colonial question is alleged to vary among Allied countries: the Americans seek spheres of unhindered investment for American capital and free markets for American goods, while British circles resist this move in India.

A message from *Tass*, Delhi, published in the Soviet press of the 18th March, refers to the protest of the Indian opposition at the Government's choice of delegates to San Francisco. Mr. Rajagopalachariar was quoted as saying that the aim of the Conference was to set up an International Security Organisation and not to consolidate war-time Governments. It was well known, according to *Tass*, that the two party leaders of the Legislative Assembly, Bhulabhai Desai and Liaquat Ali Khan, had come to an agreement on the formation of a provisional national Government; the delegates representing India should have been chosen by these leaders and not by members of a Government which had suffered defeat and had not been elected by the people but appointed by the Viceroy.

(See also under "Syria" and "Vatican.")

SCANDINAVIA.

The result of the Finnish elections has been favourably received in most quarters. It seems to be generally regarded as a victory for the forces of the Left, in spite of the way in which these forces seem to be divided, and expectations have even been expressed that the Social Democrats and the Democratic League may act together for most purposes. M. Orlov, the Soviet political adviser on the Control Commission, is believed to be fairly well satisfied. An article in *Izvestiya*, quoted in a broadcast on the 22nd March, considers, however, that, while the elections reflect the popular desire in the proportion of votes gained by the forces of the Left, the distribution of seats in the Diet does not altogether correspond, and elements impeding the progress of the Finnish State have been retained, so that a further struggle is probable. It is evident that the Democratic League, with the support of the Russian press, is advocating an extensive purge of such elements. The appeal for new men has achieved some success; about half the members of the Diet will be fresh men; but the Soviet paper *Trud* has rather ominously commented on the retention of some 150 "persons responsible for the catastrophe of Finland," and there still remain possibilities of further trouble.

The British air attack upon the Gestapo headquarters in the Shell building in Copenhagen on the 21st March seems to have been remarkably successful, though the German-controlled news service has been careful to make no mention of the main objective, concentrating principally on the destruction of the French School by a stray bomb. The inhabitants of the town are reported to be exhilarated and happy. Bouquets were delivered to the British Consulate-General in Göteborg from grateful Danish refugees. D.P.T. states that a number of Danish patriot prisoners were released by the efforts of sympathisers from the damaged headquarters of the Gestapo, and that street-fighting ensued for about an hour.

The execution of seven more alleged Danish saboteurs was officially announced on the 24th March but is said to have taken place on the 17th.

The influx of German refugees and wounded into Denmark continues. Between the 16th and 19th March about 15,000 civilians and 9,000 military casualties are reported to have reached Copenhagen. Three ships arrived in the harbour on the 23rd March with a further 6,000 refugees and 300 wounded soldiers. The Freedom Council, on the 21st March, issued a protest against the responsibility for sick persons from Germany, including those suffering from dangerous contagious diseases, being thrown upon Danish doctors and nurses. Concern has also been expressed in official quarters in Sweden at the problem created in Denmark by the large additions to the population which the German proposal to transfer 2 million refugees would bring about.

Speaking at the annual meeting of the Norwegian Chamber of Commerce in London, in the presence of M. Nygaardsvold and other representatives of the Norwegian Government, the vice-chairman drew attention to the question of post-war supplies to Norway. While realising that Norwegian tonnage would be bound until the defeat of Japan, he hoped that enough would be released to avert a catastrophe, saying that Norwegians at home and abroad, especially the crews of all Norwegian ships, were greatly preoccupied with this question. In spite of the serious transport difficulties involved in supplying the continent, he felt that the problem in Norway should be easier owing to the fact that the principal towns were situated on the coast.

Conversations have recently taken place in London with representatives of the Swedish Government with regard to the risk that German capital assets might be removed to Sweden.

The Swedish Government has agreed to join the International Shipping Pool and a Bill was laid before the Riksdag on the 21st March to provide the necessary ratification.

THE LOW COUNTRIES.

On the 13th March, after an absence of nearly five years, Queen Wilhelmina returned to the Netherlands to make a ten-day tour of the liberated provinces. Her Majesty was welcomed everywhere with tremendous enthusiasm.

Dr. van Kleffens, the Netherlands Minister for Foreign Affairs, arrived in Paris on the 18th March. He was received by General de Gaulle, and in conversations with M. Bidault, the French Foreign Minister, all matters of common interest to the two countries were discussed. There was no great divergence of opinion on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, in regard to which the Dutch attached

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importance to the voting system, the question of the smaller Powers and the position of the Court of International Justice. The French Government made it clear that they wanted a predominant position in the Rhineland, but that they would welcome the presence of Allied troops in that territory. Holland would not suffer commercially or economically from any new régime that might be set up. M. van Kleffens pointed out that no commitments as to zones of occupation or possible annexation could be made until the liberation of the Netherlands was completed and the existing Government was replaced by one representing the whole nation. In the event of annexations being considered, the Dutch might claim up to the boundary of the Oldenburg province. The question of the French and Dutch possessions in the Far East was also considered. The French view on the setting up of international bases in the existing French colonies was that any such arrangement would have to be reciprocal and, while foreign experts and credits would be employed, the bases would have to remain under French sovereignty. No objection would be raised if the United States were given trusteeship over any Japanese territories. An official communiqué issued in Paris stated that the Dutch and French Governments were agreed in their determination to join in building up an organisation capable of ensuring world peace and security in Europe. In this spirit they took a favourable view of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. The discussions on the German problem had shown that there was identity of views on the necessity of depriving Germany permanently of the material means for future aggression.

The Economic Consultative Agreement between France, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxemburg, which had been discussed during the visit of M. Spaak, the Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs, to Paris in February (see *Summary* No. 282), was signed at the Quai d'Orsay on the 20th March. The Agreement provides for the setting up of a Council of Economic Co-operation composed of three delegations, representing respectively France, the Netherlands and the Belgian-Luxemburg Economic Union. A permanent Secretariat will maintain constant contact between the Council, the experts who will assist it and the signatory Governments. Through these agencies the four countries, which all face similar problems, will consult each other with a view to mutual economic aid, thus ensuring the best possible use of available resources and encouraging the gradual resumption of international trade.

On the 21st March M. van Kleffens left Paris for Brussels to discuss with M. Spaak questions relating to this agreement and to the San Francisco Conference. In a press conference in Brussels on the 23rd he stated that, while the Netherlands and Belgium would retain entire freedom of initiative, they would pursue a closely parallel policy at San Francisco. He also expressed the hope that the bonds uniting Great Britain to Western Europe would, in the future, be strengthened. The Belgian Government has communicated to His Majesty's Government, and also it is understood, to the United States Government a note on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals inspired by the same principles as that previously presented by the Netherlands.

The Belgian Ministry of Information has announced that during February the number of unemployed decreased by nearly 80,000, falling from more than 300,000 to under 230,000, a figure not appreciably greater than that for the same period in 1940.

The Luxemburg Consultative Assembly, which was set up in order to maintain contact between the Government and public opinion (see *Summary* No. 283), met for the first time on the 20th March to hear the Prime Minister, M. Dupong's report on the activity of the Government in exile. The Assembly is made up of 27 members of the former Parliament and 30 members proposed by the Government and nominated by the Grand Duchess and includes, besides representatives of the old-established Catholic, Liberal, Socialist and Independent parties, three Communists and several members of the Resistance movements.

FRANCE.

The chief issue of importance in foreign affairs continues to be the attitude of the French Government to the San Francisco Conference. The absence of the French Government from the ranks of the inviting Powers and the failure of the Soviet Government to give the support which had been expected after the conclusion of the Franco-Soviet pact, have created general disappointment. The feeling also exists that this setback, the absence of any Anglo-French pact and

General de Gaulle's refusal to meet President Roosevelt at Algiers must be due to lack of experience in those directing French foreign policy.

A memorandum was approved by the Council of Ministers and communicated to the United Nations Governments, setting out French views on, and amendments to, the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. The eight points outlined in the memorandum and the text of the proposed amendments were published in the press of the 23rd March and comment was favourable. The proposals, which cover such points as the method of voting, representation on the Security Council, the recruitment and stationing of international security troops and the future of the Economic Council, show that the chief anxiety of the French Government is—in the interests of French security—to reconcile regional pacts with the machinery of world organisation. (See also under "Low Countries.")

General de Gaulle's recent speech on domestic policy (see *Summary* No. 283) and subsequent ministerial statements have not materially changed the situation and the general verdict of the Left and the Resistance is that everything depends on when some definite action is taken. Nor have relations between the Government and the Consultative Assembly improved, despite meetings between representatives of the Assembly and General de Gaulle on the 28th February and the 14th March. The General appears to have made no major concessions on the grounds that the Assembly is not representative and that he alone is responsible to the country. Indeed it is unlikely that he will make any change in his Cabinet at present or increase the Assembly's powers over legislation; but he has made it clear that the local elections will be held on the dates fixed (sc. 29th April and 20th May) unless in the meantime the war has come to an end, and that he may make additions to the Assembly in the light of the election results. Most sections of the press are now, however, hinting at the desirability of postponing the elections just because of the approaching end of the war in Europe.

On the question of the eligibility of the Senators and Deputies who voted for the delegation of full powers to Marshal Pétain in July 1940 (see *Summary* No. 282), M. Jeanneney, who himself presided over the National Assembly on that occasion, would appear to favour complete liberty for those who did not occupy any official post under Vichy, or collaborate, to present themselves for election, whilst M. Tixier proposes to set up a *jury d'honneur* of twenty-five members drawn from the Parliamentary resistance groups to decide each case on its merits. It is believed that General de Gaulle favours the more liberal view of M. Jeanneney. The Government is expected to submit shortly a draft ordinance to the Assembly. Differences on this issue, the reported desire of MM. Tixier and de Menthon to resign, and the increasingly critical attitude of the Communist Party towards the Government, have given rise to rumours of a ministerial crisis.

The announcement of a small decline in the total of unemployed persons in France is interpreted as a sign that the period of maximum industrial inactivity has passed. The Minister of National Economy recently pointed to some improvement in the flow of civil imports and in the internal transport situation. It is feared, however, that the coal shortage will impede industrial recovery; and the food position in the Paris area continues to be most unsatisfactory.

The Government has now presented to the Assembly the budget for 1945, which is shortly to be debated, the estimates for the different Ministries having nearly all now been approved. Total civilian expenditure for 1945 is estimated at 217 milliard francs, of which 61 milliard are a direct result of the war. Military expenditure proper is estimated at 173 milliard. Revenue, estimated at over 172 milliard, will cover 44 per cent. of total expenditure. Certain taxes are to be raised, but the Government's tentative scheme, already applied to civil servants, for forced saving on incomes over 100,000 francs, has been rejected by the Assembly's Finance Committee on the ground that it would penalise certain sections of the community and leave others untouched.

The Arab Conference at Cairo was the subject of an important leading article in the *Monde* of the 20th March, which expressed friendly sentiments on Arab aspirations in the Middle East, where France continues to have considerable interests, and suggested that Arab Federation might provide the first practical realisation of the world-wide application of the federal principle.

This was followed by an interesting speech about French relations with Syria and Lebanon, made in the course of the Consultative Assembly debate on the Foreign Affairs estimates on the 21st March by M. Gorse, the Overseas Resistance delegate. After the usual references to British interference (which was also sharply attacked by the Paris wireless on the same evening), he frankly admitted French mistakes and the decline in French prestige in the Levant. He urged that

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France should make a generous settlement with the Levant States, take the initiative in securing their representation at San Francisco and support the formation of an Arab League. In the course of his reply M. Bidault claimed that France's attitude was one of progress, good faith and independence. Though France was not one of the inviting nations to the San Francisco Conference, she raised no objection to the presence of Syria and Lebanon, and when he went he would "be delighted to see their representatives there if this is possible." (See also under "Middle East.")

During the Consultative Assembly debate on the 20th March on the Colonial estimates General de Gaulle commented briefly on the emphasis laid by all speakers on the close co-operation and cohesion between the mother-country and the Overseas territories. This revealed a common conception of "La Communauté Française," a phrase which should be retained "not only in our language but in our institutions." He then read out a telegram just received from Indo-China calling for the supply of arms and ammunition by parachute to enable the French forces to continue resistance to the Japanese. General de Gaulle stressed the appeal and implied that the Allies were not doing all in their power to back up French troops. Considerable prominence has been given in France to reports of resistance by French Colonial troops to Japanese attempts to disarm them, the general tendency being to over-estimate the military significance of resistance which, however gallant, cannot have more than a moral effect.

On the 23rd March the Council of Ministers approved proposals for forming Indo-China after liberation into a federal union of States with a large measure of autonomy. With France and other parts of the imperial community, Indo-China will form a "French Union" within which it will have a freedom of its own.

SWITZERLAND.

The military events in Germany have naturally engrossed the attention of the Swiss public and there has been much speculation as to their political consequences.

An agreement has been reached between the French State Railways and the Swiss Federal Railways for the resumption of goods and passenger traffic to and from Switzerland. The French will run three goods trains a day between points on the Spanish frontier and Switzerland and two goods trains daily between Toulon and Switzerland. Repairs to French locomotives and rolling stock will be carried out without delay in the workshops of the Swiss Federal Railways and in other Swiss establishments. It is hoped to resume direct passenger services between Paris and Berne and Paris and Geneva from the 1st July. Traffic on the local lines connecting with Bâle, Lausanne and Geneva is to be resumed shortly.

The Foreign Minister has received a delegation from the Swiss society for the furtherance of relations between Switzerland and the Soviet Union for the discussion of Swiss relations with Russia.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

The Infante Don Juan, third son of the late King Alfonso and claimant to the throne of Spain, issued on the 22nd March from Lausanne a manifesto to the Spanish people. As an act of courtesy a member of Don Juan's entourage called at His Majesty's Legation in Berne on the eve of publication and communicated the sense of the message. It is in essence a call to Franco to relinquish power and to leave the way open for a restoration of the Monarchy, the traditional Spanish régime which "alone can provide an effective guarantee of religion, order and liberty." Franco's Government, "modelled on the totalitarian system of the Axis Powers," is condemned as being both contrary to the character of the Spanish people and fundamentally inconsistent with the world of to-day. And because of this anomaly the future of the nation itself is compromised. Spain to-day is in double danger of fratricidal strife within and isolation without. The alternative régime of a republic, "even though at first and in intention it were moderate, could not help moving towards an extreme, and that would provoke a corresponding movement towards the other extreme with civil war as the inevitable result." The only régime capable of reconciling all Spaniards and re-establishing peace and harmony is the traditional Monarchy. Towards the end of the manifesto there is a paragraph reminding Franco's supporters of "the tremendous responsibility they incur by contributing to a prolongation of the situation which will inevitably bring the country to irreparable ruin."

It appears that the Monarchists had made no preparations inside the country. First impressions in Madrid seem to be of surprise, for some Royalists, including the Duke of Alba, had been advising Don Juan that the present moment was not opportune for issuing a manifesto. It is known, however, that others, and among them the Prince's closest advisers inside Spain, were urging him to come out in the open and declare himself. But it is significant of the state of the Monarchist movement that these counsellors would not commit themselves to suggesting the right moment for the pronouncement; they said it must be done before the autumn, and left the date to Lausanne. The impending crossing of the Rhine by the Allied armies was probably as big a factor in the timing of Don Juan's challenge to Franco as the internal situation of Spain. Franco's reaction is the natural one of ignoring the manifesto, and it would not be surprising if the Spaniards were now to be treated to a press campaign discrediting the Monarchy and Don Juan.

At the moment the strength of the movement is largely theoretical; the Monarchy alone, so the Royalists claim, because it is, so to speak, "*au dessus de la mêlée*," can bring conciliation. Don Juan's intentions are most honourable; a political amnesty, the immediate adoption by popular vote of a political charter of individual rights and political liberties, the election of a legislative assembly, the recognition of regional characteristics, more equitable distribution of wealth, suppression of unjust social differences, &c. But the present weakness of the Monarchy lies in the lack of unity in action, as opposed to talk, of its chief supporters. Until the generals move Franco is safe; it remains to be seen whether they consider their prospects under Don Juan attractive enough to say to the Caudillo "Farewell! thou are too dear for my possessing." If so, we may see a change before long; if they continue to argue the point, Don Juan's manifesto will merely be one more squib that went off in the afternoon.

The anti-Japanese campaign in the Spanish press, to which reference was made last week, continues with increasing vigour, and the newspapers are full of reports about Japanese outrages against Spanish nationals and property in the Philippines. Spanish interests there, both sentimental and material, are by no means negligible. There is much more genuine "Hispanity" about Spanish feelings towards the Philippines than towards Cuba, for instance, and the powerful Spanish-controlled *Cia General de Tabacos de Filipinas* has considerable influence in the politics of Manila. At a private dinner party last week the Minister for Foreign Affairs unburdened himself so far as to say that the Spanish Government were going through the necessary procedure preparatory to declaring war. Asked for a date, Señor Lequerica replied, "Pretty soon, I expect. We must get in before Portugal!" But he also said that in accordance with the protocol to the Treaty of Friendship and Non-aggression of 1939 the Portuguese Government were being consulted. The latest step is the sending to Japan of a note of protest, which also communicates the Spanish decision to cease safeguarding Japanese interests in the countries with which Japan is at war. Whatever happens, we may be sure that Spanish motives will rise ever higher; with the Generalíssimo, the world must forget those happy stories of the kind little yellow man which appeared in the Spanish press of 1942 and 1943, and think only on the menacing barbarian who now outrages the country which first brought European civilisation to the Philippine Islands.

The Portuguese, who since 1941 have had rather more to put up with from the yellow men than the Spaniards, are also fluttering their hackles about Manila, and the press published on the 23rd March a statement issued by the Presidency of the Council. It was more moderate in tone than the Spanish pronouncements, partly because there are only 140 Portuguese subjects in Manila. But it is also true that in the Pacific stakes for Allied favour—for this is the prize at which Peninsular eyes are looking—Dr. Salazar is handicapped rather more heavily than the Caudillo; he has to carry the weight of both Macao and Timor. So we may yet see the spectacle of Spain, with no sovereign interests in the Pacific, declaring war upon Japan ahead of Portugal, who has solid colonial responsibilities in the Far East.

ITALY.

Signor Togliatti, the head of the Communist Party, is making capital out of his support of the Government at the time of the disturbances at the Quirinal following on General Roatta's escape. Signor Togliatti has asked for greater participation in the Government for the Communist Party, and has asked that

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a Communist be appointed at the Ministry of the Interior when Northern Italy is freed. This Ministry is now held by Signor Bonomi himself. In addition to this, the Communist Party paper *Unità*, backed up by the Socialist and Action Party organs, is keeping alive the general discontent felt at Roatta's escape and is suggesting that the Government was fully aware of the inefficiency which made such an escape possible. This suggestion is likely to fall on fertile ground since there has been, for some time, a feeling amongst the general public, irrespective of party, that too much latitude has been granted to the Italian General Staff, and that up to now it has escaped a much-needed purge. It is even being whispered that Great Britain may have had something to do with General Roatta's escape. There is, of course, nothing unexpected in this, since any and every group suspected of being "reactionary and pro-monarchist" has been accused of complicity. It was therefore inevitable that Great Britain, in Italian eyes the arch-reactionary and pro-monarchist, should, sooner or later, be added to the list of possible suspects. It is, however, thought that the Government should now survive the crisis and that Signor Bonomi should be able to remain in office until Italy is freed providing that nothing happens in the north to give power to the extremists either of the Left or of the Right. If, however, the Communists, through over-confidence, were to show their hand too openly, it might throw the moderates into the arms of the Fascists. Control by either would be a calamity for Italy, but the return to power of the Fascists would probably be the greater danger since Communism, to succeed in Italy, would have to adapt itself to the individualistic character of the Italian people.

The Trades Union paper *Il Lavoro* publishes a resolution passed by the Italian Trades Union movement which more or less repeats the Communist Party's demands at the time of General Roatta's escape (see *Summary* No. 284). The resolution criticises the Government for its weakness in dealing with the country's most pressing problems and, in particular, epuration.

Signor Giuseppe Saragat has been nominated Italian Ambassador in Paris and now awaits the French Government's approval. Signor Saragat belongs to the Socialist Party but, although a moderate, he holds strong views regarding the Socialist Party's policy. He fled from Italy in 1926 but returned in 1943 and eventually became a Minister without Portfolio in Signor Bonomi's first Government.

Signor Nenni on his return from Paris has published an article in *Avanti* on his impressions. Signor Nenni is convinced that really responsible circles in France wish to forget June 1940 and that they wish to collaborate with the new democratic Italy. Those who attempt to raise controversial questions, such as the Val d'Aosta or Elba, are only of secondary importance. The lack of raw materials is the chief obstacle to reconstruction in Italy, while France's chief problem is manpower. This should in itself be a great help to collaboration.

In the North, the twenty-sixth anniversary of the foundation of the Fasci di Combattimento was celebrated with great ceremony on the 23rd March in Milan, the birthplace of Fascism, and in other northern towns. The Fascists have always made much of this anniversary, and seized this opportunity to stage a full-dress parade of units of the Republican Armed Forces, no doubt hoping thereby to evoke memories of the palmier days of Fascism and to instil confidence into the wavering masses. Mussolini addressed Blackshirts at his Headquarters, the Chaplain-in-Chief of the Black Brigades celebrated Mass in Piazza San Sepolcro in Milan, and the Federal Commissioner of Milan and the Commandant of the "Muti" Black Brigade also made speeches. To mark the anniversary further steps in the socialisation programme outlined in the Verona Manifesto of November 1943 were announced: all larger industrial undertakings are to be "socialised" by the 21st April, and tenants of flats belonging to the Istituti delle Case Popolari (Institutes of People's Houses) are to become owners of their dwellings. These measures are said to have aroused great enthusiasm, but it seems likely that at least the more intelligent of the workers must realise that the Fascists are only putting them into effect now as a sop to the multitude for the immediate present and as a source of embarrassment to the Allies and the Italian Government in the future.

Cione's new Republican Socialist opposition group appears to be viewed with great suspicion by the Germans. This group would also seem to be linked up with the Tenth MAS and the Muti Legions, which, being autonomous, are outside the control of the Fascist Party and strongly critical of it. Swiss papers have even mentioned rumours of a plot organised by these groups with the aim of supplanting Fascism and setting up a Communist Republic, though with no affiliations with Moscow.

THE VATICAN.

Mr. Flynn (see *Summary* No. 285 under "Vatican") has been received by the Pope. According to the *Agenzia Romana Informazioni*, which is close to the Vatican, his visits were "purely informative," to seek information about Catholics under Russian control, with whom the Vatican has no contact. Vatican relations with Russia were a more complex question and "might be dealt with at another moment." Mr. Flynn himself told the Italian press that his mission concerned a Vatican-Moscow understanding, but that his audience with the Pope was purely personal.

Moved by its apparent fear that German aggressive spirit may revive under a cloak of Catholicism, the Russian press stresses that German peace feelers coincide with a soft-peace campaign by the Heads of the Catholic Church. It so misreads the Pope's speech of the 18th March as to see in it only a plea to forgive the Germans. A *Pravda* article by Ehrenburg accuses the Roman Catholic "Vicar-General in Prussia" of planning to create a strong German Catholic Power through the Catholic Centre Party: "the priest's cassock is to cover the shame of the Walkyrie" and "Hitler is to be followed by Bruening, who saved the Krupp factories and the General Staff." According to the same article, Catholic papers in Britain and the United States are "rehabilitating Germany, and the director of those Germans who live in the United States, or of Americans who think in German, namely the Pope, is bent on the same thing . . . . but the Red Army will take care of this."

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

The Russian advance in Hungary, the beginning of which was recorded in last week's *Summary*, gained momentum quickly during the week. The German bridgehead across the Drave was liquidated with the help of Yugoslav and Bulgarian troops; further north Russian forces operating from both sides of the Danube, had by 29th March almost reached the Austrian frontier.

The Government, instead of waiting for the adoption by the Assembly of the Land Reform Bill, has put the measure into force by decree. The reasons given were the urgency of starting cultivation and the fact that peasants were already beginning to divide up the land. The adoption of the Bill by the Government had been made the occasion of many speeches stressing its importance. The Debrecen Government has repealed all the anti-Jewish measures of its predecessors and has dissolved all "Fascist political and military orgnisations," confiscating their property, monies and documents. The list includes not only all the "Right Radical" parties (now merged, in German-controlled Hungary, in the Arrow Cross) and their para-military organisation, the Comrades of the Eastern Front, but also the Imredists, the old Government Party (M.E.P.) and the "Vitézi Rend" (Order of Heroes). The only political party in Hungary which has not yet been dissolved either by the Right or by the Left is thus the Catholic People's Party.

The Government has also decreed the destruction of all Fascist literature, in any language (the destruction of all Left-wing literature had been ordered under Sztojay and Szálasi, so that here, too, little seems likely to survive the dual purge except the Bible). Count Teleki has ordered a radical reform of educational literature. Russian is introduced as a second language in the schools.

Orders have been issued regulating wages in industry and establishing joint arbitration boards of workers and employers, which have to determine working hours and conditions by collective agreement. Hungaro-Soviet and Hungaro-Yugoslav Cultural Societies have been formed. The Peoples' Courts have enacted a few more death sentences.

All this took place to the accompaniment of a running commentary on the Soviet Radio from M. Fedorov, who showed particular zeal in insisting on the punishment of "Fascists" by the courts and the elimination through the Land Reform of "Fascist" and "feudal" influences in Hungarian society. The tone of these harangues continued benevolent, but showed an occasional hint of impatience. This was reflected in a speech recently made in Budapest by Rákosi, the most important of the Hungarian Communists who had been refugees in the U.S.S.R. Rákosi rebuked accusations that his party's programme was insufficiently Radical, and spoke confidently of the collaboration of the

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Communists with the Social Democrats and Smallholders; but he deprecated the formation of "mushroom political parties," especially attacking a new formation, the "Christian Democratic People's Party," as being simply a rehash of the old "reactionary Christian Party." He was distressed at the insufficient activity of the *intelligentsia;* and he made a strong attack on the Minister of Supply (General Faragnó).

The Soviet authorities have furnished some supplies of wheat, meat and sugar for Budapest and the industrial regions. These are loans to be repaid in kind.

It is reported that two leading figures in Hungarian intellectual circles are safe: Professors Szentgyörgyi and Szekeü.

The Budapest National Committee has invited Count M. Károlyi to become a member of it.

Roumania.

Interest has shifted for the time being to the new law for the Expropriation of Land, the text of which has now been published. At first sight it appears to equip a large number of landless peasants with holdings of 12½ acres. It also provides for allotments in the neighbourhood of towns, and for unspecified areas under State administration for the improvement of cultivation and cattle breeding. The procedure is that in the first place the State appropriates without paying compensation: (1) the property of Germans and Roumanians of German descent, (2) of war criminals, (3) of absentee landlords and refugees in enemy countries since August 1944, (4) land left uncultivated for seven years, the goods and machinery of Roumanians who volunteered to fight against the Allies, and (5) the surplus of any landowner of more than 125 acres. There are certain exemptions, such as the Royal domains, land belonging to ecclesiastical institutions and certain corporations. The distribution is to be made by local expropriation committees. The law recognises that some estates have already been taken possession of and distributed and these proceedings are to be made to conform to the new law.

The peasants are to pay for the land allotted to them a nominal price, the object of which appears to be to give a sense of security. The new holdings may not be sub-divided, rented or mortgaged, but all these things may be done "in exceptional cases with the permission of the Ministry of Agriculture." Anybody who knows Roumania will have no difficulty in appreciating the sinister significance of this proviso.

The new law has been received by the Roumanian press and radio with a chorus of approval such as greeted the accession to power of the present Government. One would suppose that there had never been any expropriation of land in Roumania until now. *Pravda* is equally enthusiastic but in rejoicing at the spoliation of the great landlords, adds a remark which will cause some misgiving, "the large landowners have always been against the industrialisation of the country." This suggests the coming of a system of co-operative farming, like the Obstii method, which was tried during the German occupation and which did not win approval from the Roumanians.

The question of granting co-belligerent status to Roumania has been to the fore. His Majesty's Government does not consider that the time is ripe for this step while the feeling of the United States is less strong. But there is agreement that no such step should be taken except by the consent of the three chief Allies. There is an undercurrent of apprehension lest the U.S.S.R. should take action on her own account, perhaps as a means of showing approval of the present Roumanian Government.

Permission has been asked for clearances for aircraft to convey 55 persons, mostly British subjects, to Roumania. Permission has been given for six and refused for one, which leaves 48 cases still undecided.

Meanwhile, no doubt as a result of representations made by His Majesty's Government and the United States Government and of comments by the British and United States press, the Soviet press has been at pains to justify recent political developments. Moscow papers assert that these developments "fully correspond to the decisions of the Crimea Conference." According to *Pravda* the "Roumanian people spoke with their own voice for the first time," "showed themselves to be a true force," and "brought forth from among themselves a new Government."

Yugoslavia.

The enemy's bridgehead north of the Drave, near Valpovo, has been eliminated by either Yugoslav or Bulgarian forces, according to their respective

national news agencies. Otherwise no military development has occurred since the German retreat from the south into Bosnia last December.

The Sóviet Ambassador, Sadchikov, arrived in Belgrade on the 20th March with his staff and a trade delegation. On the 24th an agreement, similar to those for Greece and Czechoslovakia, was signed between the Yugoslav Government and U.N.R.R.A. It provides that U.N.R.R.A. shall begin its task of supplying Yugoslavia on the 15th April, and that distribution shall be made without regard to race, creed or political views. The Yugoslav Government made it clear that supplies, as soon as unloaded, would become their property and that they would carry out the distribution and control their own nationals in U.N.R.R.A.'s service. The Head of the U.N.R.R.A. Mission is to be a Russian, Sergeichik.

Contradictory reports describe the régime in Serbia as moderate and responsible for comparatively few arrests and executions, and as a reign of terror. Owing to the firm official control of information it is as yet impossible to evaluate the situation. The request of the new Serb Agrarian leaders for the admission of their party into the National Liberation Front of Serbia (see last *Summary*) has been granted. The régime's economic policy is illustrated by a decree placing all imports and exports under State supervision; and by a broadcast speech by Pijade, a Communist and Vice-President of A.V.N.O.J. After denouncing the richer peasants and townsfolk and praising the poor, Pijade outlined the proposed land settlement. The poorer peasants would receive land as far as possible. On most of the large areas now confiscated by the State peasants would be settled as permanent tenants, unable to sell their holdings (and therefore apparently tied to the soil). Other parts of the State's land would be co-operatively worked by groups, a method rendered necessary in any case by the proposed greatly increased mechanisation of agriculture. The whole scheme would require a considerable transference of families to new districts. Efforts would be made to make the Yugoslav peoples territorially compact.

In Macedonia a people's court, for "offences against the national honour of Macedonia," has been appointed similar to the courts already operating in Serbia. Another assertion of Macedonian autonomy is the proposal of an Orthodox congress at Skoplje for the creation of a Macedonian Orthodox Church. It was decided to await the assent of the English [*sic*] and Russian Churches before proceeding further.

Articles in the official *Borba* have continued to attack Turkey and to demand the delivery of Roatta and other Italians for trial before a Yugoslav court. The frequently expressed Yugoslav claims to Venezia Giulia are causing increased anger and alarm in Italy.

Greece.

The situation in Greece, although it has continued to improve, is still confused. The date of the plebiscite which is to decide for or against the Monarchy has yet to be fixed. A plebiscite held soon, while reaction against the extreme Left is in full swing, would almost certainly yield a handsome majority for the King. But with the decline of party passions this reaction is likely to lose force, and were the King to return soon he might become identified with the extreme Right only to find, after a brief triumph, that he was faced with a violent swing to the Left such as may be expected in many countries. Meanwhile, as there is no Parliament, there is no constitutional outlet for public opinion. General Plastiras, who is a straightforward soldier and has been making rather arbitrary changes in his Government, is hardly the man to find the way out of this political tangle. But the Regent, who is regarded both as the wisest man in Greece and as the only man who can prevent another revolution, can be relied on to follow the course most likely to lead to something like parliamentary government.

In accordance with the Greek tradition of keeping a Cabinet representative in the north, General Manettas, a former Chief of Staff, has been appointed Minister for the Co-ordination of Thrace and Macedonia. He will reside at Salonica and have under him the governorates-general of Western, Central and Eastern Macedonia and of Thrace. In these parts the general situation continues to develop satisfactorily. British troops have now occupied Thrace as far as Komotini (Gumuljina) and all Greek Macedonia, and the national guards are moving in as quickly as possible behind them, and beginning to settle down although they are nervous of the well-organised Communist bands which terrorise certain districts of Western Macedonia.

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Athens celebrated Independence Day, the 25th March, in festive mood. The Communists participated in the ceremonies but there were no disturbances. The Regent took the salute at a review of the Greek forces, scouts and girl-guides. Two days earlier, as Archbishop, he had carried the miraculous eikon which had been brought from Tinos at the head of a religious procession through the centre of the city.

Albania.

When Brigadier Hadgson, the head of the British military mission, arrived at Tirana on the 21st March to take up his duties, he was greeted not only by representatives of the régime, but also by large crowds which, though doubtless encouraged by the authorities to assemble and to demand representation at San Francisco, were genuinely enthusiastic. Enver Hoxha's position is now none too strong, and he appears to have tried thus to create the impression, upon a populace which can hardly appreciate the nicety of the distinction between a military and a political representative, that Great Britain has recognised his Government. When he received Brigadier Hodgson he was most friendly and grateful for past British help. He promised that the movements of the military mission would not be restricted. Demonstrations continue to be staged throughout the country demanding recognition of the Government and an invitation to San Francisco. Bishop Fan Noli too has telegraphed to Mr. Churchill on behalf of the Orthodox Albanians in America urging that an invitation be issued.

The People's Court has been hearing charges of collaboration and persecution brought against former prefects and others.

The Italian Under-Secretary for War, General Mario Palermo, arrived on the 10th March at Tirana to examine the possibility of repatriating the many thousands of Italians employed on forced labour by the F.N.Ç. without pay and in appalling living conditions. In a press interview the General is reported to have given a categorical assurance, which Albanians have heard from Italian lips before, that Italy would insist on Albanian independence.

On the 19th March Enver Hoxha protested strongly to all the Allied representatives against the atrocities which he allaged Greek troops were committing against Albanian nationals in the district of Chamuria on the Greek side of the frontier. He asserted that thousands were fleeing into Albania. It is, however, to be noted that the Germans employed Chams (Moslems of Albanian stock living in this district) in fighting against Colonel Zervas and that, when the Germans evacuated, thousands of Chams also crossed into Albania but were sent back into Greece by Enver Hoxha.

Bulgaria.

A good deal of publicity has been given to the annihilation of the German bridgehead on the Drava by the Bulgarian 1st Army, and it is clearly hoped that this achievement may strengthen the Bulgarian claim to the status of a co-belligerent. The truth, however, is that although in Macedonia the Bulgarian army fought well against the Germans it has latterly not had much stomach for a struggle which it hardly understands. It is far from home, it has suffered many casualties, it has been purged of a number of its best officers and the arrogance of the assistant commanders (*i.e.*, political commissars) is reported to have led to incidents which have impaired its efficiency.

If read between the lines, a report issued by the Central Fatherland Front Committee on the recent Fatherland Front congress throws light on the intentions of the Communists. Political training is said to be satisfactory but capable of improvement—which means that the Communists, who already dominate the Fatherland Front, intend to gain more ground. The "foreign insinuation" that one party in the Fatherland Front dominates any other is indignantly denied, and the conviction—which doubtless contains a threat—is expressed that all the four coalition parties will co-operate. Lastly, it is stated that the Fatherland Front committees must be reorganised on a basis of equality and thoroughly purged—which may be taken as meaning that the non-Communist elements in the coalition will be drastically reduced.

The so-called Freedom Loan which has for some months been officially boosted as the one means of saving the leva and Bulgarian economy in general, is reported to have reached 25,107 million levas. Urgent exhortations have now been issued to complete spring sowings. The vigour with which such campaigns are conducted is fairly evidently due to Russian inspiration. Indeed, the Russians' control over Bulgaria is so absolute that anything done by the Bulgarian authorities may

be assumed to have at least tacit Russian approval. And so long as Bulgaria remains a Red Army base Russia must be directly interested in measures for supporting Bulgarian economy and increasing Bulgarian production.

Proceedings in the People's Court have been on a reduced scale, but a special division of the court has been set up to try some 200 civil officials who are charged with showing cruelty to the populations of occupied Greek and Yugoslav territory.

Turkey.

On 19th March the Soviet Government denounced the Turco-Soviet Treaty of Neutrality and Non-Aggression of 1925, which, had it not been denounced before the 7th May next, would have been automatically prolonged for two years from the 7th November, 1945, when it is due to expire. The published Soviet explanation was that circumstances had changed completely since 1925, that Russia was now engaged in political and military collaboration with Britain and the United States, that Turco-Russian relations during the war had left something to be desired and that there was need for substantial improvement in a treaty obviously out of date. There were indeed indications in 1939 that Soviet Russia—then the ally of Germany—was far from pleased when Turkey entered into her alliance with Britain in that year. Further, it was clear in 1936, when the Montreux Convention was concluded, and it has been increasingly plain since, that the Soviet Government is dissatisfied with an instrument which, though it severely restricts entry into the Black Sea, in practice leaves much discretion to Turkey as the armed guardian of the Straits. It may well be, therefore, that the heat which Soviet propaganda has turned onto Turkey for the last few weeks, culminating in the denunciation of the treaty, is all meant to be a preliminary softening of Turkey before the opening of negotiations for a new treaty covering the Straits.

It might be thought that such tactics would hardly produce the best atmosphere for negotiation, but the Turkish press has been kept dumb and the Turkish authorities do not seem to have been greatly upset by the Soviet move. When hard pressed by Russia it is their traditional policy to rely on Britain and they doubtless hope to find salvation in some multilateral arrangement rather than to be forced into an exclusively Turco-Soviet agreement. The absence of M. Molotov will preclude any serious negotiations at San Francisco.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

On the 22nd March the Covenant of the Arab League was signed in Cairo by representatives of Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Lebanon and Transjordan. It will be sent to the Imam of Yemen for signature on his behalf. Provision is made for the future accession of other independent Arab States, and from the outset the Council of the League will appoint a Palestinian Arab to participate in its activities. The following analysis of the Covenant is based in part on a monitored version; any inaccuracies resulting from this will be corrected in next week's *Summary*.

The organs of the League will be a Council, a number of functional Committees and a Secretariat. Each member State is to have one representative on the Council, which will normally meet twice a year, the office of chairman passing in rotation among the members. Decisions taken by a majority of the Council will bind only those States which accept them. Its functions are to include the consideration of disputes arising between members or between members and other States. In the event of any disagreement which might involve a member State in war, the Council is apparently bound to mediate with a view to conciliation. It is not altogether clear what steps are to be taken if such mediation should fail, or if the dispute should have reached an acute stage before mediation is attempted. Any member of the League attacked or threatened with attack is entitled to summon a meeting of the Council, which "will decide on the measures to be taken." If one member State has committed an act of aggression against another, thus violating the provision forbidding the use of force to settle disputes between members, the offender shall not attend this Council meeting. If the aggressor is a non-member, the Council's only guidance would seem to be the definition of the objects of the League in article 2, which includes the protection of the independence and sovereignty of the members. Arbitration, by majority vote and with binding effect on the disputants, is to be confined to

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disputes between members which do not involve their integrity, independence or sovereignty, and which they voluntarily and jointly submit to the Council for settlement.

Proposals for agreements on such matters as trade communications and social and cultural co-operation are to be submitted to the Council by a number of specialised committees; and on these committees representatives of other Arab countries may be invited to sit together with those of member States. An Annex to the Covenant emphasises the importance of such co-operation with non-member Arab countries, whose aspirations the League must use its best endeavours to realise.

Another Annex appoints Abdul-Rahman Azzam Bey as the League's first Secretary-General, his appointment to have effect for two years. The League's headquarters are to be in Cairo, but the Council may decide to hold meetings elsewhere.

Provision is made for withdrawal from the League, for the dismissal of a member State failing to carry out its commitments, and for the revision of the Covenant. The article bearing on this last point seems to have been drafted in the expectation that such revision will be in the direction of extending the League's powers, and looks forward to the establishment of an "Arab Court of Justice." The way is also left open for associations between two or more of the members closer than that resulting from the Covenant.

The indications of a desire that the League should exercise some control over the external policies of member States, which appeared in the protocol signed at Alexandria last October, are less evident in the text of the Covenant. Copies of all treaties or agreements concluded or to be concluded by member States are to be communicated to the Secretariat. To this is added an apparently anodyne declaration that agreements between a member and a non-member are not binding on other members. Of more importance, perhaps, will be the power given to the Council of deciding on means of co-operation between the League and future international organisations.

Although the meetings in Cairo reached this successful conclusion, they also served to emphasise the traditional discords between certain of the participating Governments, whose mutual distrust is reflected in Article 8 of the Covenant, obliging member States to refrain from any action tending towards the modification of one another's internal régimes. The extent of the success achieved should probably be attributed in part to the pressure of an expectant public opinion. The Syrian Prime Minister, lunching together with the other heads of the Arab delegations in the British Embassy on the 23rd March, stressed the importance of Mr. Eden's official declaration of sympathy for Arab aspirations towards unity, first made in 1941, as a factor in the formation of the League.

On the same occasion the Syrian delegation told Lord Killearn that they had been informed by the French Minister in Cairo that the United States, Russian and British Governments were benig officially notified that the French would welcome the invitation of representatives of the Levant States to San Francisco. (For M. Bidault's announcement of the French attitude, see under "France.") The Governments represented at the Arab Conference had previously decided to make joint representations, in London and Washington, in favour of the admission of the two States.

The assassins of Lord Moyne were hanged on the 22nd March. In Palestine, Arab feeling has been aroused by a decision of the High Commissioner to appoint two British members on the Jerusalem Municipal Council, and a proposal that the office of mayor should be filled in successive years by a Moslem, a Jew and a Christian (the last not necessarily an Arab). Hitherto the mayoralty has been held by an Arab continuously, a situation against which the Jews have protested on the ground that they form a majority of the city's population. (It should be noted, however, that only Palestinian citizens may vote in municipal elections, and that a substantial proportion of Jewish immigrants are not naturalised.) The Palestine Arab Party issued a manifesto against the new proposals, and called for a one-day strike of the Arab population, which took place on the 24th March and appears to have passed off quietly.

Sir Kinahan Cornwallis has conveyed orally to the Regent of Iraq a message from His Majesty The King, expressing deep appreciation of the friendship and co-operation of the Regent himself, his Government and the Iraqi people since 1941, and assuring him that The King and Queen look forward to seeing him in England after his forthcoming visit to the United States. His Royal Highness was touched and delighted by this evidence of Their Majesties' regard for him.

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The publication in the *Tehran Daily News* of a *Reuter* telegram, conveying the information recently released on German fifth column activities in Persia, has been interpreted in the Persian press as a move to belittle Persia's war effort on the eve of the San Francisco Conference. M. Bayat's Government clings precariously to office, but political circles in Tehran are busily discussing the relative chances of his possible successors. Seyyid Zia, who is not in the running, is at present occupied with an attempt to form an organised party, to which he has given the name "National Will" and a detailed programme of a generally Liberal character.

THE FAR EAST.

In a special broadcast to the Japanese people Koiso on the 21st March admitted the loss of Iwojima. He did not attempt to conceal the serious nature of this event and warned that the situation would become more tense as the war neared the main islands of Japan. He asserted that, "in this decisive struggle for the existence of the Japanese race," there could be no alternative but victory or death and there was no room to compromise with the enemy (*Domei*, 21st March). The Japanese Government are endeavouring to encourage their people by exaggerated accounts of the American casualties on Iwojima and by sweeping claims of victory over the American task force which raided Kyushu. An official communiqué of the 23rd March said that this force had lost eleven warships, including five aircraft carriers and two battleships, as well as 180 aircraft; Japanese losses were given as 150 aircraft and damage to their warships and shore installations was said to be slight. The *Transocean* correspondent in Tokyo said that the reading of this communiqué was prefaced by the Navy March, which had not been played for some time. The Japanese further claim that in a raid on the 11th March on the Uluthi Islands, north-west of Yap, their naval airmen badly damaged the aircraft-carriers *Randolph* and *Cowpens* (*Domei*, 24th March). They also say that they have organised the Kamishio (Divine Current) Special Attack Corps, which is a submarine counterpart of the Kamikaze air corps. These submarines are supposed to ram enemy vessels at anchor and the Japanese allege that through attacks by these craft at Uluthi (12th and 21st January), at Apra Harbour (12th January), at Hollandia, New Guinea, and the Kosusoru Straits, in the Palau Islands (12th January), a number of American warships were sunk or damaged.

Koiso on the 23rd March told the Diet that the Government were fully prepared to deal with any attempt to invade Japan and, moreover, intended to take the offensive to recapture Iwojima, Saipan and Guadalcanal. He was backed up by Sugiyama, who said that Japanese troops were stoutly holding their positions at Rabaul, Truk, the Philippines and other Pacific Islands, and that they were not there solely for defence. Yonai said that the Navy was fully determined to take the offensive. These may be simply brave words, but they may also indicate that those who favour holding on to all Japanese conquests for as long as possible have gained the day over those who would prefer to withdraw to the inner zone of Japan, Korea, Manchuria and North China, extricating such Japanese troops as could still be got out of more exposed positions.

Shigemitsu on the 23rd March told a committee of Diet members that the San Francisco Conference would only mark a step towards the next war, because the American and British plan for a world organisation rested on the three principles of political and economic monopoly by the anti-Axis countries; the domination of the world by the Great Powers; and the right of these Powers to intervene in the affairs of smaller nations. He asserted that Japan's concept of peace was one based on racial emancipation and equal opportunity. "When the devil was sick the devil a saint would be."

The spokesman of the Board of Information, Sadao Iguchi, on the 24th March, told correspondents that there was no truth in the reports in Spanish papers of atrocities committed by the Japanese military upon Spaniards in the Philippines. He claimed that an enquiry had shown such reports to be without foundation and suggested that they had been concocted by the Americans in the Philippines for propaganda purposes. (For the Spanish attitude see under "Spain.")

The Chungking radio has reported a new Japanese offensive in China; the Japanese have so far remained silent about this. The Chinese say it began on the 21st March in northern Hupeh and southern Honan, and that the main Japanese objective is the city and air base of Laohokow, on the Han River some

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200 miles north-west of Hankow. The Japanese have four divisions at their disposal and are admitted by the Chinese to have made steady progress. One Japanese column has taken Icheng, on the Han River, two more advancing westwards from Honan have taken the cities of Nanchao and Fangcheng, while yet another Japanese force in Honan is moving south-west from Loning in order to intercept Chinese reinforcements (Chungking Radio, 24th and 26th March).

It remains to be seen whether this is only a local Japanese operation to drive the Chinese from Laohokow and to remove any threat to the stretch of the Peking–Hankow railway which the Japanese captured last autumn or whether it is the preliminary to something more ambitious. There are have been reports of a Japanese concentration preparatory to an attack on Sian, and such a scheme might include an advance up the Han valley upon Hingan and Hanchung, to cut Sian off from the south. The Japanese would then menace Szechwan from the north-east and might hope that disaffection from Chungking would appear among the local Szechwanese armies.

Japanese broadcasts indicate that the Tokyo Government are uncertain whether the next main American offensive will be directed against Japan itself or against the Japanese forces in China; on the whole they incline to the second alternative. While they are watching the South China coast, especially between Swatow and Hong Kong, they are also apprehensive of possible landings in Hangchow Bay, with Shanghai as the first objective. Chungking Radio (24th March) said that reports had been received from Japanese-occupied China according to which the Japanese had brought some of the Kwantung army from Manchuria to Shanghai, and were busy upon strengthening their defences around the city. If the Americans take the Loochoo Islands, which are now under attack, the way would be clear for a blow at Shanghai. There are indications that Chinese business circles in Shanghai are not happy at the prospect of a battle in and around the city and would welcome some understanding whereby at any rate the former French Concession and International Settlement areas would be immune from military operations. The local Japanese military have declared that they will defend Shanghai to the last, and will destroy it should they have to retreat. It would ease their task of defence if they could get any part of the Chinese coast "neutralised," and they know that there are Chinese and foreign interests which would not care to see Shanghai reduced to ashes.

The Chinese Government announced on the 22nd March that their legation in Tehran had been raised to the status of an embassy. This step is of some significance for the Chinese carefully cultivate their relations with the smaller Asiatic States. China is conscious of her former position as the leading Power in Asia; she will be one of the "Big Four" at San Francisco and, while her Government has repudiated any intention of forming an Asiatic *bloc* on the Japanese model, China would probably like to feel that she could count on the support, perhaps the votes, of some little friends in Asia. (For Indo-China see under "France.")

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

News from the battle-fronts has naturally assumed first place in the public mind in the United States. The new Rhine crossings have created a jubilant, exhilarating mood of high optimism. Estimates of the duration of the European war now range from a few days to two months. While the deeds of General Patton and his troops have captured the imagination, great emphasis has also been placed on the heroism and success of the British and American troops under Field-Marshal Montgomery. The Western front naturally is the dominating topic of conversation, but newspaper and radio commentators alike have not overlooked the Russian drive towards Vienna, the British victory in Mandalay and Admiral Mitscher's blow at the Japanese navy, which is interpreted as evidence that the Japanese fleet is unable to protect itself even in its home waters.

Discussion of the food situation is declining. Colonel Llewellin and Mr. Lytttelton have arrived in Washington to discuss the whole complex problem of world food production, distribution and equitable allocation. Some surprise was occasioned by the postponement of the promised statement on this subject by President Roosevelt. It was expected that the statement would be issued on Friday, the 23rd March, but the press conference was cancelled, and Mr. Jonathan Daniels, of the White House, told reporters that, while the President still desired to speak on food he might prefer to discuss the matter informally with the press this week, rather than issue a formal statement. Meanwhile, Senator Elmer Thomas (Democrat, Oklahama) has announced that the Senate's food investigating

committee would begin its hearings this week. This special committee, which is a sub-committee of the Senate Agricultural Committee, has welcomed the establishment of the Administration's Byrnes' committee (see last week's *Summary*) and states that its task is to "aid" and facilitate the work of that committee. There is a widespread feeling that, unless home-front production and distribution is brought under further control, no one's claim will be fully met.

The first round in the vital United States tariff controversy has now opened. A Bill has been introduced by Mr. Robert L. Doughton (Democrat, N. Carolina), chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, which couples reductions in the tariff rates with the extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act of 1934. The last general tariff revision took place in 1930, under the Hawley–Smoot Act which established such high tariff barriers that the State Department in 1934, admitting their severity, advocated the passing of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act under which the Secretary of State was empowered to make reductions up to 50 per cent. in the Hawley–Smoot tariff line as a result of reciprocal bargains with individual countries. There is a widespread belief that the Hawley–Smoot tariff was one of the drastic measures which contributed so greatly to the world economic depression. Trade associations of more than thirty nations signed an immediate protest and many took steps to adjust their own position. Despite opposition the Treaty Agreements Act has been renewed from time to time and it can claim to have been at least partially successful. The present proposals allow cuts in the tariff rate of 50 per cent. of their current level. Where rates have already been cut by 50 per cent. under the Reciprocal Trade Treaty Act of Mr. Cordell Hull, the New Bill would establish rates amounting to 25 per cent. only of the Hawley–Smoot level.

In a special message to Congress, President Roosevelt has urged the acceptance of Mr. Doughton's proposals. "Trade is fundamental to the prosperity of nations," said the message. "We have tried often to protect some special interest by excluding strangers' goods from competition. In the long run everyone has suffered. The coming total defeat of our enemies . . . . gives us a new chance, and a better chance than we have ever had, to bring about conditions under which the nations of the world can substitute co-operation and sound business principles for warfare in economic relations." He reminded his readers that the United States was the largest creditor nation, and that, unless the United States bought the produets of other countries, it would be impossible for the other nations to pay. He maintained that the Doughton Bill would mean more exports and imports for the United States, adding that, unless both imports and exports were increased, the United States would have a hard time finding jobs for everyone after the war.

According to the *Wall Street Journal*, however, the Republican party has declared for a "last-ditch battle" to preserve existing tariff rates. While some Republicans are more enlightened and wish to follow expansionist trade policies, there are still Congressmen who see in these new proposals "as great a threat to the American way of life as the Jap and German armies combined." The Congressional battle is likely to be fierce, and the outcome will be vital to the rest of the world.

This week the President has been rebuffed by the Senate, who rejected his nomination of Mr. Aubrey Williams for the post of Rural Electrification Administrator. The usual combination of Republicans and Southern Democrats, after reluctantly agreeing to Mr. Wallace's appointment, once more demonstrated their continued dislike of anything that smacks of the New Deal. (See also under "Latin America.")

LATIN AMERICA.

The Argentine Government declared war on Germany and Japan and announced its adhesion to the Act of Chapultepec on the 27th March. The text of the resolution of the Mexico City Conference affecting Argentina was reported to have reached Buenos Aires by the 21st March, and the Cabinet then began a series of deliberations which appeared likely to bear fruit on the 24th, when the Acting Foreign Minister said, according to broadcast reports, that there was agreement on the "essential part of the question" and that the main points under consideration were whether war should be declared, against whom war should be declared, and how public confirmation of the decision should be secured. The answer to the third question has not yet been revealed.

The Government's statement is in four articles: (1) an acceptance of the invitation extended to it by the 20 American Republics which took part in the

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Inter-American Conference at Mexico City, and adhesion to the final Act of the Conference; (2) a declaration, "in order to identify Argentine policy with that of the other American Republics and to forestall with them any threat or act of aggression against the security of any American State," that a state of war exists between Argentina and the Japanese Empire; (3) a declaration that a state of war exists between Argentina and Germany, "considering Germany's position as an ally of Japan"; (4) instructions to the Ministries and Secretaries of State to take the steps rendered necessary," as well as measures necessary to put a definite end to all activities by persons, firms and companies of any nationality who may attempt to hinder the war effort of the United Nations, affect the security of the State or threaten the peace, security and well-being of the American nations."

These decisions were taken in the presence of the Commander of the Campo de Mayo Base, General Avalos, and of the Commander-in-Chief, General von der Becke. Soon after the announcement, the Buenos Aires wireless declared that an extraordinary meeting of the Pan American Union had been called for the 28th in Washington to study the situation, and that the 20 Republics were considering plans to expedite recognition. While the same sources described the "pleasure" and "complete calm" with which the public had received the announcement, other broadcasting stations reported a hostile demonstration outside the United States Embassy and Nationalist anti-war (and anti-Perón) demonstrations, which were broken up by the Police.

The declaration of war in fact appears to have had a mixed reception in the country at large. The Minister of Justice, Dr. Echeverry Boneo has resigned. The doctrinaire nationalists will carp, and some of the Army may sulk, and the "liberal" and Socialist opposition will certainly regard with mixed feelings the prospect of Colonel Perón's snatching recognition in stolen clothes. Colonel Perón, however, appears to have been confident of his ability to cope with the situation.

There is no doubt that the Argentine Government hope, and indeed expect, that their actions will lead to recognition. A statement released by the State Department shortly after Argentina's declaration announced that an early exchange of views between the American Republics is expected "in the spirit of the final act of the Mexico City Conference concerning the restoration of American solidarity." It is possible that the Argentine Government also hope to secure an invitation to the San Francisco Conference (Uruguayan broadcasts report Dr. Serrato as saying that Argentina should be invited after signing the United Nations declaration). But Colonel Perón has still added nothing to his remark about the establishment of relations between Argentina and the U.S.S.R. (see *Summary* No. 283), and the Soviet Press continues to tar Argentina with the same brush as Spain, and to report allegations of facilities given to Nazis and Fascists there.

There are no fresh developments in the political situation in Brazil. So apparently free is the Brazilian Press that details of the recent sinking of a British ship off the coast of Brazil have been given wide publicity, and an official at the Brazilian Ministry for Foreign Affairs has stated that the press is now free to publish even, for example, such information as the sailings of convoys to Italy.

A Chilean vessel, the *Mapocho*, sank in the night of the 19th March off Iquique with heavy loss of life. This disaster, following on the loss of the training vessel *Lautaro*, has tardily aroused the Chilean Government to the danger of sabotage. There has been little restriction on the movements of Japanese residents in Chile; and these events, so soon after Chile's declaration of war on Japan, may be more than coincidental.

In Colombia Congressional elections are reported to have given the Liberal party a slight increase in its already considerable majority.

The inclusion of the Guatemalan claim to British Honduras in the new Guatemalan Constitution has been the subject of a vigorous protest by His Majesty's Government. On the 21st the Guatemalan Press printed an inspired memorandum in which the protest was rejected, and the Guatemalan Counsellor in London, has presented a note rehearsing the familian Guatemalan contentions.

President Roosevelt has ordered that the Office of Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs shall be replaced by an Office of Inter-American Affairs, whose director shall be subordinate to the Assistant Secretary in charge of relations with the American Republics. The Office is thus still under the ultimate control of the former Coordinator, Mr. Nelson Rockefeller.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary
No. 287

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
4TH APRIL, 1945.

Copy No. 141

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

THE disintegration of German power proceeds apace. The forces of the Western Allies have broken far and wide out of their Rhine bridgeheads and have fanned out over Central Germany to an extent not yet officially revealed. But certain information has been released. Advance units are known to be in Rheine, beyond Münster, and now Osnabrück, in Kassel, in Würzburg. This means that they have already covered more than half the distance from the German frontier to the capital; they are less than 160 miles from Berlin and only some 200 miles from the advancing Russians. The Red Army's progress, if less spectacular, has equal strategic importance. Marshal Malinovsky has driven along the Danube through Czechoslovakia into Bratislava. Marshal Tolbukhin, on the other side of the great river, has outflanked Wiener-Neustadt and is reported to be within 15 miles of Vienna itself. In Silesia Glogau has fallen and, in Western Prussia, Danzig. The all-important Oder section of the front due east of Berlin is at the moment still stationary.

There is no doubt about the extreme interest shown by the German people in this converging advance. Newspapers are bought up, atlases consulted. The absorption in the western campaign was said by one neutral correspondent to be such that the eastern fighting seemed by comparison to attract little attention. The official communiqués have not been calculated to satisfy this curiosity to any great extent. That of Good Friday said that the Allied Armies had been checked on the Lower Rhine, but referred to American units "in the Marburg area," "south of Aschaffenburg" and to "penetrations of some depth" north of the Main. On the following day the *O.K.W.* spoke of the American advance being slowed up by the attacks of German battle-groups. It claimed that the Danubian positions were being held and that Glogau was still holding out, but admitted that at last Küstrin had fallen. In the west, it reported that "counter-measures had been taken," that the Americans had forced an entry into Heidelberg and had been dislodged by a counter-attack. Easter Sunday's communiqué spoke of renewed attacks on Breslau, "grim defensive fighting on the Dutch frontier" and fierce battles west of Kassel.

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Gossip in Germany seems to have more than made up for what the official bulletins did not say and semi-official reporters have been busy denying "fantastic B.B.C. reports" that the western thrust had reached Nuremberg and was approaching Leipzig and Dresden. They assured the public that the report of French troops crossing the Rhine was an invention, that the Allies had not broken through to Würzburg and that the entire area east of Aschaffenburg was under German control. A Good Friday comment (for foreign consumption only) spoke of Montgomery's clearly-emerging plan to encircle the Ruhr and conjectured that the intended link-up of the two pincer arms in the Münster–Paderborn area would no doubt be resisted by all available German reserves.

The evasive tone of official reports does not seem to have availed to conceal from the Germans the gravity of their military situation, and in true Nazi manner this has been within the last week suddenly admitted. A Home Service broadcast on Easter Sunday said it was now obvious to every German that the climax of the six years' struggle had been reached: "There is no longer any German Gau left which is not liable to feel to the greatest possible extent the terrific threat of the enemy onslaught. The long-awaited all-out assault from West and East has become a reality. The heart of the Reich—the Reich, Germany—is exposed to the gravest danger of her long history." General Dittmar was less pompous and more impressive. On Thursday, the 29th March, he emphasised the "extremely grave implications" of the fact that the Rhine barrier had been overcome, and went on to suggest that it was now doubtful whether Germany should carry on the war at all: "The question of the sense of continuing the struggle, which can never be entirely dissociated from its chances, now confronts the fighting soldier and the whole German people with increased urgency."

It would be interesting to know what answer the German leaders give to this political problem, which absorbs public attention and on which the German press and radio are making repeated efforts to spread reassurance. The political effect of the military retreats is not, of course, known in detail, but it is clear that the task of governing a Germany increasingly open to every threat must be getting beyond even German powers of organisation. The Ruhr is isolated, the West is largely in enemy hands, Austria is partly overrun, Saxony is threatened. Communications are everywhere blocked or impeded. The main railway from Berlin to Munich is so far intact, but is in danger of being cut before long. All these facts make unified control and any single strategic plan nearly impossible. As General Eisenhower's message of the 31st March expressed it: "The German Government has ceased to exercise effective control over wide areas." There is, indeed, no sign that the Nazis have a strategic plan for the progressive defence of their country. Their best forces would seem to be east of Berlin and north of the Ruhr. Some reports speak of the withdrawal of S.S. units to a stronghold in Bavaria, and there have been others to the effect that prominent Nazis (Göring, Ley) have already sent their families to the southern mountains. But the evidence of a Nazi intention to man and hold a great "Keep" in the Alpine districts is not wholly satisfying, and, in any case, the rapidity of the Allied advance may seriously interfere with the execution of such a scheme.

On the Home front, too, at a moment when national discipline is of prime importance, the people neither see nor hear their leaders. The red execution placards are more prominent in German cities than appeals to resist to the last. The Gauleiters, whose regional powers increase as their regions become more isolated, have this week been warned by Bormann not to leave their own district and told in unvarnished terms that any who do so will be treated as common deserters. Such an announcement broadcast over the German Home Service can hardly increase confidence in the Nazi leadership.

One substitute for active direction of the making the Nazis have, indeed, discovered in their new German Freedom Movement which is claimed to have arisen in the Western occupied districts. This is being publicised by a special *Werwolf* radio station and is said to inaugurate a new stage of savage guerrilla warfare. The werwolf, taking his name, as one broadcast explained, from the wild men of the German sagas who, "clad in the skins of animals bound from the darkness of the woods with the utmost fury upon everything living," would resist to the last, and in unorthodox fashion: "The werwolf does not heed the restriction imposed upon combatants in the regular forces." It is significant that, after two or three days of intense publicity, this Movement is now stated to be an independent growth, having no direct connexion with the German Government or the Nazi Party.

Civilian discipline has not so far proved an insoluble problem for Himmler's police forces. One section only of the population is considered to threaten

disorder—the foreign workers. Here the most remarkable piece of evidence comes from Recklinghausen, a Ruhr town, whose Police Chief issued on the 23rd February a series of measures designed to combat activities of foreign workers. This document prescribes drastic measures to "counter the insecurity" caused by the presence in both town and country of workers absent from their factories. Together with escaped prisoners of war and "other elements," these were thought to constitute potential centres of revolt, and were to be not only more strictly supervised but raided from time to time by police and Wehrmacht in order to be kept in check. Police authorities are urged in military orders to sanction no wireless sets for any foreign workers; the population are reproved for giving them food, and special vigilance is required after raids. The Gestapo of Düsseldorf reports that foreign workers in that area expect supplies of weapons to be dropped on their camps by Allied aircraft (this rumour is said to have been exploited to the invaders' advantage by the workers of Treves). Violence is reported from a camp of 1,000 Russian workers near Dresden; the guards were killed and the gates forced. Sabotage on the railway track in the Wetzlar area is said to have reached such proportions that several station-masters have had to be dismissed.

The speedy progress of the Allied Forces east of the Rhine has culminated in the complete isolation of the Ruhr from the rest of the Reich. In 1943 roughly half of Germany's total output of hard coal was produced in this area. Taking into account the previous loss of Silesia, Lorraine and the Saar, hard coal output which still remains at the Reich's disposal hardly exceeds 5 per cent. of that in 1942–43. Moreover, more than two-thirds of Germany's pig-iron and crude steel was produced in the Ruhr; and although previous to its present isolation much of the capacity was out of action, owing to bombing and a shortage of ores, such supplies as could still reach the finishing industries in the centre of the Reich were of the greatest value. Apart from coal and steel, the Ruhr also possessed much chemical capacity. This loss, together with that of the chemical centres in the Rhine Province, at Frankfurt a/M., at Ludwigshafen/Oppau, Darmstadt, Wiesbaden, &c., will adversely affect the German munition and explosive industries. Above all, it will deprive Germany of essential medical supplies both for the forces and for civilians. Finally, the areas now overrun by the Allies include 90 per cent. and 60 per cent., respectively, of Germany's sulphate and sulphite capacities, which means that the basic materials needed for many important industries will in future only be available in negligible proportions. All these losses must have crippling effects on continued production in the more central industrial areas of the Reich.

The entry of Russian troops into Austria and the despatch of the notorious Sepp Dietrich to organise the defence of Vienna lend importance to the scanty material of an authentic kind on the attitude of the Austrians to the Nazi régime. The capital itself has suffered heavily from Allied bombing and, in early March, was already reported to be without the normal supply of water, light, gas and trams. Anti-Nazi feeling is said to be very widespread, even among former Nazis, and disaffection amongst the Volkssturm battalions to be so prevalent that the Nazi officers dare not arm them fully. Several reports speak of the extreme apathy and hopelessness of the people, whose one desire is peace. As in Germany, the grip of the Gestapo has tightened of late and there is little active resistance in the large towns. Certain Austrian circles outside the country claim that there is an organised all-party underground movement which may prove of assistance to the Allies during the final breakdown of the Nazi power. But the fact that the Nazis were able to hold Budapest so long against the wishes of many of its inhabitants, the lack of evidence of any large amount of arms in the hands of anti-Nazi Austrians, and the apathetic temper of the people already referred to must make it doubtful whether any assistance of much value is likely to be rendered.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

President Beneš has at last returned to his own country. He left Moscow for liberated Slovakia on the 31st March, accompanied by members of his newly-formed Cabinet, and attended by the Soviet Ambassador M. Zorin. The Cabinet formed in Miscow is to assume control of Czechoslovak territory until the holding of parliamentary elections, which will probably take place in each province as liberation proceeds. Provincial autonomy and federation are promised developments.

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The President has emphasised the desire of Czechoslovakia to maintain friendly relations with the democratic Western Powers. Soviet-Czechoslovak relations are still firmly based on the 1943 Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Post-War Collaboration, described by Dr. Ripka recently as "the basic guarantee of Czechoslovakia's security."

The new Cabinet includes the following members: MM. Fierlinger (Czechoslovak Ambassador in Moscow) as Premier, Nosek, Vice-Premier, Masaryk, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Ripka, Minister of Overseas Trade, Šrobár (Chairman of the Slovak National Council), Šramek, Stránsky, Bečko, Majer, Lichner, Gottwald, Smutný and Prof. Nejedlý. The Communist and National Socialist parties are thus represented, but not the Agrarian. There is no representative of Ruthenia.

Before leaving Moscow, Czechoslovak representatives made broadcast appeals to their countrymen to rise in support of the rapidly-advancing Soviet armies. On the 26th an urgent appeal was made by Nosek, the Vice-Premier, addressed specially to the coal and metal workers of the Moravská Ostrava) and Karvinńa area. On the 28th Colonel Ferencík, military delegate of the Slovak National Council at the Moscow discussions, appealed to all former Czechoslovak soldiers in occupied territory to join the partisans who have for so long been harassing the enemy.

The Deputy President of the Slovak National Council, M. Husak, speaking on the 27th, called upon the Slovak nation to do all in its power to assist the Soviet advance by the rapid repair of transport and industrial plant in the freed areas. To deal with the political and economic problems now arising the Slovak Communist and Democratic Parties in Košice, have formed a new National Front Committee, on which the parties are each represented by four members.

During the past week the Red Army forces under Marshal Malinovsky's Command have made triumphant progress in the drive on the Slovak capital, Bratislava. This campaign has gone forward in a series of pounces, interrupted only by the natural obstacles of the flooded rivers flowing south from the Carpathians to the Danube. Orders of the Day announced the fall of Levice (on the Hron), Vrable (on the Zitava), Nitra, Noyé Zámky and Surany (on the Nitra), and Hlohovec (on the Vah). The important Danubian port of Komárno was also occupied. Other points defending the direct approaches to the Slovak capital were seized on the 1st April. On the 3rd these Soviet forces were fighting in the suburbs of Bratislava.

At the other end of the Moravian Gate, the campaign against the strongly fortified enemy lines protecting Moravská Ostrava proceeds more slowly. The Red Army under Marshal Koniev has occupied more of the Silesian industrial belt and closed up to the actual Czechoslovak frontier. Rybnik and Strehlen were taken on the 27th March, Ratibor and Bieskau on the 30th, and the besieged garrison at Glogau on the 1st April. Berlin announces that the German Minister of State, Frank, and Gauleiter Konrad Henlein have been placed in charge of the defence of the M. Ostrava–Opava line of fortifications.

POLAND.

The claim of the Warsaw Administration that it should be represented at San Francisco has received support from the Soviet Government (see below under "Soviet Union"), and from a body of the Warsaw Administration's supporters in London, known as the Polish Council of Democratic Unity.

Since the dissolution of the Polish National Council in London by President Raczkiewicz, reported in the last *Summary*, fourteen of its twenty-nine members have dissociated themselves from the Arciszewski Cabinet's policy of opposition to the Yalta Agreement. "The chief and most urgent task of the Polish parties" they say, "is to do their utmost, on the basis of the Crimea decisions, for the speedy setting up in Poland of a really representative democratic Polish Government." The signatures are headed by that of Professor Grabski, formerly president of the National Council, and include, besides those of Peasant Party members, those of five members of the Christian Labour Party, of which General Sikorski was an adherent. This Party declared its support for M. Mikolajczyk last week.

On the capture by the Red Army of the former Free City of Danzig on the 30th March the Polish flag was immediately hoisted, and the heads of the Warsaw Administration telegraphed the thanks of the Polish nation to Marshal Stalin. On the same day the Warsaw "Cabinet" decreed the Constitution of

Danzig, with Gdynia and five rural districts of Polish Pomerania, into a new Polish province of Gdansk (Danzig). On the 31st March M. Osobka-Morawski broadcast an address in celebration of these events, for which, according to a *Tass* communiqué, he gave credit to the Red Army, the Polish Army, and the "correct attitude of the resurrected democratic Polish State." "Besides Gdansk," he added, "we have received back the Masurian lands" (*i.e.*, Southern East Prussia) "Lower and Oppeln Silesia, and the hour is not distant when the Polish frontiers will be established on the Neisse, on the Oder, and on the Baltic shore."

On the 30th March an announcement was made over the Yugoslav Radio that Marshal Tito's Government had recognised the "Provisional Government" in Warsaw, and that representatives would be exchanged.

The Lublin radio has recently broadcast an authorative account of the "Provisional Government's" policy in regard to the various categories of Polish citizens placed by the Germans on the "Deutsche Volksliste." The latter, it will be recalled, was divided into four classes: Categories I and II comprised, respectively, politically "active" and politically "passive" members of the pre-1939 German minority in Poland; Category III—by far the largest group—consisted of persons who, although claimed to be of German origin, had become more or less Polish by inter-marriage, by the adoption of Polish culture, and by adherence to Polish economic and political organisations; those in Category IV were "absolute renegades" and completely Polonised Germans. The "Provisional Government," in its Decree of the 28th February, 1945, discriminates between these groups as follows: Members of Category I are automatically deprived of civil and political rights, and forfeit their property; their ultimate fate is not indicated, but it seems probable that they are destined for deportation to forced labour in the U.S.S.R. Members of Category II are given the "opportunity to redeem themselves," by application for a process of rehabilitation," provided that they can prove compulsion by the German authorities, and if they behaved "as Poles" during the Occupation. Those in Categories III and IV, similarly, will enjoy full rights as citizens if they can prove compulsion and "their Polish national consciousness by their behaviour." Unsatisfactory members of the last three Categories, on the other hand, will be isolated for an indeterminate period in a camp, will be liable for compulsory labour, and will lose for ever their civil and political rights and their property. In no case does there seem to be any question of evacuation to Germany.

SOVIET UNION.

Sixteen Orders of the Day have greeted Soviet victories during the past week. In the North, Gdynia fell on the 28th and Danzig on the 30th March, after hard fighting, while the encircled German troops south-west of Königsberg were liquidated on the 29th March. Glogau was finally captured by Marshal Koniev's troops on the 1st April, "after prolonged siege and stubborn battles." The greatest progress has been made in the south, where Marshal Malinovsky's troops, advancing on both sides of the Danube towards Bratislava, took Györ on the 28th, Komarno on the 30th and Galanta on the 31st March, while on the 3rd April fighting began in the suburbs of Bratislava. Marshal Tolbukhin's troops reached the Austrian frontier on the 29th March at Köszeg and on the 1st April, after capturing Sopron, they actually crossed that frontier further north; in the course of their advance they took Csorna and Sárvár (28th March), Szombathely and Kapuvár (29th March), and Nagykanizsa (2nd April).

It was announced on the 2nd April that the Order of Victory, the highest military decoration in the Soviet Union, has been awarded to Marshals Koniev, Zhukov and Rokossovsky for their victorious campaigns.

The crossing of the Austrian frontier was not marked by any official statement on Soviet policy towards that country, as had been the case with Roumania and Poland, but *Izvestiya* (31st March), discussing the offensive, stated "our troops have reached the frontier of Austria filled with determination to secure the restoration of that country's independence." *Pravda* (31st March), commenting on the liberation of Danzig, underlined its Polish nature, writing of "this ancient Polish city, this most important Polish port on the shores of the Baltic Sea, this custodian of Polish culture."

The claim of the Warsaw Polish Government to representation at San Francisco, put out in its statement of the 22nd March, was strongly supported from the Soviet side in an official *Tass* message of the 31st March. According to

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that message, the Soviet Government, even before the issue of the Polish statement, had signified to the Governments of Great Britain and the United States that if reorganisation of the Provisional Polish Government had not been completed before the opening of the Conference, representatives of the existing Warsaw Government should be invited to San Francisco. The Soviet statement went on to refute the contention of Great Britain and the United States that the Warsaw Government could not be invited since their respective Governments were not in diplomatic relations with it, by pointing out that the Soviet Union had met the wishes of the Western Allies in agreeing to the issue of invitations to India, Hayti, Liberia and Paraguay, though the U.S.S.R. had no diplomatic relations with such countries.

There has been no specific statement of Soviet support for Albania's claim to be represented at San Francisco, but considerable publicity has been given to reports from the Albanian press, that in view of Albania's aid to Yugoslav partisans the exclusion of the country would be an act of injustice.

France's attitude to San Francisco was discussed at length in an article in *The War and the Working Class* (23rd March) designed to allay French fears that the Dumbarton Oaks proposals were inconsistent with the Franco-Soviet Pact. It was pointed out that as that Pact had been signed after the Dumbarton Oaks conversations, it could not run counter to the decisions there adopted. The Franco-Soviet Pact, like the Soviet-Czechoslovak and Anglo-Soviet Treaties merely implied that these countries assumed in advance a voluntary obligation to strike the first blow at a new German aggression. The new International Organisation would not make bilateral treaties superfluous—indeed the Soviet Union, Great Britain, France and Czechoslovakia had suffered too much in the present war to found their security on hope alone. The article concluded that if in spite of these arguments the French still feared any inconsistency, a resolution might be moved at San Francisco whereby the Conference would take special cognisance of bilateral treaties previously concluded between countries directly liable to German aggression.

The rumour put out in the American *Daily Mirror* to the effect that the Franco-Soviet Pact contained a secret clause approving freedom of action for the French in the west and for the Soviet Union in the east was officially repudiated by *Tass* (27th March), which affirmed that that Pact contained no secret clause whatsoever.

The official Soviet account of the arrangement for the eventual participation of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Republics in the proposed new International Organisation was put out by *Tass* on the 2nd April. According to this version, the Soviet Government proposed at the Crimea Conference that these two Republics should be represented in the new Organisation on the ground that they surpassed in population and in contribution to the war effort certain other States which by general agreement had been classed as founder members. The Governments of Great Britain and the United States agreed to support this proposal at San Francisco, and in return the U.S.S.R. assented to the American proposal that the votes of the United States Government in the Assembly should be increased to three. The question of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Republics sending representatives to San Francisco was not raised by the Soviet delegation at Yalta.

Some interesting points have emerged during the conversations of the Czechoslovak Government representatives with the Soviet authorities in Moscow (see under "Czechoslovakia"). It has been affirmed from the Czech side that there was no Russian interference in the reconstruction of their Government, though the Soviet Government did apparently offer to use its influence to restrain the Czechoslovak Communists from making excessive demands. This fits in with the damping down received by the Bulgarian Communists in Moscow at the end of last year (see *Summary* No. 267). Marshal Stalin is reported to have gone out of his way to make the significant pronouncement that the old Russian Pan-Slav policy was dead, and that the U.S.S.R. did not desire to exercise any hegemony over smaller Slav States, which should develop along their own lines without aping the Soviet Union.

In connexion with recent reports of excessively boisterous behaviour on the part of the Red Army abroad, particularly in Slovakia and Ruthenia, and also in Yugoslavia, it is of interest to note a *Pravda* editorial of the 26th March impressing on Soviet troops abroad the need for being worthy of their high mission. The Soviet man in Europe must reveal to peoples blinded by propaganda the attractive side of the Soviet character, and make it clear that he belongs to a State where national and racial exclusiveness is prosecuted as a crime. Finding himself in "an atmosphere of private property and profit, speculation; predatory

interests, prostitution and insulting disrespect of man," he must keep himself unspotted from the world.

The well-known Marshal Shaposhnikov died after a long illness on the 26th March, his death and funeral being given great publicity in the Soviet press. He was one of the most colourful military figures in the U.S.S.R., being one of the first and proving the most important of the Tsarist officers to join the Red Army, which he did as early as May 1918. He rose to be Chief of the General Staff of the Red Army in 1928, and after an interval was again appointed to that post in 1940, being relieved later in the year owing to ill-health. In August 1941 he was made Chief of Staff of the Supreme Commander-in-Chief, or virtually technical adviser to Marshal Stalin. Recently bad health has kept him in the background. Apart from his military posts, Marshal Shaposhnikov was a candidate for the Central Committee of the Communist Party and Deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. He was three times awarded the Order of Lenin as well as numerous other decorations. He was accorded a most impressive State funeral attended by all the leading personalities in the U.S.S.R., his ashes being buried in the Kremlin; his widow was given a grant of 200,000 roubles, together with a monthly pension of 5,000 roubles.

SCANDINAVIA.

The flow of German refugees into Denmark continues on an alarming scale. It is reported in the Swedish press that the numbers now exceed 300,000, and that instructions have been issued that billets are to be found for no less than 2 million in the next few weeks. The danger both to public health and to food supplies is arousing anxiety. On the 25th March the Central Committee of the Danish Medical Society passed a resolution to the effect that Danish doctors, while they may treat individual refugees in special circumstances, are not to organise any medical service for German civilians entering the country, claiming that International Law places them under no such obligation, and stressing that the influx has occurred in spite of the protests of the Danish authorities.

This exodus from Germany has aroused fear among the Swedes that attempts will also be made to find a refuge in Sweden. This fear seems to be justified, for a steamer arrived at the Swedish island of Öland from Gdynia on the 1st April carrying 51 German refugees, of whom nearly half were in the uniform of the Todt organisation. On the following day seven German officers reached the same island, and two more boat-loads of fugitives arrived at Kalmar.

The Swedish press has for some time been alive to the problem. A warning was uttered by *Öresunds Posten* on the 22nd March, which stated that four German civilians from Danzig, probably high party officials, landed from an aircraft on the 20th March alleging that they had lost their way. The paper commented that if persons of this kind received permission to remain in Sweden such errors in navigation would probably become common. On the 28th March *Dagens Nyheter* reverted to the question in some detail, urging that there was reason to stress the pronouncedly anti-Nazi Swedish refugee policy during recent stages of the war, and calling for increased stringency of control. On the same day a Swedish broadcast announced that the Minister of Justice was laying a new Aliens Bill before the Riksdag, in conformity with the stricter refugee policy which it was proposed to adopt.

At a meeting of the Swedish Communist Party during the last week of March, a resolution was adopted calling on the Government to sever all connexion with Nazi Germany, to intern all Fascists and to expel all Germans holding Nazi passports.

The arrival in Stockholm, by air from Berlin, of the German economic expert, Dr. Schnurre, on the 27th March, has aroused considerable curiosity. The object of his visit at this particular juncture remains obscure, but it has naturally given rise to a good deal of rumour and speculation.

There has been some criticism in the Swedish press of a speech by the Premier, M. Hansson, delivered on the 25th March, in which he asserted that "our Northern neighbours agree that the best interests of all are served by Sweden keeping out of the war." It is suggested in various quarters that this statement would not apply if, after the general collapse of Germany, an attempt were made to continue resistance in Norway and Denmark. There are indeed some indications of such a possibility. In Norway, work is being completed on a strong fortification in Stjördal, commanding Vaernes airfield in Tröndelagen, and an enormous quantity of ammunition and food are reported to have been

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stored in tunnels blasted in the hills. Yellow brassards marked Deutsche Wehrmacht are being distributed, together with a combatant's certificate, to members of the quisling Hird. A recent concentration of this force in Oslo has stimulated the suspicion that a final desperate resistance may be contemplated. The prospect does not seem to be relished by the majority of the Hird men, many of whom are reported to have gone into hiding. In Denmark, also, the construction of fortifications continues across northern Sjaelland, and the garrison of Naestved in the south of the island is reported to be engaged in strengthening its defences. Work on fortification is also stated to be continuing in the extremity of the Jutland peninsula, from Aalborg northwards. On the 21st March the Freedom Council issued an appeal to their countrymen to do everything possible to delay work of this kind and to refuse to take part in it.

German executions of Danish patriots continue. Eight more took place on the 28th and 29th March, the victims including Count Lennart Ahlefeldt-Laurvig-Lehn, who is said to have been closely connected with the Danish Royal Family. This action may have been intended as a reprisal for the destruction, by sabotage on the 26th March, of the "Always" Radio Factory in Copenhagen, which played an important part in German war production. It seems evident, however, that no severities will deter the Danish Freedom Movement from pursuing its activities.

The death of Professor Segerstedt, the famous editor of *Göteborgs Handels Tidning*, on the 31st March, deprives the Allied cause of a distinguished champion and the Nazis of a most inveterate and outspoken enemy.

THE LOW COUNTRIES.

Events on the Western front are being followed with the greatest interest in the Low Countries. A Belgian unit is included in the Allied forces that have crossed the Rhine. Further parts of the Netherlands, including the town of Enschede, have been liberated.

According to Radio Brussels, M. Spaak has given assurances to the Senate's Commission on Foreign Affairs that the Belgian Government will endeavour to safeguard the interests of Belgian river traffic on the Rhine and has imparted to them his views on the coming collapse of Germany and the situation that will then occur, including Belgium's claim for reparation. It has also been announced that M. Spaak will lead the Belgian delegation to San Francisco, which will include members of all parties.

In a letter to *The Times*, Jhr. Beelaerts van Blokland, Vice-President of the Dutch Council of State, has strongly criticised the proposals that are to be laid before the San Francisco Conference. "Is it unreasonable," he asks, "because legalistic and unduly idealistic, for the smaller Powers to ask that the decisions of the new organisation for security as well as for peace be made on a basis of some measure of justice and regard for international law, so as to condemn in advance any fresh tendencies to reach "solutions" on the basis of appeasement?" He adds that the small Powers do not think it inconsistent with realism to ask that "the Security Council be empowered to pronounce a verdict of breach of the peace without running the risk, resulting from the compromise as drafted at Yalta, of a Great Power that has broken the peace vetoing this pronouncement."

The Belgian Minister of Agriculture has paid a visit to England in order to study British methods of food production.

In a statement to the Belgian Chamber on the 28th March M. van Acker gave some interesting information about economic conditions. Unemployment had fallen heavily; indeed, there was already a shortage of skilled labour and a general labour shortage appeared to be imminent. In order to solve the problem, labour would be directed to the industries where it was most needed, in particular to agriculture, forestry and metallurgy. M. van Acker added that the output of coal had increased appreciably, but that it was not yet satisfactory; in order to increase the labour force, the Government had obtained the permission of the Allied authorities to employ in the mines prisoners of war who volunteered to work there up to the number of 14,000. M. van Acker also promised vigorous measures against the black market and a prompt purge of the public services.

Shortly after her return to England from her visit to the Netherlands (see last *Summary*) Queen Wilhelmina directed that Radio Orange should broadcast a message thanking her subjects for their welcome, in which she also stated that "to make the acquaintance of the brave men of the Resistance Movement and the Forces of the Interior was of great significance and satisfaction to me, as well

as being able to hear at first hand of the union and mutual co-operation which has grown in our people during the years that have passed. My Ministers and I will be only too glad to give you the fullest possible opportunities of fulfilling your ardent desire to co-operate in the reconstruction of the fatherland."

FRANCE.

French participation in the great military events in the West was signalised by the crossing of the Rhine by the 1st French Army and their advance into Baden. This news provided a fitting background for the great military parade held in Paris on Easter Monday. It was preceded by the re-kindling of the flame on the Unknown Warrior's tomb by ex-Service men of both wars on the evening of Easter Day followed by one minute's silence salvoes of artillery and the pealing of the bells of the Paris churches. At the Easter Monday parade, held on the Place de la Concorde, General de Gaulle reviewed 12,000 French troops and presented to 131 colonels commanding regiments the colours hidden during the German occupation or new ones to replace those destroyed.

Speaking later at the Hôtel de Ville where, in the presence of the Diplomatic Corps, he presented the Cross of Liberation to the City of Paris, he paid a tribute to the reborn French Army which was at that moment "crossing the Rhine between Speyer and Basle, while holding the Alpine front from end to end and the Atlantic Front, and holding the Japanese in check in Indo-China." He stressed the need for hard work, discipline and national unity. Though entering on a harsher world, France intended to be loyal to her friends and to make every effort to build up in justice a world organisation which might enable "all nations, of whatever size," to find peace and equity.

M. Bidault, in the course of his reply to the debate on foreign policy in the Consultative Assembly on the 27th March, while strongly reaffirming France's will to co-operate fully in collective security and to play a constructive part at San Francisco, defended France's colonial record against a press and book campaign: let those who had done better throw the first stone. While desiring the collaboration of all, they would not accept that French sovereignty over certain territories should be questioned. After M. Vincent Auriol had spoken of the complete agreement between the Minister and the Assembly, the latter unanimously voted a motion of support.

On the 30th March the Council of Ministers approved M. Bidault's list of delegates for the San Francisco Conference. They are: MM. Bidault, Pleven, Billoux, Paul-Boncour, Henry Bonnet as "délégués titulaires," and MM. Monnet, Naggiar, Basdevant, General Juin and Admiral Thierry d'Argenlieu as "délégués adjoints." Owing to the war developments interest in the Conference is to some extent abating and it is thought that certain delegates may be prevented from attending.

The question of the number of votes which each country should have in the General Assembly has received some attention in the Press. If the United States and the Soviet Union are each to have three votes the view is expressed that units of the new "French Union" (see last *Summary*) should also have separate votes, *e.g.*, Morocco, Tunisia, French West Africa, Equatorial Africa, Madagascar and Indo-China, all of which are to receive a considerable degree of autonomy after the war. Furthermore, the report that French will not be recognised as one of the official languages at the Conference has been the subject of strong criticism. (See also under "Soviet Union.")

The Financial Agreement between the British and French Governments, which was signed in Paris on the 27th March by Sir John Anderson and M. Pleven, replaces both the Simon–Reynaud Agreement of December 1939 and the Agreement of the 8th February, 1944 (see *Summary* No. 227), and clears up all outstanding debts between the two countries. Although the Agreement is narrower than had been hoped and only runs from the 1st March, 1945, to the 28th February, 1946, it allows for the resumption of trade between the franc and sterling areas and for freedom of transfer of payments within those areas. Each Government is to open a credit equivalent to £100 million in favour of the other and any outstanding balance at the end of the year, which is expected to be in favour of this country, is to be paid partly in gold. Both French debts to Britain, dating back to the beginning of the war (including also British advances to the Free French under the Agreement of August 1940, and recent civilian supplies furnished to France) and British debts to France are to be repaid through a special account; it appears that the French debit balance will

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be met by the requisitioning of French funds in this country. The French munition contracts in the United States, taken over by the British Government after June 1940 are the subject of a special arrangement whereby France refunds to us the dollar cost of those munitions and we agree to send to France an equivalent amount of war supplies which can be put to civilian use. Certain claims on either side are waived, including general claims arising out of the Simon–Reynaud Agreement, under which Britain and France shared war expenditure in the ratio of 60 to 40.

On the 28th March M. Capitant, in the Consultative Assembly's education debate, announced that the Government intended to abolish Vichy legislation on the (largely Catholic) *écoles libres* (see *Summary* No. 284), though this did not mean that the State would not help associations or movements having educational value. He stated that the Vichy subsidies to the *écoles libres* would be temporarily continued to avoid hardship; but the Assembly after an impassioned debate voted for their immediate suppression by 128 votes to 49.

The Budget (see last *Summary*) was finally adopted by the Consultative Assembly in the early hours of the morning of the 1st April and promulgated the same day. M. Pleven's speech of the 29th March was noteworthy for its announcement of a new tax which is to be introduced, after consideration by the Assembly, and which appears to amount to a capital levy. This tax, called the *Péréquation Nationale*, will be imposed on all types of property, increases in property since the war being taxed at the highest rate. It will be payable over four years and is estimated to yield 100 to 125 milliard fr.

The more positive French policy towards the States of Levant and the Arab World (see last *Summary*) was further exemplified by the request of M. Costa at the Consultative Assembly on the 27th March that there should be more and better broadcasts in Arabic. On the 1st April the French Home Service announced that three daily half-hour news bulletins would shortly be broadcast in Arabic for the Middle East and North Africa. Full wireless publicity was given on the 26th March to the friendly press interview of the Syrian Foreign Minister in Cairo and on the 31st the Syrian Minister in an interview in Paris with the A.F.P. said that the official invitation to San Francisco had caused great satisfaction in both countries. Syrians in particular were "happy that France, to whom they are linked by ties of traditional friendship, took the initiative in this invitation." (See under "Middle East.")

SWITZERLAND.

On the 27th March the Federal Councillor for Agriculture and Industry, M. Stampfli, reported on the recent economic negotiations to the National Council. He stressed the fact that the principle of neutrality, which had been maintained for five years under the most difficult conditions, had been preserved. Reviewing the supply situation, he said that the most urgent problem was coal. At one time during the negotiations the Allies had promised a supply of 7,000 tons a month but, for reasons which were difficult to understand, this assurance had later been withdrawn. On the whole, the Swiss delegates had made the best of a difficult situation, thanks to the efforts of M. Stucki and Professor Rappard. But the country's lack of raw material left them in an unstable situation which might turn suddenly for the worse at any time, involving them in a severe crisis with political and social consequences. He was, however, confident that the Allies, who had every interest in maintaining social stability, would not allow this to come about.

The Press is beginning to view with concern the possibilities of trouble and infection involved in a ruined Germany and to emphasise the urgency of a broad policy of reconstruction.

For the treatment of the personnel of the Swiss Legation at Budapest see under "Hungary."

SPAIN.

The reported resignation of the Duke of Alba from his post as Ambassador in London is the first significant consequence of the manifesto issued by Don Juan on the 22nd March. The Duke's position as one of the leading Royalists and an outstanding figure in the Council of Grandees gives some force to this decision, for he has held office under Franco since the days of the Civil War when, before becoming Ambassador, he was the Nationalist Agent in London. It will be remembered that the Duke was the leading signatory to the memorial to Franco sent by a group of members of the Cortes in June 1943 (see *Summary* No. 196). There was some talk then about the propriety of his continuing in the London

Embassy after this gesture of, if not revolt, at least dissatisfaction with the régime; but nothing came of it. Franco remained at the Pardo, and the Duke of Alba, quite unperturbed, stayed on at No. 24, Belgrave Square. Now, after Don Juan's call, not only to Franco, but to all those who are supporting his régime by remaining in office, the Duke, as befits his position, has given the lead by resigning. The Minister for Foreign Affairs apparently tried to dissuade him, but he said that his decision was irrevocable, and was based on his orders from Don Juan, his lack of confidence in Franco and his knowledge that His Majesty's Government believed that relations with Spain could not be cordial so long as the present régime continued.

At the moment it is not possible to say if this lead will be followed by others. There are many Royalist sympathisers who hold office under Franco. Apart from Generals like Varela and Kindelán—Aranda is unemployed—diplomats like Mateu, recently sent to Paris (see *Summary* No. 279) and Sangroniz, Ambassador in Rome, are avowed Monarchists; and Lequerica himself, provided he continues in office, would be only too willing to serve Don Juan, or for that matter anyone else who would employ him. It all depends on the Generals—such is the prestige, and power, of the Army in Spain that even a regular avalanche of diplomatic resignations would not produce the effect of half a dozen military leaders withdrawing their support from the Franco régime. And one may be permitted to doubt if soldierly devotion to "mi rey" has yet crystallised into the solidarity which will push the Caudillo out of the Pardo. "Poderoso caballero es don Dinero"—a very powerful knight is Don Doubloon.

As far as one can see, Franco himself, though not quite so buoyant as he was about his relations with Great Britain, is still persuaded that he can get himself accepted by the United States. For instance, he told Mr. Armour, the new United States Ambassador who presented his letters of credence on the 28th March, that there was a clear distinction between the war in Europe, which was disagreeably associated with the danger of communism, and the war in the Far East, which was a perfectly clear-cut issue. And there may be a few Generals who have insufficient training in political reality to disabuse him. But it is gradually being borne upon the leaders of all professions in Spain that, whether Franco be willing or no, change is not far below the horizon.

Relations with Japan have deteriorated. The Note sent to the Japanese Government demanded reparations for the considerable damage which Spanish subjects had suffered in the Philippines, but no one in Madrid expects anything but an unfavourable reply. The position is accepted that Spain will then have to take the logical course of breaking off relations and possibly declaring war. But the Ministry for Foreign Affairs is careful to insist that the matter is a purely Spanish-Japanese issue and that, whatever may be thought or said, Spain is not seeking to obtain from it credit of any kind, such as representation at any war or peace conferences. Whatever may be the outcome of this high-minded policy, His Majesty's Government and the United States Government are at one in not being interested. It is a matter of indifference to us, and a Spanish declaration of war would not in any way affect our attitude towards the Franco régime.

ITALY.

The Council of Ministers' approval of the setting up of a Consultative Council is the most interesting event in Italy this week. The formation of a national Consultative Council or "Consulta," as it is called in Italian, is a big step towards remedying the oft-voiced complaint that the Government, which, for obvious reasons, is not an elected one, is not in touch with public opinion. The Council is to be composed of ten Commissions. Each Commission will deal with Foreign Affairs, Labour, Justice, Agriculture, &c., respectively, and the members are to be chosen from practically any party or organisation provided they are, without any doubt, anti-Fascist. Members will be added from Occupied Italy as it is freed and comes under the Italian Government's jurisdiction. The Government will seek the Council's help in all general problems, but is bound to do so in the case of *budgetary* taxation and electoral laws. It is intended that the Consultative Council shall continue to function until free elections can be held when Italy is completely liberated.

It is reported from Rome that the present Government is considered in Occupied Italy to be the best in present circumstances, but that the Socialist Party should rejoin it to make it more fully representative, particularly when Northern Italy is freed. It is thought that the Socialist Party would be willing, but there

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is apparently one difficulty in that the Socialist Party have laid claim to the Ministry of the Interior, as have the Communist Party. Should the Socialist Party make this a condition for re-entering the Government, negotiations are likely to be protracted.

Signor Nenni, the leader of the Socialist Party, appears to have been much gratified by his reception in London. But what is more interesting is that Signor Nenni is said to have changed his opinion and to have realised that the people of Great Britain are genuinely democratic and that they are not reactionary as the Italian people have, up to now, believed. If Signor Nenni would make this clear in the Socialist party paper *Avanti* he would do a great deal to clear up this misconception which has made relations between the two countries, at times, unnecessarily difficult.

General Mark Clark, commander of the Allied armies in Italy, has broadcast a message to the patriots in Northern Italy telling them that large-scale operations are about to begin and requesting them to reorganise and overhaul their equipment. In this connexion there has been an unconfirmed press report that French forces have attacked on the Franco-Italian frontier south of the Swiss border.

The Swiss Press have given some further details about the alleged plot organised by the "Muti" Legion in North Italy (see last week's *Summary*). It now appears that the main object of this scheme, which is said to have been propounded at the "Muti" Legion Headquarters and submitted to Mussolini, is to confront the Allies, when they reach the north, with "a new and precise fact of revolutionary significance"; in other words, with a provisional workers' Government with a Republican and radical programme, thereby both forestalling a Communist *coup d'État* and also preventing an extension of "the Royal Bonomi Government with its reactionary and capitalist views." The promoters of the scheme argue that clearly Mussolini and the Fascists could not bring about this "new fact," but, if Mussolini were to go into the background for the time being, he would be able to stage a come-back when the provisional workers' Government, backed by the Armed Forces, came to negotiate with the Allies, on the supposition that the Allies would choose to negotiate rather than use force, as in Greece. The Provisional Government would then demand a Republic, socialisation and the vindication of Mussolini. It is difficult to estimate at this stage whether movements such as this and Professor Cione's Socialist Republican group are likely to find much following. Their main *raison d'être* appears to be an elaborate attempt to save their promoters' skins, a cause in which the popular masses in the North are not likely to be much interested, still less when combined with an attempt to save Mussolini.

Kesselring's departure appears to have increased the anxiety of the Fascists about their own fate. There have been rumours that Graziani is to take his place as Commander-in-Chief on the Italian front, the Germans intending that the onus of defeat should thus fall on him. However, these rumours are unconfirmed, and the Germans still control the Italian front.

THE VATICAN.

The Holy Office has excommunicated Don Tullio Calcagno, the Cremona priest who during the neo-Fascist period gained some notoriety by his activities on behalf of the Italian Social Republic, notably through his periodical, *Crociata Italiana*.

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

The swift advance of the Soviet and Bulgarian armies through West Hungary continued during the week, and on the 4th April the whole country was reported clear of the enemy. Such Hungarian troops as were engaged surrendered in large numbers; among the prisoners taken was General Aggteleki, commanding the Hungarian Third Army. General L. Veress, formerly commanding the Second Army, who had been imprisoned by the Szálasi Government, was released when the Russian troops entered Sopron, and placed at the disposal of the Debrecen Government.

The strength of the Debrecen Government's new army is now reported to be two divisions of 10,500 men each.

The food situation in Budapest continues serious, but it is reported that essential minimum supplies are now assured for some three months to come.

The Soviet authorities have removed the staff of the Swiss Legation from Budapest and placed them in protective custody near the city.

There is no foundation for the report that M. Kállay, the Hungarian ex-Premier, has fled to England. This canard, which originated in Moscow, seems to have been hatched out of a confusion between M. Kállay and General Radescu. Actually M. Kállay is believed to have been captured by the Gestapo some months ago, and to be either dead or a prisoner in Germany.

Roumania.

The difficulty of obtaining clearance for aircraft continues. Permits have been refused at one moment because the list of the crew was not signed on the dotted line, but a little above or below it. At another time the objection was that the list was in handwriting and not typed. The correction of these "errors" was received with the information that the regulations had been changed. Any instructions issued are verbal, which does not help matters for us.

On the ground that it is necessary to keep open lines of communication the Control Commission have taken over control of navigation, normally under the authority of the European Danube Commission. His Majesty's Government recognises the importance of the lines of communication argument, but for the present acts on the assumption that the operations of bodies under Soviet control are merely provisional.

Recently cars have been stationed at both ends of the street in which the British Legation building is situated, and all cars leaving the building are tracked. The occupants of these cars could not, or would not, produce any papers when asked, and declined to give any account of themselves. The Soviet High Commission repudiate all responsibility in the matter. The Roumanian Prefect of Police has stated that the unofficial Communist police are probably responsible. The Minister of the Interior is stated to have given orders for this activity to cease. It is, however, suspected that these cars were operating under the orders of the Minister.

Efforts are being made to obtain from the Roumanian Government and the Soviet High Commission a guarantee that if General Radescu leaves the British Legation and returns home, he shall not be in any way molested. The fact of his being given sanctuary has raised the question of other persons who are in some danger of arrest. This is still *sub judice*.

Arrests of suspected war criminals continue on a large scale. The people's courts are functioning and there is an unpleasant feeling of apprehension that "purging" may shortly begin. A number of Polish citizens have been arrested. This matter is occupying the attention of the British section of the Control Commission. It is reported from a trustworthy source that the Polish prisoners are well treated, but are under constant pressure to throw in their lot with the Lublin "Government."

Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav forces have captured Bihatch in western Bosnia.

The 27th March, the anniversary of the *coup d'État* in 1941, was celebrated by a review of troops in Belgrade and many speeches. The speakers used the occasion to claim the *coup d'État*, of which the Serbians are intensely proud, as having been the work of the Partisan movement. They said it was the work of "the people," not of "reactionaries," who had only exploited it. General Zhujovitch, Minister of Finance, said that the "people" had then wanted to resist the Germans and "to lean on the U.S.S.R. and the democratic States." [It will be remembered that in March 1941 Great Britain stood alone, except for Polish and Greek co-operation, and that the U.S.S.R. then had a Pact of Friendship with Germany.] He also said "the 27th March was the day when the Partisan Front went forth to meet its fate." Leading articles in *Borba* and *20 Oktobar* told the same story. The latter said that on the 27th March "the people's movement broke the old party framework into which politicians from various parties had tried to force it." [Thus is history re-edited. The *coup d'État* was effected by a few officers and leaders of the former Serbian political parties, with enthusiastic popular approval in Serbia.]

On the same occasion Tito spoke of Yugoslav claims in Venezia Giulia ("our Istria, our Slovene littoral") and Carinthia. Kosanovitch, Minister of Information, repeated the claims. To a delegation of women from Istria, Tito said "soon our army will come there." Of south Carinthia *Borba* wrote that "the plebiscite

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of 1920 [when a substantial majority voted for Austria] is worthless," because the voters rejected the old Yugoslavia, but would not reject the present "democratic" Yugoslavia." It also claimed, quite unjustifiably according to reports, much popular support for Yugoslav Partisans in Carinthia.

The Yugoslav Government have decided to establish a War Cabinet consisting of Tito, Kardelj, Zhujovitch, Hebrang, Shubashitch, Grol and Kosanovitch; *i.e.*, four Partisans and three representatives of the former parties. They have also decided to recognise the Lublin Committee as the Provisional Government of Poland and to establish diplomatic relations with it. The demand of the revolutionary Government of Albania for admission to the Conference at San Francisco has received vigorous support in the Belgrade Press; as has the new Government of Roumania.

An outbreak of typhus is amongst the chief problems of Yugoslavia, but a United States Commission is already grappling with it in east Bosnia and Macedonia. Other troubles are the outbreak of resistance, apparently on a small scale, by Dalmatian malcontents, and the parachuting of some Chetniks into Serbia by the Germans.

The United States Ambassador, Mr. R. C. Patterson, arrived in Belgrade on the 31st March.

Greece.

Replying to questions in the House of Commons on the 28th March, Mr. Eden said that, as far as His Majesty's Government was concerned, he could give an asssurance that the results of the plebiscite and the general elections would not affect any promises of assistance which had been made to Greece. His Majesty's Government would be prepared to help in supervising elections in Greece and would welcome the co-operation of their Allies; the Greek Government had stated that they intended to ask for such assistance. No detailed preparations had yet been made to provide observers, since it was not yet possible to fix even an approximate date for the plebiscite or elections. When the time came, His Majesty's Government would try to ensure that any supervision agreed upon should be effective. British forces in Greece had at no time been, nor would they be, used to intimidate Greek citizens or to prevent the free expression of political and social opinions. The constant objective of His Majesty's Government in Greece had been to create conditions in which the Greek people could freely take their own decisions about the future form and composition of their Government.

Athens Wireless (28th March) broadcast a proclamation by the King of the Hellenes which, though destined to be broadcast on Greek Independence Day (25th March), had, it was stated, only just been received. In this proclamation the King emphasised the necessity of uniting the political forces of the country to achieve solidarity. There was no time to lose; the war was in its final phase and Greece must have her army ready for battle and her political life functioning normally. There was much to be done before the time when Greeks would be called on to safeguard their new frontiers and their national rights.

It is reliably reported from Athens that the rank and file of the Communist Party are criticising their leaders for what they allege to be mistakes in policy during the last year. They aver that E.A.M. representatives had no clear-cut policy either at the Lebanon Conference or subsequently after they assumed office under M. Papandreou; that E.A.M. did not get out of the Civil War early enough; that the forces of the Left gave no assistance to members of E.A.M. who were tried for executions which they had performed on orders from above. In consequence of these mistakes it is believed that there may at some future date be changes in the leadership of the Communist Party; it would not, in the present situation, be opportune, or even possible, to hold a Party Congress. Many Greek Communists are said to be pinning their faith to the return of M. Zachariadis, the former head of the Party, who was at one time believed to have been murdered by the Germans, but is now reported a prisoner.

Some 1,300 E.L.A.S. prisoners from the Middle East landed at the Piræus on the 18th March, and a further 1,650 on the 24th; there were no incidents, and they were all released on the days of their arrival, with the exception of about 170, who were identified by the police as men wanted for offences against the civil code.

M. Alexander Mylonas (Agrarian Democrat) has taken over the Finance Ministry from M. Sideris, who remains in the Government as Minister-without-Portfolio.

Albania.

Claiming that his previous categorical refusal of Allied relief was due to a misunderstanding of the terms on which it was offered, Enver Hoxha recently expressed the desire to receive relief. In the course of cordial conversations representatives of U.N.R.R.A. made it very plain to him that U.N.R.R.A. was not prepared to function in Albania until there had been a preliminary period of relief by Allied military authorities. This, too, he at first seemed ready to accept and it was hoped that military liaison might begin relief work shortly and that U.N.R.R.A. might take it over after a month or two. But in the end Enver Hoxha refused the terms for military relief and seemed to be hoping to play military liaison off on U.N.R.R.A. However, his anxiety to obtain supplies somehow or other is likely to remain acute on account of internal difficulties. He is faced by considerable, and perhaps increasing, opposition, which in its turn is due in great measure to the inability of his Government to solve economic problems. Even among his own colleagues criticism is reported, and among the partisans there are disillusion and desertions.

Enver Hoxha's complaint mentioned last week seems to have been justified to the extent that small numbers of disbanded E.D.E.S. troops have been persecuting the Chams in Epirus. The Greek Government has given orders to ensure that the National Guard shall not attack the Chams and shall prevent others from doing so.

Bulgaria.

The People's Court has passed comparatively few sentences in recent weeks. The Minister of Justice has announced that the trials will end early this month and that there will be no fresh prosecutions. The Government has also issued two decree-laws authorising in certain cases the mitigation of sentences of long imprisonment and the loss of civil rights.

While there is no indication that Moscow or its protégé, the Fatherland Front Government, has the intention—anyhow at present—of introducing Communism, it is inevitable that, with the Red Army in occupation and with Soviet authority all-powerful, democracy as practised in Bulgaria should have a Soviet complexion, rather than one familiar to the West. Wireless sets, for example, are no longer to be supplied to private individuals. A woman working in a textile mill who is reported to have discovered a new method in weaving, has been declared to be the first Bulgarian Stakhanovite. The public has been exhorted to use shock-brigade methods in tackling the dangerously unhygienic conditions that prevail. The soldier now swears loyalty not only by God and his conscience but also by the people. The voluntary character of the Freedom Loan is stressed, but the peasants and well-to-do are constantly stimulated to subscribe more by reminders that their contributions will be taken as indicating their attitude to the new régime. Lastly, as part of the Communist effort to get hold of the young, a Communist Youth Conference has recently been held at Sofia and it is claimed that the Septemvritsi, a new organisation on Soviet lines for children between 7 and 14 years, already has 222,000 members.

Turkey.

The Turkish Government shews every disposition to replace the pact which Moscow has denounced, by negotiating a fresh treaty with the Soviet Union and, further, to modify the régime of the Straits by multilateral discussion of the Montreux Convention. So far as it goes this attitude seems to meet Russian views. Russian wireless attacks on Turkey have almost, if not quite, ceased and so have Yalçin's pin-pricks against the Soviet Union. Yet the Turks can hardly fail to be deeply perturbed not only by Russian predominance in the Balkans but also by the quiet sapping which the Soviet Union appears to have been doing in recent years round the frontiers of Turkey in Asia. In Caucasia the Armenians who are naturally anti-Turkish, have always enjoyed a full measure of Soviet support, and among the Moslems official propaganda vilifies the Turks as Fascists, capitalists and atheists. The interest taken in the local Kurds by the Russian authorities since their arrival in Persia must tend to increase the normal disaffection of the Turkish Kurds. Finally, Moscow has developed a sympathetic interest in Turkey's southern neighbours, Iraq and Syria, and there is a suggestion that the Soviet Government might support the retrocession of the Hatay or district of Alexandretta to Syria (see under "Middle East"). Whether these considerations will have the effect of softening the Turks or the reverse remains to be seen.

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With regard to San Francisco M. Atay in the semi-official *Ulus* expresses very firmly the view that the new organisation must be based not on the hegemony of the big Powers but on the equality of all, for the dictatorship of the big Four would be a Fascist arrangement. If the small nations lack confidence in the Dumbarton Oaks scheme it is, he says, only because the big Powers are not agreed among themselves.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

According to the Egyptian press, the Prime Minister has told the Senate that the Government aim at obtaining release from all Treaty restrictions, while preserving the friendship of Great Britain. Wafdist spokesmen continue to advocate a new settlement of Anglo-Egyptian relations before the opening of the conference at San Francisco.

Operatives in the Egyptian railway workshops downed tools on the 25th March, and attempted to interfere with the movement of trains. The trouble seems to have resulted from Makram Ebeid Pasha's desire to make himself popular with the workers. He seems to have let them know that he was proposing increases of pay which, as they afterwards heard, the Finance Committee of the Chamber were unwilling to approve. The Prime Minister ordered the workshops to be closed, stationed troops at key points and informed His Majesty's Ambassador that he was determined not to permit interference with communications. The workshops are believed to have been reopened on the 31st, after the strikers had given a written assurance that they were prepared to work peacefully and not to agitate about wages. Makram Ebeid, whose newspaper, on the second day of the strike, published an article praising his wage policy, is also said to have been infuriated by the Prime Minister's apparent intention to let the accusations against Wafdist Ministers die a natural death, and to have threatened resignation.

As was foreseen in last week's *Summary*, the version of the Arab Convention, on which the account given there was based, was not accurate in every detail. The official text, since received, shows that the article defining the obligations of the League in the event of aggression or threatened aggression against a member State is slightly more definite than the earlier version suggested. In these circumstances the Council is to "decide upon the measures necessary to repel the aggression." Such a decision must, however, be unanimous. If the offender is a member State, it is entitled to send representatives to the Council meeting, but its vote will be disregarded in the calculation of unanimity. It should also be noted that members are limited not to one representative each on the Council, as was stated last week, but to one vote each.

In the course of the discussions leading to the formation of the Arab League, there was a natural tendency for those countries which for varying reasons desired a loose form of association—Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Lebanon—to draw together in opposition to the two Hashimite States, with their more ambitious plans. Syria also inclined towards the former group, and her leaders were described by the Amir Abdullah in an interview with an American journalist as "self-seeking politicians." It seems likely therefore that, Egypt, as the strongest State in the larger group, will play a leading part in the early meetings of the Council; and that Hashimite prestige will suffer as a result of this alignment.

The State Department announced on the 28th March that the Syrian and Lebanese Governments were being invited to send delegations to San Francisco. The four Governments sponsoring the conference had agreed on this step, and the French had taken the initiative in proposing it. (See also under "France.") A Beirut newspaper has appealed to the Arab representatives at San Francisco to demand the return of the Sanjak of Alexandretta to Syria. Turkey's intentions towards the Arab countries, the writer declared, were unknown, and her possession of Alexandretta was a threat to the whole of Northern Syria. It is reported that the Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch, during his recent visit to Moscow, tried to interest the Soviet Government in this question. (See also under "Turkey.")

THE FAR EAST.

The Japanese are fully aware of the serious consequences to themselves which would follow an American occupation of the Ryukyu Islands. The *Asahi* on the 27th March said that, if these islands fell into enemy hands, it would mean

the severance of communications between Japan and Korea, as well as of those with southern Manchuria and "the strategically important zones on the Chinese continent." Actually the Japanese could probably still keep open the route to Korea across the Korean straits as well as their Japan Sea routes to north-eastern Korean ports, but their shipping along the west coast of Korea and in the Gulf of Pechihli would certainly be severely harried. This would throw a heavier strain upon their already overburdened rail transport between north China, Manchuria and Korea. Formosa would be isolated and could be attacked from both north and south.

The *Asahi* on the 1st April said that it was impossible to predict whether the Americans ultimately intended to land in China or to make a direct attack upon the Japanese main islands. The paper alleged that there were differences of opinion on this matter among American military and naval leaders, but it inclined to the view that those who favoured a direct attack upon Japan had gained ground, although the others remained influential. In Chungking both the official *Central Daily News* and the Army paper *Sao Tang Jih Pao* considered that the capture of the Ryukyu Islands would be followed by an American landing on the China coast, possibly between the Yangtse delta and the Shantung peninsula (Chungking Radio, 28th March).

On the 30th March the Taisei Yokusan Seijikai was formally dissolved and its successor, the Dai Nippon Seijikai, held its inaugural meeting in the Diet building. Koiso and all his Cabinet Ministers were present. The chairman of the meeting was Dr. Rentaro Mizuno, an elderly parliamentarian who was for many years a leading member of the former Seiyukai and who has been twice Home Minister. The representative of the preparatory committee was Goro Ito, a prominent member of the former Minseito. Mizuno proposed General Jiro Minami as first President of the Dai Nippon Seijikai and his appointment was approved. Upon his acceptance of the post Minami resigned his position as Privy Councillor. Minami was born in 1874; he was Minister of War in the Wakatsuki Cabinet in 1931, at the time of the Manchurian affair; from 1934 to 1936 he was Commander-in-Chief of the Kwantung Army and concurrently Ambassador to "Manchukuo." From 1936 to 1942 he was Governor-General of Korea. *Domei* (29th March) said that Minami had often been mentioned as a possible Premier, and that, as he had innumerable political friends, he was regarded as the best choice for the presidency of the new Party in view of the necessity of very close collaboration between the military and the political leaders.

Minami in his inaugural speech said that the purpose of the new Party was to organise the total strength of the people for the war effort. Later he told the Press that the Dai Nippon Seijikai was completely independent of the Government and would not hesitate to criticise it when necessary. The Party would co-operate with the fighting services but would not be completely subject to their orders. It would be representative of the nation as a whole and there might be times when it would advise or urge reflection by the Government and the fighting services (*Domei*, 31st March).

It will be observed that the Dai Nippon Seijikai is under the direction of the same type of men as was its predecessor. Minami, it is true, is something of a fire-eater, he sabotaged the Wakatsuki Cabinet, and, like Tojo and Koiso, he is a leading militarist of the Kwantung Army clique. But, like most of the senior Japanese generals, he has connexions with the older political parties and with the industrialists: thus he is no extremist of the Hashimoto variety.

Domei on the 30th March made the first reference to the Japanese offensive in Honan and Hupeh. It said that this had begun on the 22nd March, that the city of Nanyang, in Honan, fell on the 25th March, and that the airfield near Laohokow was taken two days later. Chungking reports deny the loss of Nanyang, but admit the abandonment of the airfield near Laohokow and also that the Japanese broke into the city itself on the 30th March (Chungking Radio, the 2nd April). Heinz Ross, the *Transocean* correspondent in Shanghai, said that the American 14th Air Force had been using Laohokow as a base for raids upon Japanese communications between northern and central China; it had now been deprived of this and, in addition, the Japanese had captured a valuable wheat-growing region, the loss of which would add to Chungking's economic difficulties. He added that Laohokow could be used as a base for a Japanese advance into southern Shensi, aimed at Sian, and he claimed to have heard that Chungking was anxious on this score (*Transocean*, 1st April).

The Chinese delegation to San Francisco is to be headed by Dr. T. V. Soong, the Acting President of the Executive Yuan and Foreign Minister. He will be

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accompanied by Dr. Wellington Koo: Dr. Wang Chung-hui; Mr. Wei Tao-ming; Mr. Hu Lin; Dr. Hu Shih; Dr. Wu Yi-fang, a noted woman educationalist; Mr. Li Huang, representing the National Youth Party, and Dr. Carson Chang, leader of the National Socialist Party. The Communist Party has demanded three representatives, but the Government was willing to accord them one only. Tung Pi-wu, the Communist member of the People's Political Council, was first mentioned, but, according to a British Press report, Lin Tzu-han, chairman of the Communist Border Government, is to go. This has not so far been confirmed by Chungking, nor is it certain whether the Communists will agree to any of their members going if they cannot have all the three they want—these are Chou En-lai, Lin Tzu-han and Tung Pi-wu. Tung Pi-wu is not a particularly impressive figure and he speaks little English; he is no doubt, for these reasons, the least objectionable from the Koumintang standpoint.

Provided that this Communist difficulty can be resolved, China will have an all-party representation at San Francisco and can claim to speak as a united nation. In any case some of her most able and eloquent leaders will be there. A Reuter message from Chungking on the 28th March said that T. V. Soong had told correspondents that the Chinese delegation hoped to see the early establishment of world security organisations. He was asked whether anything about Hong Kong or other colonial matters would be raised at the Conference, but he evaded this question.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The excellence of the news from all battlefronts has been tempered by sobering indications this week that peace negotiations will not be all plain sailing. Sensational accounts in the American press of the advances beyond the Rhine, in which the part played by British forces was given prominent mention, together with the announcement that the Russians had crossed the Austrian border roused intense expectation in the United States of an early German surrender. Indeed the irresistible urge to be first with the news overreached itself once again. A misinterpreted White House circular requesting high officials to stay at their posts coupled with General Eisenhower's statement that the Germans were "done for" was sufficient for a nation-wide rumour to spread over the radio on the 27th March that the end of the European war was expected "hourly." After this impression had been corrected, excitement somewhat abated, but it is ready to rise again on the slightest encouragement.

At the same time concern over the international diplomatic situation became apparent beyond those Washington circles which have been disturbed of late. Side by side with its vigorous campaign to make the features of the Dumbarton Oaks scheme thoroughly understood by the American public, the Administration has been discouraging exaggerated expectations from the forthcoming conference at San Francisco. A column by Arthur Krock, in the *New York Times* of the 21st March, was thought to reflect official views in its insistence on the limited agenda, which he summarised as the establishment of a World Security League, particularly an Economic Council, the drafting of a statute for a World Court and a trusteeship plan for the Colonies and Mandates of the enemy nations. "Beyond these duties and responsibilities, with the possible addition of some minor points, the San Francisco Conference has none." Ernest K. Lindley, another well-informed commentator, has been writing in similar strain. Mr. Lindley favours within the overall organisation more freedom for regional action, a subject much debated since the Act of Chapultepec. Walter Lippmann, incidentally the most influential exponent of regionalism, is perhaps more individual in his approach to the conference. His latest article calls for "an escape clause against the consequences of having to do too big a job too quickly, at the wrong place, under very difficult conditions, at a supreme juncture in human affairs." This insistence on provision for easy revision is, however, in line with several pronouncements by Republican leaders such as Governor Dewey, Mr. Dulles and ex-President Hoover, who has been writing widely-syndicated articles on the proposed World Organisation.

Mr. Hoover advocates a "Charter of Human Rights," an idea also favoured by Commander Stassen, one of the American delegation to San Francisco. Another delegate, Dean Virginia Gildersleeve, has also revealed some of her views this week; at a testimonial dinner she warned her hosts not to expect too much from the conference. Senator Connally has continued to insist that peace plans are "only beginning," and Senator Vandenberg has found fresh ammunition

in support of his well-known views on limited objectives and alternative methods. The Senator from Michigan has many Polish constituents who were disturbed by the Soviet suggestion that, failing agreement on a provisional Government for Poland, the present Warsaw Administration should be represented at San Francisco, and the refusal of the United States to consider the idea was welcomed. The subsequent announcement that M. Gromyko, Soviet Ambassador to the United States, would head the Russian delegation to the Conference, instead of M. Molotov as anticipated, was linked with this refusal in the minds of the public, and some newspapers drew the inference that the Soviet Government intended to agree only to what was agreed at Yalta and not to accept any material alterations proposed by other nations at San Francisco.

Above all, the disclosure that the Soviet Union and the United States were proposing to have three votes each in the projected International Assembly, roused Senator Vandenberg's ire, and not his alone. He told journalists on the 29th March that he would oppose any voting proposals which would destroy the promised "sovereign equality" of nations in "to-morrow's free and untrammelled town meeting of the world." He contended that "this applies to extra votes for us just as much as to extra votes for anyone else," and added: "The voice of the Great Powers will be amply protected in the Council." Representative Sol Bloom, another delegate, has also been critical of the proposal, and Senator Fulbright protested in the name of Liberal Internationalists at "secret deals" of this kind. It was this aspect which pervaded newspaper comments. At his press conference on the 30th March the Secretary of State was bombarded with such questions as: "Were any other secret agreements on the Dumbarton Oaks plan or other subjects made at Yalta?" "Why has this matter been kept secret for 47 days?" "How does this secrecy fit in with the State Department's professed policy of taking the people into its confidence and of building a people's foreign policy?"

Some thirty of these questions were in writing, and Mr. Stettinius dealt with them in an important statement on the 3rd April. On the Soviet suggestion of separate votes for White Russia and the Ukraine in the General Assembly, he repeated that American representatives had agreed at Yalta that "the Government of the United States would support such a Soviet proposal at San Francisco, if made." While the question as to whether the United States should or should not ask for three votes was being considered, "partial publication of the facts" had caused the White House to make its announcement, but the President had since decided that "the United States will not request additional votes in the Assembly." Apart from military plans and the subsequently-revealed formula for voting in the Security Council, the only other decisions reached at Yalta and not published related to initial membership in the international organisation and to territorial trusteeship. Rumours of a possible postponement of the Conference were scotched by the Secretary of State. "This Government believes," he said, "that the rapid tempo of military and political developments, far from requiring the postponement of the San Francisco Conference on international organisation, makes it increasingly necessary that plans for this organisation worked out at Dumbarton Oaks be carried on promptly."

(See also under "Soviet Union" and "Latin America.")

LATIN AMERICA.

The Argentine Government has supplemented its declaration of war against Germany and Japan by measures which include additional intervention in Axis firms, the blocking of bank accounts, strict vigilance over the seamen of the *Graf Spee*, and the internment of the staff of the Japanese Embassy. All German, Japanese and Hungarian newspapers (with one or two pro-Allied exceptions) have been shut down. These measures appear to fulfil the conditions requisite for the return of Argentina to normal relations with the Pan-American family, and His Majesty's Government will, of course, keep in step with the United States on the question of recognition. It is expected that Argentina will have taken the formal step of signing the final Act of the Mexico City Conference before this *Summary* appears in print, and recognition is hardly likely to be long delayed.

After the first plunge, Argentine public opinion seems to have taken the declaration of war with an apathy which is not surprising in the circumstances. In contrast to the Nationalists and to the Socialist organ, *Vanguardia*, the great Liberal dailies, *Prensa* and *Nación*, expressed approval. *Vanguardia's* freely voiced resentment brought about a momentary closure, but the Government,

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possibly realising that any display of rigour would now be extremely unreasonable, has permitted it to reopen. In Montevideo the opposition in exile has made a statement condemning the declaration of war as an opportunist manœuvre to obtain recognition, and declaring that the military dictatorship has not carried out any effective or sincere act for the re-establishment of individual rights, and that Argentine democracy will be sacrificed if the pretended democratic façade is accepted.

The Brazilian and Russian Governments exchanged notes establishing diplomatic relations on the 2nd April.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary
No. 288

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
11TH APRIL, 1945.

Copy No. 141

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

THE past week has witnessed much deeper penetrations into Western and Central Germany by Allied forces. The Weser has been crossed in several places, Bremen is under Allied artillery fire and Hanover has fallen. Yet, in many places, the Allies are meeting very stiff opposition—for example in Holland, between Arnhem and the Zuyder Zee, in the pocket encircled in the Ruhr, and at Heilbronn. There are still enough German units imbued with a fanatical Nazi spirit to make the Allied advance anything but a "walk-over."

The Western front, however, does present a contrast to the Eastern. Despite the Russian capture of Königsberg, and their penetration into Vienna, there is a solid and coherent German front on the east at least as far south as the Czechoslovak mountains. On the west the front has no such coherence. There is, in fact, nothing to show that the German High Command, so far as it still controls the battle, has now the necessary resources at its disposal, even if it had the time, to create a continuous line of defence on the west (*e.g.*, along the Elbe from Hamburg southwards).

The German High Command has done its best, without actual lying, to be encouraging in a week of bad news. It announced on the 5th April a defensive success on the central eastern front under the supreme command of General Schoerner, who has this week been made a field-marshal. It admitted on the same day the loss of Münster, on the 6th that of Bratislava and the withdrawal of German forces from Gdynia (which fell on the 28th March), on the 7th the loss of Eisenach and Langensalza. But each of these bulletins also contained reports of successful German counter-attacks, that in the Ruhr preventing the Allied drive on Dortmund, others being launched "from the mountain massif of the Thuringian forest." Kiel was twice mentioned during the week as the target of heavy air raids. The bulletin of the 8th April spoke of the heavy losses inflicted on American bombers by German fighter planes. In other German reports the attacks on Vienna loomed large. Russian attempts to force a break-through had been halted "on the whole." The population of this "truly German bulwark of the south-east" was preparing to defend its native town "to the last cellar."

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This statement appeared on the same day as the Soviet Government's declaration on Austria, issued on the 8th April, according to which the Austrian population was behaving in a different manner from that of Germany: it was resisting evacuation and warmly welcoming the Red Army.

German propaganda to foreign countries has shown some uneasiness as to the absence of firm military resistance in the West. "After fifteen stormy days," announced a *Transocean* official on the 8th, "we can once more speak of a certain stabilisation . . . . the time will soon come when the Germans will once again hold a coherent front line." The public within the Reich were told that "even enemy propaganda" had been "forced to speak of a new consolidation of German resistance in the West."

There is recent evidence of further decline in officer morale within the Wehrmacht. The Nazi leaders are apparently even more anxious about the reliability of the German officer than about the fighting spirit of the troops. This was evident in Himmler's order to the Army Group Weichsel, on the Eastern front, on the 11th February, in which he announced the execution for cowardice of officers at Bromberg and demanded the utmost severity in the conduct of courts martial, "as at all times was customary in the Prussian-German Army." Germany, he said, in the course of a long appeal for loyalty, was still strong enough to resist the Bolshevik hordes, if only everybody, and particularly the officer, did his duty. A similar order to the Western Army Group B lists the offences of which officers have been recently found guilty and prescribes stricter punishment. They include: political divergence (this to be punished regardless of military record), loyalty to colleagues accused of misdemeanour, theft and other forms of corruption, misbehaviour with women in the forces, drunkenness and failure to denounce a superior officer. An indication of the lukewarm political attitude here stigmatised is afforded by the statement of a recently captured general that the Wehrmacht is still fighting to keep the Party bosses in power. The past week has brought further evidence of friction and uncertainty between personnel of the Wehrmacht and the Waffen-S.S. A joint communiqué, issued by Himmler and Keitel, "in order to remove all existing possibilities of doubt," lays down that officers of each force are to be considered the superiors of N.C.O.s and men of the other force.

On the home front, apart from foreign workers (*cf.* last week's *Summary*) the German authorities do not appear to expect active disorder on a serious scale. The evidence here points rather to defeatism, apathy, hopelessness, to endless discussions of "why go on?" or "is there a way out?" Press and wireless have recently made serious efforts to counteract the spread of this mood. They have denounced as "rumours" the reports heard and spread by Germans after listening to the B.B.C. They have insisted *ad nauseam* on the necessity of fanatical resistance by all Germans if the Reich is to achieve victory. They have allowed it to appear that by no means all Germans are actively concerned to resist. Their anxiety is not so much with active opposition as with a complete absence of activity, a mood of passivity which is now seen to be growing dangerous in its effect on the German war effort. This has been defined by a Swiss journalist, writing late in March, as the "dumb revolution," a compound of nervous and physical strain leading to evasion of work and avoidance of energetic participation, whether in factory or fighting squad.

This is not to say that exasperation may not lead to outbreaks of disorder. Some would seem already to have occurred. Railway traffic was stopped in Munich from the 12th to the 15th March. Skirmishes were reported between civilians and the S.S. who occupied the chief public buildings. In Berlin demonstrations were reported early in March at certain community kitchens. The mood of the population was thought to be getting so angry that serious disturbances were expected before long.

The competence of regional authorities in German administration is now of the first importance in view of the way in which the Reich is being isolated into regions by the cutting of transport routes and by the western invading troops. The behaviour of several Gauleiters, whose provinces have been already overrun, would seem to have aroused criticism, which a recent broadcast from a West German station was concerned to answer. It explained that the Gauleiter of Düsseldorf attended a conference in the Reich and that it had been physically impossible for him to reach his own territory again. (*Cf.* Bormann's order to Gauleiters not to leave their district, quoted here last week.) He had now achieved the impossible and succeeded in getting through the American lines. The Gauleiter, Florian, himself spoke at the microphone and took occasion to remind his hearers that his colleagues Grohé, Hofman and Schlessmann were all present in their Gaus.

A Führer's order published on the 7th April stated that in the Kreise the holding of more than one office by one man is to be abolished. In publishing the order Bormann defines its scope as providing that no Kreisleiter may administer other Party offices, nor any office in the State Administration such as that of mayor. He adds in explanation that the war-time emergency has proved that "it is not possible for one person to discharge more than one office without neglecting one of them." The present would seem to be a curious time to iron out an administrative difficulty. The recent tendency has rather been to concentrate power in order to secure more direct and energetic action, and the approach of enemy forces might have been expected to increase it. This order therefore suggests either that the tendency has gone too far and that Nazi officials have proved overburdened or incompetent to carry out their duties or, possibly, that Party officials are being divested of other duties in order to be free for employment elsewhere, wherever and in whatever formations their fanatically resisting leaders decide.

The new rationing system comes into force with the 74th rationing period, lasting for three weeks only, from the 9th–29th April. As announced at the end of March for the 74th period, the normal consumer's weekly bread ration, which at the beginning of the year was 2,225 gr., would appear now to be 1,700 gr. The weekly fats ration has fallen from 156 gr. to 125 gr. Since local Food Offices may issue different rations if their stocks do not avail to meet the basic Reich rations, consumers may get even less than the amounts specified. An official statement issued on the 6th April boasted that it had on the whole proved possible to keep the food ration at last month's level, but added that an initial period would of course elapse before the new ration card system would be working smoothly. The real position is more accurately gauged from a captured report of mid-February, in the course of which a Convention of Food Administration Chiefs in the Rhineland state bluntly that they do not see how to provide sufficient food for future needs: "The cut in rations is ridiculous and should have been made long ago. We face a complete breakdown."

On entering Austria our Russian Allies have issued a proclamation which reaffirms the Moscow declaration in favour of Austrian independence and offers assistance to the Austrians, in "working their passage home," by "the liquidation of the régime of the German Fascist invaders and the restoration of democratic ways and institutions." But an article in *Pravda* on this subject indicates that neither Catholics, Monarchists nor at least some Social Democrats are regarded by the Russians as satisfactory representatives of democracy.

Erratum: P. I. Summary No. 287, page 2, line 14 from foot, for "making" read "nation."

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

President Beneš and the Czechoslovak Government party, with M. Zorin, the Soviet Ambassador, arrived in Košice on the 3rd April. There were no other diplomatic representatives in the party, as the Soviet Government refused at the last moment to permit the Allied corps to proceed through Roumania. M. Gousev assured His Majesty's Government that it was entirely a question of accommodation. The American Government has asked for permission for a small party of its representatives, consisting of a chargé d'affaires and two or three others, to proceed at the earliest moment to Košice; the State Department pointed out that unless this is agreed to, it can hardly regard the Government in Košice as truly independent.

On the 4th April, President Beneš accepted the formal resignation of the old Government headed by Mgr. Šrámek, and thanked Minister Nemec for the work he had done as delegate for liberated territories. As already reported, the new Government was set up with M. Fierlinger (formerly Ambassador in Moscow, and a left-wing Social Democrat) as Premier. Of the twenty-two members appointed, twelve are Czech politicians, the four parties of Christian Socialists, National Socialists, Social Democrats and Communists having equal representation; six are Slovak politicians, the Communists and Democrats being equally represented. There are four non-party members.

Spokesmen of the new Government have emphasised its temporary character. Elections are to be held as soon as possible after liberation. Great admiration for and gratitude to the Soviet Army and people were the keynotes of General Svoboda's address at a gathering in Košice on the 5th April. The desire to include Poland in a tripartite pact on the basis of the 1943 Czechoslovak-Soviet Agreement was put as one of the main points of foreign policy, as well as close

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collaboration with the other Slav neighbours. On the 8th April, Vice-Premier Gottwald (Czech Communist) dealt with Czech-Slovak relations, which are to be developed on lines of equality, with full recognition of the executive authority of the Slovak National Council in Slovak territory, and the formation of Slovak units of the new Czechoslovak Army.

The return of the new Government to Czechoslovakia coincided with two important Soviet advances. The first along the Danube by Malinovsky resulted in the fall of the Slovak capital Bratislava, on the 4th April. This was achieved by a series of rapid manœuvres along the river plain itself and across the Little Carpathians which run north-eastwards from the city to become the main mountain knot of Slovakia. These forces have fanned out further to the north, east and west, pushing up the mountainous valleys of the Nitra and Vah, occupying fortified centres like Topolčany, Banovce, Trnava, Kremnice and Nové Mesto, and crossing the Little Carpathians into the flatter country between them and the Morava. A bridgehead has been established on the west bank of the Morava along the Bratislava–Vienna railway at Marchegg on the Czechoslovak-Austrian frontier. The other advance, in which Czechoslovak troops under Brigadier-General Svoboda took part, was westwards along the upper Vah valley, the main trunk route from Prague through Zilina to the east. Liptovský Svatý Mikulaš has been recaptured, and Ružomberok, a rail centre still further west, taken on the 5th April. At the same time, Soviet forces of this front thrust across the Slovak frontier from the Polish town of Nowy Targ, forced the River Orava and occupied Námestovo, adding to the threat to Zilina. Heavy fighting but little change is reported in the sector menacing Moravská Ostrava.

POLAND.

It was announced by the London Polish Government on the 6th April that their Chief Delegate in Poland, together with the Chairman of the Council of National Unity, the commander of the Home Army (now disbanded), and twelve other leaders of the former Underground Movement, accepted an invitation to meet General Ivanov, of the Red Army's White Russian Front, on the 27th March in order to discuss the coming into the open of the Polish political parties which had so far not revealed themselves. No news had since, it was stated, been received from or about any of this party, and anxiety was expressed as to their fate. Rumours current during the past week-end, that they were engaged in consultations in Moscow, have so far not been confirmed.

It is announced that Cardinal Hlond, Primate of Poland, has been set free by the American Forces advancing in Central Germany and has arrived in Paris by air. The Cardinal left Poland with the Government in 1939, living first in Italy, then in France, where he was caught by the German invasion. He had been removed to Germany on the approach of the Allied forces in 1944.

The Warsaw Administration announces that reconstruction of the city is proceeding with the aid of engineers and other troops of General Zymierski's Polish Army.

A decree has been issued by which all Polish citizens are bound to give their services if required for aiding in the city's reconstruction. It is stated that trams are running in Praga, and that the water supply will be partly restored by the 15th May.

Complaints that the acreage allotted under the original Land Reform decrees was too small seem to have been partly met in a revised law of the 18th January, under which larger holdings could be given to various classes of applicants. Polish military engineers are said to be taking part in the application of the Reform in some districts.

It is announced that a beginning is now being made in the organised voluntary repatriation of Poles from territories east of the Curzon Line, and that room will be found for them in the newly-added western territories.

Progress continues to be made in extending the Warsaw administration's authority in the territory claimed by it for Poland beyond the 1939 frontier. It has been stated during the past week that "task-groups," whose duty is normally to take over the management of abandoned factories, estates, &c., have started work in Marienburg, Marienwerder, Elbing, and parts of Western (*i.e.*, German) Pomerania; that the district of Olecko in south-eastern East Prussia (recently renamed Treuburg) has been incorporated in Poland; and that blast furnaces in Gleiwitz and Zabrze (Hindenburg) have been amalgamated with the Polish Pokoj company, *i.e.*, the old German Friedenshütte.

A White Paper was issued on the 6th April containing the text of the secret Protocol signed by Great Britain and Poland at the same time as the Mutual Assistance Agreement of the 25th August, 1939. As was stated publicly in October 1939 the principal effect of the Protocol was to make it clear that the provisions of the main agreement, which was couched in general terms, were to be understood as applying solely to the case of aggression by Germany.

SOVIET UNION.

In an Order of the Day on the 9th April Marshal Stalin announced the fall of Königsberg. The Order was addressed to Marshal Vassilevsky, to his Chief of Staff, and to no fewer than ninety-two other Marshals and Generals. This victory was greeted with Moscow's biggest salute of twenty-four salvoes from 324 guns; the formations and units which particularly distinguished themselves are to be decorated and named after Königsberg. Elsewhere from Germany nothing new has been reported, but a double drive is closing in on Slovakia. From the north General Yeremenko, commanding the Fourth Ukrainian Front, captured Ruzomberok on the River Vah on the 5th April. Marshal Malinovsky's troops of the Second Ukrainian Front are less than 30 miles away to the south. Further south again his troops have reached the Morava from its mouth to Kuty. They also took Bratislava on the 4th April, crossed the Danube and are only a few miles east of Vienna on the north bank of the river. South of the Danube Marshal Tolbukhin's troops of the Third Ukrainian Front have swept round to the south and west of Lake Neusiedler. Wiener Neustadt fell on the 3rd April, and the Danube has been reached north-west of Vienna, which is thus cut off from the west and all but surrounded. Fighting is taking place in the city. On the 4th April it was announced that the whole of Hungary had been cleared of the enemy; Marshal Tolbukhin's troops are now fighting in Yugoslavia north of the Drava.

At 3 p.m. on the 5th April the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, M. Molotov, received the Japanese Ambassador, Mr. Sato, and informed him, on behalf of the Soviet Government, that "the Neutrality Pact between Japan and the U.S.S.R. had lost its sense and that the prolongation of this pact has become impossible." In his statement M. Molotov declared that the situation had radically changed since the pact was concluded in April 1941; Germany had attacked the U.S.S.R., while Japan, Germany's ally, was helping the latter in her war against the U.S.S.R.; and besides Japan was at war with the United States and Great Britain, allies of the Soviet Union. Commenting on the denunciation of the Neutrality Pact, *Izvestiya* stated that for over twenty years preceding its signature in 1941, Soviet–Japanese relations "were of an entirely unsatisfactory nature." The conclusion of the Neutrality Pact was proof, it was stated, of the collapse of the long-standing aggressive policy towards the Soviet Union conducted by the ruling circles of Japan. The Neutrality Pact had played a positive rôle by eliminating a number of causes for misunderstandings and conflicts with Japan. But, subsequently, in the most difficult times for the U.S.S.R., Japan continued her collaboration with Germany, which was not only of great political importance but also, *Izvestiya* said, represented real assistance to Germany in her war with the Soviet Union. The Soviet press and wireless gave considerable prominence to British and American press comments on the denunciation of the Soviet–Japanese Pact. (See also under "Far East.")

A Soviet declaration on Austria was made on the 8th April, a week after the Red Army had reached the frontier. The declaration asserted that, in contrast to the Germans, the Austrian population were resisting the evacuation orders issued by the Nazi authorities, and were hospitably greeting the Red Army as the liberator of their country from Hitler's yoke. As in the declaration on Roumania of April 1944, the Soviet Government maintained that it did not intend to acquire any part of Austrian territory, or to change the social system in Austria; the adherence of the U.S.S.R. to the Moscow Declaration was reaffirmed, and it was promised that the Soviet authorities would assist in the re-establishment of democratic order and institutions in Austria. An appeal from Marshal Tolbukhin to the population of Vienna, broadcast immediately after the issue of the Declaration, made the same points, adding that the Nazi Party would be dissolved, but that rank and file members would not be molested if they showed a correct attitude towards the Soviet troops. The marshal urged the population not to evacuate Vienna, but to assist the Red Army in all possible ways, and to hinder the Germans from carrying off industrial equipment and provisions. A

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Pravda article of the 8th April was at pains to emphasise Austria's responsibility for joining in the war on Hitler's side, and to insist that she could only redeem herself by active participation in the struggle for liberation. It was pointed out that the formation of a patriotic democratic internal front was going on less vigorously in Austria than in other European countries. Social Democrat *émigrés*, especially those in London, were castigated for cherishing designs of again turning Austria into a "bulwark against the East." Plans for creating a Monarchist State, including Hungary and parts of Italy and Croatia, or those for setting up a Catholic State of Austria, Bavaria and the Rhineland, were singled out as especially provocative attempts to undermine Allied unity. Austria must not be a rampart of German imperialism, but an outpost against it.

The visit of Marshal Tito and Dr. Shubashitch to Moscow now proceeding has been given much publicity in the Soviet press; Marshal Tito, who has not been to Moscow since he became Prime Minister, was received by Marshal Stalin on the 6th April, and the whole delegation were entertained at luncheon by M. Molotov on the following day (see under "Yugoslavia"). Among those greeting Marshal Tito on his arrival at the Moscow airport was Army General A. I. Antonov, who was described as Chief of the Red Army General Staff. He was formerly Deputy Chief of General Staff, and has evidently now succeeded General Vassilievsky, who recently took over the command of the Third Byelorussian Front (see *Summary* No. 286).

Two Orthodox ecclesiastical delegations left Moscow on the 6th April, one for Belgrade, headed by Bishop Sergius of Kirovograd, and another for Sofia led by Archbishop Gregory of Pskov and Porkhov. The Belgrade visit was stated to have been a return courtesy for the delegation sent by the Serbian Patriarchate to Moscow for the election of Patriarch Alexei, and that to Sofia was to consolidate relations between the Russian and Bulgarian churches after the healing of the Bulgarian schism. The Bulgarian Exarch Stefan, in his speech of welcome to the delegates, praised the wise foresight of the great leader of the Soviet Union, who had helped the Russian Orthodox Church to take its dominating place in the large family of the Slav nations as the eldest and leading Church among the Orthodox Churches. The delegation to Yugoslavia stopped at Bucharest on their way to Belgrade, and were received by the Roumanian Patriarch and the Minister of Cults. The Roumanian press hailed the visit as the first step towards a rapprochement between the two Churches.

Almost simultaneously with the denunciation of the Soviet-Japanese pact, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. has appointed M. Apollon Alexandrovich Petrov Ambassador to China and has released the former Ambassador, M. Panyushkin from his duties, on account of illness. The new Ambassador has been Head of the Press Department of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs since 1943, and previously served in Chungking. He is one of the few Soviet writers on Chinese philosophy; he speaks Chinese and a little English.

The political and military situation in China was analysed with considerable bias and bitterness by I. Aleksandrov in *Trud* of the 6th April. China was criticised for not fully utilising the exceptionally favourable conditions offered by the opening of the Burma Road and the liquidation [*sic*] of the Burma–Yunnan front. Great stress was laid on the achievements of the United Nations in adopting "harmonious decisions on important war questions," while the Kuomintang and the Chinese Government were alleged to ignore these reasons for unity and to be openly hostile to all political forces in opposition. The large-scale reorganisation and demobilisation [*sic*] of the Chinese army at this stage was also much criticised, while the many restrictions against Communist representation on the special "Consultative Organ" were viewed as the beginning of a new campaign in China against the democratic forces.

The Soviet press and wireless continue to stress the dangers from the neutrals and from the Argentine in particular—in spite of the latter's declaration of war—as hotbeds of Hitlerite intrigue. In an international review broadcast by Moscow wireless, M. G. Bespalov declared that "although the Argentine Government has declared war on the Axis, it has not changed its pro-Fascist character. . . . . Argentina's declaration of war on Germany is justly evaluated by several foreign papers as an attempt to win the confidence of the victorious Powers, and under this cloak to preserve Nazi centres in Latin America capable of conducting underground work against the United Nations."

The "Handbook of the Composition of the Fleets of the World" for 1944, published by the Red Navy Press, shows that several British and United States vessels (including the *Royal Sovereign*, now the *Archangelsk*, and the cruiser

Milwaukee, now the *Murmansk*) have been transferred to the Red Navy. It is pointed out that no Italian ships have been transferred to the Soviet Union, while details are given of the Italian fleets operating under Anglo-United States command. A number of recent articles in the Soviet press stress the importance for the Soviet Union of a powerful fleet; one article asserted that "our Fatherland has the right to be one of the greatest naval Powers in the world."

SCANDINAVIA.

The former Finnish Diet was dissolved on the 4th April, after continuing its legislative activities to the very last. The new Diet held its first plenary session on the 6th, when M. Fagerholm, representing the non-seceding oppositionists in the Social Democrat Party, was elected speaker by a record majority, and M. Sundström, a "Sixling" in the Democratic League, was chosen as deputy speaker. The Government tendered its resignation on the 9th April, but was asked by the President to continue to act until a new Government could be formed; this delay suggests that there may still be difficulty in reconciling divergent views as to the proper composition of the new administration.

Presiding at a meeting of the Finno-Soviet Society on the 6th April, M. Mauri Ryomä claimed that membership of or eligibility for this society should be a condition of membership of the Government or the Diet. The society endorsed this view by a resolution.

Considerable misgivings have recently been expressed as to the risk of inflation in Finland as the result of the marked intensification of the rise in wages and prices. An influential deputation which waited on the Prime Minister towards the end of March expressed a fear that a further inflation might endanger the power of the country to carry out its obligations in respect of war reparations. The prospect of inflation has also been a prominent topic of discussion in the press. A Swedish paper has reported that the Soviet Commission in Finland has objected to Socialistic proposals for the nationalisation of big businesses and banks, on the ground that such a step would reduce the country's productive capacity, and consequently render extremely difficulty the fulfilment of Finland's obligations in respect of war damages.

The Swedish Minister of Justice issued a statement on the 4th April on the question of German refugees. He said that there must be a general refusal of permits to enter Sweden, since it was impossible for the authorities to distinguish between the sheep and the goats, and that it was therefore necessary to reject everyone, whether a war criminal or not. Should it prove impossible, for technical or humanitarian reasons, to turn such visitors away at once, they would have to be detained until means could be found of sending them back to their own country. The Swedish Cabinet has now endorsed this view, and has decided to introduce a new Bill for the restriction of alien immigration. Civilian refugees from Germany are to be returned to their own country, while military refugees will be interned.

Some deterrent is undoubtedly necessary to check attempts by Germans to seek refuge in Sweden. The fear expressed in a Swedish paper, that increasing numbers of Germans would "lose their way" and arrive in Sweden unless permission to remain were refused them, seems to be justified. On the 8th April six German aircraft landed in the neighbourhood of Ystad in southern Sweden, alleging that they had mistaken this coast for that of Bornholm. On the previous day a tug arrived at the island of Öland carrying twelve refugees from Danzig, and on the 9th April 50 Germans in four boats reached Trelleborg. *Öresunds Posten* suggests that such wanderers should be met out at sea and put on the right course.

Great indignation is expressed in the Swedish press on the subject of an incident on the 3rd April when a Swedish fighter was shot down by a German sea-plane over Swedish territory. It is announced, however, that the German Government, through its Minister in Stockholm, has apologised and offered to pay compensation.

The Swedish Government has now given official encouragement to the volunteer movement for service in Norway. On the 8th April it was announced that a company would be allowed to train at a Swedish regimental depot. On the general question of Swedish intervention in Norway, the Norwegian clandestine paper *Bulletinen* states as the view of the Resistance Movement that such help would only be acceptable if desired by the Allied High Command or if the

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German policy of destruction and terrorism should create a desperate situation. But in that case it is considered that the whole of Sweden's military strength would be required, and the use of forces recruited by the volunteer movement would be inadequate. Stress is also laid on the importance of Swedish preparedness and will to intervene, as a deterrent.

It is reported from Norway that the Germans are preparing for the contingency of a Swedish attack by the construction of a defensive line from Brekken, about 20 miles east of Röros, using the Fæmund Lake and the Trysil River as obstacles, and south of these Lake Mjösen and the Vorma and Glomma rivers.

Daring and effective sabotage continues in Denmark, and no less than four informers have been liquidated in the last few days. On the 9th April patriots effected an impressive *coup*, carrying off a 3,200-ton steamer and some 20 tugs to Sweden. On the other hand, executions of patriots continue; on the 6th April four more took place, the victims including Count Ludwig Reventlow, a nephew of the Danish Minister in London. No time for appeal was granted.

In connexion with the anniversary of the German invasion—the 9th April—the Freedom Council appealed for a two-minute strike by way of demonstration. In England the anniversary was commemorated by an impressive Dano-Norwegian ceremony in Westminster Abbey, in which Bishop Fjellbu and the Danish pastor Sandbaek officiated.

THE LOW COUNTRIES.

When Professor Gerbrandy reconstructed his Cabinet at the end of February (see *Summary* No. 282) three posts were left vacant, but it was stated that two of them would be filled shortly. On the 6th April Radio Orange announced that Professor J. E. de Quay had been appointed Minister of War and M. T. P. Tromp, Minister of Waterways. Professor de Quay is a Catholic and was one of the triumvirate who headed the Netherlands Union; M. Tromp held an important position in the firm of Philips.

In a broadcast occasioned by the new appointment Professor Gerbrandy declared that it had been sought, though with incomplete success, to secure in his Cabinet the representation of the main currents of opinion among the Dutch people. The policy of the Government was to work for the liberation and restoration of the occupied Netherlands and the East Indies. After the Netherlands had been completely freed they would make way for a new Government. The present Government did not wish to confront their successors with accomplished facts in important spheres. But, while they were in office, their policy would be limited to working for the following ends; a fair division of burdens without respect of classes, the provision of food for the now-occupied Netherlands immediately after their liberation, a drastic purge, a speedy punishment of traitors, the restoration of local representative bodies in the near future, and the limitation of the powers of the Dutch military authorities in the liberated Netherlands. Professor Gerbrandy added that, in the international sphere, the Netherlands favoured the equality of all States before the law and that that law should have a moral basis.

The liberation of the Netherlands is proceeding in the face of stiff opposition. Broadcasts from Radio Hilversum state that the Germans intend to hold out in the Western part of the country. Such assertions obviously cannot be taken at their face value, but it is doubtful if the Germans could retreat, if they wished to do so. Whether they will surrender quickly or hold out till the possibilities of further resistance are exhausted is a matter of conjecture. What is certain is that, unless the big cities are speedily liberated, famine, and possibly pestilence, face their inhabitants.

The Governor-General of the Congo, who has come to Brussels for consultations in a press conference held on the 4th, stressed the magnitude of the Congo's war effort and the self-sacrifice displayed by its inhabitants. The Germans had lied when they said the Congo had been sold. The Congo had voluntarily made her contribution to the common cause. Nor had England ever asked for anything that was incompatible with Belgium's national dignity. M. Ryckmans went on to say that there was talk in some countries of the desirability of giving independence to colonies. But it would be a long time before the Congolese natives were fit to govern themselves. Meanwhile Belgium must protect them and civilise them. Some Belgians were apprehensive of the policy of the United States on the question of the future of colonies. It had even been insinuated that the United States coveted the Congo. But there was no cause for anxiety. The United States had never given any official indication of an intention to meddle in Congolese internal affairs or to dispute Belgium's rights in the Congo. Naturally

world opinion was interested in the way in which colonies were governed. But opinion in Belgium was no more tolerant of abuses than opinion anywhere else. Belgium had nothing to hide in the Congo, and nothing to fear from the publication—should such occur—of reports on conditions in the various colonies. Moreover, Belgium was in good company in her attitude to the future of her colony. Britain also intended to maintain her right over her colonies. Had not Mr. Churchill said that he had no intention of presiding over the liquidation of the British Empire? M. Ryckmans further pointed out that it would be necessary to make a great effort to improve the standard of living of the natives, which had inevitably declined during the war years. In conclusion he drew attention to the fact that the colony's economic position was sound and its prospects fair.

FRANCE.

The First French Army entered Karlsruhe on the 4th April, and General de Gaulle himself crossed the French frontier into the Palatinate on the 7th and later visited Karlsruhe. In a short speech he pointed out that for the first time for 150 years the French Army had crossed the Rhine in military operations. M. Robert Holveck, a prefect *en disponibilité*, has been appointed special delegate in Karlsruhe of the Strasbourg Commissariat of the Republic. On the 8th April French elements crossed the Enz and captured the Stuttgart broadcasting station from which the traitor Ferdonnet had broadcast early in 1940, and from which the "Radio Patrie" programmes organised by de Brinon and Luchaire had latterly been broadcast.

The first National Congress of French Aviation held at the Sorbonne came to an end on the 8th April, when a message was read from General de Gaulle recalling that France was the birthplace of aviation and M. Tillon, the Minister for Air, revealed that the French Air Force was making more than 4,000 sorties a month while its effectives had increased since the liberation from 30,000 to 100,000 men.

The impressive list of the supplies which have reached France since the liberation, issued by S.H.A.E.F. Public Relations Department, was duly reported in France; but while appreciation was expressed for the help given, the A.F.P. on the 3rd April criticised the presentation of the facts as misleading both with regard to the amount of supplies actually delivered, and because no mention was made in the documents of French participation, *e.g.*, in the repairing of railways and bridges and in supplying large quantities of coal to the forces. It was feared that the document would be used with damaging effect by the enemies of Lend-Lease in America, as quite wrongly suggesting that France had received all the supplies she needs; this was far from being the case.

The absence of any Anglo-French political agreement following on the Anglo-Soviet Treaty and the recent far-reaching economic agreements concluded between France and the Low Countries has been the subject of comment in the French press and on the air. Speaking from Paris in the new French service in English on the 5th April, M. Pierre Bourdan gave forceful expression to what he declared was the demand of the vast majority of French people for such a pact. He pointed out that it was somewhat illogical that the two nations that were the first to declare war on Germany when Poland was attacked and the only nations to challenge Germany deliberately, should be bound to others by agreement and not be bound between themselves.

One of the seeming obstacles to Anglo-French agreement—the conflict of British and French interests in the Levant—was the subject of a frank discussion between Mr. Duff Cooper and General de Gaulle on the 5th April. General de Gaulle said that the French had no wish to govern Syria or the Lebanon; all they wanted was a military and air base, and proper treatment for their schools and universities. Though France was now weak in the Middle East, there was still considerable French influence in all Arab countries, including Egypt (and even in Turkey); and if it was known to the Arabs that England and France were firm friends, both our tasks would be rendered the easier. (For further information on relations in the Levant and for the establishment of diplomatic relations between France and Ethiopia, see under "Middle East.")

The constantly rumoured resignation of M. Mendès-France, Minister of National Economy (see *Summary* No. 277) was announced on the 5th April as having been accepted by General de Gaulle. By a decree of the same day M. Pleven, Minister of Finance, became Minister of National Economy and Finance.

The position regarding the eligibility, among other persons, of those Deputies and Senators who voted full powers to Pétain in July 1940 (see *Summary* No. 286) is now clear. After considerable debate in the Consultative Assembly on the

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31st March, the Government finally adopted an Ordinance establishing a *jury d'honneur* consisting of the Vice-President of the Council of State (M. Cassin), a member of the C.N.R., and a member of the Council of the Order of Liberation, who would decide regarding the eligibility in the forthcoming elections of (*a*) Senators and Deputies, (*b*) persons who accepted membership of the Vichy *Conseil National*, and (*c*) persons appointed by Vichy to any *Conseil Général* or to the Municipal Council of Paris. All members of the Vichy Government and all persons who have been dismissed from office or deprived of the right of exercising a profession or fined on grounds of illegal profits, will be ineligible.

SWITZERLAND.

The Press is at pains to point out that there is no valid analogy between the Alpine "redoubt" prepared in the event of an invasion of Switzerland and the "redoubt" to which the Nazi leaders are said to be planning their retreat in Bavaria or Austria. A "redoubt," however fanatical its defence may be, cannot be maintained for any length of time if the mass of the people are not at one with its defenders. Even in the "redoubt" the Swiss Government would have remained the legitimate Government of the country because it would have had the whole Swiss people behind it. But a German "redoubt government," without any possibility of exercising power outside the "redoubt" and abjured by its own people, would no longer be a government as understood by international law. In the same way the "Werewolves" would not be a national uprising but simply an organisation for murder.

It is officially stated that there is no truth in the report that asylum had been offered to Mussolini in Switzerland. The rule made last year, refusing admission to foreigners guilty of felonious acts, or of having endangered Swiss interests by their activities and attitude, will be upheld.

154 Swiss citizens were killed during 1944 in air raids in Europe. The Government is doing its best to obtain compensation for their relations.

The Switzerland-Soviet Union Association has held its first meeting at Zurich. It was attended by more than 200 delegates from all over the country. A resolution was passed calling on the Federal Council for permission to circulate the monthly journal of the Union and to lift the ban on posters.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

The resignation of the Duke of Alba, to which some publicity was given in the British press, is a fact: but it will not be announced for the present, and the Duke intends to return to London next month. Both the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Franco himself, who was rather put out by the Duke's instant response to Don Juan's call, seem to hope that time will soften the Ambassador's decision.

But the Duke is not to be a solitary figure in the slightly petulant pride of retreat. His lead has been followed by the Infante Alfonso de Orléans y Bourbón, who commands the second Air Arm at Seville. As a prince of both the Spanish and French Royal families, Don Alfonso, who is the most picturesque figure in the Spanish Air Force, was naturally one of the chief representatives in Spain of the exiled Don Juan. The official bulletin announcing the relinquishment of his post added that he was to reside at San Lucar de Barrameda, his country estate near Jerez de la Frontera; this implication of banishment looks like Franco's riposte to the Infante's "You can't fire me—I quit!" Surrounded by orange groves, the port of San Lucar, from which Columbus sailed on his third voyage to America, is to-day the principal depot for the export of manzanilla; there is, too, lovely sea-bathing there, so this is no harsh Siberian exile. But apart from the Duke of Alba no diplomats have yet answered the Royal call, and Don Juan seemingly enjoined on his followers in the Army a provisional passivity. The defection of one Prince and a Duke will not cause Franco's throne to totter.

The workings of the Spanish administration, frequently a source of smoky resentment for its victims, may on occasion cause bemused delight in the circumspective student of politics. Recently the Province of Santa Cruz de Tenerife (Canary Islands), needing women teachers for primary schools, invited applications from the didactically-minded "Canarias." Here, in order of priority, are the qualifications which will ensure success:—

(1) To have been an ex-combatant.
(2) To have suffered imprisonment or grievous bodily abuse at the hands of the "Reds."

(3) To be related in the second degree of relationship by blood or affinity with someone who died or was wounded in the campaign of liberation.
(4) To have lost in the same degree of relationship the largest number of relatives by assassination by the "Reds," or as a result of their barbarous acts.
(5) To have lost many worldly goods in consequence of the war.
(6) To have obtained a diploma after attending national courses of instruction.

The Civil War in Spain, the memories of which are so vividly kept alive in this scholastic invitation, ended just over six years ago. The Bourbons are truly not the only ones who learnt nothing and forgot nothing: the last qualification, however, does seem a little out of place.

As the war draws to an end Portugal is in the interesting situation of having benefited financially and suffered economically. It was inevitable that the sale of her products to both groups of belligerents, each bidding against the other, should bring in large profits; and she was in the happy position of finding in the production of two particular commodities a compensation for the partial stoppage of her trade in the traditional exports for which there was little foreign demand in war-time. The sale of sardines and wolfram, for which she was able to get almost any price she asked, helped to fill the exchequer with foreign exchange, and the—until quite recently—stationary imports had the effect, early in 1941, of turning the Commercial Balance from an unfavourable to a very favourable one. This financial advantage, however, was accompanied by the economic disadvantage of a shortage of certain essential imports. This was partly alleviated by the end of 1944; but since not even in the science of economics can you have it both ways, the increase in imports naturally had an adverse, though not very serious, effect upon the Trade Balance. The time is ripe for a much larger governmental expenditure on public works in order to better the health living conditions and education of the people. Such State expenditure has been inadequate in the past; it would be a very good long-term economic and social investment to increase it now, for, if Portugal is to make any progress as a modern State, it will have to be done sooner or later.

ITALY.

Signor Scoccimarro, the Minister for Occupied Italy, stated at a Press Conference in Rome, that the Italian Government reserves the right to try all Germans responsible for atrocities in Italy, and demands that German labour be forced to rebuild at least part of what they so criminally and needlessly destroyed. Enormous problems would have to be solved on the liberation of North Italy and the Government and the people must co-operate in this task. The Government felt sure the Committee of National Liberation and the Allies would mutually assist each other in the administration of newly freed areas, while the task of safeguarding every means of production had been entrusted to the Corps of Liberty Volunteers. The decision to unify all partisan formations under one command was, said Signor Scoccimarro, of the greatest importance, and a press report mentions General Carlo Cadorna, son of the Commander-in-Chief of the Italian Army in the last war, as taking over command of all partisans in North Italy. Signor Scoccimarro finished by saying that the Government was drafting new epuration laws to make certain that Fascist traitors received swift and severe punishment.

Italy continues to be very troubled by her exclusion from participation, even as an observer, in the San Francisco Conference. Signor Benedetto Croce has apparently taken it very much to heart and has called the exclusion of Italy "worse than a crime—a mistake." Count Sforza, on the other hand, has done his best to calm the agitation, urging Italians to trust "their noble and generous friends."

After reviewing the financial situation in Liberated Italy, Signor Soleri, the Finance Minister, announced the opening of a Government Loan. The subscription of 5 per cent. Bonds, which carry prizes as well, will be open from the 5th April to the 19th May. These bonds are to be exempt from taxation duties, taxes on gifts, dowries and family estates. The prizes and interest are also exempt from any tax. As these 5 per cent. Bonds are issued at 97·50 lire and redeemable at par at the end of five years, the rate of interest is actually 5·65 per cent.

It is reported from Rome that a group of eleven young Fascists has been arrested, the eldest of whom is 26 years old. It seems that their aim was to

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obtain explosives and arms for sabotage, to obtain a printing press, to spread propaganda and to contact any other Fascist elements. They had already murdered a certain Professor Giuseppe Salto in Florence and were on the point of issuing a manifesto attacking the Communist and Socialist Party leaders as well as the Allies, ending up with an appeal to Mussolini to return and all would be forgiven. The Carabinieri, however, arrested them before it was issued. A small quantity of arms, a radio transmission set and some incriminating papers were discovered where they lived, but it appears that they had not progressed very far in their designs. Investigation has not yet been carried far enough to be sure as to whether this group acted independently or whether it was in touch with another two suspected groups. It is also thought possible that all three groups may form part of a much larger organisation.

The Duke of Aosta, second cousin to King Victor Emmanuel, has been dismissed from his post as Admiral in the Italian Navy owing to an indiscreet remark made at a dinner party. The Duke of Aosta is alleged to have said that he would have liked to have shot the judges who presided at the trial of General Roatta and other high-ranking Fascists. This remark reached the ears of the editor of the Socialist paper *Avanti*, who used it to attack the Monarchy. Dr. Maroni, the president, and other members of the High Court complained to Signor Bonomi, who ordered an enquiry. Although the Duke protested that the whole thing was a mistake, it was considered that he had not acted in accordance with the responsibilities of his post and he was therefore dismissed by order of the Lieutenant of the Realm, acting on the advice of Admiral de Courten, the Minister of Marine.

In the North, the Fascist Republican Government is embarking on an intensified propaganda campaign, both for international consumption and for what is, from their point of view, "invaded" Italy. The campaign against the South is conducted largely through a daily radio bulletin, said to emanate from a "Committee for the Insurrection of Invaded Italy." The bulletin has exploited the recent discovery of a Fascist underground movement in Rome and urges Fascists to do everything in their power to obstruct the Bonomi Government through sabotage and the formation of armed bands for whom, it is promised, arms will be dropped by aircraft.

In pursuance of the propaganda drive in the North, Pavolini, the Fascist Party Secretary, summoned a meeting of the Party Directorate which issue an Order of the Day defining anew the Party's policy. Loyalty to the alliance with Germany and Japan was reaffirmed. It was stated that the complete mobilisation of the Republican Fascists in Black Brigades must be finished by the 30th April. The Party's social policy, as outlined in the Verona manifesto of November 1943, was restated. This includes the socialisation of industry and, to a certain extent, of agricultural management; nationalisation of banks and public credit institutions; syndical organisation within a single Confederation; and extensive schemes for workers' housing. On the subject of private ownership and enterprise the Fascists evidently mean to have the best of both worlds: and the Fascist social system in this respect is said to be "a new and unifying system which does not stop this side of Communism but goes beyond it just as it goes beyond the capitalist system of society."

Professor Cione's Opposition group now has a daily paper, *Italia del popolo*, printed, paradoxically enough, at Mussolini's orders, in the offices of its rival, the *Repubblica Fascista* of Milan. One of its first editorials strongly advocates support of Germany. In a statement to a *Transocean* correspondent Mussolini said that it was a part of his policy as laid down in the Verona manifesto and elsewhere to allow non-Fascist groups to exist, but their development would depend on their programme and activities. The Fascist Party alone remained responsible for leading the country, and the groups could only exist on condition that they accepted the main tenets of the State's programme—Republic, socialisation, and continuation of the war beside Germany.

THE VATICAN.

An article in the *Osservatore Romano* of the 3rd April discusses the imminent end of the war and appeals for a cessation of hostilities in order to put an end to further bloodshed. The writer points to the tragic irony of the present position, where the very country which advocated euthanasia is now wilfully prolonging the war by a refusal to recognise the inevitability of the end.

In a recent audience granted to Sir D'Arcy Osborne, the Pope deplored the anti-Vatican campaign of the Russian press and radio. His Holiness described

as fantastic the accusation that he was trying to revive Fascism in Italy or to save the Nazi régime in Germany.

The anniversary of the Pope's coronation appears to have been celebrated in Germany with especial solemnity this year, and German Catholics in large numbers took part in the ceremonies.

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

The Hungarian Government has now moved to Budapest. It was accompanied by the Russian members of the Control Commission, but the British and American Missions, having failed to secure tolerable accommodation, are remaining temporarily in Debrecen.

Miklós has again telegraphed to Stalin asking that Hungary's democratic army should be at the front at the final hour. The Press reports the recruiting of volunteers to be complete. Either then the recruiting has had a very great last-minute success, or the attempt to raise the eight whole divisions promised in the armistice has been abandoned. The Turkish Legation and the Papal Nuncio have now left Budapest. All neutral representatives are being asked to leave. The Hungarian Government has sent a representative named Tarnay to Bucarest to establish commercial and other relations with Roumania.

The food position in Budapest is said to be slightly easier, thanks in part to the supplies sent by the U.S.S.R., which are now arriving. Switzerland has also offered relief. Prices have fallen slightly. Clearly, however, the future supply position depends greatly on this year's harvest in view of which the big estates are being hurriedly parcelled out. Land distribution was reported to have been completed in 366 villages. In West Hungary elements of the population who had been impressed to dig fortifications on the frontier or in Austria are filtering back to their homes, but it is reported that they will be unable to till their land without assistance, as the Germans have removed stock, seed and implements.

More sentences were passed by the Budapest People's Court.

Nothing has been heard of the Szálasi "Government." The Hungarian armed forces on the German side seem to be dispersed and disintegrating. The remnants of one Division (the 24th) surrendered with their commander near Bratislava. Other Hungarians captured by the British in Central Germany said that 14 Hungarian training regiments, comprising 45,000 men, had been transferred to the Western Front in December last. *Honvéds* continue to arrive in large numbers in Denmark, but they are considered unreliable and kept practically interned, few being sent to the front.

Roumania.

The carefully constructed Roumanian Constitution of 1923, which had been set aside, quite illegally, by King Carol in successive stages between 1937 and 1940, was restored, as it had been set aside, by decree at the time of the surrender of Roumania in August 1944. The procedure for the amendment of this constitution is elaborate and was obviously designed to prevent any such step being taken in a hurry. In fact, the procedure is so complicated that it is doubtful if any amendment could be successfully carried through. The present Government are anxious that the constitution should be amended in certain particulars. The Ministers want provision made for confiscation of property by the State without compensation, partly in order to legalise their scheme for redistribution of land, and partly to enable property to be confiscated as a punishment for "war criminals." They also desire to introduce the death penalty for certain crimes. A decree purporting to amend the constitution has been presented to the King for signature. King Mihai is understood to be unwilling to sign this decree, but the Government would not readily accept a decision in this sense.

One difficulty is that the King has no means of explaining and justifying his action to the country. The censorship on broadcasting is strict at all times, and now the Broadcasting Company has been placed under the control of the Ministry of Propaganda, and the Board of Directors has been dissolved. The Minister of Propaganda is the Communist, Constantinescu-Iași, and the new Board is overwhelmingly Communist.

The difficulties about clearance of aircraft to and from Bucarest have not yet been got over.

It is announced that Dr. Maniu has resigned the leadership of the National Peasant Party.

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Cases have occurred in which correspondence addressed from the British Consulate to British subjects in Roumania has been opened by the Roumanian censor, acting on Soviet instructions. In reply to a request from the British authorities that consular mail should not be censored, General Vinogradov has undertaken to discuss the matter with the Russian censor and communicate his decision in due course.

Yugoslavia.

The German tentacles which stretched along the main lines of communications in Bosnia and Lika are now being withdrawn. Sarajevo was taken by the Yugoslav Army on the 6th April after a stiff fight; Bijeljina, Brtchko and other places in Eastern Bosnia have been liberated; so have Gospitch, Ototchatz and a number of points on the Senj–Ogulin road in Lika. Units of the Red Army have penetrated North-East Slovenia in the direction of Maribor and Celje.

Marshal Tito, with Dr. Shubashitch, General Dzhilas and the Minister of Trade have arrived in Moscow. This is Tito's first visit abroad as head of the Yugoslav Government, and it is believed that a pact similar to the Soviet Treaty with the Czechs is under discussion.

One of the reasons for the "first extraordinary session" of ASNOS (Anti-Fascist Skupshtina of Serbia), which opened on the 7th April in Belgrade seems to have been the decision to include in the federal unit of Serbia the Sandjak of Novi Pazar (comprising the districts of Priboj, Miloshevo, Zlatar, Sjenica, Dezhevo and Stavitch), the Vojvodina and the Kosovo–Metohija area on the Albanian border. The Pljevlja and Bijelo Polje districts of the Sandjak have been transferred to Montenegro. Delegates from the areas concerned claimed that the request for transfer came from the inhabitants themselves; but these changes conveniently reduce the number of federal units to the six proclaimed at Jajtse in November 1943. The Vojvodina, however, is to enjoy limited independence as a semi-autonomous province of Serbia.

The Albanians of Kosovo have been told by Tito that their future lies with Yugoslavia, wherein they will enjoy full national and cultural rights. Those who are loyal to Tito must be responsible for bringing their erring and dissident brethren into line by an amnesty or by sterner measures.

The Minister of Agriculture has proposed the use of troops in agricultural areas where there is a great shortage of manpower, especially in the Vojvodina, and has suggested that agricultural experts should be mobilised.

The press has criticised the Pope for appealing for an end to bloodshed, *Time and Tide* for supplying Goebbels with anti-Partisan propaganda, as well as Italy and Turkey.

Greece.

At the request of the Regent, General Plastiras has reluctantly tendered his own resignation and that of his Ministers. The immediate occasion of the political crisis which led to the Government's resignation was a manœuvre by the Populist Party, whose press came out with extracts from a letter written by General Plastiras (then in Nice) to the Greek Ambassador at Vichy in 1941; from the passages quoted it appeared that General Plastiras had been in favour of the Greek Government's using German mediation to negotiate a peace with Italy in 1940. In an interview with His Majesty's Ambassador, General Plastiras has stated that he is quite prepared to publish the full text of the letter in question, and has added that, when approached by the S.S. in 1940, he told them that no Greek would ever agree to negotiate behind the backs of his British Allies.

In fact, however, for quite other reasons, the days of the Plastiras Government were already numbered. It had for some time been becoming increasingly clear that General Plastiras had served the purpose for which he was appointed in January, and that his Government was losing popular support. He had made various mistakes; some of his appointments were injudicious (that of General Gonatas as Governor-General of Macedonia had to be cancelled), and his decision to create an Under-Secretariate of Public Security (see *Summary* No. 282) not only resulted in the resignation of his Minister of the Interior, but caused widespread apprehension at a time when it was vitally important that the extreme Left should have no pretext for calling in question the good faith of the Government.

In his letter accepting the Plastiras Government's resignation the Regent made no mention of the extracts published by the Populist press. The Government, he said, had contributed greatly to ironing out internal differences, to

reorganising the armed forces, and to restoring the authority of the State, and for all this he warmly thanked the General and his colleagues. Any unbiassed critic, however, must realise that the Plastiras Government was not the type required for "despatching the business in hand," which must be accomplished before the normal political life of the country could be restored. With real sorrow, therefore, he had decided to deprive himself of the services of the present Government. He thanked them for their invaluable services, and in particular expressed his deep appreciation of General Plastiras, that honest soldier who had always been distinguished for his sincerity and devotion to duty. General Plastiras replied that for some time he had realised that he was being hindered on all sides in carrying out his duty; he had continued his work with bitterness, but with tireless devotion. He was now convinced that it was no longer possible for him to continue at the head of the Government, and therefore tendered his resignation, "casting the responsibility on those who provoked it." In a message to the Press, which was also broadcast by Radio Athens, General Plastiras pointed out that it was only after repeated requests by the Regent, pressure from popular deputations, and requests from the Allies, that he had agreed to form a transitional Government to restore order. He had obeyed the command of the nation and now laid down his office convinced that he and his colleagues had done their duty.

General Plastiras is succeeded by Admiral Voulgaris, a distinguished Venizelist, who, as Commander-in-Chief of the Greek Navy, quelled the mutinies of April 1944. M. Sophianopoulos remains Foreign Minister; otherwise the new Government consists largely, not of professional politicians, but of officials, including a number of university professors.

Albania.

Demonstrations demanding Allied recognition of the provisional Government and an invitation to San Francisco continue to be staged at various places. Enver Hoxha has written to President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, expressing the hope that he may yet be invited. Bishop Fan Noli and other Albanians in the United States have begged the United States Government to invite Enver Hoxha, and the Bishop has appealed to Mr. Churchill. The reply has been in each case that invitations are confined to members of the United Nations.

Half-a-dozen men, described as "military criminals," were recently executed on the order of a military court at Argyrocastro. They had presumably been engaged in past operations against the partisans. Bahri Omari, Xhavet Leskovic, who is another former Foreign Minister, and several others are being tried at Tirana, apparently on the charge of collaboration with the enemy.

Bulgaria.

In recent fighting in Yugoslavia and Hungary the Bulgarian Army has suffered heavy casualties, which have been roughly estimated at 30,000. Discontent arising from such losses was perhaps the chief reason why Nikola Petkov, the near-Communist Minister without Portfolio who now leads the Agrarian Party, denounced those who were agitating for peace and insisted that Bulgaria could only take her place among the democratic nations by fighting to the end. In the same vein the Communist newspaper declared that, whether invited to San Francisco or not, Bulgaria would be represented there by the guns of Moscow which had saluted the Bulgarian victory on the third Ukrainian front.

The Communists' struggle for power continues. After the September revolution there was a general move to reorganise the trades unions on a Fatherland Front basis, which meant in practice to bring them under Communist control. This move was resisted by some of the unions of Government employees, notably that of the Finance Ministry officials who in the course of years had built up an efficient and wealthy organisation owning property worth 400 million levas, and were unwilling to let the Communists get hold of it. Accordingly the new Communist-run General Workers' Union organised a demonstration in Sofia on the 31st March in order to attack the Finance Ministry Union. A rival Agrarian demonstration clashed with the Communists, and the militia being under Communist control naturally obstructed it. It is anticipated that the Communists, true to their approved tactics, will now agitate for the removal of the leader of the Finance Ministry Union. They already dub him "a G. M. Dimitrov Agrarian"—which is anathema. That the onward surge of the Communists is not entirely unopposed appears also from the fact that the Communists have still not succeeded in laying hands on Napred, the old-established Socialist Co-operative (see *Summary* No. 278), about the absorption of which discussions are still proceeding. In the face of this Communist aggressiveness and dominance the moderates would like to postpone elections. In present circumstances there

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would be not the least guarantee of freedom or secrecy, and Communist intimidation would lead direct to a Communist victory. However, Mlle. Tsola Dragoicheva, the secretary of the Central Fatherland Front Committee, who seems remarkable for fanaticism rather than a sense of humour, has stated that henceforth the liquidation of Fascists—*i.e.*, non-Communists—must be effected by strictly legal means, and that merciless measures will be taken against members of Fatherland Front committees who act arbitrarily.

The People's Court seems to be finishing its activities, but since the 20th March it has imposed at various places in the provinces 150 sentences of death and nearly 100 for life imprisonment as well as less heavy penalties.

For the visit of the Archbishop of Moscow see under "Soviet Union."

Turkey.

On the 4th April, the day after the arrival on leave of the Turkish Ambassador from Moscow, the Turkish Government replied in friendly terms to the Soviet Government's denunciation of the Turco-Soviet Pact. The Turkish note stated that the Turkish Government had always desired to maintain and consolidate good and neighbourly relations with the Soviet Union and was willing to replace a pact, which it valued as having rendered great service to Turco-Soviet friendship, by one substantially improved in accordance with the present interests of the two countries, and to examine any Soviet proposals with good will. This soft answer was followed by comment in the semi-official *Ulus* admitting that conditions had so changed as to justify a desire for a new pact, but pointing out that when she allied herself with Britain, Turkey took particular care to stipulate that her friendship with the Soviet Union came first. Considering that Russian complaints are largely concerned with the part which Turkey has played in the war, the writer was perhaps unwise in venturing to add that during the war Turkey had devoted all her resources to the cause of the Allies.

M. Hassan Saka, the Foreign Minister, after handing the above-mentioned reply to the Soviet Ambassador, M. Vinogradov, left next day to lead the Turkish delegation at San Francisco. Although they are unlikely to offer comment on the Dumbarton Oaks scheme at the present stage, the Turks are uneasy—obviously with Russia in mind—lest the Security Council should appease a big Power at the expense of a small one, and they would like some guarantee of the independence and integrity of member States.

ERRATUM.

Summary No. 286, p. 17, line 16: For "Russia—then the ally of Germany" read "Russia—then bound by a pact with Germany."

THE MIDDLE EAST.

It has now been announced that Nokrashi Pasha will not go to San Francisco, and that the Egyptian Delegation will be reduced in size and headed by the Foreign Minister, Bedawi Pasha. The meetings in Fayum of a conference of British Representatives in the Middle East, the object of which was to review economic and financial policy in that area, have given rise to the usual unfounded rumours of momentous political consultations. Nahas Pasha's brother-in-law, Ahmad al Wakil, has been convicted by court-martial, together with some of his business associates, of irregularities in connexion with taxation and supplies; his sentence was the heaviest, amounting, however, to nothing worse than one year's imprisonment with stay of execution and a fine of £500.

The process of ratifying the Arab Convention is now complete in Egypt and Iraq, and a motion for its ratification has been carried unanimously in the Syrian Chamber of Deputies; it will enter into force fifteen days after four States have notified the Secretary-General of their ratification. The vote in the Syrian Chamber was preceded by the criticism of the departures in the text of the Covenant from the Alexandria Protocol. In the Iraqi Chamber almost all the speakers demanded further efforts to obtain independence for Arab countries not yet free. The Prime Minister, speaking in the Senate, referred particularly to the Arabs of Palestine. The Iraqi Government had already made financial provision for conducting propaganda on their behalf, and had contributed I.D. 150,000 to the Arab National Fund, which would also be financed by the other Arab countries; the Council of the League would itself take diplomatic action. Published exchanges of telegrams between the Heads of State in Syria and Egypt, and between their Ministers for Foreign Affairs, tend to depict the admission of Syria to San Francisco as the first success of the Arab League.

The Syrian Prime Minister, Faris al Khury, announced the resignation of his Government to the Chamber of Deputies on the 4th April. He declared that they had completed their immediate tasks, and that Syrian independence had been consummated by the signature of the Arab Covenant and the invitation to San Francisco. The Cabinet had been in difficulties with the Chamber, but it is reported that Faris al Khury has succeeded in reconstituting it, retaining three of his former colleagues. (See also under "France.")

The Persian press has announced the resignation of the Minister for Foreign Affairs. As the Minister for War has at the same time gone to Palestine for prolonged medical treatment, M. Bayat's Cabinet seems even less viable than it did before.

Diplomatic relations have been established between the Governments of France and Ethiopia.

THE FAR EAST.

The week has been marked by the fall of the Koiso Cabinet and by the formation of a new one under the leadership of the aged Admiral Kantaro Suzuki. The Koiso Cabinet held an extraordinary meeting on the morning of the 5th April and at 10·30 a.m. Koiso went to the Imperial Palace and tendered the resignations of himself and his colleagues. The Japanese Board of Information in a communiqué issued on the evening of the 5th said that Koiso had resigned to make way for a stronger Government in view of the gravity of the situation. This does not explain why the resignation should have come at that time. It should be noted that the decision of the Soviet Government not to continue the Neutrality Pact with Japan after its expiration in April 1946 was formally communicated to the Japanese Ambassador in Moscow at 3 p.m. on the 5th April—this would be the evening of the 5th in Tokyo, so that it does not seem to have been this event which precipitated the downfall of the Koiso Cabinet. However, the Japanese Government certainly feared such an eventuality.

Upon receiving the resignation of the Cabinet, the Emperor summoned the Lord Privy Seal, Marquis Kido, to select a new Premier, seeking advice from the "new Genro," consisting of ex-Premiers, namely, Prince Konoye, Baron Hiranuma, Baron Wakatsuki, General Tojo, Admiral Okada and Mr. Hirota, and the President of the Privy Council, Admiral Suzuki, and their deliberations resulted in the choice of the last-named as Premier. Kido then formally recommended Suzuki to the Emperor, commanded him to form a Cabinet.

Admiral Baron Suzuki is 77 years old; he had a distinguished naval career and rendered important services in the war with China in 1894–95 and in that with Russia in 1904–05. He rose to be Commander-in-Chief of the Combined Fleet, Chief of the Naval General Staff, and Supreme War Councillor. In 1929 Suzuki retired from active service in the Navy and was appointed Grand Chamberlain. He held this Court position for seven years; he was one of those marked for assassination by the military extremists who attempted the *coup d'Etat* of the 26th February, 1936. Suzuki was severely wounded on that occasion and resigned his post in the following November. He became a Privy Councillor, and in August 1944 was appointed President of the Privy Council. This post has now been filled by Baron Hiranuma, who previously held it from 1936 until 1939.

Suzuki is thus a leading member of the Court clique and one of the elder statesmen. In this lies the significance of the appointment of a man who would appear to be too old to shoulder the responsibilities of office at such a critical period. The Japanese press has emphasised that the new Cabinet has been formed under the influence of the elder statesmen close to the Throne; they have, indeed, chosen one of themselves as Premier. Usually the elder statesmen prefer to rule from behind the scenes, but they have now come much more into the foreground.

By the 8th April Suzuki had completed the formation of his Cabinet, which is composed of the following members:—

Premier: Admiral Baron Kantaro Suzuki.
Foreign Minister and Minister of Greater East Asiatic Affairs: Mr. Shigenori Togo.
Minister of War: General Korechika Anami.
Minister of the Navy: Admiral Mitsumasa Yonai.
Minister of Home Affairs: Mr. Genki Abe.
Minister of Finance: Mr. Toyosaku Hirose.
Minister of Munitions: Vice-Admiral Teijiro Toyoda.
Minister of Transport and Communications: Mr. Naoto Kohiyama.
Minister of Agriculture and Commerce: Mr. Tadatsu Ishiguro.

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Minister of Justice: Mr. Hiromasu Matsusaka.
Minister of Welfare: Mr. Tadahiko Okada.
Minister of Education: Mr. Kozo Ota.
Minister without Portfolio and President of the Board of Information: Dr. Hiroshi Shimomura.
Minister without Portfolio: General Jiro Minami.
Minister without Portfolio: Vice-Admiral Seizo Sakonji.
Minister without Portfolio: Mr. Hyoguro Sakurai.
Chief Secretary to the Cabinet: Mr. Hisatsune Sekomizu.

Apart from that of Suzuki himself, the most significant appointments are those of Togo as Foreign Minister and of Minami as Minister without Portfolio. Togo was Ambassador to the Soviet Union from October 1938 to August 1940. He was Foreign Minister in the Tojo Cabinet from its formation in October 1941 until September 1942. *Domei* (9th April) said that Togo was Suzuki's first choice as Foreign Minister, but that, as Togo did not arrive from Karuizawa in time, Suzuki himself took over the Foreign Ministry until Togo reached Tokyo. Togo was formally installed on the 9th April.

It is possible that Togo's appointment is due to the hope that he will be able to preserve peaceful relations with the U.S.S.R., as he is believed by Tokyo to be *persona grata* in Moscow. Japanese Foreign Office circles declared that they were not surprised by the Soviet action in respect of the Neutrality Pact, that the pact was a factor of peace and stability in East Asia, and that the Japanese Government would make the greatest possible efforts to preserve this situation but were prepared for all eventualities. (See also under "U.S.S.R.")

The *Domei* broadcast from Singapore (9th April) said that the new Cabinet was the logical outcome of the creation of a new political party. Minami's appointment indicates a close connexion between the Cabinet and the Dai Nippon Seijikai, and he will probably be the strongest figure in an administration which as a whole is not impressive. The *Nippon Times* (9th April) scouted the idea that this is in any way a "peace Cabinet." Lily Abegg, the *Transocean* correspondent in Tokyo, remarked (8th April) that the new Cabinet showed that Japan was determined to exploit every possibility to the last, both in the military and the political spheres.

On the 7th April the Tokyo War Office announced that, in order to strengthen Japan's mainland defence, an overall Army Command and an overall Army Air Command has been established. Field-Marshals Sugiyama and Hata had been appointed to the Army Command. These new Commands are a result of Japanese anticipation that invasion is imminent; it was not stated whether Hata and Sugiyama would have separate geographical areas of Command or whether they would work conjointly. The importance of air defence needs no elaboration; the new War Minister, General Anami, was formerly Director-General of Army Aviation.

On the 8th April an Imperial communiqué said that since the night of the 5th Japanese sea and air forces had been attacking the American task force off Okinawa. The communiqué said that Japanese losses included a battleship, a cruiser and three destroyers sunk; it claimed that an American battleship, two aircraft carriers and various smaller units had also been sunk. This is presumably the Japanese version of the action in which Vice-Admiral Mitscher's task force sank the *Yamato* and several smaller Japanese warships.

The sad plight to which the Japanese Navy has been reduced was indirectly admitted by Admiral Takahashi, a former Commander-in-Chief, in an interview with *Mainichi* representatives. He said that the main strength of the Japanese Navy now consisted of land-based aircraft scattered in various areas, as well as of carrier-borne aircraft. Warships were now playing an auxiliary rôle. He, of course, added that the Fleet was waiting for an opportunity to deal the enemy a fatal blow, and that this chance would come when Japan secured supremacy in the air (*Domei*, 6th April).

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

General Eisenhower's warning, in a letter to the President made public on the 5th April, that there might never be "a clean-cut military surrender" on the western front, that V-E Day would probably come by "a proclamation on our part" and that the ensuing guerrilla warfare would require for its suppression "a very large number of troops," has further damped down the blaze of excitement caused by the war news. Optimism is, however, the prevailing

note, especially as one triumph after another is also reported from the Far East. Referring to the consolidation on Okinawa, the Secretary of War observed on the 5th April that "Here at Japan's doorstep, even though much heavy fighting may lie ahead, American forces are now assured of air bases and harbours from which Japan may be blockaded on the outside and destroyed within by the bombs of our planes." The regrouping of the two Pacific commands into one theatre, with General MacArthur in command of all military forces and Admiral Nimitz in command of all naval forces, was another indication of how the Allies are closing in on the eastern enemy. The Soviet denunciation of the neutrality pact with Japan was not so exuberantly welcomed in the United States as would have been the case earlier, although the gesture has undoubtedly restored some of the good-will which the Soviet Union lost through the recent difficulties over Poland and the Balkans. Whether bases for bombing Japan from Siberia are involved is not considered to matter so much now that the American commanders feel that their latest conquests are adequate for the purpose.

The need for maintaining the supply of man-power in war industries, no less than in the field, was again stressed by Mr. James F. Byrnes in his last report as Director of War Mobilisation and Reconversion, a position he resigned on the 2nd April. He indicated the limited extent to which controls might be relaxed after the end of the European war: a doubling of the amount of steel and other materials at present available for civilian production, the gradual release of from 20 to 30 per cent. of present war production facilities for peace-time manufactures, as well as more petrol for motorists, the end of the curfew and the resumption of horse-racing. Four high officials have since addressed the President urging that many controls should be retained beyond the war to prevent "runaway inflation." The heads of the Office of Economic Stabilisation, the War Food Administration, the Office of Price Administration and the War Labour Board join in pointing out that, while the cost of living has risen only 2 per cent. in the last two years, average earnings have gone up 10 per cent. An incautious removal of controls might produce a catastrophic rise in prices and fall in real wages. Observers also recall the inflation which followed the sudden removal of controls after the last war, but there appears a tendency to think such fears exaggerated. The Senate's rejection of even the modified Man-power Bill passed by the House of Representatives has not greatly perturbed the American public, while the strike in the soft-coal industry continued to spread until on the 10th April President Roosevelt ordered the seizure of affected mines to prevent interference with the war effort. The resignation of Mr. Byrnes, whose importance in the Administration was indicated by his soubriquet of "the Assistant President," was a surprise at this critical time, though it had long been known that he wished to retire. His successor, Mr. Fred M. Vinson, was only appointed Federal Loan Administrator a few weeks ago. Judge Vinson is popular with Congress, where he sat for almost fifteen years, and his nomination as Mobilisation Director has been speedily confirmed by the Senate.

A large number of Bills or Resolutions relating to post-war arrangements are now being debated in Congress. Hearings on the Bretton Woods plan for an international bank and an international monetary fund have reached the final stages in the House Banking and Currency Committee. Sub-committees of the Senate Inter-State Commerce Committee, of which Senator Wheeler is chairman, are considering Civil Aviation and Telecommunications, about both of which divergent views are expressed. Testifying on the McCarran Aviation Bill, the Assistant Secretary of War indicated that his Department thought it "infinitely wiser" to foster competition among American airlines than to set up a monopoly airline for all overseas operations. On the other hand, for telecommunications Mr. Forrestal, the Secretary of the Navy, advocates a single privately-owned system under Government control, while the State Departement, supported by much of the press, would prefer to rely on competing companies, also under supervision.

These subjects are arousing much feeling in the United States, and the even more contentious question of tariffs has been brought forward by the Doughton Bill, now before the House of Representatives (see *Summary* No. 286, p. 21). The President has consistently urged a low-tariff policy as vital to his country's well-being and the Secretary of State devoted a large part of a broadcast speech at Chicago on the 4th April to underlining his "firm conviction that tariffs must be further lowered in the next few years both by other countries and by ourselves." Signs of the most bitter controversy for years on this subject are already apparent in Congress. Referring to the Bretton Woods proposals, Mr. Stettinius announced that Congress would in the near future be asked to expand the lending authority of the Export-Import Bank and emphasised that "Lend-Lease is

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solely a war-time measure." He drew attention to the draft constitution of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation, which the President had asked Congress to approve the previous week, and added: "The food organisation, like all the other post-war international agencies, to which I have referred this evening, would eventually come within the framework of the world organisation when it is established."

Preparatory work for the San Francisco Conference goes on apace at Washington. The State Department convened on the 3rd April a meeting of what is described as an "informal organising group" for the discussion of procedure and arrangements. Mr. Stettinius was in the chair and the British, Chinese and Soviet ambassadors attended. On Monday, the 9th April, jurists of twenty-nine nations met at the Department to draw up alternative drafts for either a new World Court Statute, or a modification of the existing Permanent Court of International Justice, which is the course favoured by the American Bar Association. The American delegation to San Francisco, with the exception of Mr. Cordell Hull, who is still in hospital, and Commander Stassen, who is back on duty in the Pacific, began daily meetings on the same Monday. Mr. John Foster Dulles, after some hesitation, has accepted the invitation to become "an official adviser" to the American delegation. This further concession to the Republican party, made, it is understood, after consultation with Governor Dewey, whose chief adviser on foreign policy Mr. Dulles has been, should improve the prospects of the Conference decisions winning Congressional and public approval.

Since, however, Mr. Dulles is also a recognised leader of Protestant opinion on foreign affairs, there may be repercussions in the large Catholic community.

Senator Vandenberg's suggested amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks plan have now been disclosed by the State Department. They are explicitly designed to avoid a new "League in a strait jacket, which attempts to preserve the *status quo*," and to rectify "the total lack of any reference to justice as a League criterion (except in the World Court section)." How far the Senator has moved from his former isolationist attitude may be seen in his third general observation: "Senate ratification will be seriously jeopardised by our failure to disarm the critics, who will magnify the flaws I seek to correct."

(See also "France," "the Low Countries" and "Latin America.")

LATIN AMERICA.

On the 4th April the Argentine chargé d'affaires in Mexico signed the final Act of the Mexico City Conference on behalf of Argentina, and on the 9th, after the prior consultation between the United States Government and His Majesty's Government, and between the United States and the Latin-American countries concerned, recognition of the Argentine Government was announced. It will be recalled that normal diplomatic relations have been suspended since March 1944, when General Ramírez was overthrown by General Farrell. The United States and British Ambassadors were recalled from Buenos Aires last year. Sir D. Kelly is expected shortly to return to his post, and the American press has reported that Mr. Spruille Braden, now Ambassador at Havana, will be the new United States Ambassador in Buenos Aires.

The Argentine Government has taken action against a number of Axis enterprises. I.M.P.A. (founded by the former Austrian munition merchant Fritz Mandl, who has assumed Argentine nationality) has been placed under supervision, and is apparently to be nationalised. Intervention has been ordered in the case of nineteen other firms. The Government of Santa Fé province, till lately a Nationalist stronghold, has released a considerable number of political prisoners.

Colonel Perón, however, is still under attack both from the Nationalists and militarists, and from his "democratic" opponents. The former constitute much the more serious threat to him. Recognition will, no doubt, be to his advantage. Meanwhile, the turn of events is a matter for relief rather than for enthusiasm.

In Guatemala, where the situation is still uneasy (see *Summary* No. 285), about fifty arrests have been made among opposition leaders and their supporters. Guatemala has resumed relations with El Salvador (see *Summary* No. 274).

ERRATUM.

In last week's *Summary*, p. 20, line 1, for "unreasonable" read "unseasonable."

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary
No. 289

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
18TH APRIL, 1945.

Copy No. 141

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

THE Allies are fulfilling their intention, expressed in the Yalta communiqué, of striking "mightier blows into the heart of Germany." The Germans, on the 16th April, announced the opening of a new Russian offensive on the Oder, which has not yet been admitted by the Russians themselves. In the West the Elbe has been reached on a broad front and the Germans are fighting hard to contain the American bridgehead across it near Magdeburg. Hanover, Brunswick, Halle, Leuna with its great oil refineries, and Weimar have fallen. American troops have reached the Leipzig area and are within a few miles of the Czechoslovak border near Chemnitz, whilst further south they have entered Nürnberg and are developing a threat to the Danube valley from the north-west. In Austria the Russians, after clearing Vienna, have captured the important railway junction of St. Pölten and are moving on Linz. The vital supply lines between the German fronts in the northern and central Reich and the German forces in southern Germany, Austria, and Italy are thus threatened with disruption by a possible juncture of American and Russian forces either in Saxony or in the Danube valley.

In this situation Hitler has divided the command of his western armies. Kesselring's command is now limited to central and southern Germany, whilst Field-Marshal Busch, commander of the Army Group Centre in Russia until his replacement by Model in July 1944, has been given command of the armies in northern Germany. In Italy Kesselring has for the moment been replaced by von Viettinghoff Scheel, a specialist in defensive and tank warfare, who was falsely rumoured to have succeeded Kesselring in October 1943. He is a career soldier and is not known to have any close Party connexion.

Meanwhile, far in the rear of the advanced Anglo-American troops in central Germany the Ruhr pocket has been heavily reduced and has yielded, among other prisoners, the crack Panzer Lehr Division, with its commander. Canadian and Polish troops have reached the North Sea, and the German forces in western Holland are now completely isolated from the Reich.

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Germany's naval and air forces are rapidly being crippled. The *Scheer* capsized and the *Emden* was damaged in the raids on Kiel. The *Köln* is now known to have been sunk at Wilhelmshafen during a raid by the 8th United States Air Force on the 30th March, the *Gneisenau* and *Schleswig-Holstein* are presumed to have been scuttled at Gdynia and the *Seydlitz* at Königsberg. The Luftwaffe is crowded into the remaining airfields in the centre of the Reich and is extremely vulnerable to Allied air attack. 1,119 German planes were destroyed or damaged on the ground during March and many more have suffered the same fate since.

The High Command communiqué has pursued the policy of tardy admission of unpleasant facts. On the 13th it said that the focal point of the fighting in the west was in the Central German area, where there was a strong Allied wedge eastwards. On the 15th it claimed that American forces south-east of Magdeburg had been thrown back across the Elbe, but admitted that counter-attacks against other "local bridgeheads" were still in progress. In the East, the outstanding admissions of the week were the loss of Vienna and Königsberg. Despite claims that strong resistance had foiled many enemy attacks, each day's communiqué described the "failure" of these attacks at a point still nearer the heart of the Reich. An article in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* on the 14th said that a mere glance at the map could no longer do justice to the crisis which had developed in the last few weeks. "If little flags pinned on the maps were a true reflection of victory or defeat, then, indeed, Germany's dramatic hour would not only have come but would already have been passed." If one judged solely by external appearances, the Reich was to-day "a heap of ruins and a vale of tears." Its inhabitants, however, were fighting in front of the enemy and in his rear, "in the open and from secret hideouts." The front was composed of "individual fighters."

There is no doubt that the policy of the German leaders remains that of "unconditional resistance," in spite of the disasters which are falling on their country, and the increasing disintegration of the Reich. There is so far no firm evidence that they have abandoned the principle of governmental control from a single centre, although the splitting-up of the Reich must make its administrative units relatively independent of each other. The great fear appears to be that men in responsible positions will surrender, or desert their posts. A Hitler order of the 21st January ordered all officers down to divisional level to inform him of operational orders in time for these to be countermanded, including any projected withdrawal or abandonment of position, fortified town, or fortress. A supplement to the communiqué of the 12th April, which announced the surrender of Königsberg by its commander, General Lasch, contained an order signed by Himmler, Keitel, and Bormann. This stated that towns must be defended to the last, and the sector commandants appointed in each town were personally responsible. They, or any civilian officials who failed in their duty, would be sentenced to death. Exceptions would be decided upon exclusively by the High Command of the Armed Forces. Earlier on the same day an order had been issued by Himmler saying that no German town would be declared an open city, and any German who did not do his duty in this respect would lose his life and honour. The example of Breslau was held up to admiration—Hitler sent Hanke, the Gauleiter, a telegram of thanks for his continued resistance there, and awarded him the Gold Cross.

Hitler's Order of the Day to the troops in the east on the 16th, even more desperate in tone than the warnings and admonitions already quoted, admitted that German soldiers were helping the Russians. "I warn you to keep an eye on the few treacherous officers and soldiers who, to save their miserable skins, are in Russian pay and perhaps German uniform, and will fight against us." Anyone who gave the order to retreat, and was not well known, was to be immediately arrested and if necessary shot, "regardless of what rank he holds in the army." He assured his listeners that the new blows from the east had been foreseen and prepared for since last January, and that Bolshevism would "bleed to death in front of the capital of the German Reich." If every soldier did his duty, the "last onslaught from Asia" would collapse, as the breakthrough of the enemy in the west would collapse in the end: "Berlin remains German. Vienna will become German again. Europe will never be Russian."

The death of President Roosevelt has provoked from Nazi propaganda the reactions of a primitive people. The striking down of "one of the greatest war criminals of all time" is hailed by *D.N.B.* as an act of avenging justice. A broadcast on the German Home Service contrasted the preservation of Hitler last July "even though a human hand was raised against him" with the fact

that Roosevelt "was smitten inexorably but justly by a sudden death expected by none." The event was indeed a reward for the endurance of the German people, for had the Germans capitulated as their enemies had expected a year or six months ago, the Allies would not have been struck by this blow "at the climax of their war effort." Such "intervention of a just fate" was a reason for Germans to grasp their weapons still more firmly; it was fraught with political consequences. Roosevelt had been Churchill's sole support against Stalin. With the advent of Truman and Stettinius American policy had passed into the hands of small men. The character of the Allied coalition had undergone a decisive change. A study of the German text of Hitler's Order of the 16th and the identity of phrasing with the extract from *D.N.B.* already quoted, make it clear that his reference to "the greatest war criminal of all time" was indeed to Roosevelt and not, as would appear from the *Times* report, to Stalin.

Gauleiter Eigruber, broadcasting from Linz on the 14th, gave the news that a number of Party officials who had fled from Vienna were awaiting trial. He warned those who believed in Bolshevism and its promises and tried to stab their own country in the back. He forbade all evacuation of his Gau, Oberdonau, because no accommodation was available in Bavaria and because "if anyone runs, this only means a delay of a few days till the enemy overtakes everything." He also gave a warning similar to that in Hitler's Order against "German prisoners-of-war wearing German uniform" who were being dropped or smuggled into the German lines with the object of creating confusion and terror. No clemency could be applied to such "creatures infected with Communism."

Having been already deprived of their supplies of hard coal and steel from Silesia, the Saar and the Ruhr, manufacturing concerns still in German control are now further prevented from continuous production by the rapid Allied advances, which are interrupting all the main arteries of communication, and by the severity of Allied air attacks. After the capture of the Henschel works at Kassel the remaining five major assembly plants for armoured fighting vehicles were so successfully bombed in the fortnight ending on the 8th April that only two of them near Berlin continued to operate and at a reduced scale. In Kothen, south-west of Dessau, the Allies have captured the largest plant for Junker aircraft; and since the 3rd April four heavy raids have been carried out against shipping, and against the shipbuilding and submarine yards at Kiel. The effective elimination near Heilbronn, of plants which produced more than 80 per cent. of Germany's motor vehicle pistons and 25 per cent. of her tank and Diesel engine pistons has reduced this type of industry in her control to one plant at Nürnberg. Similarly as a result of the attack on the 16th March on Europe's largest alumina and aluminium establishments, 50 kilometres north-east of Dresden, there is now only one alumina plant in working order in the German-controlled territory. Moreover, the Americans have captured the largest German synthetic oil plant at Leuna, 12 miles west of Leipzig, and entered the Hanoverian oilfields, and the Russians have overrun the crude oilfields in the Vienna basin as well as six refineries in and around Vienna. The only oilfields which remain in German hands are located in the north near Hamburg and Heide, already threatened by British forces. It is evident that, as a result of her losses of territory, Germany is no longer able to produce sufficient war supplies to satisfy the needs of her armed forces.

Reports of A.M.G. in west Germany throw some light on present trends within the German nation. A certain amount of terrorism has been met with. The Oberbürgermeister of Aachen, who had been appointed by A.M.G. was murdered at the back door of his home at 10.30 p.m. on the 25th March, but the identity of the criminals remains unknown. Investigation has been made into the rumoured existence of a secret organisation in Cologne, said to exist for the purpose of terrorising civilian collaborators with the Americans. Leaflets have been distributed in the city signed by "The Avengers of German Honour," one of which promised a return of the Germans by the 1st May. A member of the auxiliary police has been murdered, and some American soldiers wounded at night by knife attacks. The number of such incidents has, however, been relatively small and there is very little evidence to suggest that the much-advertised *Werewolf* organisation has, as yet, begun serious operations.

On the other hand, there is evidence of resistance by the German population to Nazi orders of evacuation and demolition. In one district between the Roer and the Rhine 50 per cent. of the cattle were removed by the Wehrmacht in

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December last. Two days before the arrival of the Allies, the Bürgermeister ordered the surrender of all the rest, excepting one cow per owner. This order was widely disregarded. So many cows were hidden that there are still enough within the community to provide milk for everyone. Similarly the publishers of the *Kölnische Zeitung* were ordered on the 3rd March to dismantle key parts of the machinery and remove them across the Rhine. All these essential parts were later found hidden on the premises. At München-Gladbach, the municipal water-works were found intact. Under threat of death from the local Volkssturm if they put them out of action, the engineers ordered to do so failed to carry out their orders. Force had to be used to evacuate civilians from Coblenz. After fake air raid alarms, S.S. men rounded up people in the shelters, packed them into waiting cars and sent them into Thuringia.

There is evidence, too, that military morale of troops fighting within the Reich is being affected by civilians. Many prisoners speak of being entreated by civilians to lay down their arms (in Bonn soldiers were stopped in the streets with such requests). Certain units were said to have been stoned. Deserters testify to the bold efforts made by civilians to hide them to give them food and clothes, and to bring them into the American lines. That so many units continue to fight, and to fight well, is surprising. But there is evidence that some at least have no overall picture of the situation and fight on in ignorance of the hopelessness of their position. In other cases genuine fanaticism for the Nazi cause preserves morale, whilst the habit of obedience to officers and N.C.O.'s, and the presence of S.S. units, ready to shoot down would-be capitulators, may account in general for the apparently blind pertinacity of the German forces.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

From Czechoslovak sources in London more detailed reports are available of the draft programme of the new Government at Košice. The main lines of foreign policy—the close alliance with U.S.S.R. and collaboration with neighbouring Slav States—have been indicated in *Summaries* Nos. 287 and 288; the plans for the reconstruction of the Czechoslovak Army, and for Czech-Slovak relations in *Summary* No. 288; and land reform in *Summary* No. 286.

The liberation of Bohemia and Moravia is to be followed by the establishment of a Provisional National Assembly based on national committees like those already formed in the wake of the Red Army advance. The President, Dr. Beneš, will then appoint a new Government in which the national resistance movements, both at home and abroad, will have proportionate representation. The main task of these provisional bodies will be to organise as rapidly as possible a general election, for the purpose of setting-up a fully constitutional National Assembly and Government.

The draft programme presents in unequivocal terms the Government's attitude towards the German and Hungarian minorities. Czechoslovak citizenship is to be confirmed only to those who were anti-Nazi and anti-Fascist and fought for the Republic before Munich, and who were persecuted for their faithfulness after the occupation or who maintained the struggle in exile. All other members of these minorities will have their citizenship cancelled; they may again opt for Czechoslovakia, but condemned traitors will be exiled if not sentenced to capital punishment.

A National Court is to try persons accused of high treason; these include Hacha and members of the Beran Government agreeing to the signing of the "Berlin Pact," the Protectorate Governments from the 16th March, 1939, Tiso and the Slovak Governments from the 14th March, 1939, and members of the Slovak Parliament. Included in the general ban against Fascist organisations are the Agrarian Party and its branches, and parties which linked up with the Slovak Hlinka Party in 1938.

The question of the future of Carpatho-Ukraine, which has no representative in the present Czechoslovak Government, is to be solved "in accordance with the democratically expressed will of the Carpathian and Ukrainian people and in complete friendship with U.S.S.R."

The document embodying the draft programme was signed by the Communist Party, the Social Democratic Labour Party, the Social National Party, the People's (Catholic) Party and the Slovak National Council.

Practically the whole of Slovakia has now been liberated by the Red Army's operations in the Vah valley. On the 10th April, forces advancing from the lower plains occupied the town of Trenčín, while mountain fighting under very difficult conditions brought the Russian advance westwards as far as Svatý Martin and

Vrútky in the upper Vah. The campaign across the lower Morava proceeds with the occupation of Skalica on the 12th April and Hodonín the following day; the important rail centre of Breclav was taken on the 16th April, thus constituting a serious threat to Brno, the capital of Moravia. A new military element is the approach of the American armies to within a few miles of the Bohemian frontier at the western end of the Ore Mountains.

POLAND.

In the absence of any announcement as to the whereabouts of the delegates who were reported in the last *Summary* as having gone to meet General Ivanov on the 27th March, rumours have been current that they are in Moscow; and that direct conversations have been proceeding between them and Soviet representatives. It has even been suggested that agreement on the forming of a new Provisional Government is on the way to being reached; and that, though contrary to the Yalta decisions, such an agreement might conceivably be made to fit in with them. There is no confirmation of any sort for any of these speculations. It is, however, stated on good authority that M. Witos, twice Prime Minister of Poland and veteran leader of the Peasant Party, has been drawn into the conversations which, it is supposed, are still being carried on.

M. Mikolajczyk, who has for some time been accused by the Lublin press and radio of being opposed to the Yalta agreement, issued the following important statement on the 14th April:—

> "I consider close and lasting friendship with Russia is the keystone of future Polish policy within the wider friendship of the United Nations.
>
> "To remove all doubt as to my attitude, I declare that I accept the Crimea decision in regard to the future of Poland, its sovereign independent position and the formation of a Provisional Government representative of national unity.
>
> "I support the decision arrived at in the Crimea, that a conference of leading Polish personalities be called with a view to constituting a Government of National Unity as widely and fairly representative of the Polish people as possible, and one which will command recognition by the three major Powers."

A number of questions about Polish affairs, asked in the House of Commons on the 11th April, were answered by the Secretary of State's announcement that the Prime Minister would make a statement this week, probably on Thursday. In reply to another question, Mr. Eden stated that when a "broadly representative new Provisional Government of National Unity" had been set up, and when "His Majesty's Government are represented in Poland, they will be in a better position to form a final opinion as to what parties should be entitled to take part in elections, which clearly could not take place for some considerable time after the formation of the new Government. The scanty information at present available to His Majesty's Government about conditions in Poland indicates, as one would expect, that as a result of the long German occupation and the recent operations in Poland, party political warfare is not yet working in a normal manner. It may also clearly be that before elections were held new parties might emerge."

The signing of a treaty between the U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia has been given much publicity in the press and radio broadcasts in Poland, and has been followed by an agitation in favour of a similar alliance between Poland and the U.S.S.R. This has been advocated notably at workers' meetings in Warsaw, Lodz, Cracow and other towns, as well as on the radio and in the press. *Glos Ludu* is quoted as saying, in an editorial, "The tragic experience of September 1939 showed that Poland, being isolated and having no support from Slav people, proved helpless against the German Fascist invaders. After this war we want to build a stronger Poland. This is a great and important task, and we can only carry it out when we are sure of our own security. We can achieve this by concluding a pact of friendship with the Soviet Union."

SOVIET UNION.

Fighting for the annihilation of the remaining German troops in the Samland Peninsula west of Königsberg has continued, and appears to be nearly at an end. The air arm of the Baltic Fleet has been bombing German shipping at the escape port of Pillau: 5 destroyers, 13 transports, 2 tankers, 27 supply

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ships and numerous smaller vessels were claimed as destroyed; and 1 cruiser, 2 destroyers and many other vessels as damaged. There is as yet no confirmation from the Soviet side of German reports that Marshal Zhukov has begun an offensive across the Oder opposite Berlin. In Slovakia Hodonin and other towns on the Morava have been captured, as well as a triangle to the east of Vienna between the Morava and the Danube. Vienna itself fell on the 13th April, a victory celebrated in Moscow with 24 salvoes from 324 guns. Formations and units which distinguished themselves in its capture are to be decorated and named after the city. 130,000 prisoners were taken in the fighting for Vienna and its approaches between the 16th March and the 13th April. Marshal Tolbukhin's troops have swept on, and on the 15th April took St. Pölten, over 30 miles west of the Austrian capital. To the south further progress has been made; the Red Army is now within 30 miles of Graz.

In a tersely worded article in *Pravda* on the 14th April M. Alexandrov, writing with all the weight of the head of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, attacked Ilya Ehrenburg for the recent series of articles in which he (and, indeed, other journalists who were not attacked by name) had suggested that the Germans were opening the gates to the western Allies. On the contrary, said M. Alexandrov, "the Hitlerites are trying by their actions to arouse mistrust in the camp of the United Nations, to cause dissension among the Allies . . . . and to gain with the help of a provocational military and political trick that which they failed to gain by force of arms." He pointed out that the Germans were still continuing to sink Anglo-American ships, were until recently sending flying bombs against Britain, and were continuing to murder prisoners of the Allied armies. As well as making this *amende honorable*, M. Alexandrov attacked M. Ehrenburg for writing that nothing was now left of Germany but a colossal gang, and, in general, for presenting in all his articles a picture of Germany as a single entity. M. Alexandrov reaffirmed the Soviet view put forward consistently in the earlier years of the war that the Red Army had never set itself the aim of annihilating the German nation, and had never identified the population of Germany with the criminal Fascist ruling clique. In this connection he quoted Marshal Stalin's famous speech of February 1942: "Hitlers come and go, but the German people and the German State remain." This restatement of the old position is of great interest in view of the "Vansittartite" tone that had crept into Soviet propaganda during recent months (see *Summary* No. 281). Indeed, M. Ehrenburg has by no means stood alone in his denunciations of all things German. As recently as the 9th April, in a long article broadcast in Red Army Hour, M. Yovchuk, M. Alexandrov's immediate subordinate, categorically stated that the whole population of Germany was responsible for the crimes committed by the German-Fascist Army, and that Germans could not be separated into two categories.

Clearly there have been two schools of thought in high Soviet circles on "the German problem." Whether M. Alexandrov's statement indicates the triumph of his view remains to be seen. Now that victory is in sight it is possible that the vigorous views of M. Ehrenburg, useful enough for arousing the fighting spirit of the rank and file in the Red Army, may yield place to the older Marxist orthodoxy.

All reports agree that the news of the death of President Roosevelt was received with profound and sincere grief by all sections of the Soviet population. M. Molotov and many other high officials of the Soviet Government attended a memorial service at the American Embassy, all Government buildings hung out flags of mourning and the State Public Library in Leningrad has already opened a Roosevelt Memorial Exhibition. The Soviet press referred to the late President as a "pioneer of peace and security," and a great statesman "who realised that there could be no peace without collaboration with the U.S.S.R.," his rôle in securing the resumption of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the United States being singled out as a major proof of his far-sighted policy. Marshal Stalin is reported to have given Mr. Harriman an assurance that his Government would support President Truman with "all our forces and all our will"; though President Roosevelt was dead his cause must live on. The fact that it was announced on the Moscow wireless on the 16th April that M. Molotov had accepted the special invitation of President Truman and Mr. Stettinius to head the Soviet Delegation to San Francisco may be taken as a first step towards implementation of Marshal Stalin's words. The official statement did not fail to enhance the importance of the acceptance by pointing out that M. Molotov's presence was required in Moscow for the forthcoming session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

Two new appointments to the Soviet Delegation to San Francisco have just been announced—M. A. I. Lavrentiev, People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the R.S.F.S.R., formerly head of the Near Eastern Department of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs and Minister in both Sofia and Bucharest, and M. V. V. Kuznetsov, chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

The signing of the Soviet-Yugoslav Treaty on the 11th April (see under "Yugoslavia") was greeted enthusiastically in the Soviet press, *Izvestiya* pointing out that it would serve the vital interests of both peoples, which required the erection of a reliable bulwark against German aggression. *Pravda* singled out for praise Article III in which both parties solemnly declared that they would participate "in a spirit of the most sincere collaboration" in all international activities designed to ensure the peace and security of the nations. This important principle did not figure in the Soviet-Czechoslovak Treaty of December 1943, and is indeed a new departure designed presumably to allay fears that the Soviet system of bilateral pacts might not fit in with the new world organisation. The Soviet press has recently been at pains to point out that there is no incompatibility between such pacts and a general security organisation in connexion with French hesitation over San Francisco. Much publicity has been given by *Tass* to reports of meetings throughout Poland welcoming the new Treaty as a sign of growing friendship among Slav peoples and a guarantee of peace in post-war Europe, and urging the conclusion of a Soviet-Polish Treaty on the same lines (see under "Poland").

Commenting on the seven months' trial of 23 persons accused of Pan-Turanianism, which recently ended in Istanbul, *Pravda* described the sentences as "remarkable for a leniency unprecedented in Turkish justice." It stated that the accused conducted propaganda advocating certain racial theories and fascism in Turkey and suggested an attack on the U.S.S.R. "with the aim of incorporating a part of its territory into Turkey." The sentence of the Istanbul court, according to *Pravda*, "has caused consternation and indignation among progressive Turkish political circles . . . . Turkish democratic circles consider the sentence a proof that the Pan-Turk anti-Soviet activities in Turkey in recent years will continue, since the authorities do not consider them reprehensible." (See also under "Turkey.")

The first April number of *The War and the Working Class* contained another article by M. Diakov on the political situation in India (see *Summary* No. 278). The general tone of the article was critical and unfriendly to the British authorities (though the information in itself is apparently accurate). M. Diakov stated that a number of signs point to an imminent crisis in Indian politics. After describing the unrepresentative nature of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, M. Diakov enumerated the many conflicts which have occurred with the Government regarding finance, representation at San Francisco, &c. Alleged extracts were given from the Phillips report to the effect that "the Indian soldier is fighting like a slave." M. Diakov concluded that only a narrow group of reactionaries in India still support the present colonial régime; Field-Marshal Lord Wavell's visit, he thought, might herald a British attempt to break the deadlock, while even the pro-Government press has admitted that the Cripps proposals do not go far enough.

The Russian Orthodox Church is coming to play a prominent rôle; Patriarch Alexei was received by Marshal Stalin and M. Molotov on the 11th April, and the visits of the Church delegations to the Balkans, recorded in last week's *Summary*, are receiving a good deal of publicity. This may be connected with a renewed tug-of-war between the Soviet Union and the Vatican. Attacks, mainly indirect, on Vatican policy, particularly in connexion with Soviet fears of a soft peace, have continued in a steady trickle during the last few weeks, and these were renewed in a message sent through his delegate by Patriarch Alexei to the Bulgarian Exarch. The Patriarch stressed the need for unity and a peaceful alliance between the Orthodox Churches in view of the "increasing aspirations of Catholicism as represented by the Vatican, which seeks to dominate religion and the Lord's heritage, and to enforce its views," views which, in fact, had their source not in the gospel, but in sympathy for fascism. The same point was taken up strongly by Metropolitan Benjamin, Exarch of the Moscow Patriarchate in North America, in a recent report issued on his return from the U.S.S.R., when he spoke at length of the hostile anti-Soviet stand taken up by the Catholic Church.

The report of the Extraordinary State Commission on Atrocities in the Latvian S.S.R. was issued on the 9th April. This report, constructed on the usual lines, affirmed that over 250,000 civilians and 327,000 Soviet prisoners of

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war had been massacred, and that 175,000 Latvian citizens had been carried off to forced labour in Germany.

A recent broadcast entitled "Sidelights on Life in the U.S.S.R." described the progress of the U.S.S.R. towards becoming a strong sea power. Great efforts are now being made to build new ports and to repair the damage inflicted by the Germans on Odessa. Work on similar lines has been carried out in other Russian ports and as a result a great many more ships will be accommodated during the current navigation season than last year. In this connexion it is interesting to note the report by Rear-Admiral Redkin, Deputy People's Commissar for the Shipbuilding Industry, on the reorganisation of Soviet merchant shipping. Designs for new types of vessels for the merchant fleet, including new types of craft for carrying timber and cargo and passenger vessels, have been prepared; these vessels are being equipped with improved boilers, engines are being switched over to turbines and all loading and unloading equipment is being electrified. The Soviet Pacific Fleet has come into the limelight of Soviet news by the recent decree decorating officers and N.C.Os. of the Red Navy and personnel of the fishing industry engaged in Pacific waters. The Petropavlovsk (Kaamchatka) shipbuilding yards and their workers figured prominently in these awards.

SCANDINAVIA.

There have been startling developments in the Finnish internal political situation. The Democratic League and the Social Democratic Party have issued a manifesto together with the Agrarian Party on the programme of future collaboration of these three groups. There is little in this programme to which other political parties in present day Finland would not subscribe, and the most interesting point about it is really that it should have been issued jointly by the three largest groups in the Diet.

Though not entirely unexpected, the agreement between the two Left-wing parties is certainly surprising, and that the Agrarian Party should have associated itself with the declaration can only be described as astonishing. It could hardly be expected that a party which had leading men like the pro-German Horelli and Reinikka and which, owing to its past policy, has suffered a heavy set-back in the elections, would be the first of the Right-wing parties ready to collaborate. It may, however, be as well not to over-estimate the significance of this sudden coalition. It remains to be seen whether the three groups were really inspired by a sincere desire to collaborate with the other for the good of the country, or whether one of them, the Democratic League being perhaps the most likely one, was in fact hoping to use the coalition to further its own ends. Should the first assumption prove correct, a united policy would have the backing of 148 out of 200 votes in the Diet.

Meanwhile the first news about the new Finnish Government has been received. There are only three new names. M. Paasikivi, as was expected, remains Prime Minister with M. Enckell as Foreign Minister. The Democratic League receives the important positions of Deputy Foreign Minister, Minister of the Interior, Minister of Defence, Minister of Education, Deputy Minister of Communications and Deputy Minister of Social Affairs, while the Social Democrats will hold the offices of Minister of Communications, Minister of Social Affairs, Deputy Minister of Finance and Deputy Minister of Supplies. M. Vuori; who has shown rather Leftist sympathies, will be Minister of Communications. The Agrarian Party will provide both the Minister and the Deputy Minister of Agriculture as well as the Ministers of Justice and of Supplies. The Swedish Party is going to fill the post of Minister of Trade and Industry, while the Progressives will provide the Minister of Finance. It will be seen that the new coalition will dominate the Government entirely, provided always that the three groups will collaborate harmoniously. The Democratic League holds practically all the aces.

The death of President Roosevelt overshadowed all other news in the Swedish and Finnish press. Both countries were convinced that it would not affect Allied collaboration because, thanks to Mr. Roosevelt, the ties had become too strong to be broken. Finland deplored the passing of a man well known to be one of the few great statesmen who felt sympathy towards her and wished to aid her. Memorial services were held both in Stockholm and Helsinki. In the Swedish capital King Gustaf was represented by a member of his entourage, Colonel Count von Stedingk, and several members of the Royal family attended, while in Helsinki Field-Marshal Mannerheim himself as well as the Prime Minister, other ministers, Deputies and many prominent men were present at the service.

Some details regarding the possible evacuation of the population of Copenhagen have become known. It is said that about 900,000 people would be affected, approximately 93,000 remaining in the city excluding members of the fire services, A.R.P. Wardens, &c. It is not clear, however, whether these arrangements take into account the 231,700 German refugees who have recently arrived in the capital. The situation is obviously becoming increasingly serious and it is reported that the Germans will shortly confiscate all hospitals, hotels, nursing homes, assembly halls, barracks and similar accommodation.

In Sweden Bishop Aulen, who in February advocated Swedish military aid to Norway, has again emphasised that it was Sweden's obvious duty to intervene "if terror and banditry threatened in Norway." At the same time he expressed the hope that fear of Swedish intervention might act as a break on the occupying Power and possibly even ease capitulation.

A report from Sweden states that the German naval authorities in Norway have closed new sea areas near Sweden, apparently because four German patrol boats have recently fled to that country. There are also said to be some indications that the victualling of German troops has recently deteriorated, as contingents waiting for shipment to Germany have been seen begging for bread and other food-stuffs. No explanation has been given for the sudden release by the Germans of fifty-five political prisoners from Grini, among them MM. Tschudi and Yngvar Åbye, the two "grand old men" of that concentration camp.

LOW COUNTRIES.

The *Peuple*, the leading Belgian Socialist daily, has devoted an article to the question of King Leopold. Since liberation, said the paper, the Parties and the Press had by tacit agreement refrained from discussing the King. There was a general feeling that it would not be discreet to do so while he was a captive and also that it would be dangerous to raise the matter prematurely. However, there had of late been signs that a long-prepared propaganda campaign was to be launched. Public demonstrations had taken place. Nothing, said the *Peuple*, could be more ill-advised than the conduct of those responsible for such happenings. They might well provoke a passionate and spontaneous reaction. It must not be imagined that the Socialists were indifferent because they had been silent. When the time came they and many other Belgians would demand that a decision be taken after due deliberation. But "the question of the King—that is to say, the brief and lucid explanation which Belgium's former leaders, as well as her King, owe the country—cannot be evaded or settled by the methods of propaganda."

The news of Mr. Roosevelt's death was received with sorrow by the peoples of the Low Countries. Innumerable tributes have been paid to the late President. Cardinal van Roey, for instance, said that the Belgians had deeply admired those qualities which had made him during his life "the greatest statesman in the world" and would never forget their country's debt to him.

The Grand Duchess of Luxemburg has returned to her country and has received a loyal and enthusiastic welcome from her subjects. Before her departure she stated in a message to the people of Britain: "I go home strengthened and inspired by the contagious example of the virtue of the British character, and by the confidence that your ideals in respect of human rights and liberties will prevail in the establishment of a better world."

On the 12th Dr. van Kleffens broadcast to his countrymen on the subject of the San Francisco Conference. It was essential that an international organisation be created that would maintain security and peace. The Dutch delegation would put forward the views of the Dutch, but they had too much sober Dutch common sense to advocate any fantastic, impracticable schemes; at the same time they were keenly aware of the most urgent needs of the community of peace-loving peoples. The Dutch delegation knew, too, that rights and duties went together, and the Netherlands, while claiming their rights, would declare their readiness to perform their international duties.

Dr. van Kleffens subsequently declared at a Press conference in Ottawa that, when the liberation of the Netherlands had been completed, the new Dutch Government might demand the annexation of a strip of German territory, either in perpetuity, or for a term of years, to compensate for the temporary

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reduction in the area of Dutch agricultural land caused by flooding. Dr. Gerbrandy, speaking at a Press conference at Eindhoven, alluded to the looting of the Netherlands and stated that a commission had been set up to ascertain the ways in which reparation in kind could be made. Dr. Gerbrandy also referred to the recent (see *Summary* No. 288) Ministerial appointments and explained that a seat in the Cabinet had been offered to M. Oldenbroek, Secretary of the International Transport Workers' Federation, who, however, had declined it because of his other commitments. The Government, continued Dr. Gerbrandy, would come to the Netherlands as soon as the liberated parts of the country had ceased to be operational areas.

The liberation of the Northern and Eastern Netherlands has almost been completed, but the Germans continue to hold out in the densely-populated Western area.

FRANCE.

President Roosevelt's death was described by the Paris wireless as having plunged French political circles into sorrowful consternation. General de Gaulle sent messages of condolence to the new President and to Mrs. Roosevelt and ordered all flags to be flown half-mast throughout France and the French Empire. The 14th and 15th April were observed as days of national mourning and General de Gaulle and all the Ministers present in Paris, including M. Bidault, attended a special service at Notre Dame. The French newspapers were specially authorised to go to press full size so that they might comment on this great world event. Press and wireless comment contained heartfelt tributes on the late President and revealed a deep sense of loss and some concern as to the consequences of his death for the future of the world.

It was announced by Supreme Headquarters on the 13th April that the French Army of the Alps had, in conjunction with General Clark's offensive on the Po, launched an attack in Savoy on the German forces which hold the Franco-Italian frontier and had already cleared the Maurienne Area. On the 14th an Allied offensive against the German forces still holding the "Gironde pocket" began at dawn by heavy artillery and aircraft bombardment, in which French forces participated, while French warships joined in the operations on the following day. The land forces, under the command of General de Larminat and assisted by General Leclerc's tanks entered Royan late on the 15th; but the Germans are still putting up a stubborn resistance.

In the meantime the offensive of the French First Army continues into Württemberg. It was announced on the 14th that Major William Bullitt, the former United States Ambassador, who at present holds a commission in the French Army, had been appointed Military Governor of Baden-Baden by General de Lattre de Tassigny.

Mr. Duff Cooper has returned to Paris after having paid a visit to the provinces. In Lyons he was received by the municipality and an honorary degree was conferred on him by the university.

The Australian Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Forde, and the Australian Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Evatt, who are to attend the San Francisco Conference, in the course of their visit to France were received by M. Bidault and General de Gaulle. A Quai d'Orsay communiqué broadcast on the 16th attached much importance to the conferences held between Messrs. Bidault and Evatt, recalled Mr. Evatt's statement to the Australian Parliament in 1943 on the United Nations' debt to the Free French Forces in New Caledonia and emphasised the two Powers' solidarity of interests in the Pacific, their identity of views on the utility of regional agreements such as the Canberra Treaty, their resolve to co-ordinate their action in the interest of the native populations without prejudice to the sovereignty of Metropolitan France and their readiness to consider themselves as "trustees" in mandated territories and report to a body similar to the former Mandates Commission of the League of Nations.

The press has recently stated that there is considerable division of opinion in the Government about the desirability of holding the local elections on the dates announced. Certain Ministers, including the Minister of the Interior, are stated to favour postponing the elections in view of the considerable numbers of prisoners now returning. General de Gaulle is, however, stated to be insistent that the elections should take place as announced, and it appears, therefore, that the municipal elections will be held on the 29th April.

The announcement on the 4th April by the A.F.P. of the arrest in Paris of seventeen members of the "Parti Populaire Français" has drawn attention to

a revival of activity on the part of the Doriotists, who are stated to have threatened to reappear in the guise of a new political party, the "Parti Français d'Action Socialiste," under Jean Amedéo, who took over the leadership of the remnants of the P.P.F. after Doriot's death in Germany (see *Summary* No. 282). Amadéo was among those arrested. Vague references to further (apparently unrelated) arrests have since appeared in the press and the reports have been elaborately embroidered by the Left and Resistance newspapers to further their own ends by exploiting the Fifth Column bogy. There would appear to be no serious conspiracy, and on the 16th April the Minister of the Interior, reassuring a delegation of the Consultative Assembly's Commissions of the Interior and of Justice, declared that to his knowledge there was no plot against the security of the State, but that enemy agents, in liaison with anti-national groups such as Darnand's Militia, the P.P.F. and the Francistes, were trying to provoke disorders, whilst very rarely having recourse to outrages.

The new wage rates decided on by the Government were outlined by M. Parodi at a press conference on the 7th April. They amount to a 30 to 35 per cent. increase—as opposed to the C.G.T. demands for an increase of 60 to 70 per cent.—and they lesson the gap between men's and women's wages from 20 to 10 per cent., while where equal production can justifiably be claimed the rates are now to be the same. The C.G.T. has declared these rates to be unacceptable, and has also protested strongly against the Government decision to remove the bread subsidy and thus increase the price of bread to over 7 francs per kg. as from the 15th April. The C.G.T. Administrative Committee has been called to consider the position on the 17th. M. Parodi, however, declared that any further wage increases would lead to a parallel rise in prices, and that the Government were resolved to maintain the revised wages at this level until production had risen sufficiently to absorb the further increase.

M. Mendès-France's resignation (see last *Summary*) met with expressions of regret on the Left. He declared in an interview with the Press that his policy had led to vigorous opposition, particularly from the Bank of France. He added, however, that he differed from M. Pleven only on questions of method, and he welcomed the concentration of the two Ministries of Finance and National Economy under one head, since he himself had found his powers insufficient on the financial side. M. Pleven made his first statement of policy after taking over from M. Mendès-France on the 7th April. The emphasis he laid on the need for improving the supply position and the uselessness of carrying through measures of nationalisation without solving the fundamental problem of production has clearly reassured business circles in France, whose fears had already been lessened by the Minister's budget speech with its rejection of deflationary plans for the exchange of banknotes and its appeal to voluntary saving.

M. Tillon, the Minister for Air, stated on the 8th April, at the Congress of French Aviation (see last *Summary*) that the Government had decided to nationalise the Gnome-et-Rhône aeroplane engine works, as a result of the company's attitude under the occupation and in order to increase production. The big civil aviation companies, such as Air-France, are also to be nationalised. Speaking at Algiers on the 12th April, M. Tillon said that France was now in a position to manufacture 5-ton seaplanes, and to create a great aluminium industry.

(For indication of a *détente* in Franco-Syrian relations, see under "Middle East.")

SWITZERLAND.

It is announced that the Swiss Minister to Germany has left Berlin with part of the Legation staff and established himself at Tegernsee in southern Bavaria.

Plans have been made for a new military call-up to man Switzerland's north-eastern frontiers during the final phase of the war, and to deal with the anticipated stream of refugees.

SPAIN.

Whatever posterity may say of General Franco, it will not be able to accuse him of supine inaction as the great crisis of his régime was gathering. Compared with the masterly inactivity he has shown on occasions in the past when danger

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threatened and everyone expected fireworks from the Caudillo, he is being positively dynamic—or at the very least going through the motions. The direction in which Spanish policy towards Japan was veering was indicated in *Summary* No. 287; the next step has since been taken, and the ignoring by the Tokyo Government of the Spanish note of protest at Japanese treatment of Spanish nationals and property in the Philippines has led to the expected rupture of diplomatic relations. The press has played up with noble unanimity, and no one in Spain who reads a newspaper can escape the conclusion that the Japanese, who in 1941 were hailed in all their "strength and glory," are now very bad men.

This indignation with Japan, which makes, of course, a nice pretext for sidling up to the Allies, is in the background of the press celebration of the six-year-old treaty of friendship and non-aggression between Spain and Portugal. Quite a lot of fulsome plaster has been slapped over the always threatening cracks of the Iberian *bloc*. The newspapers of Madrid were very pleased with the example of high-minded loyalty which the two Peninsular nations offered to the world community, and they laid special emphasis on the "noble, disinterested generosity" with which both countries had "received with open arms the flotsam and jetsam of the world war" (*Alcázar* 21st March). It was pointed out that, material absence from the battlefield did not preclude a "close, passionate, *moral* presence," and the conclusion was drawn that it would be to the eternal glory of Spain and Portugal that by giving their service of "pure ideas" they had been of even greater help to the belligerents (the winners, of course) than by "involving themselves in practical designs." Naturally, the Iberian partners would not dream of sending in a bill for their Christian attitude during the war, but they begged, nay demanded, that the world should acknowledge that they had been "belligerents in the alleviation of misery, grief and human sorrow." One must be a long way from the reality of war to produce this sort of ragamodoglio.

But besides offering gestures of solidarity with the victorious Allies on the diplomatic front, Franco is making a show of liberalising the domestic workings of his régime. The press has announced that the political Junta has approved a bill dealing with the rights of the Spanish people and has agreed to refer it to the National Council. It will then be passed to the Cortes and will probably become law in two or three weeks. From what one can gather at the moment the Bill defines the rights and duties of Spanish citizens; the first include guarantees against arbitrary arrest and detention, search of domicile without warrant and censorship of correspondence. Happily for Franco—who knows his countrymen—there is in Spain a very wide gap between paper promises and practical performance. Otherwise the realisation of this modest, civilised programme would destroy the very basis of his régime, which is the principle that no Spaniard may think, say or do anything of which the Caudillo, and particularly all his "caudillitos" may disapprove.

It is presumably in this mood of benign, worldly-wise and always cautious tolerance that Franco has decided to invite back to Spain all those exiles who fled from the Nationalist vengeance—or, as he would say, justice. Consular officials abroad, it is stated in Madrid, have been authorised to accept applications to return to Spain from exiles against whom there is no criminal charge. This gesture of pseudo-appeasement will probably be unproductive; the Republicans in exile are no more likely to accept Franco's invitation to walk in than are the Monarchists now serving the régime to respond to Don Juan's call to them to walk out.

ITALY.

A general attack, which may presage the end of the war in Italy, has begun and good progress has been made on either flank. But the nature of the country is against any spectacular advance, on the right flank a network of canals and waterways and on the left flank the Apennines, which come right down to the sea as far as Genoa. General Viettinghoff-Scheel has taken over command of the German forces in Italy in succession to Marshal Kesselring. He is said to be a specialist on defence and tank warfare and he is not known to have any particular party connections.

Feeling regarding the future frontier line between Italy and Yugoslavia, but particularly the fate of Trieste, seems to be increasing daily in both countries. In Italy it threatens to become an issue of national importance, and interest

in this question is not confined to Venezia Giulia and the North but has become a matter of equal concern in the Central and Southern Regions. The Italian Press, although maintaining the "italianità" of Trieste and other areas in dispute, is, in general, doing its best to calm the rising temperature. Signor Togliatti, the leader of the Communist Party, has, in his party paper *Unità*, reminded Italians that their country's aggression against Yugoslavia has to be taken into account and that some concessions will have to be made. But Signor Togliatti is between the devil and the deep sea, and in his report to the Second National Council of the Italian Communist Party, he was not so definite regarding the concessions Italy would have to make and he admitted that Trieste was a problem which would have to be solved by friendly agreement. Other party papers stress the necessity of approaching the question in a friendly and not a nationalistic spirit. *Italia Nuova*, the Italian Democrat Party paper, points out that, although Fascist Italy has lost the war, Italians have been fighting the common enemy with the Yugoslavs for the last two years and that Yugoslavia might take this into account in her attitude to Italy. *Risorgimento Liberale* publishes an Order of the Day passed by the executive of the Italian Liberal Party on the question of Trieste, founded on a report received from the Trieste branch of the party. This Order of the Day, although it draws attention to the unhappy lot of the people of Venezia Giulia under German, Slovene and Croat troops, recalls the Capital Conference of Oppressed Nationalities in Rome in 1918 in the hopes that the collaboration, then decided on, will continue and that the new Yugoslavia will approach the frontier question in a friendly and non-nationalistic spirit. The Yugoslav Press, on the other hand, appears to have no wish to attempt a solution of the problem in a peaceable way, but seems bent on inflaming public opinion against Italy in every possible way. The throwing of a bomb in the neighbourhood of the Yugoslav Partisan Headquarters in Rome has also been used to work up the feelings of the Yugoslav public. Who threw the bomb and for what purpose is not known, and the Italian Government has naturally disclaimed all responsibility. The bomb was apparently so small that all the damage it did was to blacken part of the wall in a convent garden near which it fell. This garden was near the Yugoslav Partisan Headquarters.

It will be remembered that Signor Azzolini, the Governor of the Bank of Italy, was tried and sentenced to 30 years' imprisonment, towards the end of last year, for handing over to the Germans the gold reserve of the Bank. There is, according to a Press report, great excitement in Rome on the finding of the Nazi hoard of gold in the Merkers Salt Mines. It is apparently hoped that a proportion of this gold is the Italian gold handed over to the Germans by Signor Azzolini.

The neo-Fascists, in continuation of their intensified propaganda drive referred to in last week's *Summary*, have now directed their fire towards the problem of Trieste—a question which provides them with ample opportunities for exploiting the disagreement already existing on this subject between the Left Wing Parties and the more nationalistically inclined groups in Liberated Italy. Popular demonstrations for Trieste appear to have been organised in Milan. Several provocative statements have been put out over the Fascist-controlled radio, representing that Venezia Giulia has already been virtually sold to Yugoslavia at Russia's command, and declaring that the Fascists are the sole champions of Italy's frontiers. The incident of the hand-grenade thrown outside the headquarters of Tito's Military Mission in Rome was applauded as "the first symptom of revolt against the traitors of Rome."

There are conflicting reports regarding a German evacuation of the Como and Varese region. Four German divisions are said to have left Italy for Germany at the end of March, but Fascist troops trained and equipped in Germany appear to have arrived on the Italian front. In Milan, a state of siege is said to have been declared, according to Swiss reports, owing to signs of preparation for a general strike.

The Swiss press reports rumours that Mussolini is preparing a last ditch "redoubt" for himself and his followers in the Val Tellina on the Swiss border. Pavolini and Pini, the Minister of the Interior, are said to have inspected the region, and the Federal Commissioner of Como has been charged with freeing the district from partisans. According to another source attempts have been made by the Germans to induce the partisans to withdraw from this region on the understanding that all electric power stations and installations would be left intact and all Fascist units withdrawn if the partisans would allow the Germans to reorganise unmolested in the Val Tellina region. The partisans have refused.

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THE VATICAN.

The *Osservatore Romano* of the 13th April devoted the whole of its front page to the death of President Roosevelt, praising the friendly relations he maintained with the Holy See and "his democratic Christian outlook, an outlook which is one of the profoundest reasons why the whole world to-day bows in homage before the figure of the great man."

For Russian attacks on the Vatican see under "Soviet Union."

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

Elections have, after all, not been held for the representation of Budapest and other "newly liberated" districts in the Provisional Assembly. The seats have been allocated by the National Committee of Budapest between the five parties forming the "Independence Front." The Communists and Social Democrats receive 30 each, the Smallholders 25, the National Peasants and Citizens' Democratic Party 10 each. Professors Szekfü and Szentgyörgyi and Count M. Károlyi have been allotted seats in a personal capacity. Excluding these three men, the representation in the Assembly to-day is: Communists 98, Social Democrats 65, Smallholders 78, National Peasants 25, Democrats 19. The seats for Transdanubia remain to be filled.

The Vatican Radio now reports that Cardinal Archbishop Serédi died of heart failure on the 29th March. Other sources had stated that he was killed in the ruins of the Basilica during an air raid on Esztergrgom.

Conditions in Budapest appear to be improving gradually, and almost all essentials can now be bought in the shops (which are reopening rapidly), but at very high prices, which are, however, falling. Two of the old bridges are also standing. There have as yet been no serious epidemics. But there is a desperate shortage of medical supplies and apparatus, and if the coming harvest is not successful (and much militates against it: disorganisation, lack of implements and even of seed, as well as of animals) the autumn and winter may prove very difficult indeed.

The partitioning of the estates under the Land Reform Act is now practically complete. Among the objects affected are lands belonging to British subjects, and His Majesty's Representative has protested against this violation of the Armistice terms.

Hungarians conscripted for service by the Germans are still from time to time reported among the prisoners taken on the Western Front. Many of them are boys hardly in their teens.

Roumania.

It appears that the King has under protest signed the decree purporting to alter the Constitution of 1923 in respect of the confiscation of land. In doing so, he is reported to have remarked that the Constitution still gave the dispossessed landlords a right to compensation, and that they could take proceedings in the courts. Two hours later, the Minister of Justice, Patrașcanus issued a decree annulling this provision. The King is still holding out over the decree introducing the death penalty. There are rumours that he may demand the resignation of the Prime Minister. For some time past there have been reports that the position of the Government was not as secure as the fact of its backing by the Soviet Government led people to suppose.

Proposals are on foot for the formation of a new party under the Presidency of the Prime Minister. This is to include dissidents from the older parties. It is to be known as the "National and Socialist Union of Roumania." This will give Dr. Grozea the backing which every politician needs. It is quite in line with established practice.

The refusal of M. Molotov to accede to the demand of the United States for consultations in accordance with the Yalta decisions on the subject of the imposition of a minority government in Roumania, has failed to satisfy the United States Government, which has repeated its demand, with an expression of the hope that the Soviet Government will not persist in its refusal.

Yugoslavia.

The military front has begun to move rapidly. Partisan forces have pressed rapidly westward across southern Croatia to occupy Senj, on the coast, and

Ogulin, on the Fiume-Zagreb railway. The enemy are retreating northwards down the Bosna-river, the Partisans have over-run north-east Bosnia, and at last the German front in Srem is being withdrawn and is now west of Osijek. In the Gorizia district the Partisans are surviving with difficulty. The R.A.F. has given strong and active support to all these operations; but the Yugoslavs' communiqués only mention their own Air Force.

A Soviet-Yugoslav Treaty of Alliance was signed on the 11th April at Moscow. It is the second exception, after the Soviet-Czechoslovak Treaty, to the principle of no alliances during the war between one of the greater Allies and one of the lesser European States. Article 1 binds the two States to continue the present war against Germany to final victory. Article 2 binds either State after the war to assist the other against German aggression and against any other State in any way assisting Germany. Article 3 provides that both States shall co-operate in international efforts to achieve peace and security. Article 4 forbids either State to participate in any coalition directed against the other. Article 5 provides for economic and cultural co-operation. The treaty is for 20 years and thereafter for periods of 5 years, unless denounced one year before the expiry of one of these terms.

The Treaty was hailed with enthusiasm by Radio Belgrade. Hebrang, Minister of Industry, addressing a mass demonstration on the subject, is reported to have said: "Now all our enemies must think twice about how to deal with Yugoslavia. Anybody who attempts to snatch our lands from us will meet with violent resistance. Nobody will ever again be able with impunity to trifle with Yugoslavia's fate." Shubashitch, speaking in Moscow, is reported to have said: "Now the rock-like anti-Fascist coalition of the freedom-loving peoples of Central Europe and the Balkans has been formally set up."

Changes in the central Government have been announced. Tito has selected a War Cabinet from amongst the 28 Ministers. It consists of himself, Kardelj and Grol (Vice-Premiers), Zechevitch (Interior), Zhujovitch (Finance), Kosanovitch (Information) and Hebrang (Industry). A Legislative Council has also been set up, consisting of Kardelj (as Minister for the Constituent Assembly, Chairman), Frol (Justice) and the six Ministers for the federated regions of Yugoslavia (four of whom are Communist party members). Its functions are important and include the initial and final drafting of legislative measures, the binding interpretation of all laws, and the issuing of instructions on behalf of the Cabinet to the federated regions. The position of Kardelj, as in charge of the preparations for the Constituent Assembly, a member of the War Cabinet and Chairman of the Legislative Council, is striking.

Much emphasis is being laid on Serbian nationalism. At the "first extraordinary session" of A.S.N.O.S. (see preceding *Summary*, p. 14) that body was converted into the "National Skupshtina of Serbia" and local liberation committees into subordinate skupshtine; the Skupshtina received additional members nominated by the Presidium; members of the Skupshtina took an oath to the people before the Presidium, to whom they are responsible. Mosha Pijade, Vice-President of Avnoj, made a speech, emphasising that "we, in our Serbia, know no authority at the head of the State administration except the Presidium of the National Skupshtina." [This seems to imply that the King or his Regents have no authority in Serbian affairs and to veil the fact of the power of the Yugoslav Government.] Serbians have also been assured by the press that the Vojvodina, the Sandjak and the Albanian-inhabited Kosovo-Metohija area are being included in Serbia, allegedly on the demand of delegates from those districts.

An ecclesiastical delegation from the Russian Patriarchate has visited Belgrade. The Bishop of Kirovograd made a speech, full of military ardour and hatred of the enemy, and pointedly expressed the hope that the Serb Orthodox Church would show the same lofty patriotism as does the Russian. Pop Zechevitch, Minister of the Interior, described the part played by his clerical colleagues in the National Liberation Movement. Nevertheless, it appears that late in January the Commissar for the Interior for Serbia demanded that the Holy Synod of the Serb Orthodox Church should forbid the mention of the King's name in church services; and that the Holy Synod replied that the hierarchy, having taken an oath to the King, could not discuss the matter, until the constitution should be altered by legitimate means.

The Belgrade press and radio maintained a barrage of abuse of Turkey, Greece, and especially Italy. The alleged throwing of a bomb at the building occupied by the Yugoslav military mission in Rome was made the occasion for demonstrations and articles claiming Venezia Giulia, including Trieste, for

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Yugoslavia. An official Italian communiqué stated that a very small bomb was in fact thrown into the garden of some nuns, in the neighbourhood of the Yugoslav building, which was undamaged. The suspicion has been expressed that the incident was the work of an *agent provocateur*. Authoritative Yugoslav claims to Venezia Giulia were contained in a broadcast address by Kardelj to Slovenes, claiming the whole Slovene-inhabited area [which in this context would also include Klagenfurt and its neighbourhood, in Austria] "together with certain de-nationalised towns"; and in an interview given by Tito to the Soviet military *Red Star*.

Greece.

When the Plastiras Government fell, the press of the extreme Left, which had ruthlessly criticised the Premier while he was in office, proceeded to abuse the Regent and the British for bringing about the Government's downfall. The Communist *Rizospastis* (8th April) accused the Regent of dismissing Plastiras "in the face of the expressed opinion of the whole democratic world and of the democratic parties" and of yielding to the violent threats of Monarchists and Fascists and to the demands of the British. *Eleftheri Ellada* (E.A.M.) said that the Regent had assisted a nefarious monarchist conspiracy, with His Majesty's Ambassador and General Scobie working behind the scenes. The Royalist press was glad that the "erring" Government had been dismissed, and reproached General Plastiras for having done nothing to hasten the plebiscite which the Royalists so earnestly desire. The Nationalist *Ellinikon Aima*, in which the extracts from the Plastiras letter (see last *Summary*) first appeared, assured its readers that it had published these only from a strong sense of duty; the resignation of General Plastiras was a moral issue, not a political one.

Admiral Voulgaris has made further appointments to his Cabinet, several of them men belonging to the Left Centre. According to Radio Athens, M. Varvaressos has agreed to join the Cabinet; he will probably be offered the post of Minister of Co-ordination, which will mean that he has general control of economic and financial affairs. The new Minister of the Interior has informed the Press that preparatory work on revision of the electoral lists has been begun; as soon as this work is finished, the Government will call upon the people to vote. Whether elections or a plebiscite will be the first to be held, he is unable at the moment to say.

Papers of the 10th April carried an announcement by the Committees of the Union of Popular Democracy (E.L.D.), and the Socialist Party of Greece (S.K.E.), both of which recently broke away from E.A.M., stating that the Parties had amalgamated and would be known temporarly as E.L.D.—Socialist Party of Greece. Professor Svolos will be president of the new Party, among whose adherents are reported to be MM. Askoutsis, Tsirimokos, and Stratis.

The death of President Roosevelt has profoundly shocked the Greek public. The Regent has gone into official mourning for three weeks, and a memorial service was held in Athens at which Admiral Voulgaris delivered an address. The Greeks, he said, mourned the loss of the President even more than did the other Allies, because they particularly needed a guardian of their national liberty. The interest and understanding that President Roosevelt had shewn for the Greek people in their hour of distress he would undoubtedly have shewn again at the Peace Conference.

Albania.

Enver Hoxha has at last brought himself to agree to the Allied military authorities controlling relief for a preliminary period, after which U.N.R.R.A. will be ready to deal direct with the Albanian authorities. Supplies will be handed for distribution to the Albanian military authorities, but United States and British advisers will ensure that full use is made of local and imported supplies. Enver Hoxha had hoped to have the control of supplies himself at once, and so to offset the discredit which the incompetence of his administration has already gained. He would doubtless also have been glad to construe the agreement as implying Allied recognition of his Government, but it has been made clear that no such recognition is entailed.

It has been agreed between Enver Hoxha and the Government in Rome that 10,000 Italians shall be repatriated as soon as transport is available, the remaining Italians in Albania—about 10,000 more—later on, and Italian experts in essential enterprises as soon as they can be replaced.

Enver Hoxha has asked that forty Albanians now in camps in Italy may be repatriated for trial in Albania as war criminals.

Bulgaria.

According to the Bulgarian Foreign Minister the elections will at any rate not take place before July. Antonyugov, the loquacious Communist Minister of the Interior, promises that under the new electoral law there will be a secret and free vote, on the basis of proportional representation, for everybody except proved "Fascists," and wide facilities for the opposition. The Agrarians, who are strongly opposed to early elections and to the Communist proposal to enfranchise boys and girls of 18, are fully conscious of the steady efforts now being made by their Communist partners to monopolise power. The Communists' insistence on a one-party electoral campaign and on electoral innovations which can but favour themselves indicate clearly enough that the Communists hope so to rig the elections as to obtain an overwhelming majority by so-called "democratic" procedure. It may be presumed that they would then formally abolish the Monarchy and set up the Republic at which the Fatherland Government has from the first declared that it aims. It may be that the headship of the State is being kept for George Dimitrov, the splendour of whose life in Moscow has been duly reported in Bulgaria and whose lightest word on any current matter is received —at any rate by the Communists—with awe. The Agrarians, though they far outnumber the Communists, have difficulty in standing up to them, because in the last resort the Communists have at least tacit Russian support. For example, the Communists recently staged such an insistent agitation against the Agrarian manager of the Pernik coal mines that a deputation of Cabinet Ministers who visited the mine decided to transfer him, although they found nothing against him. Again, the secretary of the General Trades Union, who is a Moscow-trained Bulgarian and enjoys great influence, is actively turning to political ends a Union which until the revolution had been chiefly concerned with working conditions. Another Communist manœuvre is to discourage home industries, so that the peasants may become dependent on the workers whom the Communists aspire to control. To this end the Communists try to persuade the peasants to give up weaving and shoe-making and to hand their raw materials over to factories. Recently the Young Agrarian League, meeting in some secrecy, elected a new permanent præsidium of exclusively Right-wing Agrarians and passed a resolution in favour of maintaining itself independent of other youth associations. This did not suit the Communists, one of whose main schemes it is to get hold of all the youth organisations and particularly the Young Agrarian League, which is the largest. The Communists published a violent attack on the Young Agrarian League, protesting against secret proceedings and alleging that they afforded cover for "Fascists" and for the followers of Dr. G. M. Dimitrov—who is now taboo—and were consequently detrimental to the unity of the Fatherland Front, to friendship with the Soviet Union and to the prosecution of the war. It is fairly certain that the majority of the Bulgarians have no wish for Communist domination, but it is doubtful whether, disarmed as they now are and with the Red Army in the background, the non-Communists can defeat the Communists' manœuvres, although there are rumours of the Tsveno Party co-operating with the Agrarians in this sense.

Sentences to death, life imprisonment and less severe penalties have been passed by the People's Court on quisling publicists, on officials and others charged with persecuting Jews and on police officers.

Turkey.

Reports of Red Army concentrations on the Bulgarian side of the Turco-Bulgarian frontier have perhaps been deliberately exaggerated in order to make the Turkish mind receptive to Russian proposals for a new régime of the Straits and a new treaty. Speculating on what these proposals are likely to be Yalçin opines that Russia wants neither to take Turkish territory nor to break the Anglo-Turkish alliance, and he declares that Turkey is ready to discuss the Straits in the spirit of Montreux and to guarantee friendship and non-aggression. Other commentators point out that modern Turkey cannot allow herself to fall within any sphere of influence. Sertel, a writer friendly to Russia, remarks that Turkey's object has been and is to belong to the Mediterranean system without incurring a clash with the Soviet Union. The Russian press and wireless has complained of

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the unprecedented leniency of the Turkish military court which has been trying twenty-three individuals for indulging in racialism and Pan-Turanian activities. It sentenced Zeki Velidi Toğan, one of the leaders, to ten years' imprisonment, four others to four or five years, and another five to shorter terms. Recalling that these people had proposed the annexation of Russian territory by Turkey, a Russian broadcast drew the conclusion that Pan-Turanian anti-Soviet activities would continue in Turkey. This all seems to be part of the Russian approach to fresh negotiations. Possibly the proposal to publish fuller reports of the debates both of the Popular Party and of the Grand National Assembly is designed to meet Soviet charges that democracy does not exist in Turkey.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

On the occasion of President Roosevelt's death, King Farouk sent messages of condolence to Mrs. Roosevelt and to President Truman. The Iraqi Court went into mourning for ten days, and the Regent has cancelled, at least temporarily, his visit to the United States. In Syria the Government went into mourning for three days, and the Chamber was adjourned after a tribute by Faris al Khury to the late President.

Before leaving for San Francisco the Egyptian Minister for Foreign Affairs told the press that he had agreed with the other Arab delegations to examine jointly in the United States the proposals that each delegation would make to the conference. It is to be expected that the Arab representatives will be particularly concerned with the problems of regional arrangements for peace and security, and with regional representation on the Security Council and other bodies. Reports indicate that the Egyptians are hoping that existing bilateral treaties which, like the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936, give to a Great Power a privileged position in the territory of a small State will not be automatically incorporated in the plans of the future world organisation; and that they will closely scrutinise the effect on the Suez Canal of any projects for the protection of international waterways.

Speaking in the Chamber on the 9th April, the Syrian Premier enumerated three issues on which no agreement had yet been concluded with France. These were the army, on which he expressed hope of an early and satisfactory settlement, the establishment of diplomatic relations and the financial relationship between the two countries. On another outstanding issue the Prime Minister was able to report progress; the original and unacceptable draft of an educational convention had been withdrawn by the French, who had substituted a new text which might provide a basis of discussion. In conversation with His Majesty's Minister on the same day, Faris al Khury stated that agreement had been reached on the establishment of a joint committee to examine the new draft convention. If this resulted in an agreed text, it would be initialled and put aside until it could be incorporated in a general settlement. The Prime Minister also seemed ready to consider the acceptance of a French Military Mission, on the fulfilment of certain conditions which would include the transfer of the *Troupes Spéciales*. He hoped, however, that it would be possible to conclude agreements regulating the relations of Syria with Great Britain and the United States in much the same way as with France, and he concluded by observing that any agreements reached with France would have to be approved by the Chamber of Deputies.

It may therefore be said that there are indications of a *détente* in Franco-Syrian relations, but Jamil Mardam, who in the absence of the Prime Minister at San Francisco will have the primary responsibility on the Syrian side for the next stage of the conversations, spoke to Mr. Shone in less optimistic terms. His gloom, however, seems to have been occasioned in part by an unfounded report from Paris to the effect that the French Ambassador in London had approached His Majesty's Government with the suggestion that the British troops should be removed from the Levant States and the French forces there withdrawn from British command. There can be little doubt that any such change would be regarded in the two States with the utmost dismay.

The Lebanese Chamber voted unanimously on the 7th April for the ratification of the Arab Pact. There is said to be disappointment among the Palestinian Arabs over the discreet terminology of the appendix dealing with Palestine, and the exclusion of their representative from full membership of the League Council.

In conversation with His Majesty's Ambassador, the Iraqi Premier has affirmed that no political question divides the two Allies in Iraq. (Nevertheless suggestions of a desire for revision of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty have recently appeared in the Bagdad press). Hamdi Pachachi went on to discuss his country's need for the advice of British experts, particularly on irrigation, and also for Englishmen in the Administration. Sir Hugh Stonehewer Bird, while expressing his full sympathy with the Premier's wishes in this matter, reminded him that the end of hostilities in Europe would not at once ease the shortage of British man-power.

THE FAR EAST.

The Japanese people have been warned by their political and military leaders not to imagine that the death of President Roosevelt will mean any slackening in the American determination to prosecute the war. Admiral Suzuki, who in an interview on the 14th April with a *Domei* correspondent paid a tribute to the late President which has aroused much comment in Japan and abroad, went on to say that he did not expect any change to result in the American war effort against Japan, while Japanese determination to continue the war also remained the same. However, Iguchi, the spokesman of the Board of Information, said that the Americans had an opportunity to reconsider the reasons for which they were fighting. So did Kurusu, the Japanese special envoy to Washington in 1941. He spoke of "this disastrous war." Nomura, the regular ambassador at that time, said that he had foreseen in a dream the death of the President, but that this event would not affect the American war programme and that the Japanese must renew their determination to fight to a finish (*Domei*, 14th April). The *Nippon Times* (15th April) indulged in some wishful thinking, to the effect that the loss of President Roosevelt's skilled leadership would result in a deterioration in Anglo-American relations.

The disastrous nature of the war has been brought home to the Japanese by renewed heavy air raids on Tokyo; among other things the Meiji Shrine has been destroyed and Suzuki has had to apologise to the Emperor for this. The fires in part of the Yotsuya Ward got out of control and a number of civilians were saved only by being allowed to enter the Imperial Garden of Shinjuku (*Domei*, 16th April). The Japanese are putting out fantastic figures of American aircraft destroyed and claim to have a new type of anti-aircraft gun in action.

On the 11th April the Japanese Information Board announced that, on the recommendation of the Premier, Lieutenant-General Toji Yasui had been appointed Minister of State. The *Asahi* (13th April) said that as there were several representatives of the navy in the Cabinet, Suzuki decided to fill the remaining vacancy with a soldier and entrusted the selection to Anami, who chose Yasui. Yasui, the paper added, had played a big part in quelling the disturbances arising from the mutiny of the 26th February, 1936; he was chief of staff of the Martial Law Hedquarters at that time. He was later in charge of defences in North Manchuria; returning to Japan in 1941, he became in the following year head of the Imperial Rule Assistance Corps in Tokyo. Motoi Yukawa, Director of the Food Control Bureau, has been appointed Vice-Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, and Masamichi Yamagiwa, Chief of the General Affairs Bureau of the Finance Ministry, has been appointed Vice-Minister of Finance. Prince Higashikuni has been made a Supreme War Councillor.

In Free China there has so far been no resumption of the negotiations between the Government and the Communists; indeed the attitude of both sides seems to be hardening. P. H. Chang, the spokesman of the Executive Yuan, when asked why foreign correspondents were not permitted to visit Yenan, replied that as normal political relationships between the Central Government and the Communist area were not restored, there was no regular civilian traffic between Yenan and other parts of Free China. To the query when normal relationships would be restored he replied "when Government orders are observed there" (Chungking radio, 12th April).

General Hurley, the United States Ambassador to China, on the 2nd April, told a Press conference in Washington that the United States Government could not grant a Chinese Communist request for arms and ammunition as this would be equivalent to recognising the Communists as belligerents. The Ambassador's statement was welcomed by the Kuomintang Press; the *Shihshih Hsin Pao* (4th April) saying that many, both Chinese and foreigners, sympathised with the

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Communists, but that no matter how much reason there was in some of their demands, nothing could be discussed so long as they held a part of the national territory by armed force. The Communist paper *Hsin Hua Jih Pao* (5th April) deplored the Ambassador's statement, and said that it might increase the possibility of schism and of civil war in China. However, the Communists have agreed that Tung Pi-wu shall be a member of the Chinese delegation to the San Francisco Conference; he will take as his assistants the editor-in-chief of the *Hsin Hua Jih Pao* and the private secretary of Chou En-lai.

The press in Chungking generally commended the denunciation by the U.S.S.R. of the Pact of Neutrality with Japan, although the *Hsin Hua Jih Pao* made no comment. A Chinese military spokesman refused to discuss the possibility of Soviet entry into war against Japan. The Chungking radio (6th April) in reporting this, said that it was felt in Chungking that, even without a declaration of war, China would henceforth receive more material aid from the U.S.S.R., it was also hoped that the Japanese would have to transfer some of their forces from central and southern China to Manchuria, thus lessening the menace to Free China. Shao Li-tze, Secretary-General of the People's Political Council and a former Ambassador in Moscow, said (8th April) that the U.S.S.R. might possibly declare war on Japan within a year. He urged the strengthening of Sino-Soviet relations, including a mutual understanding about certain minority problems, such as that of the Kazaks in Sinkiang. He suggested that T. V. Soong might soon visit Moscow. The *Takung Pao* (7th April) suggested that either T. V. Soong, Sun Fo, or Shao Li-tze himself should be sent to Moscow to express Chinese appreciation of the denunciation of the Pact, and to confer on Far Eastern matters. Other Chinese papers have also approved the idea of a special envoy to Moscow.

Domei on the 10th April said that, in Indo-China, King Sisavang Vong of Luang Prabang had formally proclaimed his independence of France. This followed similar proclamations by the Emperor of Annam and the King of Cambodia (see this *Summary* No. 284).

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The American people were momentarily stunned by the sudden death of President Roosevelt on the 12th April. Hard things had been said of Mr. Roosevelt on many occasions by political opponents and sometimes by fellow Democrats, but everyone recognised the quality of greatness about him. His loss at so critical a time was regarded in America, as in Britain and throughout the Allied nations, as a tragedy for his country and for the world. His name will live among the greatest of American Presidents.

Mr. Roosevelt's successor for the remainder of the Presidential term—that is, until January 1949—is Mr. Harry S. Truman, aged 61, who after ten years' service in the United States Senate as a Democratic Senator from Missouri, was selected last summer, in preference to Mr. Henry Wallace or Mr. James F. Byrnes, as his Party's candidate for the Vice-Presidency and was elected with Mr. Roosevelt in November 1944. There is now no Vice-President, and the next in succession to the Presidency is the Secretary of State. The chairmanship of the Senate devolves on the President *pro tempore* of that body, who at the moment is Senator McKellar (Democrat, Tennessee), an elderly Right-wing member of the party. President Truman was popular in the Senate and may help in Executive dealings with the Legislature, with which the late President was sometimes at odds: this may well be important in relation to the ratification of any post-war arrangements which may be arrived at in San Francisco or at other international discussions. At the same time it is felt that the strongly-personal rule of the Roosevelt Administrations may be relaxed and the new President may rely more upon his former colleagues in the Legislative Branch when deciding upon his policies.

President Truman has already made a favourable impression by his firm handling of a difficult situation and by his modest bearing. He refused to postpone the San Francisco Conference, asked the Cabinet to remain at their posts meanwhile and called into consultation Mr. Byrnes, whose recent resignation from the office of War Mobilisation Director leaves him available as an adviser, whether in an official or unofficial capacity is not yet apparent. There is naturally much speculation about possible Cabinet changes, and it is suggested that an office may be found for Mr. Hugh Fulton, the New York lawyer who briefed Mr. Truman when he was chairman of the Senate Committee for Investigating the Defence

Programme. Mr. Truman's relations with Labour are good and, although his voting record in the Senate shows that he followed President Roosevelt's policies closely in both the domestic and foreign fields, he managed to maintain friendly relations with other Southern Democrats, to whom indeed he owed his election to the Vice-Presidency last year.

It was at once made clear that, in the words of Mr. Stettinius on the 13th April, "there will be no change of purpose or break of continuity in the foreign policy of the United States Government." In his first appearance before a sympathetic Congress, on the 16th April, President Truman enlarged on this statement of the Secretary of State. "So that there can be no possible misunderstanding, both Germany and Japan can be certain, beyond any shadow of doubt, that America will continue the fight for freedom until no vestige of resistance remains . . . Our demand has been, and it remains, unconditional surrender . . . Nothing shall shake our determination to punish the war criminals, even though we must pursue them to the ends of the earth . . . The grand strategy of the United Nations war has been determined . . . we are now carrying out our part of that strategy under the able direction of Admiral Leahy, General Marshall, Admiral King, General Arnold, General Eisenhower, Admiral Nimitz and General MacArthur . . . I want the entire world to know that this direction must and will remain unhampered. . . "

Turning from the conduct of the war to the making of the peace, the President declared "Machinery for the just settlement of international differences must be found; without such machinery the entire world will have to remain an armed camp . . . . The responsibility of the great States is to serve and not dominate the peoples of the world . . . . I appeal to every American, regardless of party, race, creed or colour, to support our efforts to build a strong and lasting United Nations organisation." "To-day," President Truman went on, "America has become one of the most powerful forces for good on earth; we must keep it so . . . . we must now learn to live with other nations for our mutual good. We must learn to trade more with other nations, so that there may be, for our mutual advantage, increased production, increased employment and better standards of living throughout the world. May we Americans live up to our glorious heritage. In that way America may well lead the world to peace and prosperity."

This has the authentic Roosevelt ring, and there is every reason to anticipate that the lines along which United States policy, particularly in foreign affairs, was so firmly directed by the late President will continue with far less friction and unsteadiness than might have been expected. Editorial comment on the new President has so far been guarded, though encouraging. The *Washington Post* points out that "his first day brought a number of important decisions. In each case they appear to have been made with despatch and good judgment." The *New York Times* speaks of his combination of "political experience, common sense and wise Senate friendships." One of Mr. Truman's last actions as Vice-President was to give a casting vote against an amendment to the Lend-Lease Bill which was passed by the Senate on the 10th April and is now law. The defeated Taft Amendment would have stopped the sending of supplies to Europe as soon as peace was declared. As it is, Mutual Aid Agreements may be continued for a further year after the 30th June. In one of his last messages to Congress President Roosevelt announced that the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (U.N.R.R.A.) must also go on until countries free themselves "from the hunger and diseases that the enemy left."

The reactions of other countries to the news of President Roosevelt's death must be sought elsewhere in this *Summary*. One related event, for which the new Administration has been given credit, is the decision of the Soviet Union to send M. Molotov as one of their representatives to the San Francisco Conference after all. This is a happy augury. A large number of other delegates are beginning to arrive in the United States; Mr. Eden himself attended President Roosevelt's funeral service in Washington last Saturday.

(See also under "Soviet Union" and "Latin America.").

LATIN AMERICA.

Argentina has continued to make gestures in proof of the reorientation of her foreign policy, both in the sense of imposing restrictions on Axis activities and in that of displaying her attachment to the Pan-American family. Under the former heading the "nationalisation" of German clubs may be cited; under

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the latter the organisation of numerous ceremonies for the Day of the Americas (the 14th April) (which were, however, cancelled in view of the death of President Roosevelt). The United States Foreign Economic Administration has placed Argentina on the same footing as other Latin American States in respect of commercial transactions, and the Argentine Government has asked for the revision of the statutory list system.

As the Buenos Aires broadcasting service has remarked, the appearance of Argentina at San Francisco depends on the attitude of the Soviet Union, from whom " an appropriate gesture is indispensable in order to facilitate plans for an invitation to the Argentine Government " (see last week's *Summary* under " U.S.S.R.").

As to the internal situation, an official broadcast has warned " Argentine Anti-Axis organisations " that the decree prohibiting political parties is still in force and that promoters of recently-created bodies formed under the pretext of adherence to the Allied cause should abstain from politics, " since it had been proved that they were trying to carry on activities of a subversive nature."

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 290

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
25TH APRIL, 1945.

Copy No. 141

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

ANOTHER German defence line has gone the way of the rest, and the Russian armies have succeeded in forcing their way forward from the Central Oder front right into the suburbs of Berlin. Marshal Zhukov's detachments are reported to have penetrated into the working-class district of Wedding on the north side of the city, and those of Marshal Koniev by a sudden turn northwards are said to have reached Potsdam. This would leave a third of the circle to be completed on the west and north, and some reports assert that this has already taken place and that the German capital is now surrounded. Meanwhile, in north-west Germany, British troops are on the fringes of Hamburg and are threatening Bremen from three sides. Resistance in the Ruhr pocket has ended, and over 300,000 prisoners were taken. But American Armies have had to face a German counter attack on their Magdeburg bridgehead and have met stiff opposition north-east of Brunswick and in the Nürnberg area. Nevertheless there seems every likelihood that American and Russian forces will soon meet in the Chemnitz–Dresden area, whilst the armies under Generals Patch and Patton are pressing down the Danube valley towards Regensburg and are already reported across the river in two places. A southern link-up between American and Russian forces in the Danube valley and a second barrier between the German forces in the north and the redoubt in the Alps continues to take shape. In Württemberg a swift advance on Stuttgart by French and American troops has isolated two German divisions to the south-west of that city, whilst Allied forces have reached the Swiss frontier and have isolated Baden from the rest of the Reich. Heavily out-numbered, the Luftwaffe has been effective only in a few isolated areas, notably round Bremen in the north and Chemnitz in Saxony. The Allied offensive in Italy has captured and passed beyond Bologna and approached the River Po, the last serious obstacle before Milan and the northern cities. German troops recently in Italy have been identified on the eastern front.

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Very little of this synchronised battering has been officially announced in Germany. The O.K.W. has striven to give the impression that the Russian penetrations have been made slowly and at great cost. It has described prodigies of heroism performed by Germans in " the great defensive battle before Berlin "; the bulletin of the 20th claimed a restoration of the " old main fighting line " on both sides of Frankfurt. That of the 22nd reported that the enemy had reached " the Reich capital's outer defence zone." D.N.B. explained on the 17th that the advances from east and west towards Berlin had " modified the organic structure of the fronts" and created what are called " battle-sectors," one of which, the Bavarian fortress, would yet prove to be of " historic military importance."

German comment on the battle for the capital has shown the expected mixture of bravado and realistic admission. To the trials of nightly bombing has now been added that of Russian shells falling in the centre of the city. The bombing of Potsdam on the 15th April is reported by a neutral journalist to have " caused a profound impression, particularly among the officers of the old school." The same source spoke of the public as impressed by the announcement that the family of the general commanding Königsberg would be held responsible for the surrender of that town. There is much talk (according to a Transocean correspondent) of the possibility of Berlin being declared an open town; so that a population still numbering, it is said, three million souls, may be spared the ordeal of street fighting. " If," said this account, " the Berliners are afraid of anything, it is hunger." Against these natural reactions of a bombed and beleaguered population the Nazi leaders have reacted with increasingly energetic and strident calls for resistance by everyone and to the last. A *D.N.B.* message on the 20th said that the people were " fully conscious of the fact that even house-to-house fighting was infinitely easier to put up with than a permanent occupation by the Asiatic hordes of Stalin." " Strong counter-attack reserves " were reported to have been brought from the west to reinforce the Berlin defences. Goebbels' special message to the inhabitants on the 22nd was both buoyant and drastic in tone. He declared himself confident that the resistance of the capital would beat the Bolshevik onslaught, and that the fight for Berlin would be a beacon for further resistance throughout the Reich. But at the same time he explained that the state of " active defence " into which the capital was now transformed meant that every Berliner was responsible for his own dwelling. Houses showing the white flag would lose all right to protection and their inhabitants would be dealt with as they deserved on the instructions of the local Party leader; they were " infectious bacilli " in the city's organism. He forbade " inquisitive loitering "; as Reich Defence Commissioner, he issued a special instruction that those unable to get to their place of work should report for emergency jobs on the spot. He gave an assurance that he with his wife and children would remain in the city, but he made no mention of Hitler's presence until the 23rd when in a second appeal he explained that the Führer had decided to remain in Berlin at an hour when German leaders had to prove their worth and accomplish their destined task. The new " Werewolves " transmitter suggested that talk of desperate resistance would not save Berlin for long: " Whatever may happen to the Reich capital, the Werewolves in it will never be overcome . . . . we shall fight until the Reich capital is once again the capital of freedom." Kriegk, on the German Home Service, committed himself to the statement that if Berlin and Prague were conquered, there would be no Europe left.

Hitler's 56th birthday on the 20th has been dutifully celebrated by Nazi propaganda even in a week of such alarms and disasters. Foreign messages were this year confined to telegrams from Hacha and Mussolini. Goebbels' usual evening speech of the 19th was, it was said, read by many people in the air-raid shelters on the following morning as an electricity cut had prevented them from hearing it as delivered. Apart from stereotyped adulation and affirmations of loyalty there were one or two new notes in the tributes of the press and wireless. Prof. Walter Frank, for example, who holds the Chair of History in Berlin, contrasted the Reich of Bismarck " founded from above " with that of Hitler " forged from below, by the growing unity of people and Führer." Another broadcaster saw in Hitler's loyalty to his people a providential guarantee of their redemption in Germany's darkest hour. Rosenberg celebrated his chief as one who had " worked untiringly for peace and to obtain equal rights for the German people." His great effort towards the pacification of Europe at Munich in 1938 had been brought to naught by Roosevelt. A broadcast for soldiers concentrated on Hitler the Socialist. " Hitler has given us Socialism." This

was the line taken by the Werewolves who attacked " bourgeois souls " who had doubted and betrayed this " revolutionary Socialist."

The man himself has been silent and has given no sign, by deed or word, that he is conscious of leading his people, that he has any feeling for their preservation or care for their future. Apart from his reported presence in Berlin, where he is said to be in command of the city's defence, his only known activity in the course of the week is the signing of an order degrading the Deputy Gauleiter of Halle for suggesting withdrawal.

Such inactivity and retirement stand in sharp contrast to the behaviour of his chief subordinate Himmler. While nothing is heard of Göring and while Goebbels may do little but talk, Himmler is reported to be energetic in arranging not only present but future resistance. He is said to have this week visited both Bremen and Hamburg. He is presumably still in command of a section of the Eastern Front. The plans for the establishment and equipment of the Austrian redoubt are in his hands. Since October last he has been in charge of all prison and internment camps in Germany, and has recently conducted with Swedish envoys negotiations for the transport to Sweden of both Swedish and Jewish internees. Captured evidence shows him to have been the chief agent, with Speer, of German production of " V " weapons and to have worked out such reorganisation of German armanent production as would have ensured, but for Allied bombing, the employment of such weapons on a more considerable and dangerous scale.

Both in the East and the West some industrial plant and public utilities in working order have fallen into Allied hands. In many cases the military advance was so rapid that there was no time for destruction. This is true of much of the industrial capacity captured intact in Upper Silesia. In more numerous cases, persons ordered to destroy property either disobeyed these orders or were prevented from acting by the local population. But there are also cases where superior authorities deliberately exempted certain properties from the application of the scorched earth policy in general. In accordance with broad instructions agreed between the O.K.W., Himmler and the Plenipotentiary for the Chemical Industry, the Arms Inspector of Essen ordered on the 13th February, 1945, that the I.G. Farbenindustrie works at Leverkusen " must on no account be purposely destroyed, in particular the fighting troops must not blow up or intentionally destroy anything even if this appears desirable for tactical military reasons." The official justification for this order was that the plants should be capable of use if the territory were retaken; but it is possible that the decisive consideration was the anticipation of leniency on the part of the Allies *vis-à-vis* post-war I.G. Farben property. A month later the Chief of the O.K.W., Keitel, issued on the 13th March a " Top Secret " order which stipulated that transport installations are not to be destroyed beyond repair. But on the 19th March Hitler himself issued an order for the complete destruction of all installations that might have to be kept behind in German territory occupied by the Allies. He said that exceptions from the scorched earth policy on the ground of future reconquest are not permissible because " the enemy if he is forced to retreat will leave us nothing but a scorched earth." All previous orders which run counter to this order " are invalid." There are, however, signs that even this definite Hitler order was not fully carried out subsequently. It has been estimated that I.G. Farben plants at Ludwigshafen can be operated on a part-time schedule within thirty days. The Henschel works at Kassel, largely underground, continued to produce tanks until the Americans entered the city on the 4th April. And the manager of a printing press at Kaiserslautern stated that " his original instructions to demolish the plant completely in the event of evacuation were revised, about ten days before the Americans arrived, into an immobilisation order." In fact, even this order was not obeyed.

AUSTRIA.

The Russian advance in Austria has continued, although it was less spectacular than in the previous week. On the 22nd April Marshal Stalin announced the capture of thirty more places north of Vienna, including Neudorf and Altmarkt. The communiqués of the German High Command, however, have endeavoured to give the impression that Russian gains were slight, and that German counter-attacks regained ground in some places.

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There is little information available yet as to the reactions of the people of Austria to the Russian advance. The Soviet Press and radio emphasise the active support which the Red Army is receiving from the Austrian population. Eigruber, the Gauleiter of Oberdonau, broadcasting from Linz on the 17th April, warned his listeners against the " scoundrels and traitors of our own nation who either side with the Bolshevists or who have been parachuted by our enemies into their own homeland." He ridiculed Marshal Tolbukhin's appeal to Austrians, and the proclamation issued by the Soviet Government as the Red Army crossed the Austrian frontier. For the Bolsheviks to pretend that they merely wished to restore the position of 1938, and to talk of liberation was ridiculous, he said. From this it would appear that the German authorities fear the effect of the Russian proclamation upon the people.

The rapid advance of the Red Army, and the capture of Vienna, has increased the urgency of various questions relating to the interim control of Austria. Marshal Stalin personally expressed a wish that these questions should be settled without delay, and proposed that the United States, British, and French Governments should send their officers at once to Vienna to work out the necessary arrangements on the spot. The British Government have accepted the proposal, and have welcomed the statement issued on the 8th April by the Soviet Government, affirming that they stand firmly by the Allied declaration issued at Moscow in 1943. It is hoped that the Four Powers will be able to work out in Vienna the respective zones there, the airfields to be available, the size of the Vienna area of joint occupation, and a joint policy in regard to the establishment of interim control machinery for Austria.

Reports from various sources continue to suggest that serious preparations, including fortifications and stores of food and ammunition, are being made to provide a last stronghold in the Alpine country, from Vorarlberg to the neighbourhood of Salzburg, into which the Nazi Government, its most fanatical S.S. and S.A. supporters, and such of the Wehrmacht as can be withdrawn and is thought suitable, can retire for a last stand. There are indications that Departments of the central Government, and what remains of the Diplomatic Corps are being moved into the Salzburg area. The efficacy of these measures clearly depends very largely on the Allied military operations now taking place, which will decide how many Nazi supporters are available to make a " last stand " in Austria for Hitler's *Grossdeutschland*.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

The Czechoslovak Government party which left the United Kingdom by sea disembarked at Constanza on the 15th April and is now in Košice. News from Košice is still scanty, as communications with the rest of Europe are almost entirely via Moscow, no diplomats other than the Soviet Ambassador having so far been able to reach Slovakia. The Czechoslovaks report that the one line between Košice and their representatives in Moscow is practically unserviceable. The *Tass* agency and the radio station Slovenska Sloboda (broadcasting presumably from Košice) are the chief sources of information. The Government is, of course, largely preoccupied with the maintenance of the Red Army offensive being fought on its territory, and with all the problems attendant upon recent liberation.

The reconstruction of the Army has commenced with the appointment of General Svoboda, commander of the Czechoslovak Brigade operating with the Soviet armies and the new Minister of National Defence in the Košice Government, to be Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. He replaces General Ingr, who held that post in the London Government. A further Presidential Decree of the same date, the 18th April, appoints General Bocek to be Chief of Staff in place of General Miroslav, and relieves his deputy, General František Moravec, of his duties also.

The Minister of Foreign Trade, M. Ripka, signed a further six agreements with U.N.R.R.A. on the 12th April, supplementary to the principal agreement of the 26th February (see *Summary* No. 283). These concern the administration of relief and rehabilitation services, relating to health, agriculture, industries, public utilities and repatriation.

The Minister for the Interior, M. Nosek, has handed over to the Slovak National Council for administration further areas, including the district of Ružomberok, which have now been released by the Soviet Commander from military occupation. Slovak relations with the democratic elements of the Hungarian minority appear to be developing with the appointment of the Hungarian Communist, Haracsek, as their organiser.

Stubborn German resistance has met the Red Army fighting in Czechoslovakia during the past seven days, but the fall of Opava, a large industrial town, on the 23rd, indicates that the fortifications blocking the Moravian Gateway are crumbling. Further ground was made in the direction of Brno and a big assault upon the Bohemian bastion is expected to follow the appeal made from Košice to the people of Bohemia and Moravia to rise against the enemy. General Patton's troops, who occupied the Sudeten town of Aš, appear to have turned their main spearheads towards Bavaria rather than the Bohemian interior.

POLAND.

The statement on Poland which the Prime Minister was to have made in the House of Commons on the 19th April was postponed, as he explained, owing to his wish that it should be of a satisfactory nature. The belief, entertained in some quarters, that this delay was a hopeful sign was, however, to be discouraged by subsequent developments. For, when the San Francisco Conference opened on the 25th, the prospect of forming a Polish Provisional Government of National Unity which could be represented there seemed still remote. In a Note addressed to the United States Government (as the inviting Power), and received in Washington on the 18th April, the Soviet Government had reiterated their request of the 31st March that " the Provisional Government now functioning in Warsaw be invited to send representatives to San Francisco "; and the State Department, replying on the 19th April, had reaffirmed its view that such an invitation should be extended only to " a new Provisional Government of National Unity formed in accordance with the Crimea Agreement." The Polish Government in London, for their part, in a Memorandum handed to the British and United States Governments on the 21st, had reasserted their right to represent Poland at the Conference.

In the meantime the discussions directed towards the formation of a new Provisional Government had been transferred from Moscow to Washington and there extended to a higher level. The British and United States Ambassadors in Moscow reached Washington by air on the 18th April, to be followed on the 21st by M. Molotov, the third member of the Commission on Poland. On the 23rd, at the close of discussions between President Truman, Mr. Stettinius, Mr. Eden and M. Molotov, it was officially announced that: " In view of the limited time at their disposal in Washington prior to the opening of the San Francisco Conference on Wednesday, and in order to permit M. Molotov to consult with his Government, the discussions in regard to the Polish situation will be continued by the three Foreign Secretaries at San Francisco."

The difficulties reflected in this communiqué may well have been increased by two factors: namely, in the first place, the Soviet Government's decision to conclude, at this stage in the negotiations and with a Polish administration not recognised by Great Britain or the United States, a treaty which in more normal circumstances would be generally welcomed; and, secondly, the obscurity which still surrounds the negotiations reported to be in progress between the Soviet authorities and certain Polish politicians from inside Poland.

The " Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Post-War Co-operation between the U.S.S.R. and the Polish Republic " was signed in Moscow on the 21st April (two days after the arrival of a Polish delegation for the purpose) by Marshal Stalin himself and by M. Morawski, in the presence of President Kalinin and M. Bierut (see also under " Soviet Union "). It bound the contracting parties (as did the Soviet-Yugoslav Treaty of Alliance of the 11th April) to continue the present war against Germany to final victory (Article 1); to co-operate in international efforts to achieve peace and security (Article 3); to assist one another, in the post-war period, against any renewed German aggression and against any other State assisting Germany in any way (Article 4); to abstain from participation in any alliance or coalition directed against either one of the two parties (Article 6); and to strengthen and develop economic and cultural ties between the two countries. Two other clauses, not included in the Soviet-Yugoslav Treaty, introduced a pledge (Article 2) of " mutual respect for their independence and sovereignty as well as non-interference in the internal affairs of the other State "; and an undertaking (Article 5) " not to conclude, without mutual agreement, an armistice or peace treaty, either with the Hitlerite Government or any other régime in Germany, encroaching or which might encroach on the independence, territorial integrity and security of each of the high contracting parties." (This latter provision is of interest,

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inasmuch as it could be interpreted as implying an understanding as to what are the frontiers of Poland. In this connexion it is perhaps worth quoting a recent Order of the Day, issued by General Rola-Zymierski to the "Second Polish Army" on the 17th April, in which he said: "This day you crossed the river Neisse . . . and . . . captured the town . . . of Rothenburg. In doing so, you have crossed the Western frontiers of Poland.")

In a statement issued on the 16th April, and subsequently in their Memorandum of the 21st (quoted above), the Polish Government in London recalled that, before leaving on the 28th March to take part in conversations with the Soviet military authorities, the Polish Ministers and party leaders residing in Poland sought and obtained from those authorities permission to travel to London for direct discussion with their Government there. The Polish Government urged the earliest possible realisation of this request, "after which they would be in a position to define their attitude on the subject of the conversations." At the same time, they reiterated, in the Memorandum, their "willingness to consider, together with the Soviet Government, all the existing disputes and to conclude a treaty with the U.S.S.R. to guarantee the security of both States . . ." On the other hand, in their statement of the 16th, they severely castigated M. Mikolajczyk, who, "by accepting the results of the Crimea Conference without reservation . . . clearly appears as a belated candidate for inclusion in conversations . . . to which quite possibly he will not be admitted." Unmoved by this attack, M. Mikolajczyk has since defined his attitude towards the problem of Poland's eastern frontier in an article in *Jutro Polski* (22nd April), where he says: "My own point of view was that at least Lwow and the oil district should be left to Poland. Considering, however . . . that the existence side by side of our two nations is dependent on the fulfilment of this condition, we Poles are obliged to ask ourselves whether . . . we are to reject it and thereby jeopardise the whole body of our country's interests. The answer to this question must be 'No'."

On the 22nd April certain changes in the composition of the Warsaw administration were announced: the resignations had been accepted of MM. Maslanka (Peasant Party) and Piotrkowski (Socialist Party), "Ministers," respectively, of Public Administration and of Food Supplies and Commerce; their respective posts had been filled by M. Edward Ochab (hitherto "Under-Secretary of State" for Public Administration) and M. Jerzy Sztachelski (hitherto Voivode of Bialystok, and a member of the Workers' Party). A separate "Ministry" of Health, detached from that of Labour and Social Welfare, had been set up under Dr. Franciszek Litwin (a member of the Peasant Party); and four new "Under-Secretaries of State" had been appointed.

SOVIET UNION.

The Red Army is fighting in Berlin. An Order of the Day to Marshal Zhukov, dated the 23rd April, reported an advance of 36 to 60 miles to the north of the city. In this advance Frankfurt-on-Oder was captured, and Soviet spearheads have penetrated as far west as Oranienburg. An Order of the Day of the same date to Marshal Koniev revealed a simultaneous advance of 50 to 100 miles on Berlin from the south. In this sweep forward Kottbus was captured, and in addition to fighting in the southern suburbs of Berlin the Red Army is within 35 miles of Leipzig; a junction with the United States First Army may be expected at any time. Further south Bautzen was captured on the 21st April; Marshal Koniev's troops are 10 miles east of Dresden and have reached the Elbe 30 miles north-west of the city. Yet another Order of the Day on the 23rd April announced the capture of Troppau (Opava), just across the Czechoslovak frontier south-west of Ratibor. There have been minor advances north of Vienna.

The reaffirmation of the Soviet Government's insistence on the participation of representatives of the Polish Provisional Government in the San Francisco Conference, put out by Tass on the 17th April, was followed four days later by the announcement of the signing of a Soviet-Polish Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Post-War Collaboration (see under "Poland"). The new treaty, on similar lines to the Soviet-Yugoslav Treaty concluded in the preceding week, has been greeted with even more enthusiasm in the Soviet press; the fact that in the absence of M. Molotov, Marshal Stalin himself signed the treaty and made a speech at the signing ceremony is evidence of the great importance attached to the occasion from the Soviet side. Marshal Stalin

described the new Treaty as nailing down the lid on the coffin of the old Polish-Russian hostility of five centuries standing, which had done so much to strengthen German imperialism. No longer would the rulers of Poland follow their old and ruinous policy of playing off Germany against Russia, which had ended in their country's loss of independence. This would not happen again, for the Treaty was a firm pledge of the independence of a new and democratic Poland. In future there would be a barrier in the east against German aggression, and if this were complemented by a barrier in the west it would be safe to say that German aggression would be curbed and that it would not be easy for it again to run loose. *Pravda* and *Izvestiya* in their editorials took up this last point, laying special emphasis on the place of the Treaty in the general post-war security system.

On the 16th March *Pravda* published a review, largely critical, of Mr. Walter Lippmann's book "United States War Aims." On the 20th April *Pravda* printed a letter from Mr. Lippmann replying to these criticisms, together with its own editorial comments on this letter. Mr. Lippmann complained that he had been misunderstood, and that he was a firm supporter of Anglo-Soviet co-operation. The points to which *Pravda* returned in its final summing up were: (1) Mr. Lippmann's "attempt to supplement the international security organisation by a system of orbits and spheres of influence has muddled a straightforward question." The important thing was not "competitive military *blocs*" which smacked of a *cordon sanitaire*, but "a firm union of all freedom-loving States"; (2) a division of Europe into spheres of influence might lead to trouble over Germany between rival groups; (3) Mr. Lippmann defined precisely only his vast "Atlantic Community," comprising the British, French, Belgian and Dutch Empires, the rest of western and southern Europe, together with the American continent; the Russian sphere was left vague, and the Far Eastern and Middle Eastern-African groupings were still vaguer; (4) in any case, these latter groups were to be formed at some unspecified date in the future. "What," *Pravda* asked, "is to happen to these States until they form their own system?" The silent implication was, no doubt, that *Pravda* suspected Mr. Lippmann of intending these groups to be under Anglo-American tutelage in this interim period.

It is encouraging to see *Pravda* thus allowing the victims of its criticism to hit back, even though the paper retains the last word. And the comments of the Communist Party journal are also welcome, with their firm reiteration of faith in international co-operation, their not unreasonable criticisms of Mr. Lippmann's scheme for regional groups, and their concern lest Germany should become a bone of contention between rival European *blocs*. Such things are not said in vain in *Pravda*; the points will be repeated at countless party meetings all over the U.S.S.R.

Switzerland during the past few months has come in for sporadic hostile comment in the Soviet press on the ground that "so-called Swiss neutrality" was merely helping German war criminals to cover up their tracks. There have been specific allegations that the Swiss Government had allowed German funds on a large scale to be deposited in the country, and that a hide-out had been afforded to Nazi gang leaders and S.S. men. These charges have now been followed by stories of maltreatment of Soviet internees in Switzerland, in the form of a *Tass* report (16th April) of a statement said to have been made to its correspondent in Cairo by some Soviet officers who, on escaping from German captivity, had been interned in Switzerland and were being repatriated via Egypt. The statement alleged that Russian prisoners had originally been extradited and handed back to the Gestapo; and went on to make highly-coloured and altogether improbable charges against the Swiss authorities for the treatment they had suffered later, when interned in Swiss internment camps. For Swiss denials of these charges see under "Switzerland."

In view of the impending election of the Catholicos of the Armenian Catholic Church and the interest of the far-flung Armenian diaspora in this election, it is interesting to note a conversation between Marshal Stalin and the deputy-Catholicos of Armenia, Archbishop Gevork Cheorekchian. The Chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs attached to the Council of People's Commissars, M. I. V. Polyansky, was present. No further details of this conversation have yet been published.

Some weeks ago *The War and the Working Class* attacked International Cartels and the sinister international ramifications developed by them in the pre-war period. The subject of international cartels has now been discussed by *Pravda's* international observer, M. Boris Izakov, in a vehement article betraying

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considerable apprehension of Germany's powers of industrial revival after the war. "In the days of the final collapse of Hitlerite Germany," states M. Izakov, "German industrial and financial magnates are developing energetic activities behind the scenes." The foreign press was stated to be filled with "reports of intrigues of German munitions barons on territory occupied by the Allies, about trips of travelling salesmen of German imperialism to neutral countries and about secret negotiations and shady financial manipulations." The war, according to M. Izakov, did not sever the international economic ties of German imperialism. Some American and British firms, connected with international cartels, are alleged "to have obligingly helped their German partners to conceal their property from confiscation by the Allied authorities."

An interesting analysis of Soviet war decorations was recently made public by *Tass*. In the three and a half years of war ending the 1st January, 1945, it was stated that a total of about 3,400,000 persons, representing 175 different nationalities, were decorated with orders and medals of the U.S.S.R. Among those decorated were 2,373,000 Russians, 482,000 Ukrainians, 116,000 Byelo-russians, 65,000 Tatars, about 64,000 Jews, about 37,000 Kazakhs, 26,500 Uzbeks, an equal number of Armenians, 20,000 Georgians, 13,500 Azerbaidjanians, about 22,000 Mordovians, 20,000 Chuvashis, etc.

SCANDINAVIA.

The Swedish paper *Stockholms Tidningen*, 21st April, makes some sarcastic comment on the efforts to preserve official secrecy about the controversy between the Norwegian and Swedish Governments on the request by the former for military preparations directed as a deterrent against the Germans in Norway. There seems some justification for the observation that the Swedish people are growing accustomed to the fact that "they are never informed about anything till the whole world knows it, and scarcely even then." Apart from the press of the United States and other countries, such papers as *The Times* and the *Manchester Guardian* have reported the essential features of the case in considerable detail. That the Norwegian Government have addressed a request to Sweden, and that the Swedish Government has so far demurred to its demands, is now a matter of general knowledge. Hitherto, the official argument in Sweden against preparatory steps for any kind of intervention has largely been that there was no evidence that such a policy was desired by the Norwegians. The line now adopted appears to be that the Swedish Government is a better judge of the true interests of Norway, and in closer touch with the Norwegian Home Front, than the Norwegian Government in London. It is contended that Swedish mobilisation at the present juncture would provoke the German forces in Norway into an attitude of obstinate resistance and a campaign of destruction which they would not otherwise be likely to adopt. It seems rather difficult to believe that the Germans in Norway have not already decided upon the policy which they intend in any event to pursue, though, as *Dagens Nyheter* points out, their attitude is difficult to conjecture beforehand. This paper suggests that the situation might vary in different districts of the country, according to the proportion of S.S. forces situated in them. Terboven has sent a birthday telegram to the Führer (20th April) pledging all, regardless of rank, to a defence of "The Fortress of Norway" till the day of German victory; this, therefore, must be regarded as the official policy, though there is considerable evidence that it derives support mainly from the S.S. and that the attitude of the ordinary Wehrmacht is likely to be different.

In Denmark, the cleavage between these two branches of the German army has been even more clearly demonstrated. In clear conflict with an order issued in the first week of April by Himmler and Keitel, placing the officers of both forces on an equal footing, General Lindemann, commanding in Denmark, put out a "Sonderbefehl" on the 14th April to the effect that orders by S.S. officers were only valid if countersigned by commanding officers in the Wehrmacht.

According to statements in the Swedish press and radio, which hitherto lack authoritative confirmation but appear to be generally accepted in Sweden, the Norwegian bishop Berggrav was released from his internment on the 16th April by some twenty members of the Home Front, who overpowered the guards and removed him to a place of safety. *Vestmanlands Läns Tidning*, the 21st April, asserts that the abduction of the bishop as a hostage was contemplated by the German and Quisling authorities, but that the fact became known in time through a careless remark by a member of the N.S.

In Denmark an even more prominent member of the resistance movement has certainly succeeded in effecting his escape. Professor Mogens Fog, who fell into the hands of the Gestapo last October, was enabled to free himself from the headquarters in the Shell building on the occasion of the R.A.F. raid on those premises, and has now written an account of his experiences in the April issue of the clandestine organ *Frit Danmark*, which has been reproduced in the paper of the same name published in London. He concludes his article with an appeal to the resistance movement to continue sabotage and the liquidation of informers, and to be ready, at a given signal, to proceed to definite warfare, but he cautions his countrymen against the murder of casual Germans or reprisals of a character which he describes as unworthy.

In Finland, the new Government presented its programme in the Diet on the 19th April. It had on the whole a very favourable reception, and appears to have been framed in a moderate and non-controversial spirit. It is somewhat curious, however, that the Helsinki correspondent of *Svenska Dagbladet* contrasts it sharply with the manifesto of the Three-Party *bloc*, which it appears superficially to resemble in most essentials, to judge from the broadcast summary of the manifesto, though it omits certain socialistic proposals which, according to another report, are included in this document. In fact, both programmes, as was to be expected, have been framed in a spirit of widely acceptable compromise, and the principal importance of the programme seems to lie in its omissions; *bourgeois* circles noted with satisfaction the absence of any mention of socialistic nationalisation or the institution of People's Courts. There is no indication of an intention to carry a purge against Fascist elements to undue length, in fact the absence of such a pledge was made a matter of complaint by one member in the debate. On the other hand, Hertha Kuusinen, leader of the Democratic League Group, hinted in her speech that the programme was not an exhaustive catalogue of all the measures which would, in fact, be carried out.

LOW COUNTRIES.

Quotations from the free Dutch Press in broadcasts from the liberated Netherlands show that considerable anxiety is felt lest the rest of the country be freed too late to save its inhabitants from starvation. The Allies are urged to do everything in their power to avert this catastrophe. The Chairman of the Synodal Commission of the Reformed Church has sent a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in which he draws the attention of His Grace to the terrible plight of the Dutch in the Occupied Netherlands. Stocks of food, he says, are so low that even the present inadequate rations cannot be supplied after the end of April. "We will not express an opinion," the letter adds, "whether military operations could or could not be speeded up, nor whether it might be possible to provide the large centres of population with food by means of aircraft, nor whether the evacuation of large sections of the population could be considered by agreement between the contending forces. These are all questions of a technical character upon which we are not competent to express an opinion. But we know that God is able to move men's hearts to seek means to prevent the destruction of this sorely-tried part of the Dutch people."

At a Press Conference in San Francisco Rear-Admiral Helfrich, a member of the Dutch delegation, gave his views on a number of topics, but refused to touch on political questions. When asked what he considered should be the attitude of the small nations at the Conference, he replied that that was a political question, but added that the Kingdom of the Netherlands was not a small nation. Referring to the war against Japan, he pointed out that many people had forgotten what the Dutch forces had done at the beginning of the war. The Dutch Far Eastern Fleet had played a great part in saving Australia from invasion. Admiral Helfrich also praised American strategy in the Pacific, and stated that in his view the Americans should retain bases there. He added that he had always held the view that the Japanese would fight to the bitter end; there was, however, a possibility that their reverses had somewhat weakened their morale. In any case, their surrender must be unconditional; they must be "smashed."

Unrest among the Belgian miners continues and strikes are still frequent. M. van Acker has told the Chamber that great concessions have been made to the miners and that there is now no excuse for strikes. Unfortunately, much trouble had been made by agitators.

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FRANCE.

The German resistance has been overcome in the Gironde pocket and the port of Bordeaux is now open to shipping though the island of Oléron is still in German hands. On the 22nd April General de Gaulle, accompanied by M. Diethelm, his Minister for War, visited the French forces engaged, paid a tribute to the former F.F.I., who constitute the bulk of those forces, and decorated General de Larminat and other French and American senior officers. The French First Army have occupied Tübingen and captured Stuttgart after overcoming the stubborn defence of four German divisions in street battles on the 21st and 22nd April, and are now advancing towards Munich. (For the French advance into Italy and its political implications, see below under "Italy.") In the meantime a Paris communiqué of the 20th reports that French resistance continues in Indo-China.

By agreement with the Allied armies French prisoners of war and political prisoners from the German areas now occupied are being brought back by air. M. Frenay, Minister for Prisoners and Deportees, announced on the 13th April that about 1 million Frenchmen had already been liberated in Germany and over 100,000 repatriated since the beginning of March, while 15–20,000 were now arriving home every day. It appears that the arrangements made in Paris to receive the returned prisoners are admirable and all the men are enthusiastic at the reception they are given. There is an atmosphere of friendly efficiency and a notable absence of the usual official autocracy. 3,500 Frenchmen were freed from the concentration camp at Buchenwald and some have already been brought back to Paris, where they were received by General de Gaulle. Among them are MM. Julien Cain, former *Administrateur Général* of the *Bibliothèque Nationale;* Baillou, General Secretary of the *École Normale Supérieure;* Richet, professor at the Paris Faculty of Medicine, and Mazeaud, professor at the Paris Faculty of Law; Musset, Dean of the Faculty of Letters at the University of Caen; the *Bâtonnier* Teitgen, father of the Minister; Claude Bourdet, member of the C.N.R. and son of the dramatist; General Audibert; Commandant Lhopital, former aide-de-camp to Foch; the Deputies Eugène Thomas, Forcinal, Marie and Crutel; and the aircraft manufacturer Marcel Bloch. Among those who have died at Buchenwald are MM. Maspero and Halbwachs, professors at the *Collège de France*, and Bruhat, Assistant Director of the *École Normale Supérieure*. Previously a party of Frenchwomen who had been interned at the camp of Ravensbrück had returned through Switzerland; other repatriations include the family of General Giraud, and, from the camp at Belsen, M. Bolaert formerly General de Gaulle's delegate for the occupied territories, the business men MM. Chandon and Roland Coty, and the sons of M. Marc Rucart.

Already it has been announced that two of the returned deportees, the Christian Democrat M. Teitgen and the Radical M. Crutel will stand as candidates in the local elections, while one who has not yet been freed, the Socialist Mayor of Roubaix and ex-Minister, Jean Lebas, is also up for election. It would not, however, appear that a large proportion of the prisoners will be able actually to vote in the elections.

General Eisenhower announced on the 23rd April that the French Government is to take over, as from the 1st May, responsibility for the bulk of the French supply programme, much of which has hitherto been handled by S.H.A.E.F. Coal and petroleum products will, however, continue to be provided through military channels as well as supplies for civilian needs in such forward operational areas as are included in France.

M. Pleven made an important broadcast on economic policy on the 21st April before leaving for San Francisco. He emphasised the Government's determination to achieve effective stabilisation of prices, wages and salaries and gradually to increase the purchasing power of wage-earners through priority allocation of food-stuffs as increased supplies became available. Workers' rents would remain frozen for the rest of 1945. Industrial price increases had had to be authorised, but they would not cover the whole rise in wage-costs and the difference must be made good by increased efficiency. As regards agricultural prices, those of cattle and sheep, which had hitherto been too low to cover costs, were being raised. The Government intended to hold conferences with producers and consumers to discuss methods of stimulating production, beginning with the coal problem.

Recent financial measures published in the *Journal Officiel* on the 14th and 21st April tighten up the Government's control of credit and of tax liability by obliging banks and insurance companies to deposit their holdings of Treasury bonds with the Bank of France, and by ordering the deposit of all bearer shares

with the *Caisse Centrale de dépôts et de virements des titres* or their transformation into registered holdings.

On the 20th April General Dentz was condemned to death by the High Court of Justice in Paris on the charges of having facilitated the supply of arms to the rebels in Iraq, handed over Syrian air bases to the Germans, taken measures to ensure secrecy of installation of the *Luftwaffe* in Syria, organised armed resistance to Gaullist and British troops in Syria and demanded reinforcements from the Germans in men and material.

It was officially announced on the 23rd April that the trial of Marshal Pétain is to open on the 17th May. It was generally assumed, however, that he would not be present and that he would be judged by default. But, on the 24th April, the Swiss Federal Political Department issued a communiqué stating that Pétain had requested the Federal Council to grant him, his wife and a small suite permission to travel through Switzerland to France, where he would place himself at the disposal of the Judicial authorities. The Federal Council had granted this request. Pétain would await the instructions of the French Government concerning the place and time of his transfer to France.

It would appear that Laval, Déat and Marion were all refused entry by the Swiss Government; but that M. Rochat was admitted as a refugee.

SWITZERLAND.

An official announcement was issued on the 23rd April stating that the Federal Council had decided at a recent session that, in order to prevent the country from being submerged by a flood of refugees, the Northern, Eastern and Southern frontiers should be completely closed, either in whole or in part, whenever the situation was such as to call for such a measure. The statement went on to say that, in accordance with this policy, the frontier between Bâle and Lichtenstein had been closed on the 21st April. The effect of this is that the frontier, in the sectors affected, is no longer guarded by police but by the military, who are equipped with all the means necessary to prevent any individual from penetrating into Switzerland. Nevertheless admission is being granted at certain points to persons worthy of being granted the right of asylum who are seeking a temporary refuge in the country, in accordance with the Swiss humanitarian tradition: but careful steps are being taken at the same time both to turn back undesirables and to prevent the introduction of contagious diseases. In accordance with this rule Marshal Pétain, who presented himself at the frontier at St. Margarethen expressing the desire to traverse the country in order to return to France, was admitted on the 24th April, whilst Laval and other prominent French "collaborators" have been turned back.

Swiss citizens are, of course, free to return to their country on proof of their identity. Two prominent Swiss pro-German propagandists, Georges Oltramare and Paul Bonnet, both from Geneva, were thus admitted on the 21st April but immediately placed under arrest.

The Lichtenstein authorities have also closed their frontier with Austria.

It is officially announced that twenty officials and employees of the Swiss legation in Budapest and their families have reached Instanbul but that two members of the legation staff, including M. Feller, the late Chargé d'Affaires, are missing (see *Summary* No. 287 under "Hungary"). There has been some anxious comment on this in the press.

The press has always shown concern over the accusations of ill-treatment of Soviet internees made in the Soviet press (see under "Soviet Union"). On the 20th April the Federal Council issued a statement vigorously rebutting these allegations and declaring that the care of Russian internees had been under the control of the International Committee of the Red Cross and that Switzerland was in a position to prove that their treatment had been both correct and humane.

SPAIN.

The tide of appeasement is running strongly in Spain. The break with Japan was reported last week; since then there have been two more signs of General Franco's intention to go a long way in placating Allied opinion. The first is the suspension by the Spanish Government of the Lufthansa service between Germany and Spain. For the past few months this service has been working irregularly; now, from the 17th April no more German aircraft will be allowed to land in Spain. The second pointer to conciliation is the abandonment by the

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Government of the censorship of foreign press messages, and Allied correspondents were called to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs on the 16th April to be given this agreeable news by Señor Lequerica himself. Inasmuch as press censorship was in the hands of the Vice-Secretary of Press and Propaganda, this means a lessening of Falange control.

Internally the most important political development is the preparation of the so-called Bill of Rights to which reference was made in last week's *Summary*. The following explanation of this proposal has been obtained in strict confidence from an extremely high-placed source, and there is every reason to believe in its authenticity. The Bill is substantially identical with the proposal submitted to Franco a year ago by Señor Aunos, Minister of Justice, which was then rejected. When it becomes law—which should happen in the near future—the Bill will be implemented by statutes specifically safeguarding each of the rights in question. All Falange activities in connexion with police investigation or interference with the liberty of the subject will cease automatically, and any such authority hitherto wielded by the Falange will revert to the State. The Bill will include an all-important provision of *habeas corpus* whereby no person will henceforth be exposed to detention for more than 48 hours without a charge being preferred and his committal for trial. There will be no further death sentences for Civil War offences; this decision has already been communicated by the Minister for Foreign Affairs to His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires and to the United States Ambassador. A decree is to be issued immediately by the Minister of Justice which will give legal effect to an announcement made after a Cabinet meeting on the 13th April. Under this decree the so-called Tribunal of Political Responsibilities, created in 1939, will cease to exist as such; but it will continue to function for a time as a commission of liquidation with the duty of revising all outstanding sentences. As a result of revision, these sentences will be brought within the scope of amnesties already in force for political offences committed before the Tribunal was set up—that is to say, during the Civil War—and which were tried by military courts. Together with the Bill of Rights this decree aims at clearing the way for the Minister of Justice to empty the prisons of Civil War offenders, and it should facilitate the freeing of political prisoners. Under the contemplated legislation, all those political exiles who apply to Spanish Consulates for repatriation (see last week's *Summary*) will be issued with a written guarantee which will be tantamount to ensuring for them the full enjoyment of civil rights and protection, particularly against Falange persecution.

On paper these reforms are certainly an important step in the evolution of the régime. They mean, first, a reduction of the power of the Falange in its most objectionable feature, namely, the interference with the liberty of the subject. Then, they represent a reasonable system of justice with the abolition of special courts and the curtailing of the jurisdiction of military tribunals. They are, too, a serious attempt to wipe out the fouling memories of the Civil War. Franco may by now have grasped the truth that

> "Only the actions of the just
> Smell sweet and blossom in the dust."

But everything depends on whether the laws are to be strictly enforced and whether the authorities charged with enforcing them are to be protected from political pressure.

If Franco is really sincere in his reforming zeal, it is a sign of grace. But one is entitled to be sceptical of these handsome gestures by hard-pressed dictators, and the question springs to mind—is Franco the man to carry through this desirable project? Can he, indeed, clip the wings of Falange without deforming his own régime to the point of dissolution? Has he even any real intention to "*defalangizarse*"? We know his profession of regard for the Allies; does he really love us as much as all that?

The appointment was announced on the 21st April of Sir Victor Mallet as His Majesty's Ambassador at Madrid in succession to Lord Templewood. Sir Victor Mallet has been His Majesty's Minister at Stockholm since January 1940.

ITALY.

Bologna has fallen and Ferrara should soon be in our hands. This means that, on the Eastern flank we are on the south bank of the Po. From accounts to hand Bologna has not suffered a great deal of damage. According to a Press report, the Mayor of Bologna and the German Commander seem to have come to some understanding although, before leaving, the Germans destroyed the telephone exchange and the electric power station.

The Council of Ministers has passed certain new measures to deal with Fascists and others accused of collaborating with the Germans in North Italy. Assize Courts are to be formed, composed of one magistrate and four representatives of the local Committee of National Liberation. They have the power to impose sentence of death and are to function for six months.

Marshal Messe, Chief of Staff of the Italian Army, was made prisoner in North Africa, and was sent back to Italy after the armistice at Marshal Badoglio's request. General Trezzani was captured in Abyssinia.

Although the Italian Democrat Party is not one of the parties forming the Government, and cannot compare either in size or importance with these parties, yet it is well run and has an energetic and intelligent leader, Selvaggi. In view of Signor Togliatti's speech, in which he explained the policy of the Communist Party, it is interesting to note the programme of a Right-Wing party. A resolution recently passed by the National Council of the Italian Democratic Party states that the policy of the party is to uphold the Monarchy, since it is the best guarantee of individual liberty and political unity. Christian and Catholic ideals, as opposed to materialistic and class ideologies, must be respected, as well as private property and enterprise, and any form of individual, class or party dictatorship is to be resisted. Relations between the Government and the Vatican are to remain as at present. The State must guarantee public order and ensure that political activities are carried on within the bounds of the law. The right of Italy to retain her pre-war frontier and her pre-war African colonies is insisted on, as well as Italy's right to be granted the status of a United Nation.

Paris Radio reports that French troops have penetrated into Piedmont and the French occupation of Breil, or Breglio in Italian, was also reported on the 20th April. Breil is about 15 miles north of Ventimiglia on the French side of the frontier.

Speaking of Italian nervousness regarding French intentions in the Val d'Aosta M. Dejean explained to the British Minister in Paris that, although France desired minor rectifications of the Franco-Italian Frontier, the French Government, in his opinion, had no designs on the Val d'Aosta. M. Dejean admitted that a good deal of propaganda was going on locally, but said that his Government was not responsible for it.

The Under-Secretary for Occupied Italy, Medici Tornaquinti, a Liberal, has recently spent a fortnight in North Italy. He was dropped by parachute, and with the aid of the local anti-Fascists visited many centres, including Milan, Turin and Genoa. On his return to Rome he reported that the spirit of the partisans was extremely high.

The Committees of National Liberation in the North have drawn up plans for maintaining law and order during the interim period immediately following on liberation. Signor Longhi, the President of the Northern C.N.L., and the partisan military leader, General Cadorna, visited Allied Force Headquarters and discussed the prospects in the North. Signor Longhi was especially insistent on the importance of preventing as far as possible a widespread demolition of the hydro-electric plants in Northern Italy.

The Fascists appear to have set on foot vast mopping-up operations in the Val Tellina region, with a view to clearing this area of partisans and preparing a "redoubt" for Mussolini and the Fascist hierarchs. The Swiss *Popolo e Libertà* speaks of a projected Fascist plot to seize Milan at the time of the German evacuation. Mussolini is said to be taking part in the plan. Anarchist elements, including the so-called "League of Workers' Union," are also said to be involved, in hopes of seizing power at the critical moment and attempting a revolutionary experiment.

The Cione opposition group appears to be still active despite the suppression, after a few days, of its paper, *Italia del Popolo*. Medici Tornaquinti reported after his visit to North Italy that there seemed to be little truth in the suggestion, put out by Fascist propaganda, that some patriots were accepting the Cione movement as a half-way house towards neo-Fascism.

THE VATICAN.

As in previous years, the Pope devotes the month of May to prayers for peace, "a peace of justice and equity; for whatever goes beyond this has the seeds of future war." In words of St. Augustine of Hippo, quoted by Pope, "If you do not love justice, you will not have peace." This idea that justice,

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or the rendering to every man his due, is fundamental to peace, was mentioned in Professor Aguirre's Vatican broadcast. His subject was "the basis for a true peace, as conceived by the Pope," and he argued that the rights of human beings, not as citizens of this State or that, but as members of the human family, are the basis of any juridical order. Now the Roman Catholic Hierarchy of the United States, in a notable pronouncement before San Francisco Conference, reiterates the Pope's conception of peace, and urges the acceptance of an "international Bill of Rights; for will a nation which does not make its own citizens secure in the enjoyment of their human rights work honestly for the maintenance of world peace in the international community?"

The Bishops go on to defend true democracy, "Which is built on respect for the dignity of the human person with his God-given, inviolable rights," against "Marxist totalitarianism which herds the mass under dictatorial leadership." Increasingly official Catholicism identifies this genuine democracy with the Christian conception of man. In the Bishop's words: "Democracy's bulwark is religion, and justice is its watchword."

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

The British Military Mission in Hungary has now moved to Budapest. The Hungarian Government, on arriving in Budapest, was ceremonially welcomed by the Mayor and by the president of the National Committee and acting Chairman of the Social Democrat Party, A. Szákasits, who hoped that the Government would quickly implement its programme of land reform, industrial reform and full liquidation of feudalism, with the necessary purge. The distribution of land is now reported complete in Eastern Hungary, and is proceeding in Transdanubia. With this, a certain tension which had been noticeable in the relations between the extreme political parties and the more conservative elements in the Government has somewhat relaxed. The Communists, in particular, still seem dissatisfied with the Generals and unconvinced, in particular of their zeal in respect of the purge; while Gyöngyössy is attacked for insufficient energy in repatriating Jewish deportees. The extreme Left is certainly manœuvring for increased representation in the National Assembly; and no party to the Right of the Smallholders (who themselves are often attacked) can make its voice heard. For the present, however, the Soviet Command seems to be rather discouraging agitation against the Government.

Besides the three persons mentioned in last week's *Summary*, five others are being offered personal seats in the National Assembly. These include three more *émigrés*: Bela Bartok, the famous composer, and R. Vambery from the United States, and the leader of the Hungarian colony in France.

On the 20th April Gyöngyössy made his first statement to the press on Hungary's international relations. He promised complete renunciation of the historic ambitions of earlier régimes and the closest economic and political co-operation with Hungary's neighbours, speaking warmly of Yugoslavia, against whom Hungary had sinned "to a tremendous extent." Efforts were being made to trace and repatriate deportees. The foreign service would be reorganised. Of these deportees, survivors are now returning to Hungary; but they confirm that many Hungarian Jews were exterminated in Oswiecim and elsewhere. Admiral Horthy is reported alive and in internment at Tegernsee. The press mentions him, when it does so, as the "ex-Regent" but the form of the Hungarian State is being left open. The word "royal" is, however, provisionally omitted from treaty, documents, &c.

Negotiations for a trade agreement with Roumania are proceeding. Meanwhile many supplies are coming into Hungary from Roumania in "caravans" organised by local authorities or traders.

The first battalion of the new "Hungarian Democratic Army" has left for the front.

Roumania.

On the 17th April the Roumanian Government intimated that they were prepared to guarantee General Radescu's safety if he returned to his home. The same day Dl Tatarescu wrote that "he will have the same protection as any other citizen, under the laws of the country which will assure him the protection of the Government against any ill-treatment. The object of the guarding of

his dwelling will be to safeguard his liberty and not to deprive him of it. He will, of course, have to respect the laws of the country and abstain from any action which might provoke disorder." On consideration the British authorities did not feel reassured. Realising how fluid the "laws of the country" are at the present time, it was felt that this letter left too many loopholes. The careful watch kept on all movements to and from the British Legation did not inspire confidence in the Government's benevolent intentions. The General accordingly remains in sanctuary, pending the receipt of a letter from the Allied (Soviet) Commission, confirming the promise of the Roumanian Government. The General himself is willing to leave, but wishes to be provided with a permit to leave the country.

On the 20th April the King signed an amended form of the proposed Purge Law. The amendments for which he stipulated included limiting the death penalty to "war criminals," the omission of "all enemies of the present régime" from the operation of the law, and insistence on certain legal forms, such as the necessity for proper warrants for arrest, and safeguarding of the right of appeal. Immediately after signing the decree, the King received an intimation to the effect that this version of the law would not satisfy the Government. The opinion grows that in certain quarters efforts are being made to make His Majesty's position untenable.

In January last undertakings were given by M. Vyshinsky and by General Vinogradov that there should be no further removal of oil-field equipment from Roumania to Russia. On the 10th April the Soviet authorities proceeded to load 60 tons of equipment from the Unirea warehouse at Ploesti. In reply to a protest by the British Acting Commissioner, the Soviet authorities asserted that the material in question had not been paid for and was therefore still German property. Proof of payment was demanded, and a promise given that the despatch should be delayed to allow of this being done. Colonel Masterson was requested to communicate with the Soviet officer in charge in two or three days' time. Meanwhile, on the 20th April the Unirea equipment, together with 250 tons of material belonging to other companies, was despatched to Galati for shipment.

Universul, writing on the subject of the San Francisco Conference reminds its readers that it will be a great error for small States to assume that they are entitled to the same international juridical rights as the big nations. They cannot share in the benefits of peace without also sharing the obligations of the defence of general security. This is an amazing *volte face* for any Roumanian, and for Dl Logoşianu (the Editor of *Universul*) in particular, and it is not difficult to guess the source of his inspiration.

Yugoslavia.

The enemy's retreat from Slavonia and Bosnia continues. On the coast the Yugoslavs have occupied the Quarnero islands and are closing up to Fiume.

New Governments have been formed for four out of the six component regions of Yugoslavia. For Serbia, Croatia and Macedonia (perhaps Montenegro also) the secretary of the National Liberation Front, *i.e.*, the holder of the key position up to date, has become the Premier. The other Ministers in each region are either Communist party members or well-established adherents of the Partisan movement. (The preceding *Summary*, p. 15, para. 5, should have stated that the members of the Serbian Government, not of the Skupshtina, took an oath to the people.) The independent line hitherto taken by the Macedonian authorities presumably accounts for the presence of the all-powerful Kardelj at the Macedonian Assembly; and for the reproof which Chuchkov, the Minister for Macedonia, gave the Assembly for the tendency to exclude Serbians from Macedonia.

On the 13th April a Soviet-Yugoslav Commercial Agreement was signed in Moscow. In his interview to the *Red Star* Tito said, "we count primarily on the Soviet Union which has already begun to help us. Assistance from other Allies, particularly America, is also particularly necessary." In this statement no reference whatever was made to Great Britain. Tito was back at Belgrade on the 20th.

Evidence is accumulating of the application of totalitarian government in the political and economic spheres. At the local elections in Macedonia only candidates of the N.L. Front, being unopposed, were elected. Zhujovitch, addressing the Serbian Skupshtina, declared that "all who are outside the Front are outside the State." He quoted the Soviet Union as illustrative of how to apply the co-operative principle to agriculture. The Commissar for Trade for Serbia wrote in *Politika* that County Committees were responsible for

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all economic matters in their areas; but warned them against any show of independence. They must strictly adhere to the plans of the Serbian Government. It is not surprising that he went on to complain of some committees lack of initiative and their refusal to act without definite orders. Industrialists are hard hit. In 1941–4 many were in a position which virtually forced them to work to the advantage of the Germans. Now their factories are being confiscated one by one. Over 300 confiscated undertakings have been handed over to the Belgrade municipality. Where factories are not confiscated, their management has been transferred to the State labour unions.

Although the Government's following is slowly increasing, Serbian opposition, if cautious, is widespread. It is attributed to the sense of the loss of Macedonia, the propaganda for fraternisation with the Bulgarians, the severe treatment of Mihailovitch's followers, and, above all, to the partisans' monopoly of jobs and the inefficiency of many of their officials. Meanwhile, the harvest prospects are discouraging. Only 50 per cent. of land for autumn sowing has been tilled. There is a terrible shortage of animals, of man-power and of implements. An optimum estimate of the grain harvest reckons on a deficit of 1,000,000 metric tons. The Central Government propose to intervene, mobilising man-power all over Yugoslavia and directing it where it can be best used. The proposed similar mobilisation of draught animals will be unpopular.

A new dinar currency is being issued. The currencies hitherto circulating must be handed in by the 30th April, but holders will only receive immediate payment up to 5,000 of the new dinars. The new dinar is to be valued at 20 Serbian dinars, 40 Croatian kune, 10 Bulgarian leva, one Hungarian pengo, &c.

Greece.

On the 18th April the Archbishop of York arrived in Athens; though lodged at the British Embassy, he was officially the guest of the Regent, to whom he conveyed a message from the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, expressing admiration for the spirit of resistance shown by the Greek people and stressing the hope that close contacts might soon be renewed between the Church of Greece and the Church of England.

The Communist party, while on the whole appearing scrupulously to adhere to the letter of the Varkiza Agreement, is at the same time by subterranean methods working against the Government. While it is true that more than the number of arms stipulated in the Agreement were handed over, yet in nearly every area formerly occupied by E.L.A.S. the National Guard and British troops have discovered hidden dumps of arms, some of them in better condition than those that had been surrendered. There are still bands of E.L.A.S. guerrillas at large in the country, and O.P.L.A. is still active in certain towns. Communist elements are often at pains to provoke the raw recruits of the National Guard, which was, in fact, fired on by armed Communists on entering Alexandroupolis. Recently the Communists have formed an anti-Fascist workers' organisation, known as E.R.G.A.S., which has proclaimed a general strike throughout Greece for the 1st May. Communist propaganda insists that the Government has persistently violated the spirit and letter of Varkiza, and it is, of course, possible to cite various instances where the Government's instructions have not been carried out. Both the Plastiras Government and the Voulgaris Government have had many difficulties to contend with: the National Guard is half-trained and ill-equipped, and in Salonica certain rabid Royalist elements are reported out of control; in Salonica, too, some of the police have obstructed the execution of warrants for the arrest of notorious collaborators; the administrative machinery is in a state of disorganisation; the confidence of the public in public security and in the drachma has been badly shaken and has not yet recovered. In spite of difficulties, however, the Voulgaris Government has declared itself bound by the Varkiza Agreement, and has given earnest proof of its good faith by executing a notorious traitor who had worked for the S.S. The Minister of the Interior hopes that the long-drawn-out trial of the traitor Ministers may be concluded early in May. The Government will also enforce a law passed by the Plastiras Government providing for a thorough purge of the police and gendarmerie. E.L.A.S. officers and men are now being accepted for the National Guard, though it is true that in the early stages of the call-up a certain amount of discrimination was employed to prevent excessive infiltration by the Communists.

The financial situation in Greece is grave. Since the 1st January a deficit of 10 milliard drachmas has accumulated, while note circulation has doubled since the 1st March; the currency is threatened by the prevailing flight from the

drachma. A small committee of British and American advisers has been set up to examine the situation with the Finance Minister.

Albania.

In a recent press interview the Albanian Minister of Propaganda is reported to have said that—as has indeed long been clear—Enver Hoxha's régime was on the same lines as that of Marshal Tito. The other remarks ascribed to Professor Sejfulla Malleshova are coloured with an optimism appropriate to his office. After being a semi-colonial State under the Fascists, he said, Albania was now well off. Financial institutions had been nationalised. Land was being distributed to those who had hitherto had to till it for others. The Government's two great aims were first to develop an economic system which would serve the interests of the people and, secondly, to ensure Albania's political independence.

The semi-official newspaper, if correctly quoted by the Yugoslav telegraph agency, describes very favourably the rights now enjoyed by Albanians in Yugoslav Macedonia. Albanians, it says, are on the various national liberation committees, an Albanian is vice-president of the Macedonian assembly, there are Albanian schools and in Skoplje an Albanian newspaper is being published.

Bulgaria.

Reports of casualties sustained by the Bulgarian army in Hungary have again been causing uneasiness in Bulgaria. Whether in this connection or not, Colonel Damian Velchev, the War Minister, recently visited the Bulgarian units on the front and decorated General Stoichev who is Commander-in-chief, and the two corps commanders, Generals Toshev and Trendafilov. The Commander-in-chief and the two corps commanders have also received respectively the first and second class of the Russian order of Kutuzov, and Colonel Velchev conferred the highest Bulgarian decoration on Marshal Tolbukhin. More important than the bestowal of honours is the amnesty which has now been granted, under Marshal Tolbukhin's orders, to cover all Bulgarians serving at the front and thus relieves more than 200 officers of the fear of Communist vengeance. At the same time the Social-Democrat newspaper asks whether the new Bulgaria will be represented at San Francisco and declares that, in return for her co-operation with the Soviet Union and for her fight against the Germans, she expects justice.

Continuing tension between the Communists and the Agrarians occasioned some free fights and rumours of a Cabinet crisis which were mostly exaggerated, although there is some reason to think that the four Agrarian Ministers offered their resignations only to be told by the Russian authorities that for the present they must not leave the coalition Government. The independence of the Agrarian youth association remains one of the chief points of contention. The Prime Minister, M. Gheorghiev, and other members of the Zveno party which is trying to play a part as mediator, have given rather lukewarm support to the principle of combining all youth associations in one and have strongly deprecated party fanaticism. The general public seem to have little confidence in the Government and none at all in elections which, if held under present circumstances, would only hand the country over to unqualified Communist control.

Two new measures have been introduced. In the first place, the Government, which has always repudiated any intention of collectivising agriculture, has published a "law"—to be submitted presumably to a Parliament when there is one—for extending agricultural co-operation. It is claimed that, though voluntary, the practice will gradually be adopted all over the country. Large-scale scientific and mechanical cultivation will be encouraged, and facilities will be given for grouping small holdings, for obtaining expert advice, for using agricultural machinery and for marketing, the general aim being to raise quality and quantity. A second law introduces civil marriage and is based on advanced principles. While leaving the religious ceremony no legality, it abolishes all distinction between legitimate and illegitimate children and, subject to certain conditions, allows divorce by mutual consent.

The decisions of the People's Court have included a greater proportion of acquittals and light sentences than formerly. But sentences of death have been passed on nine generals, including the last Chief of Staff (Trifonov) and Inspector-General (Lukash), the former chief president of the military courts, chief of the gendarmerie, commandant of Sofia (Nakov) and commander of the army of occupation in Serbia (Nikolov). Eleven colonels and ten other officers have also been executed. General Hadji-Petkov (a former Chief of Staff) and twenty-two junior officers have been acquitted. According to the Foreign

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Minister 2,138 people were sentenced to death out of 10,897 accused up to the 26th March.

Turkey.

Criticism on the part of certain Deputies seems to have been the chief reason for the decision to give more publicity in future to the debates of the Party and of the Grand National Assembly. There is, in fact, some reason to suppose that opposition to M. Saracoğlu's Government, which has been dormant for some months, has now been aroused again by the unsatisfactory state of Turco-Russian relations. Although Russian propaganda has hardly attacked Turkey since the Kremlin denounced the Turco-Soviet Pact, the recent Russian attitude to Turkey and the systematic consolidation of Russian influence in eastern Europe and the Balkans may well make the Turks wonder what is in store for them as the southern neighbours of the Soviet Union. Outwardly, however, the Turks profess to have great confidence in the San Francisco Conference, and the relief expressed in the papers at Mr. Truman's determination to hold the conference and continue his predecessor's policy was no doubt as genuine as their regret at the death of Mr. Roosevelt.

The Turkish Government is still unwilling to face the unpleasant necessity for reducing Turkish prices to the level ruling elsewhere, and obstinacy on this and other points has protracted the financial discussions which are still proceeding with the Turkish delegation in London.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

Attention having been removed to America by the death of the President, who had so recently visited the Middle East, it continued to be diverted there by the departure of the delegations for San Francisco, and apart from some last-minute manœuvring over the composition of delegations there has been a lull in Middle Eastern political activity.

In Egypt a recent editorial in *The Times* dealing with Great Britain's relations with the Middle East, suggesting "Big Powers" management, has been subjected to highly adverse comment in *al-Moqattam* and other newspapers, which criticised the article as reactionary. The official Wafdist newspaper took the opportunity to insist upon complete political freedom for the whole of the Middle East, and relations with both the European and American nations have in consequence come under fire. *The Times* editorial, as usually happens, was generally assumed to be a reflection of the British official point of view, which in this case was particularly unfortunate.

General Beynet has not yet returned from Paris to Syria, and the Syrian Government, which will have to face criticism for a further delay in obtaining agreement over the *Troupes Spéciales*, is awaiting developments with anxiety.

The Persian Government, which has been weakening for some time, has resigned, having failed to secure a vote of confidence in the Chamber. There have been several recent incidents in northern Persia in which Soviet subjects are alleged to have been the victims of violence; these incidents have furnished material for a renewed campaign against Persia in the Russian press, which is causing considerable anxiety to the Persian authorities.

THE FAR EAST.

In an attempt to forestall the San Francisco Conference a "Greater East Asiatic Ambassadorial Conference" has been held in Tokyo. *Domei* announced this on the 23rd April and said that the meeting was attended by Togo, the Japanese Foreign Minister and Greater East Asiatic Minister; Wang Yun-ching, the "Manchukuo" Ambassador; Tsai Pei, the Nanking Ambassador; Wichit Wathakan (Siam); Tsen Maung (Burma); and Jorge Vargas (Philippines). The object of the Conference was "to further the aims and decisions of the Greater East Asia Assembly, held in November 1943, and to adopt new measures in connexion with the existing world situation and the joint war objective."

The Conference resulted in an official statement which asserted that the United States and Great Britain were endeavouring to establish a military, political and economic hegemony, under the guise of a world security organisation. No mention was made of the U.S.S.R. The Greater East Asia group intended to found a world order based on the complete equality and freedom of nations,

whereby people could choose their own Governments without foreign interference. Monopolistic control of commerce and of international communications would be abolished and full economic collaboration assured. There would be no establishment of a security system of arbitrary rule by the big Powers, nor the institution of any uniform formula to the entire world, nor would there be any "provocation or oppression" through economic measures, or by armed force.

The Conference also adopted four resolutions; these were, to support the independence of the States of Indo-China; to encourage the attainment of independence by the East Indies; to make the Ambassadors' Conference a permanent liaison organ for the assembly of the nations of Greater East Asia; and to communicate the results of the Conference to the "Azad Hind Provisional Government."

Togo in his opening speech told the Conference that the war situation was extremely grave, but asserted that "we possess both confidence and wherewithal to ensure ourselves a decisive victory." He denounced Anglo-American post-war plans and said that their scheme for maintaining peace was built upon racial discrimination and colonial exploitation. In his speech at the closing of the Conference Togo expressed his gratification that "we have had an opportunity to announce to the world in the form of a joint statement what our nations consider the guiding principles for the construction of a true world (order)." The various puppet representatives all spoke in similar vein.

Domei on the 19th April announced that Suzuki had received the Emperor's command to attend meetings of Imperial Headquarters and that he would participate in its deliberations on the general conduct of the war. His predecessor, Koiso, received a similar command on the 16th March (see this *Summary*, No. 285).

The new Japanese political party, the Dai Nippon Seijikai (see this *Summary* No. 287), appears likely to have a rival. The Seijikai has 355 out of the 430 members of the Lower House of the Diet (*Domei*, 22nd April), but, according to the *Tokyo Shimbun* (22nd April), some of the dissenting members of the Lower House have organised a party called the Gokoku Doshikai, and have asked Suzuki to give it official recognition. The *Tokyo Shimbun* did not name any of the sponsors of this minority party.

Indirect testimony to the effect of air attack on Japanese cities was provided by Lieutenant-General Saburo Endo, Director of the Bureau of Aircraft Production in the Ministry of Munitions. Speaking on the 19th April to war workers in Tokyo, he declared that the struggle in Okinawa would decide Japan's fate and that the outcome depended entirely upon increased war production, especially of aircraft, in Japan. He said that he had inspected areas in Kobe and Osaka which had been devastated by bombing and that he fully realised the difficulties with which war workers were confronted; but, nevertheless, they must not slacken in their efforts, and those who had temporarily left their posts had to return immediately.

The Japanese Government are organising a Civilian Volunteer Corps. The function of this body was explained by Lieutenant-General Homma in an article in *Mainichi*. He said that the fighting services were in the first line, the reservists formed a second-line army, while the new volunteer corps formed a third-line force. It would remain at work in factories and other production tasks until an emergency, when it would be employed in guarding communications and helping to maintain peace and order; it would therefore need some military training and organisation (*Domei*, 17th April). An "All-Japan Nation's Special Attack Corps" is also to be inaugurated on the 25th April; it will act in close co-operation with the Civilian Volunteer Corps.

In the field of prefectoral administration, the prefects who are also chairmen of the regional councils of prefectures have been made Shinnin, or first rank, officials by an Imperial ordinance of the 21st April. They were formerly Chokunin, or second rank, officials. At the same time seven new chairmen of the regional councils were appointed.

The Japanese offensive in Honan and Hupeh has come to an end. The Chinese supported by the 14th American Air Force, claim that they have driven back the Japanese, and have recaptured all the cities along the Han River which were recently occupied by the Japanese. These include Laohokow, Siangyang, Icheng and Fancheng. In Honan fighting is going on near Shanhsien, on the Lunghai Railway, while further south Chinese forces operating behind the Japanese lines are said to be threatening Nanyang (Chungking Radio, 17th–22nd April).

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The Japanese have begun a new offensive in Western Hunan; this is aimed at Chihkiang (Yuanchow), where there is an airfield. A Chungking military spokesmen said that the Japanese were using 60,000 men in the advance on Chihkiang; they were moving on the city from the north and east, but that the Chinese, aided by American aircraft, were resisting stubbornly and had badly mauled the Japanese centre column (Chungking Radio, 20th April).

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The habitual air of expectancy in the United States has been more than usually tense during the last week—the big news from the European theatre, the final preparations for the San Francisco Conference, the first steps of the new President, have all been eagerly awaited and canvassed. Jubilation over the Russian entry into Berlin has been sobered by a quick corrective to over-optimism from S.H.A.E.F. On the 21st April General Eisenhower's Chief-of-Staff told war correspondents that the junction of American and Russian armies in the heart of Germany would not mean the end of the war in Europe, "on the contrary, there may be much more bitter fighting and heavy casualties." Every newspaper in the United States has carried gruesome pictures and stories from Buchenwald and other prison camps overrun by the advancing armies. These have strengthened the demand for a hard peace and for a stricter interpretation of the Geneva Convention in the treatment of German prisoners of war. The Military Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives is conducting a full investigation of this subject, while a delegation of twelve Congressmen, together with seventeen newspaper editors and publishers, are flying to Germany to see conditions in concentration camps for themselves. Considerable impatience with the "farce" of the War Crimes Commission is expressed in such liberal papers as the *Washington Post*, which demand prompt trial of captives like Von Papen and Krupp von Bohlen.

At his first press conference on the 17th April President Truman announced that the Roosevelt custom of frequent meetings of this kind would be continued, probably once a week. The new President made a very good impression on the large crowd of journalists by his confident manner and candid answers to numerous questions. His selection of Charles G. Ross, an old school-mate and seasoned Radical of the *St. Louis Post Despatch*, to be his Press Secretary from the 15th May, is popular with newspapermen. Other changes in his entourage are the appointment of Matthew J. Connelly from Massachusetts as his Senior Secretary; and a last-war friend, Colonel Harry H. Vaughan, as his Military Aide. Leading members of the late President's personal staff—Mr. Stephen Early, Mr. Hassett, Judge Rosenman and Mr. Jonathan Daniels, have been asked to stay by the new President "until everything is organised and his own staff trained." The only important nomination so far is that of Mr. John W. Snyder, a Missouri banker, to the post of Federal Loan Administrator left vacant by President Roosevelt's appointment of Judge Vinson as War Mobilisation Director.

Indications of closer collaboration between the Executive and Legislature are increasingly apparent. The action of the new President in attending a lunch with leading Senators of both parties, soon after taking the oath of office, was hailed as the beginning of a new "era of good feeling." President Truman has also invited Senator McKellar, who now presides over the Senate, to attend Cabinet meetings. Although Vice-Presidents have in the past attended cabinets, an invitation to the President *pro tempore* of the Senate is believed to be without precedent. Eight Republican Senators, headed by Senator Taft and appointed by the party members in the Senate, waited on the President on the 18th April "to pledge their loyalty to him and offer to consult with him at any time." Making a final appearance in the Senate before his departure for the San Francisco Conference, Senator Connally publicly congratulated Mr. Truman on his swift grasp of the foreign situation and thanked him for his support to the American delegation. It can be said that for the moment the sense of national unity is very strong. Even the isolationist McCormick–Patterson press has promised not to attack the new President for three, possibly six, months.

President Truman early decided not to attend the San Francisco Conference in person, but to broadcast a formal welcome to the delegates. He declared that he had a competent delegation and that he would stay at his desk where he belonged. The American delegation finished its daily deliberations at

Washington on the 18th April and announced agreement on all major points. Senators Vandenberg and Connally have both indicated that they expect differences of opinion between members to be resolved privately, so that the delegation will continue to speak with one voice at the Conference table. They reserve the right to speak as individuals, however, and to freedom of action. Mr. Cordell Hull, on the advice of his physician, has announced that he will be unable to attend the opening sessions, but he hopes that his health will permit him to join in the discussions later. Forty-two American organisations have been invited to send "consultants" to the United States delegation at San Francisco. They include the Chambers of Commerce and Industry, professional and labour unions, veterans, farmers and women's organisations, religious groups, educational associations, rotary clubs and the like. Most of them have amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals to suggest, though all favour the scheme as a whole. The Roman Catholic hierarchy in the United States on the 14th April again strongly denounced Marxist tendencies, urged an international Bill of Rights, and uttered a warning of the fate in store for all settlements which ignore the rights of small nations and the principles of justice.

Of some significance for the San Francisco Conference is the Senate vote on the Mexican Water Treaty, which was approved on the 18th April by a vote of 76 to 10. Though Californians are a little perturbed by what they consider over-generous treatment of Mexico in allocating the water-power of the Colorado and Rio Grande, there is general praise for this further manifestation of the "good neighbour" policy. The insertion of reservations, which, according to the State Department, "clarify certain provisions but do not impair the rights and obligations of the United States," is regarded in some quarters as somewhat ominous. If, the argument runs, the Senate is still going to assert its authority by amending or adding reservations to even a happily-concluded minor treaty of this kind, what may happen to more controversial agreements emanating from San Francisco?

LATIN AMERICA.

The death of President Roosevelt was received in Latin America with deep and sincere grief. The President was identified in Latin America with the "Good Neighbour" policy and no American statesman has so deeply engaged the affections and trust of the Latin American peoples. Even in Argentina, whose relations with the United States had so long been strained, the flood of tributes on the radio and in the press were characterised by their obvious sincerity. The only exceptions were the Nationalist-Catholic *Pueblo* and the ex-enemy *Fronda*, representing a small but apparently irreconcilable hard core of recalcitrant opinion.

A United States mission led by Mr. Avra Warren visited Buenos Aires from the 19th to the 21st April for talks with the Argentine Government, covering military and economic matters arising from Argentina's declaration of war. Mr. Warren told His Majesty's chargé d'affaires that the Argentine requirements had been on the whole reasonable, though some of their economic requests were excessive. They had drawn attention to the fact that the bulk of Argentine trade was with Great Britain and seemed to expect the United States to do something to modify this. Mr. Warren, however, made it clear that the United States Government accepted this situation. As regards the eventual recognition of the U.S.S.R., Colonel Perón appears to have made an approach to the Russian legation in Montevideo, and it is understood that negotiations are in progress in Washington. Meanwhile the Argentine Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs saw fit to inform the press that the possibility of Argentina's signing the United Nations pact and subsequent invitation to San Francisco had been considered and that negotiations had been "satisfactorily begun."

It is still, of course, questionable whether Colonel Perón will succeed in remaining in power in Argentina. His endeavours to secure the sympathy of labour have deeply embroiled him with management, and members of the Buenos Aires Stock Exchange are reported to have gone to General Farrell with strong complaints against him. He is also said to be at odds with the President himself. Meanwhile a strike in the frigorificos continues, and is affecting food supplies for Europe. Colonel Perón maintains that the obstacle to a solution is the "unreasonable" attitude of the employers, and claims that the workers would return if he told them to. It therefore rests with him to find a speedy solution. Indeed, according to broadcasts, the Government have now asked the workers to return and have promised to consider their grievances: the benefits of the

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Labour Charter have also been applied to the frigorífico workers by decree. Meanwhile, further disturbances are reported from the University of La Plata, where students are on strike and demand the removal of the rector, Dr. Labougle (see *Summary* No. 285). The Government, according to the Buenos Aires radio, has taken control of the university and has appointed an interventor.

In Brazil President Vargas signed a decree on the 18th April by which an amnesty was granted to all persons detained for political offences committed since July 1934. It is reported that those deemed guilty of common crimes or crimes against the security of the State committed during the war period are excluded, and that military and civil commissions will judge whether or not released members of the armed forces and civil service may be reinstated when vacancies occur: no claims for arrears of salary or indemnity are to be entertained. According to broadcast reports, about 600 persons were released on the following day, including the Communist leader Carlos Luis Prestes, who has been in prison for ten years; Dr. Oswaldo Aranha has assumed the presidency of the Sociedade Amigos de América (it will be recalled that his association with this group was one of the causes of his fall last autumn. (See Summary No. 256); and the opposition candidate, Brigadier-General Gomes, has opened his campaign with a demand for the transference of the executive power to the President of the Supreme Court as a guarantee of free expression in the elections.

In Chile President Rios is again cabinet-making. As a result of the rightward swing in the recent elections (see *Summary* No. 285), the new Cabinet will probably be based on the Radicals, Liberals, Democrats and Agrarians, with whose leaders the President is conferring. The opposition would thus be formed by the Conservatives on the Right, and the Socialists and Communists on the Left: in any case, the fate of the Government's measures would appear to lie in the hands of a few independents.

Diplomatic and consular relations have been established between the U.S.S.R. and Bolivia (18th April) and the U.S.S.R. and Guatemala (19th April). Twelve of the twenty Latin American Republics have now taken this step.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 291

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
2ND MAY, 1945.

Copy No. 141

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

THE week has seen great victories for all the Allied forces. Bremen has been taken by the British; Munich—home of the Nazi movement—by the Americans; Berlin almost completely reduced by the Russians. Milan, Turin, Genoa, Venice and almost all northern Italy have been captured, with valuable partisan aid, by the Allied armies of Italy. The link-up between American and Russian forces in Central Germany has been strengthened and a new junction in the region of Linz is in sight. Everywhere, piecemeal, yet often fighting desperately, the armed forces of Germany are being ground to pieces. At this moment of supreme crisis in the fortunes of the Wehrmacht, upon which German hope and pride have been based, the news has been broadcast that Adolf Hitler, Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces, Führer and Reichschancellor, has died amongst the ruins of Berlin.

The announcement was made, after suitable musical preparation, at 10·25 p.m. on Tuesday night (1st May). It was followed by a broadcast from Admiral Dönitz, who said that Hitler "recognised beforehand the terrible danger of Bolshevism and devoted his life to fighting it. At the end of this, his battle, stands his death as a hero in the capital of the Reich." Dönitz continued, "The Führer has appointed me as his successor . . . . It is my first task to save the German people from destruction by the Bolsheviks and it is only to achieve this that the fight continues. As long as the British and Americans hamper us from reaching this end we shall fight and defend ourselves against them as well." On assuming the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces Dönitz issued an Order of the Day on closely similar lines. It ended with the very significant passage, "The oath of allegiance you swore to the Führer is now valid for each one of you without further formality to myself, as the successor appointed by the Führer. German soldiers do your duty. The life of our people is at stake." No details

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of the composition of Dönitz's Government have yet been published, except that a Hamburg broadcast on the 2nd May announced that Schwerin von Krosigk, the somewhat colourless but "respectable" Minister of Finance in both Papen's and Hitler's Governments, has replaced Ribbentrop as Foreign Minister.

It is possible that we are faced with the "Great Lie" advocated in *Mein Kampf*, that, as the Moscow radio has suggested, Hitler is still alive, and that the Nazis are engaged in a gigantic bluff to cover their retreat into a safe obscurity. But this view has inherent improbabilities. The announcements of Hitler's death and of Dönitz's succession follow on the news that Himmler had offered, at an interview with Count Bernadotte, the head of the Swedish Red Cross, on the 24th April, the unconditional surrender of Germany to Great Britain and America on the understanding that fighting would continue against the Russians. In communicating this offer to the Russian Government the Prime Minister made it clear that it was his intention to send a reply to the effect that surrender must be made to all Three Powers. The President sent a similar message. As a result of a leakage in the American press a statement was issued from No. 10 Downing Street on the 28th April, which reaffirmed that Britain and the United States "will not accept unconditional surrender except on behalf of all the Allies, including Russia." Since the news of Himmler's offer was published a spate of wild rumour has flooded the press, but it has now been announced (2nd May) from Stockholm that Count Bernadotte has returned from a second visit to Germany without seeing Himmler and without bringing any further offer from him.

It is known that, at his interview with Bernadotte on the 24th April, Himmler professed himself able to answer for the acceptance of surrender by the German forces and that he said that Hitler was desperately ill and would not live more than two days. A member of his staff said that Hitler was suffering from cerebral hæmorrhage. Two days earlier it had been announced that Göring, designated successor to the Führer on the 1st September, 1939, had resigned on account of heart disease and that his place as head of the Luftwaffe had been taken by Generaloberst Ritter von Greim. No mention was made of Göring's other posts—Head of the Four-Years' Plan, Minister-President of Prussia, &c.—or of any successors to him in these capacities. The fact that, at such a moment of crisis, so prominent a Nazi leader as Göring should be allowed to resign, that his resignation should be announced at all and that it should be attributed to so convenient an ailment as "heart disease" is certainly not without significance. It is not improbable that he is already either in custody or dead or has fled.

There is, at first sight, a superficial contrast between Himmler's conditional offer of unconditional surrender and Dönitz's defiant proclamations of continued resistance. But there is no necessary contradiction between them. For Dönitz qualifies his defiance towards the Western Allies by saying "as long as the British and Americans hamper us" (*i.e.*, in fighting Bolshevism) "we shall fight and defend ourselves against them as well." His proclamation, in fact, is in line with the political strategy of Himmler's offer—a final gamble on the hope of splitting the Western Allies from Russia.

No facts are at present available to explain the relation between Dönitz and Himmler. It appears unlikely that Dönitz either could or would have declared himself Hitler's successor without Himmler's knowledge and consent, if only because the support of the S.S. would be necessary to maintain any serious resistance to the Allies even in those maritime areas still unoccupied—Kiel, Denmark and Southern Norway—where Dönitz's authority as *Grossadmiral* and Commander-in-Chief of the Navy is strongest. It is, of course, possible, since in such a régime anything is possible, that Himmler himself has been "liquidated." But it may be that he realised that, whilst he could inspire terror, he could not arouse the emotional loyalty of the German people and that he yielded the succession to Dönitz, the strongest supporter of the Nazis amongst the military leaders, on the ground that he had a better chance than any available party figure —*e.g.*, Goebbels or Bormann—of retaining control of the Wehrmacht as a whole. Yet, at present, Himmler has given no public support to Dönitz as he might have been expected to do both in his capacity as Reichsführer S.S. and as Commander-in-Chief of the home forces. The possibility that he has either gone underground himself, or that he has gone to one of the areas in Saxony, the Protectorate or Austria as yet unoccupied by the Allies, to reappear as a rival to Dönitz cannot be excluded.

There can be no certainty at present—and Dönitz's sentence about the oath of loyalty already quoted from his Order of the Day shows his own misgiving—

that the Wehrmacht will accept the new Führer. The personal oath of loyalty to the Supreme Commander has always been an important factor, impressed by ceremonial, in the cohesion of the German Army. In a situation where any excuse for surrender must be welcome, Dönitz's claim that the loyalty expressed in the oath must be transferred to him "ohne weiteres" may not be accepted by at least some of them. There can be little doubt, in any case, that the announcement of Hitler's death will tend to hasten the German collapse.

From Bavaria has come this week news of an organised attempt to defy the Nazis in the original home of the movement. The Munich wireless transmitter, for some five hours on the morning of the 28th April, broadcast appeals for surrender from a "Bavarian Freedom Movement." How much support this body had within the city is not known, but Giesler, Gauleiter of Bavaria, denounced "the small clique at present broadcasting treasonable news north of the Danube" and in the course of the same day it was stated that "ruthless action" had put things right in a few hours and that all Party offices and key-points were "in loyal hands." During its brief period of publicity the Freedom Movement claimed to have "taken over the powers of Government" and to be led "at the battle-front" by the Statthalter of Bavaria, General Ritter von Epp, one of the earliest influential supporters of the Nazi movement.

As Hitler's Reich disintegrates and communications between the different regions become increasingly disrupted it might have been expected that the Gauleiters would play an important part in rallying their people to resist to the last, in accordance with Nazi policy. In some cases they appear to have done so. Goebbels, as Gauleiter of Berlin, appears to be active in the city, and (until the 26th) continued to broadcast appeals to the population over the Drahtfunk. Hanke still holds out in Breslau, and for his "inspiring example" to the rest of the Reich, was awarded the Gold Cross by Hitler on the 11th April. The same honour was bestowed upon Holz on the 19th, after he had stated that he would remain "to fight and die" in Nürnberg. Mutschmann was said to be in Dresden on the 20th. Eggeling is the only one who has been described as having "died a hero's death." He was reported killed in the fighting in Halle on the 19th April. His deputy, Tesche, was expelled from the Party and degraded by Hitler's order, because he telephoned to Hitler's H.Q. asking permission to break off the fight. Giesler seems to have been on the spot in Munich to quell the revolt there. In Austria Eigruber broadcasts daily from Linz, issuing appeals and warnings to the people.

But others have either been killed or have fled. Schirach has not been heard of since the 7th April, when he issued his last order before the fall of Vienna. Koch (East Prussia) and Bracht (Upper Silesia) fled early in the Russian advance. In the west, Florian (Düsseldorf) declared on the 9th April that Schlessmann (acting-Gauleiter of Essen in Terboven's absence), Grohé (Köln-Aachen), Hoffmann (Westfalen-Süd), and he were in their Gaus—and claims that he had himself returned through the American lines to his post. But there has been little evidence to support this claim, which was probably designed to combat rumours among the civilian population that the Nazi leaders had deserted their posts. Kaufmann who also holds the post of Reich Commissioner for Shipping, is reported to be in Oslo and Uiberreither (Steiermark) in Vorarlberg. There is, indeed, evidence that the higher officers of the S.S. have been given secret orders to withdraw before capture and to join the underground resistance movement. The fact that none of the "resistant" Gauleiters, whose Gaue have been overrun, has been announced as captured suggests that, despite Hitler's public orders, Himmler may have instructed them to disappear in order to live "to fight another day."

AUSTRIA.

While the Russian armies have made little further progress in Austria the Western Allies have advanced to the south-east and American forces have crossed the Austrian frontier near Passau. A North German Home Service broadcast on the 29th April said that fighting was crystallising round the Alps, between Lake Constance and the Ammersee, and in the Danube valley. Eigruber, broadcasting from Linz on the 28th, claimed that the Russians had not made any further progress in the last eight days, and that German forces had even regained some ground. The situation on the border between Oberdonau and Bavaria, however, had become more acute. But he did not encourage "total resistance," or Werewolf tactics—"fighting is the concern of the soldiers and the Volkssturm."

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Local government is being rapidly re-established in Austria. The Soviet Service for Austria broadcast on the 28th April that "Vienna has a Mayor again, and its own administration." The Mayor is General Körner, a professional soldier, who is also a Social-Democrat and was an organiser of the Social-Democrat para-military organisation—the *Schutzbund*. His two deputies are Leopold Kunschak (one of the Ministers of State in the Provisional Government), and Karl Steinhardt, a Communist.

The outstanding event of the week in the political field was the unexpected emergence of an Austrian "Provisional Government." The proclamation by the Soviet Government to the Austrians on the 8th April expressed the Russian desire to see established an "independent Austrian Government and a democratic régime in accordance with the terms of the Moscow declaration." It has been assumed, however, in earlier discussions between the "Big Three" that self-government in Austria would have to be gradually built up again with the joint co-operation of the occupying Powers, beginning with local government, and that this would take some time after the occupation of Austria. At present only a part of Austria is as yet occupied by the Russians and, for obvious reasons, the holding of elections will be impossible for some time to come.

The announcement by the Russians, on the 28th April, that a Provisional Government had been formed for Austria under Dr. Karl Renner came as a surprise to Russia's Allies, who had only been informed a few days earlier that Dr. Renner was in touch with the Russian High Command, that he desired to form a provisional Austrian Government representing all parties, and that the Russians did not feel disposed to prevent him doing so. The proclamation of Dr. Renner's committee as a Provisional Government, without further consultation with Great Britain or the United States, has been met by a refusal of the State Department to recognise the new Government and by a protest from this country against such unilateral action. The membership of the new "Government" is distributed between the two major Austrian parties (Christian-Social and Social Democrat) of the pre-Dollfuss era, together with the Communists. Dr. Renner himself, who is 74 years old, is the most distinguished survivor of the Social Democrats of Austria. He was Chancellor of the new Republic from February 1919 to June 1920 and, as Foreign Minister also, headed the Austrian delegation to the Peace Conference. From April 1931 to March 1933 he was President ("Speaker") of the Austrian National Council (Lower House). He was arrested during the suppression of the Socialists by Dollfuss in February 1934 but was later amnestied. He has always had a reputation for moderation and willingness to compromise, but both in 1918 and in March 1938, after Hitler had overrun Austria, he was an advocate of the *Anschluss*. The Social Democrats are also represented by Lieut.-Colonel Winterer (Armed Forces), a regular soldier and a former leader of the Social Democrat *Schutzbund*, and by the Ministers for Food (Kort) and Social Welfare (Böhm). The most important Christian Social Ministers are Leopold Kuntschak (Minister of State), a prominent member of the genuinely democratic wing of his party, but himself the same age as Dr. Renner, and Eduard Heinl, twice Minister of Commerce before 1934, and an anti-Nazi. The three Communists are Johann Koplenig (Minister of State), Chairman of the Austrian Communist Party, an exile since 1934; Ernst Fischer (Education), a former Social Democrat, who fled to Russia after February 1934 and has regularly broadcast from Moscow; and Franz Horner, another exile since 1934, who holds the key post of Minister of the Interior. There are also two non-party Ministers, Dr. Gerl (Justice) and Dr. Zimmermann (Finance).

While agreement in principle has been reached regarding the allocation of zones of occupation in Austria, difficulties have arisen over the allocation of zones in Vienna between the four Powers to be represented in the Control Commission. In response to Marshal Stalin's suggestion (see *P.I. Summary* 290) that the matter should be settled on the spot, British, American and French delegations have been preparing to go to Vienna; but the Russians are now taking the line that the Mission can only go in when agreement has been reached in the E.A.C. on the question of zones and provisional control machinery. The question is being taken up in Moscow.

A Yugoslav request to be allowed to participate in the occupation of Austria was refused by the Allied Governments. The Austro-Yugoslav frontier question is coming increasingly to the fore. An "Austrian Battalion" forms part of the Yugoslav partisan forces in Slovenia, and Yugoslav sources assert that representatives from it have expressed their gratitude for Yugoslav arms and assistance, and a wish that "the Slovene people should have all the rights belonging to it." "We know, therefore," the speaker is asserted to have said,

"that our frontiers must be altered to the advantage of Slovenia." This "advantage" appears to include Villach and Klangenfurt, and the Yugoslav claim is now supported by the presence of some Slovene troops on Austrian soil in this area, where a Slovene partisan force had operated last year but had received little local support and had been withdrawn in September 1944.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

Three highly important victories by the Soviet and Czechoslovak troops have this week dimmed whatever hopes the Nazis entertained of holding the approaches to the Bohemian bastion. Brno, the capital of Moravia and a great industrial city controlling the south-eastern approaches, fell on the 26th April. Moravská-Ostrava, capital of the Silesian industrial complex and guardian of the Moravian Gateway, was entered on the 30th. The same day saw the occupation of Zilina, key town on the River Vah through which pass all the direct communications from the eastern part of the Republic to Bratislava and beyond. Cheb (Eger), the frontier town near Aš, controlling the main routes from Bavaria into Bohemia, was entered by United States troops on the 27th, while other American forces (now joined by a Czechoslovak Tank Brigade from the West) have closed most of the escape routes further south along the whole of the Bavarian frontier. These have penetrated into the Bohemian Forest at Maxberg only 40 km. from the great arsenal city of Plzeň.

The precarious military situation and last minute hopes of escape have driven the Protectorate quislings to attempt an approach to the United States armies. On the 30th April Reichsprotektor Frank, addressing "Czech fellow-citizens" made a long speech against the Košice Government and the U.S.S.R., and emphasised that the Protectorate in common with Germany was struggling against "the enemies of Western culture." A few hours later, Radio Luxembourg reported that Minister Bienert, with the approval of Frank, was seeking to throw Bohemia open to an occupation by General Patton's armies. The Košice radio immediately denied the right of Bienert to act in the name of the Czech nation.

The familiar aftermath of German occupation forms the background of events in the liberated territories. Czechoslovak citizens are being repatriated from prison camps such as Buchenwald (1,200 persons, including Dr. Zenkl the last Lord Mayor of Prague) and Oswieczim (253) aided by the Czechoslovak representative of the War Crimes Commission and the Polish Czechoslovak Union, as well as by the military governments concerned. Army units forced to serve the Nazis in North Italy appealed on Milan Free Radio for instructions to enable them to join the Czechoslovak Armed Forces. Košice radio reported on the 26th April that several hundred political prisoners were hurriedly executed at Bratislava before the entry of the Red army, and at least 4,000 Jews were massacred across the Danube in the suburb of Petrzalka. Of 141,996 Jews (official 1937 estimate) only 5,000 now remain in Slovakia. Mass graves which are being investigated in central Slovakia give evidence of the usual brutality handed out by the Germans in quelling the Slovak rising of last autumn. The Press and Radio report numerous tributes paid by the Government and the Slovak National Council to these partisans. General Svoboda announced that partisans were being absorbed into the newly-constituted Army and some were already attached to officers' training units.

M. Nosek, Minister for the Interior, is visiting Carpatho-Ukraine for the purpose of gathering information on the progress of reconstruction in that part of the Republic.

POLAND.

There is still no information as to the whereabouts of the fifteen representative Poles who, as reported in *Summary* No. 288, met with Red army representatives in Poland more than a month ago, on the 28th March.

At the San Francisco Conference the question of inviting a representative of the Warsaw "Provisional Government" has again been raised by M. Molotov (see under "United Nations"). No progress in arrangements for the projected New Polish Provisional Government has yet been announced.

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His Holiness the Pope has received in audience Cardinal Hlond, the Primate of Poland, who has arrived in Rome from Paris, where he was taken on his release from captivity in Germany (see *Summary* No. 288).

SOVIET UNION.

On the 25th April Marshal Vassilievsky's troops captured Pillau, "the last stronghold of the German defence on the Samland Peninsula" west of Königsberg. Marshal Rokossovsky's troops of the Second Byelorussian Front took Stettin on the 26th April, and have since advanced rapidly. Prenzlau fell on the 27th April, Neubrandenburg on the 29th April, and on the 30th April the coastal town of Greifenwald, 70 miles north-west of Stettin. Potsdam was occupied on the 27th April, and Marshal Zhukov's troops reached Rathenow, 40 miles west of the centre of Berlin. To the south Marshal Koniev's troops have taken Wittenberg and Torgau. The capture of Berlin by the armies of Marshal Zhukov and Marshal Koniev was announced by Marshal Stalin on the 2nd May. Across the northern border of Slovakia Moravska Ostrava was captured on the 30th April, and Marshal Malinovsky's troops have leapt forward to take Brno on the 26th April. No advance has been reported from Austria.

On the 27th April an Order of the Day from Marshal Stalin and a salute of 24 salvoes from 324 guns in Moscow greeted the link-up of the Red Army with the American First Army at Torgau. In a message to the Soviet and Allied troops on this occasion Marshal Stalin reiterated that "our task and our duty are to complete the destruction of the enemy, to force him to lay down his arms and surrender unconditionally."

On the 1st May Marshal Stalin issued his usual Order of the Day. In this he declared that in three to four months the Germans had lost on the Soviet front over 800,000 prisoners and about 1 million killed, as well as a vast quantity of equipment. The Marshal recorded that in these battles Polish, Yugoslav, Czechoslovak, Bulgarian and Roumanian troops had advanced "shoulder to shoulder with the Red Army." Now "Germany is completely isolated and stands alone, if one excludes her ally—Japan." Her attempts to sow dissension among the Allies by peace-feelers were doomed to complete failure. "Mendacious German propaganda," Marshal Stalin continued, "is frightening the German population with absurd stories that the United Nations want to destroy the German people. The destruction of the German people does not form part of the tasks of the United Nations. The United Nations will destroy fascism and German militarism, will sternly punish war criminals, and will compel the Germans to give compensation for the damage inflicted upon other countries. But the United Nations do not touch, and will not touch, the civilian population of Germany, if it will loyally carry out the demands of the Allied military authorities." Marshal Stalin concluded by urging Red Army men to "be particularly vigilant beyond the boundaries of our country," and to "maintain as before the honour and dignity of the Soviet warrior." He ordered a salute of 20 artillery salvoes to be fired in the 16 capitals of the Union republics," and also in "the heroic cities of Leningrad, Stalingrad, Sevastopol and Odessa."

On the 30th April Colonel-General Golikov, Commissioner of the Council of People's Commissars for Repatriation, made a number of detailed allegations against the Wesetrn Allies of dilatoriness in the repatriation of liberated Soviet prisoners of war, and of bad conditions in the camps in which they were detained, particularly in Egypt. He maintained that Russian behaviour to Allied prisoners provided a striking contrast, seeing that practically all the British and American prisoners had already returned home. Many of the Colonel-General's points are much exaggerated; and it must be remembered that transport for returning prisoners of war, British and Soviet, was provided by British ships. In this connexion it is interesting to note that the Soviet Government have now proposed (30th April) that since the link-up of the Allied armies exchange of prisoners should take place in Germany itself, and that they should then be repatriated direct overland, avoiding the circuitous sea route.

Mr. Drew Pearson's recent statement in the American *Daily Mirror*, that American troops had withdrawn from the neighbourhood of Berlin because of a previous agreement that the Russians should be first in the German capital, was vigorously denied by *Tass* (25th April), which maintained that the report was an invention from beginning to end.

On the 29th April *Tass* confirmed from the Soviet side Mr. Churchill's statement that Great Britain and the United States had refused to consider Himmler's

offer of unconditional surrender and had insisted that such an offer could only be accepted if made to all the Allies including the Soviet Union.

Leaflets circulated to the San Francisco Conference by the Governments of Ukrainian and Byelorussian Republics put forward the claims of these Republics not only to join the World Organisation but to participate in the Conference itself. The Ukrainian statement claimed participation on the grounds not only of the constitutional amendments of March 1944 providing the Republic with the right to establish direct relations with foreign States, but also on the ground of its population of 40 million, its area, and its sufferings not only during the present war but during the past thirty years, which made the Ukraine one of the States most interested in safeguarding its security against aggressors. The important contribution of the Ukraine to victory in the present struggle, both through its regular troops, which formed one-fifth of the armed forces of the U.S.S.R., and through its gallant partisans, provided the concluding argument. The Byelorussian claim ran on very similar lines. For the decision to admit these republics, and for the attitude of the U.S.S.R. to the San Francisco Conference in general see under "United Nations."

For the Soviet statement on the formation of the Austrian Provisional Government see under "Austria."

The most ominously outspoken criticism of the Kuomintang régime which has yet appeared in the Soviet Union is published in the current number of *The War and the Working Class*. In an article "Whither China?" M. Avarin criticises attempts by the reactionary Kuomintang leaders to thwart a democratic union of the country for war purposes, and their efforts to hold up economic, political and cultural developments. M. Avarin says that extremely influential Kuomintang elements are stubbornly perpetuating Chinese backwardness, while Japanese victories were helped by Kuomintang defections. Chungking territory is stated to be in economic chaos; "window-dressing, parasitism, bureaucracy, corruption and abuse of power are widespread." Reforms proposed by the Chinese Communist Party are then outlined, including what is described as "real democracy" and "the liquidation of Kuomintang dictatorship." The article concludes with the warning that "unless urgent measures for the democratisation of political life and the creation of national unity are carried out, China cannot occupy the place in the comity of democratic nations that she ought."

See also under "Syria."

The eleventh session of the Supreme Soviet was opened on the 24th April by M. Nikolai Shvernik, chairman of the Council of Nationalities, who devoted his inaugural speech to the memory of the late President Roosevelt. The Law on the State Budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1945 as submitted by the Council of People's Commissars was unanimously adopted at this session, with the incorporation of some amendments proposed by the Budget Commission of the Supreme Soviet. The budget for the current year accordingly stands at 308 milliard roubles (see *Summary* No. 226 for account of the 1944 budget). The provisional estimates of the execution of the 1944 budget as laid before the Supreme Soviet by the People's Commissar for Finance, M. Zverev, show that revenue exceeded 268 milliard roubles (or 106 per cent. of the planned figure), while expenditure rose to 263 milliard roubles (or 105 per cent. of the planned figure). The 1945 budget followed the now conventional pattern of Soviet planned finance. 45·1 per cent. of the entire budgetary expenditure in the current year (137·9 milliard roubles, corresponding to the amount actually spent under this heading in 1944) is allocated to defence requirements. It may be noted that for the first time since the beginning of the Soviet-German war, the U.S.S.R. State Budget for 1945 includes budgets for all the republics of the Union. A larger percentage of revenue from the State Loan and from the war tax will be passed on this year to the Republican and local budgets than previously.

In a recent talk broadcast during Red Army Hour, Academician E. D. Tarle stressed at length certain themes which have frequently recurred in Soviet propaganda in the last phase of the war. The subject of this talk was "The Historical Merits of the Peoples of the Soviet Union before Mankind." "The world will never forget," declared Professor Tarle, "that it is from the Soviet peoples and from them only that the salvation of world civilisation has come." He then analysed in detail his country's "previous historical merits before Europe," concluding that they "pale before the Soviet people's deeds in this war." Finally, the question is asked: what is the main source of our power? "It is the Soviet rule and the powerful Bolshevik party which united all the peoples of our country in a selfless struggle against the German invaders." In a talk some months ago Professor Tarle stated that the Russian people have never

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exercised such a powerful influence on world history as at the present time. In extolling "the superiority of Soviet civilisation" (Tarle) and setting the military achievements of the Red Army in a framework of "the Soviet conscience" and "the moral countenance of our people" (President Kalinin), this line of propaganda seems aimed at countering criticism of Soviet methods in occupied Europe.

SCANDINAVIA.

There has lately been evidence of a significant change of front in the Quisling ranks in Norway. Whereas until recently everything was done to urge the party to prepare for a last ditch resistance on the side of Germany and to encourage active participation in the German war, the note now struck is an appeal to the Norwegian people to observe strict neutrality. There is a report from Stockholm, so far unconfirmed, that the Quisling "Government" has resigned and will be reconstituted with a view to the pursuance of a neutral policy. A curious article in *Aftenposten*, the 27th April, on this subject, distinguishes between the Norwegian State and the Nasjonal Samling Party and attributes to Quisling himself a kind of dual personality. "It is the N.S. Party," says this paper, "not the neutral Norwegian State, which sponsors the Front Volunteer Movement. When Quisling appears in connexion with Front Volunteers it is in his capacity as N.S. Party Leader not as Norwegian Minister-President." To such subtlety has the art of "rowing" now been reduced in Norway.

German sea communications round Scandinavia have been seriously affected by the exodus to Sweden of practically all the pilots of Norway, and a number of those of Denmark, on secret instructions conveyed through the underground movements in those countries.

On the 23rd April, the Norwegian Government in London delivered a reply to the Swedish refusal of their request for mobilisation. It expresses disagreement with the view that this step might stimulate and consolidate German resistance, and considers on the contrary that it would be more calculated to increase the possibility of a German surrender without fighting. In any case, it points out, preparation beforehand is advisable, since a situation calling for Swedish intervention might occur very suddenly. A pronouncement on the same subject, which bears all the marks of official inspiration, occurs in *Norsk Tidend* of the 28th April. This makes the additional point that anyhow "the question as to what risk is to be taken to liberate Norway is primarily one for Norwegians to decide."

The Swedish Riksdag held a secret session on the 27th April to consider further this question of intervention in Norway. It is understood to have given very strong support to the attitude assumed by the Swedish Government. Similar support has been very generally accorded by the press, though there have been reports from apparently reliable sources to the effect that Sweden may be prepared to adopt a different policy if the Germans should attempt resistance in Norway after a general capitulation. It is not altogether certain how far the views of the Norwegian Government are shared in Norway; an attempt to estimate public opinion on this question about two months ago arrived at the result that the bulk of the population was opposed to an eleventh-hour intervention by Sweden. The situation, however, has since been materially modified. On the one hand, the case for saving Norway from a desperate campaign of destruction has grown stronger, on the other, it seems less probable than before that the German forces in the country will persist in a hopeless resistance in the circumstances which now seem likely to arise.

A report from Stockholm published in a London evening paper on the 1st May stated that the surrender of Denmark by the German forces had already begun and a Swedish commission was negotiating with Dr. Best for the disarmament and withdrawal of these troops. On the same day, however, *D.P.T.* stated that no change in Denmark's military or political status had taken place, though it did not dispute the fact of Swedo-German discussions in Denmark. A more categorical denial of the report was broadcast by General Lindemann on the 2nd May over the Danish radio. The situation is probably correctly appreciated in the following statement issued by representatives of the Danish Freedom Council in Stockholm: "Events in Denmark mark the beginning of voluntary German capitulation. But the formal and political consequences of this will not be seen until unconditional surrender is accepted by Britain, Russia and the United States."

The last German troops were withdrawn from Finnish soil on the 27th April. In a broadcast speech on the 29th April M. Paasikivi expressed his satisfaction

with this development and also with the formation of the alliance between the three dominant political parties in the Diet, whom he described as having accepted the programme of the new Government. Most of his speech, however, was devoted to emphasising the serious dangers of inflation.

There is some uneasiness in Conservative and *bourgeois* circles in Finland at the occupation of key positions by members of the extreme Left. The choice of Mrs. Hela Vuolijoki to succeed M. Vakio, who was dismissed for political reasons, as manager of the Finnish broadcasting service, has aroused quite a storm of criticism, but has nevertheless been put into effect. Perhaps an even greater cause for misgiving is to be found in the report that M. Leino, the Communist Minister of the Interior, has handed over to the Soviet authorities at Porkkala a number of Russian refugees from the Czarist period who have been long resident in Finland with Nansen passports. The justification for this step is stated to be that the persons in question have been engaged, since 1918, in political activities directed against the Soviet Union, and that the deportees have been limited to such persons. On the other hand, it is said that these refugees formed a special democratic union, last autumn, with the object of precluding the action which now appears to have been taken.

LOW COUNTRIES.

The Allies have been able to convey some food to the sorely-tried inhabitants of the Occupied Netherlands. A broadcast in German from Radio Luxembourg announced on the 24th April that Allied aircraft would drop food and warned the Germans that any attempt to interfere with these aircraft was a crime against humanity. The news was conveyed to the Dutch in broadcasts from other stations. Radio Orange told them on the 25th that, although only limited supplies could be dropped by aircraft, there was reason to hope that food would also be brought them by other means. The announcement on the 26th that there would be some delay before food could be dropped inevitably caused bitter disappointment, which was reflected in a broadcast from the liberated Netherlands. However, the difficulties were soon overcome and, in accordance with arrangements made with the German Commander-in-chief, food was dropped near The Hague and Rotterdam and elsewhere on the 29th and 30th. It has been agreed that it will be distributed by the Dutch authorities.

Supplies are certainly badly needed. On the 28th—that is before the Allied planes had dropped any food—the free Dutch news agency stated that no more rations could be distributed after the 5th May (see also last *Summary*).

In a speech at San Francisco on the 28th, M. van Kleffens urged the Conference to proceed with its task as quickly as might be in a "spirit of sober optimism." In defining the Dutch standpoint he said: "We are ready to accept certain limitations of that more or less complete freedom of action which hitherto characterised the sovereign State. We should like to see these limitations accepted in the same measure by all States, great and small. If this cannot be obtained at once, and if, together with other medium and smaller States, we are to set an example in this respect, we shall be proud to do it. We fully recognise that, apart from the sovereign equality of peace-loving States, which is a legal concept, there are between them inequalities in the realm of facts which must duly be taken into account. Let me point out, however, that there is in another sense complete equality between larger and smaller States; good and just ideas may and do occur to either category without regard to size or power, and I need not remind anyone that the intrinsic force of good and just ideas is very great."

Much excitement was caused in Belgium by the publication of reports that King Leopold was expected to enter Switzerland very shortly. It was, however, officially denied that the Belgian Government had any news of the King's liberation. The *Drapeau Rouge* was moved by the reports of the King's return to print a leader stating that he was incapable of playing the part of a constitutional king and of being the centre of national unity; his abdication was imperative if dangerous dissensions were to be avoided. The Socialist daily, *Le Peuple*, published a leader entitled "Homage to the Regent," in which it argued that constitutional monarchy was a safeguard of national unity and highly praised the services of Prince Charles to Belgium during his regency. The publication of this article is particularly significant in view of the opinions which the *Peuple* recently (see *Summary* No. 289) expressed about King Leopold.

President Truman has conferred upon the Prince Regent the order of the Legion of Merit (Chief Commander).

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FRANCE.

Mr. Churchill sent General de Gaulle a message of congratulation when the French First Army captured Ulm. Since then French troops have occupied Constance and Friedrichshafen and advanced to the Austrian border. On the Italian front they are reported to have penetrated beyond Bordighera.

A statement issued in Paris after the meeting of the French Council of Ministers on the 27th April said that the Council approved the maintenance at Stuttgart of French military government pending the conclusion of an agreement between the French and Allied Governments defining the limits of the French zone of occupation in Germany. This declaration was made after the publication of a report that the Allied Command had asked the French to evacuate Stuttgart, so that the town might be occupied by the Americans. Unofficial S.H.A.E.F. comment pointed out that the delimitation of zones of occupation was not within S.H.A.E.F.'s competence but that the delimitation of the boundaries of zones of operations between armies fighting side by side in the same area and pursuing the enemy under the strategic plan determined by Supreme Headquarters, depended on the commander of the army group, in this case General Devers, who would determine it in agreement with the army commanders under his orders. A subsequent official S.H.A.E.F. statement, issued on the 28th, said that Stuttgart was an important railway communications and supply centre, which was selected to serve the military requirements of the United States Seventh Army "so that the operations of that army in the defeat of the common enemy be facilitated." Should Stuttgart not be available "a less desirable and less efficient communications and supply centre" would have to be developed. A later Paris report that the Stuttgart incident had been satisfactorily settled presumably implies that the French are still in military control of the city, having successfully adhered to their determination (expressed by General de Gaulle in a press conference on the 25th October, 1944, see *Summary* No. 265) to undertake the military occupation of the territory they capture from the enemy.

Marshal Pétain, with his wife and a small entourage, entered France from Switzerland on the 26th April. He was met at the frontier by General Koenig, the Military Governor of Paris, and taken by special train to the wayside station of Igny, south of Paris, and thence by road under heavy guard to the fortress of Montrouge. The first reaction of the French press to the Marshal's return has been to regard it as "Hitler's V 5," a move carefully planned by the enemy to sow discord in France. The line taken at the Quai d'Orsay is that the Marshal's presence in France at this juncture may prove most embarrassing to General de Gaulle, since it will be used as a rallying point for supporters of Vichy and other collaborationists, and the parties of the Left will at the same time seize the opportunity to press for sterner measures of justice. It has in fact been reported that the Council of National Resistance has asked for special May Day demonstrations to demand the full application of its programme and the Marshal's immediate trial and execution.

General de Gaulle gave a broadcast speech on the 25th April which was mainly an enumeration of France's difficulties at home and abroad. In foreign affairs he once again complained that "our principal allies have not yet realised the necessity of treating with us concerning world affairs in the same way in which they treat with one another." The speech contained nothing new but was a review of France's position on the eve of the municipal elections which he said would restore to the Communes their traditional powers of local government, and would be followed, unless hostilities ceased, by departmental elections.

The municipal elections took place in some 32,000 of the 38,014 communes of France on the 29th April. Apart from the districts still in German occupation, there was no voting in the Haut-Rhin, Bas-Rhin, Moselle and Vosges on account of material difficulties and the impossibility of preparing electoral rolls. Results so far published indicate a marked swing to the Left in the big towns. Thus the Communists have obtained 27 and the Socialists 12 of the 90 seats in Paris, and elsewhere there have been considerable Communist and Socialist gains, apparently somewhat to the surprise of Government circles. The Left Catholic *Mouvement Républicain Populaire* has also made gains, mainly at the expense of the Right. MM. Billoux, Lacoste, de Menthon, René Mayer, Ramadier, Tanguy-Prigent and Tillon, are among the Ministers returned. In Lyons M. Herriot, who is now reported to have been liberated by the Red Army and to have arrived safely in Moscow with Mme. Herriot, was returned by an overwhelming vote, and it has already been suggested that he may be invited to take office if, as a result of the elections, General de Gaulle proceeds to a re-shuffle of his Cabinet.

(See also under "Middle East.")

SWITZERLAND.

The strict precautions at the Northern, Eastern and Southern frontiers continue. In conformity with international law, members and units of the German forces are being admitted when they reach the frontier with their arms—to be disarmed on Swiss soil. It is reported that entire German formations have been queueing up on the main road to the St. Gothard Pass, waiting to be interned On the Italian frontier Italian patriots have been demanding that the Germans surrender their arms and armoured cars and this has caused some difficulty to the Swiss authorities. Several thousand Russian ex-prisoners have reached the frontier in Eastern Switzerland and have been admitted.

It is officially reported that Mussolini reached the Swiss frontier at Chiasso in the early morning of the 26th April and was refused admission.

It transpires that, before he was permitted to cross the frontier, Marshal Pétain signed a written statement declaring that he would not ask for the right of asylum for himself or the members of his suite. There has been general approval in the Press of the decision to allow Marshal Pétain to traverse the country and to turn back Mussolini, Laval, Déat and other prominent refugees.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

On the 20th April the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires called at the Foreign Office in order to obtain further enlightenment on Anglo-Spanish relations (see *Summary* No. 285). In the absence of the Secretary of State the Marquess of Santa Cruz was received by Mr. Harvey who told him frankly that the record of the Spanish Government in the war was such that we could not easily forget those actions which, favouring our enemies, had been much to our detriment. And apart from the past policy of the Spanish Government, there was a further obstacle to friendly relations in the Falange Party, which to us seemed identical in character and aims with the Nazi and Fascist Parties which we had struggled to overthrow. The British people felt bitterly and strongly about this, and His Majesty's Government fully and fairly reflected their feelings. We had no hostility towards the Spanish people; on the contrary, we wished to foster friendly trade with a peaceful and prosperous Spain. We did not wish to interfere in Spanish domestic affairs, and the Spanish régime was a matter entirely for Spaniards. But so long as the present political situation continued Anglo-Spanish relations could be correct, but not cordial. The Spanish Chargé d'Affaires made it clear throughout that Mr. Harvey was preaching to the converted. But it is a far cry from the Spanish Embassy in Belgrave Square to the Palace of the Pardo outside Madrid.

In Portugal, though the situation is outwardly calm, dissatisfaction remains below the surface. Dr. Salazar's solution of the crisis in the early spring (see *Summary* No. 284), which seemed as inexplicable to the observer as the conjuror's trick with the Chinese rings, was achieved without any political concessions to the dissident elements in the Army, who appeared to accept in settlement a 15 per cent. increase in pay. The Army were not alone, of course, in their anxiety about the validity of Portuguese policy during the war; the aged President himself seemed in January to be wavering in his support of his brilliant and dogmatic Prime Minister. Dr. Salazar's recapture of General Carmona's absolute confidence was probably the chief factor in the personal triumph which he then achieved. The skill with which Dr. Salazar handled the most serious crisis of his régime—a crisis which certainly threatened to unseat him—the art he displayed in bringing the President round to his own view, and his uncanny adroitness in manœuvring his opponents into a seemingly spontaneous reaffirmation of unswerving loyalty were one more proof of his domination of the Portuguese people. He is indeed a giant among pygmies.

But, as Gulliver learnt to his discomfort, if a sufficient number of pygmies really make up their minds to tackle the giant there do occur opportunities, even though he may rarely slumber. The pygmies of the Portuguese opposition have plenty of grievances which chafe their minds a good deal more than a study of the press would reveal. They resent the persecution by the *Policia de Vigilancia*. They resent the heavy taxation, the high cost of living, the black market which favours the rich, and the corruption of the *gremios* (employers' associations); and they feel all the more angry when, knowing that the Portuguese State has done well out of the war, they see vast sums being spent on stadiums while hospitals are still lacking and the poor live in misery. When they look further afield they

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are conscious of the present inferiority of their country in the society of nations; they make much of the passive acceptance by the Government of the invasion of Timor and the assassination of Portuguese citizens by the Japanese. They feel that Portugal has suffered by comparison with her daughter Brazil in not declaring war on the Axis. And, fired by a thoroughly human ambition to enjoy freedom without responsibility—which is the Latin conception of democracy—they look enviously towards Great Britain and the United States, and are tempted to think that only a very little revolution would bring them the blessings of the Anglo-Saxon polity. Being perhaps rather more impressed than are the rest of us by the *pronunciamentos* of Don Juan and Señor Maura, they hope that Franco will not outlast Hitler, and that his departure will be followed by that of Salazar. It remains to be seen whether their high hopes are not being over-stretched. We know how clever Dr. Salazar is; but they have yet given no proof of either strength or determination. One thing, however, is tolerably certain. If Dr. Salazar ever becomes really convinced that he is no longer wanted by his people, he will withdraw into retirement as unostentatiously as 18 years ago he emerged from relative obscurity to control the fortunes of the Portuguese State. But he will take a lot of convincing.

ITALY.

This week has brought the virtual end of the war in North Italy. Practically all the main towns of the northern plain, from Genoa to Venice, have been freed, and at the time of writing the Allies have crossed the Piave. In several northern towns such as Milan, Genoa, Turin and Como the partisans themselves liberated the towns, and this has already done a great deal to stimulate self-confidence in the country. In accordance with the agreement already made between the Italian Government and the Allies, the Committee of National Liberation for North Italy has taken over the command until the Allies arrive. The Germans appear to have withdrawn so rapidly that less damage than was feared has, as far as can be ascertained at present, been done to hydro-electric power stations and public works. The port of Genoa is also said to be little damaged and can be used for shipping.

In Milan, contrary to Fascist claims before the event, little attempt was made to hold the town against the patriots, and the Committee of National Liberation took command on the 26th April and inaugurated broadcasts over the Free Milan Radio, issuing ordinances regarding the maintenance of public order, food distribution, the resumption of work in factories, schools, &c., and the repealing of Fascist laws. On the same day the Fascist-controlled broadcasts came to an end except for Trieste transmissions. Colonel Poletti, formerly Allied Regional Commissioner of Rome, who had already been designated Governor of Lombardy, has now arrived in Milan.

Not only has military resistance practically ceased in the North. The short-lived Italian Socialist Republic has also come to an end, with the extermination of Mussolini himself and many of the members of his Cabinet. Mussolini's original intention had been to make with his followers for a "redoubt" in the Val Tellina. But on the seizure of Milan by the patriots he appears to have abandoned this idea and made for the Swiss frontier. He was arrested near Como, together with several Fascist hierarchs, on the 27th April, and on the 28th April was condemned to death by a People's Tribunal and shot in the back by patriots. Other prominent Fascist leaders executed include Pavolini, Farinacci, Starace and Mezzasoma. Their bodies, 18 in all, were subsequently taken to Milan and exposed in the Piazza Loreto, where 15 patriots had recently been shot by the Fascists. The Italian Government has condoned these summary executions. The Northern Committee of Liberation subsequently issued a statement, taking full responsibility for "carrying out a judgment which had already been passed by history," but making it clear that there must be no more acts of violence.

Marshal Graziani, captured by patriots, is now in Allied hands.

Marshal Tito's troops are said to have entered Trieste and fierce street fighting is reported to be in progress (see under "Yugoslavia").

Signor Bonomi has suggested that he should supply a list of persons to the Allied Commission from which he would like prefects and chiefs of police in newly-liberated territory to be chosen. The Allied Commission have pointed out that it must be realised that the local Committee for National Liberation will have already appointed temporary officials. Although permanent appointments

are subject to the approval of A.M.G., the appointment of Prefects locally unacceptable might cause disorder and even the breakdown of administration. Signor Bonomi has therefore been requested by the Allied Commission to propose a candidate for each particular post, but he has been informed that the A.M.G. officer must be free to use his discretion in the appointment either of a Government nominee or of a local C.N.L. candidate or, in certain circumstances, to make a personal choice among other local inhabitants. A.M.G. have been informed that they must do everything possible to secure the appointment of Government nominees providing the C.L.N. agrees.

Signor Togliatti is not finding the task of pleasing everybody easy. Some of the points he made in his speech to the National Council of the Party on the 7th April have, apparently, not been approved, and he has had to make a second speech in order to explain exactly what he did mean regarding the Regency, the Concordat and Italy's relations with Yugoslavia. Signor Togliatti explained that his proposal of a Regency only applied if the Constituent Assembly was unavoidably delayed and that even so he would not commit himself until he had had an opportunity to discuss the suggestion with the Communists in the North. The question of the Concordat had arisen because Signor Togliatti felt that the Church was using its religious power on the masses to influence their political opinions and principally against Communism. As regards Italo-Yugoslav relations Signor Togliatti said that reactionary and conservative forces were making use of the situation to disrupt a firm anti-Fascist front and to split the democratic front as well. In a third speech after the collapse of the German Army, Signor Togliatti emphasised the fact that, with the liberation of the North, changes in the Government were not sufficient, but that a complete transformation not only of the Government but also of policy was necessary.

The Italian Ambassador in London has been authorised to inform his Government that the use of French troops in Italy was solely dependent on military necessity and had no political significance. It appears, however, that, for military reasons, it will not be possible for French forces to penetrate to any depth into Italy.

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

Admiral Horthy has been found in Bavaria by American troops, who have taken him into protective custody.

The British Political Mission followed the Military Mission to Budapest and arrived there on the 24th April.

Further progress in the restoration of public services was marked by the proposed re-establishment of internal postal services in all districts except Transdanubia on the 1st May, and the resumption of broadcasts from Budapest on the same date. A low-powered transmission only was to be used and that for only six hours daily.

Substantial rises in workers' wages were to be introduced, wages of unskilled workers being increased by 130 per cent., of skilled workers by 110 per cent. and of miners by 180 per cent.

Roumania.

In the *Summary* of the 4th April, reference was made to the extension of Soviet control over the navigation of the Danube. There is no desire on our part to interfere with necessary measures during hostilities, but at the same time His Majesty's Government does not want to give the impression that we are not interested. In the opinion of the responsible officials on the spot, the course of events needs to be watched with some care. Under Article IX of the Armistice Roumania is under obligation to surrender to the Russians for the duration of the war, all Allied vessels in her ports. As was the case with the oilfields equipment, there are different views as to what is covered by this provision. Russia would like to include all Greek vessels. The Roumanian Ministry of Finance in conjunction with the Directorate of the Maritime Danube has drawn up a decree authorising a loan of one milliard lei for lengthening the dykes on the lower Danube and along the Sulina channel. At the same time the Soviet authorities have allowed the Administration of the Iron Gates and Cataracts to negotiate with the Roumanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs for 60 million lei for improvements from Turnul Severin to Moldova-Vecha.

There are still a good many mines left in the river, and the Russians would like our help in clearing these. They have been doing it themselves at the cost

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of lives and vessels belonging to the riparian States. The river could be used for the transport of goods for relief purposes, and also for general commercial traffic. We have not offered to help and the Russians appear to be reluctant to invite our assistance. A result of the present state of affairs may well provide an excuse for prolonging control of navigation.

Other trade matters are assuming importance. Experts in such matters feel that the time has come for development of trade with Roumania. Puchases by us would assist in the relief of Czechoslovakia and Poland as well as other countries. We are prepared to take in exchange amongst other goods, maize, window glass, timber and petroleum products, and such an arrangement would help Roumania to meet her obligations under the Armistice agreement. Meanwhile a Trade Delegation has left Bucarest for Moscow. Roumania is also prepared to make exchanges with Turkey which also would help in executing armistice obligations. For this permission has to be obtained from Russia, and no doubt the presence of a delegation in Moscow will forward a settlement of the question.

There is a considerable amount of political activity going on and there is an undercurrent of feeling that some members of the Government are not entirely acceptable to the Russians. There is some expectation that the Government may not survive for long.

A visit has been made by a doctor and some members of the Control Commission to a Soviet hospital in a provincial town. The report on this visit is of interest in showing that some common criticism of Soviet ways and methods is due to misunderstanding of a people with whom there has been little contact, and whose civilisation differs in many particulars from that of Western Europe. Here the Russians were dealing not with prisoners of war or internees in concentration camps, but with their own sick and wounded men. The party was shown round by an army medical officer. It was obvious that the visit had been carefully prepared for. Signs of recent cleaning were to be noticed everywhere, but when all was said and done, the condition of the wards fell so far below the standard expected in hospitals to which we are accustomed as to place it in a different category altogether. The visitors were shown round with evident pride, the conductor and staff being apparently quite unconscious of such things as the filthy condition of bedclothes, of the lack of proper sanitary arrangements, and of the childishness of the attempts at sterility. It was noticed that the hands and finger-nails of the nurses in charge of the sterilising room were far from clean. Truly, it takes all sorts to make a world—or to conquer one.

Yugoslavia.

The enemy appear to have completely evacuated Bosnia and Slavonia. Yugoslav forces have crossed the Italian frontier into Istria, and others the Austrian frontier into Carinthia. On the 30th April it was announced that Yugoslavs were fighting in Trieste. The Triestini have long feared this development and desperately hoped for the arrival of the British and Americans.

Hebrang, the Communist Minister for Industry, has made an important speech. He said that the Government were applying a strict and complete plan of economic controls. He emphasised that the Government and the Presidium of A.V.N.O.J. have enacted a drastic law against "economic sabotage." The law mentions sixteen forms of such sabotage, but adds the all-embracing statement that it includes "any act, or failure to act, aimed at interfering with or endangering the orderly and speedy working of economic or transport undertakings, shops or farms, as well as anything that could damage the interests of the State's economic policy." The law prescribes as penalties fines, forced labour up to ten years, confiscation of property, or death. Action can be taken against a business either on information by an individual or "by way of official duty." The Minister said that the Government's measures, including the new currency law (see preceding *Summary*, p. 16) had dismayed the "racketeers and saboteurs" (*i.e.*, the business community); and that it was said that the peasants would not sell their produce at the low fixed prices. (In fact the food markets in Belgrade have emptied.) But, he said, the peasants would sell, because the Government would assure the speedy supply of manufactured goods at moderate prices. Further, he said that the increased wages of workers would result in better work. And he ended with a demand for intensified work all round. The totalitarian yoke is indeed being fitted to the Yugoslav people's necks.

Two months have now passed since the Crimean Conference recommended that A.V.N.O.J., the Partisan's supreme Assembly, should be enlarged to include all pre-war Deputies, who had not collaborated with the enemy. All that has been done to fulfil this recommendation is that "a committee has decided" on certain new members to be admitted as from Serbia and Macedonia; and that the same is being done for Bosnia-Hercegovina and Montenegro. Croatia's and Slovenia's turns will come when they are free of the Germans. But a high official has said that membership of the Front is necessary for admission to A.V.N.O.J.; and the Democratic (Grol's) Party has refused to join the Front. The whole matter seems academic for A.V.N.O.J. has not sat since November 1943, and the revolution is being carried out in virtue of legislation by the Government and A.V.N.O.J.'s Presidium.

Although Partisan sources declare that Albanians enjoy complete liberty in Macedonia, a formidable Albanian revolt is reported to have been in progress, west and south-west of Skoplje, for some weeks. Six Yugoslav brigades, as well as other forces, have been engaged, and some thousands of Albanians are reported to be in prison or deported.

The Macedonian Government appears to attempt some independence. Their trade delegation, sent to Athens to buy cotton, was recalled on instructions from Belgrade that foreign trade is under the central Government's control. The new Macedonian Premier, Kubishevski, lectured the Assembly on the serious danger of Macedonian separation.

Education in Macedonia is reported to present interesting features. In the primary schools the Serb language is banned. The text-books are mainly in Bulgarian. The history text-book, written by Tito, deals only with the Russian and Yugoslav revolutions of the 20th century. The French schools in Skoplje and Bitolj remain suppressed, as do the two Moslem colleges in Skoplje. The only foreign language taught is Russian.

On the Greek frontier south of Bitolj there is much activity and concentration of troops.

Greece.

The Central Committee for Greek claims has cabled to the Foreign Minister urging him to demand the "liberation of the Greek territories of Northern Epirus, North Macedonia, Thrace, Eastern Roumelia, and all the Greek islands of the Mediterranean." The Committee has also urged Admiral Voulgaris to take such steps as are appropriate to bring about the union of the Dodecanese with Greece, and have asked him for information on the way the question of Northern Epirus is being handled. Dodecanesian residents of Athens and Piræus held a large meeting on the 23rd April and enthusiastically endorsed resolutions of union with Greece already proclaimed by several of the islands.

There was a considerable amount of press comment on M. Tsouderos's allegations that Monarchist Military League had been formed within the army. *Rizospastis* clamoured for purges and arrests and for the disbandment, not only of the League, but of "X" and E.D.E.S., while Right-wing papers took the line that the League was a necessity for the time being; there was still a danger of a Communist outbreak and the League was unlikely to be dissolved at present. M. Tsouderos is reported as having said that "more than one" League had been founded in the Middle East, on the pretext of "supporting legality"; the press, however, concentrated on one organisation whose charter it published in full; this was S.A.N. (Syndesmos Axiomatikon Neon, or League of Young Officers). Among the objects set forth in the charter were the following: to combat all party or anti-national propaganda within the army; to assist in the creation of a national army to help the Allies; to resist any new attempt against "lawful authority" from whatever quarter and to impose order. By "lawful authority" was meant any Government appointed by the King until such time as a plebiscite was held; the King was recognised as the Supreme Authority. (No mention was made of the Regent, who was appointed by the King, and whose Government is a legally appointed body.) In consequence of M. Tsouderos's revelations, Admiral Voulgaris has issued an order of the day to all the armed forces bidding them devote themselves to their duty and warning them that the Government will not tolerate the formation of any Military League, while the Regent has issued a warning that any army officers found to have been engaged in activities against the State will be dismissed.

From various sources believed to be reliable, information has been received about the state of opinion in the northern provinces. In the town of Florina, it is reported, there is a majority of Right-wing sympathisers, many of them E.D.E.S. men; in the surrounding villages E.A.M. is in the majority; in the district as a whole E.A.M. is losing ground to the Right; a Centre Party would find little support. In Epirus, the former stronghold of E.D.E.S., the majority

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On the 27th April Suzuki held a conference with Army and Navy leaders to "discuss measures for ensuring victory," as *Domei* put it. Among those present were the War and Navy Ministers, Anami and Yonai; the Chief of the Army General Staff, Umezu; the Chief of the Naval General Staff, Admiral Oikawa; and the Vice-Chiefs of the Army and of the Navy General Staffs, Lieut.-General Torashiro Kawabe and Vice-Admiral Jizaburo Ozawa.

The Japanese Press has had much to say about the San Francisco Conference. The *Mainichi* (25th April) asserted that, after the death of President Roosevelt, the U.S.S.R. had seen an opportunity to play the leading rôle at the Conference and had therefore decided after all to send its Foreign Minister there; the *Yomiuri Hochi* (27th April) took the same line. The Polish question was, of course, played up by all the Japanese papers, the *Chubu Nippon* (28th April) saying that it threatened the life of the Conference. The Japanese press eagerly anticipated that the Conference would fail or that at any rate future disputes between the "Big Three" would soon render any results nugatory. In this connexion the *Chubu Nippon* asserted that the question of what to do with Germany would cause more trouble than the Polish problem, because the Russians already controlled Poland, whereas Germany would be divided among "diametrically opposed Anglo-American and Soviet systems." The *Nippon Times* (28th April) anticipated a conflict over China; it alleged that Washington had abandoned "the so-called Lattimore line" of trying to bring about a rapprochement between Chungking and Yenan. It was now supporting Chungking because, said the *Nippon Times*, although "the Kremlin continued to maintain its enigmatic silence," Washington appeared to be already convinced of the advisability of taking precautionary steps against Moscow to safeguard American interests in China.

The *Mainichi Shimbun* has published a sixty-page booklet entitled "Catholicism in Nippon," written by Josef Roggendorf. According to him there are 120,000 Catholics in Japan proper, but they are representative of all classes and their influence is far greater than their numbers would suggest. There are over 400 parishes, organised into five dioceses and eight apolostic vicariates and prefectures. 135 out of about 300 priests are Japanese; there are 1,213 Japanese nuns and 772 foreign sisters. Since 1940 all the large administrative districts and the direction of all major social and educational establishments have been entrusted to Japanese. Roggendorf considered that Catholicsm n Japan was registering a slow, but steady, advance.

The Chungking Radio (29th April) said that the Japanese advance in Western Hunan continued and that, since they began to advance on the 8th April, the Japanese forces had covered about half the distance to Chihkiang. Their forces were said to include five divisions of the Nanking puppet army. The Japanese were reported to have 250,000 men in south-western China and if they took Chihkiang they would be free to move most of these to defend the Hong Kong region against a possible American landing.

There has been a reshuffle of the Nanking puppet officials. Chu Min-yi, the Foreign Minister, has been made Governor of Kwangtung Province and Peace Commissioner at Canton; Li Sheng-wu, the Education Minister, becomes concurrently Foreign Minister. General Pao Wen-yueh, Chief of the General Staff of the Nanking Military Council, has been made Governor of Honan and Peace Commissioner at Kaifeng; his post of Chief of Staff has been taken over by General Hu Yu-kun, a member of the North China Political Affairs Commission (*Domei*, 26th April).

General Chen Cheng, the Chinese Minister of War, declared on the 25th April that Chinese military casualties since the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War totalled 3,100,000 men. While certain non-combatant military organisations were being abolished, the War Ministry was recruiting 500,000 men for front-line duties in order to bring China's combat divisions up to full strength. In order to put a stop to the illegal seizure of conscripts the Government were planning to open conscription offices, to punish severely press gangs involved in illegal conscription activities, and to set up a system of supervision over conscription.

General Chen Cheng appears to be making a gallant effort to cope with the herculean task of reforming the Chinese military administration, but from his own remarks it is clear that he is only at the beginning of his labours. The *Ta Kung Pao* (19 April) said that a conference was to be called to discuss the improvement of the conditions of military service, as the emergency recruitment of troops for this year had already been completed. It was good news that, for a time at least, the forced recruitment of troops would be suspended. For months

past letters had been pouring in from all over the country describing the state of terror caused by the methods of recruiting. Those responsible for recruiting "had acted like ravenous wolves" and, where one recruit might have been necessary, ten had been seized. Peasants working in the fields had been dragged off or had fled; this would have a disastrous effect on food production. The paper demanded a strict investigation into such abuses and said that the Government could never expect the soldiers to fight well, while such things went on.

Dr. Wong Wen-hao, Chairman of the War Production Board, declared in Chungking on the 28th April that the production of basic raw materials in Free China had increased by 21 per cent. since November 1944, when the Board was inaugurated. He gave figures to prove this, adjusted so as to be comparable in purchasing power. He hoped to keep production expanding, although he said that it was a long and uphill road.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The report of Himmler's offer on the 28th April was generally regarded as a ridiculous last-minute attempt to split the Allies. Later in the day an Associated Press statement, on the authority of "a high American official," that Germany's surrender had actually been received threw the United States into a ferment. Radio bulletins spread the story and Saturday evening crowds gathered in public places like Times Square, New York, to hear the expected peace proclamation. Excitement died quickly when President Truman's laconic *démenti* was broadcast soon after 9·30 p.m.: "I just got in touch with Admiral Leahy and had him call our Headquarters—the Commander-in-Chief in Europe—and there is no foundation for the rumour." The news ageney has been taken severely to task for "shabby play with human emotions," and Senator Connally, who admitted expressing the opinion that he expected "momentarily" an announcement that Germany had surrendered unconditionally, has also come in for some criticism. A strong impression that the European war would be all over in a few days persisted.

Apart from the irrepressible Drew Pearson, who felt that the opening session "had the atmosphere of an undertaker's parlour" and the isolationist newspapers which continue to attack the whole idea of "another League of Nations," the San Francisco Conference has had a favourable press so far. President Truman's "admirably-phrased" message of welcome was applauded, particularly for its emphasis on "the keynote of justice." This point is taken up in a significant article, in the issue dated the 30th April of the influential magazine, *Life*. After surveying the imperfections of the Dumbarton Oaks scheme, the writer suggests that the World Charter should "recognise the eternal principles of justice and law," by codification of international law and definition of aggression. More power, it is urged, should be given to the Assembly, and the Security Council should be able "to take action short of force by vote of seven members, including any three of the Big Five." The charter should also declare "a set of principles for colonial policies," and an International Bill of Rights should be adopted at San Francisco. Ten years hence the Signatories should meet again and review their handiwork.

There was gloom over the apparent Polish deadlock in the days immediately preceding the opening of the Conference, but comment was more than usually restrained and responsible. The exertions of Mr. Eden, Mr. Stettinius and President Truman, in their interviews with M. Molotov, were duly appreciated. Moderate Conservatives groaned at Russian intransigence, but refrained from attacks on the Soviet Union, and the Liberals did not this time accuse the State Department or the Foreign Office of "supine" or "reactionary" attitudes. Only the Scripps–Howard and kindred combines continued to declare that they were tired of being "pushed around" by Russia. The chairmanship controversy at San Francisco was similarly handled in the American press; Anne McCormick of the *New York Times* asserted that the American delegation viewed the compromise as a "ninety per cent. success for American diplomacy." The addition of the Ukraine and White Russia to the future General Assembly was taken as a foregone conclusion and their attendance at the Conference itself as a necessary corollary. Anxiety over the various difficulties with the Soviet Union was somewhat relieved by the news of the formation of a Provisional Austrian Government. "It makes the European picture much brighter," wrote Max Lerner in

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P.M. "This is a representative group, not a puppet Government; we could not have done better ourselves," declored Raymond Moley. Acting Secretary of State Grew, however, pointed out to newspaper correspondents on the 30th April that this Provisional Government had not been recognised by the United States Government and that the whole question was being taken up with the U.S.S.R., "whose troops are now in occupation of Vienna."

The consultants to the United States U.N.C.I.O. delegation, representing some forty national organisations, held their first meeting on the 26th April and were assured by Mr. Stettinius that they would be kept regularly informed of the proceedings and that their advice would be sought. Speaking on the following day to members of about a hundred other organisations with observers at San Francisco, Commander Stassen revealed that the American delegation had worked out a concrete trusteeship plan, which might serve as a chapter in the San Francisoo charter. (See under "United Nations" below.) This question is likely to attract more and more attention in the American press as the Conference goes on. Newspaper and radio comment ranges from the jingoes, who clamour for satisfaction of the legitimate claims of the United States, to Liberals of the Lippmann school, who cannot see how the gradual "decolonising" of dependent areas through international action is to be realised if the United States insists on sovereign rights in Pacific islands, and perhaps elsewhere, which it would deny to other Powers. There seems, nevertheless, to be not inconsiderable support for the demand, voiced most loudly by such newspapers as the *New York Daily News*, for outright possession and heavy armament for "purely strategic places" and "a firmer hold" on Atlantic bases leased from Britain.

A number of further steps towards post-war arrangements have been taken in the United States during the week. Mr. Edwin W. Pauley, treasurer of the Democratic Party's National Committee, has been appointed "personal representative" of the President, with the rank of Ambassador, to assist in "exploring, developing and negotiating the formulæ and methods for exacting reparations from the aggressor nations in the current war." Mr. Pauley will represent the United States on the Reparations Commission, with Dr. Isador Lublin as his associate. Judge Rosenman has presented a sombre report to the President on his investigation of civilian supplies for the liberated areas of north-western Europe, and an equally sobering joint statement on food problems was issued in Washington on the 30th April by British, Canadian and American representatives who have been holding discussions. Mr. Rosenman affirmed that responsibility for providing a substantial share of supplies would fall on the United States and that a cut in American food rations would be necessary. The Office of Price Administration announced on the same day a reduction in the basic sugar allotment on each ration-book from 24 lb. to 15 lb. per annum. Meanwhile the War Department has already recognised what is popularly described as "the VE situation" by ordering substantial reductions within the next thirty to sixty days in supplies of Army material. Although the War Production Board has permitted certain industries, such as those producing farm machinery and automobiles, to place orders for tools and equipment, it is not anticipated that there will be any large-scale reconversion until the Japanese war is settled.

LATIN AMERICA.

The repercussions in Buenos Aires of the liberation of Paris last August took the Argentine Government by surprise, and the demonstrations which then occurred not only administered a severe shock to the military régime but left little doubt about the true feelings of the Argentine people. The example of Paris has not been lost upon the many enemies of the Farrell Government, nor upon the Farrell Government itself; and on the 25th April the Federal Police issued a statement that demonstrations in celebration of the fall of Berlin would be forcibly suppressed. This, coming from an ally (however belated), produces a strange effect. The Patria Libre movement in Montevideo, however, has broadcast appeals that everyone should go out in the streets and demand freedom. Clashes, therefore, seem probable.

Meanwhile, some sort of crisis occurred during the week-end of the 21st–23rd April. A number of persons were arrested on a charge of being implicated in a plot against the Government, and official statements were published on the 26th and 27th giving the Government's versions of what had happened. The first of these declared that the plot derived from Trade Union

disturbances resulting in the frigorífico strikes and a campaign of alarmist rumours; all such manœuvres were "cloaked under democratic guise although carried out by complete reactionaries," and the object was to "impede the war effort and split Argentina." The second, and fuller, communiqué, accused the conspirators of being inspired by Patria Libre, the Asociación de Mayo and the exiles in Montevideo, of aiming at "civil war and of intending to assassinate all the leading members of the Government and to burn down their houses." The communiqué declared that General Espíndola (who was not concerned in the putsch of 1943) was to take command, and it implicated a number of other retired officers. Those "detained in order to decide their degree of culpability" included General Tonazzi, a former Minister of War, General Rawson (celebrated for his brief Presidency of twenty-four hours), Sr. A. Ghioldi, the Socialist leader, Sr. Noble of *La Nación* and Sr. Santamarina, the ex-Minister of Finance. All these persons appear to be eminently respectable, and despite official attempts to confuse the issue by dragging in the Nationalists, the arrests seem to have been directed almost exclusively against liberal, conservative and constitutionalist groups now known in Argentine terms as "Communists and reactionaries."

On the 27th, the President and Minister for Foreign Affairs assured Sir D. Kelly (who had arrived in Buenos Aires on the 25th) that the situation was under control, the President adding that he could not fix a date for elections until "tranquillity" was restored. The fact that the plot was apparently aimed at all the members of the Government and not particularly against Colonel Perón seems to have smoothed over, for the moment, the dissensions in the Government itself. Indeed, the affair could hardly have been more conveniently managed if Colonel Perón had invented it himself. The Colonel had earlier, on the 23rd April, issued a denial that the interests of the country were being subordinated to his "alleged candidature for the Presidency." He did not, he said, aspire to be President, would vigorously oppose any efforts to this end, and would not become "official candidate" for any position in the future Government, "since we must end the system of officially managed successions." He added, however, that he considered it necessary to ensure the continuity of the revolution's achievements and to work for the unity of all Argentines. This presumably means that there will be no elections for the time being.

Meanwhile, the San Francisco Conference, apparently moved by the other Latin American Governments, has agreed to invite Argentina to join the Conference. (See also "United Nations.")

UNITED NATIONS.

The San Francisco Conference.

Scope of the Conference.—The President of the United States has issued a warning that the Conference is not "the Peace Conference," but has before it one task only—the inauguration of an organisation to safeguard peace. This warning was needed in view both of widespread misconceptions in the United States and elsewhere and of the appearance in San Francisco of representatives of all kinds of interests (including, *e.g.*, Calendar Reform) which hope to make their voices heard. While the Dumbarton Oaks proposals (especially those for an economic and social council) might seem to open the door to a swarm of reformers, it is the British view that all detail of this type (*e.g.*, plans for drug control, international health organisations, &c.) should be left over for later expert discussion. Only if the Conference restricts itself to its proper task can it achieve the speed called for by Mr. Stettinius or justify Mr. Eden's hope that its work will be done in four weeks.

Organisation.—The procedure of the Conference is directed by a Steering Committee, consisting of the heads of the 49 national delegations. This committee is advised by a executive committee on which sit the heads of the delegations of the United Kingdom, the United States, the U.S.S.R., China, France, Australia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Mexico, the Netherlands, Persia and Yugoslavia.

Membership.—The Conference has agreed to admit the Ukraine and White Russia as initial members of the organisation and invited them to attend the Conference. M. Molotov rested their case on their special contribution to the war and their independence in matters of foreign policy. Czechoslovakia proposed that the Warsaw "Provisional Government" should be invited, but in the end the Conference restricted itself to expressing sympathy with the

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Polish nation and the hope that Poland would yet be represented at the Conference by a Government agreed on in accordance with the Crimea decisions. Argentina has also been invited to attend. This was a *quid pro quo* demanded by the Latin American States for the admission of the two Soviet Republics. But M. Molotov voted against it on the committee and opposed it in plenary session, particularly on the ground that Poland had not yet been admitted.

Chairmanship.—A difference of view on chairmanship manifested itself at the outset between the United Kingdom and the United States, who favoured the presidency of Mr. Stettinius as head of the Delegation of the inviting Power, and the Soviet Union, who pressed for a chairmanship rotating among the heads of Delegations of the four sponsoring Great Powers. This was resolved by a compromise whereby chairmanship of the Plenary Session rotates between the four sponsoring Powers, while Mr. Stettinius is to be Chairman of the Steering and Executive Committees. Thus prestige and efficiency should both be adequately safeguarded.

Charter Proposals.—The other sponsoring Powers have accepted three Chinese additions for the Charter: that disputes should be settled with due regard for the principles of justice and international law; that the Assembly should promote study and revision of the rules and principles of international law; and that the Economic and Social Council should promote cultural and educational co-operation. Uruguay's proposal made at the fourth Plenary Session, that the powers of the Assembly should be increased, is likely to have considerable support. There is a demand that non-permanent seats on the Security Council should be specially allocated to States which are ready to make a substantial contribution to the forces at the disposal of the Council for maintaining peace. The question how best to achieve this is one of some difficulty. The suggestion which has been put forward of an enlarged Council is open to objection, as it would make the executive body of the Organisation unwieldy and lead to undesirable manœuvring for places. The United States Government is reported to have formulated proposals for trusteeship for dependent territories on the lines that there should be two classes of territory: (A) strategic areas in territory at present under mandate or to be detached from the enemy; (B) the remainder of such territory. Both classes should be under United Nations supervision; but, in (A) territory, the mandatory should be responsible for rendering reports to the Security Council on the security aspect of its administration; while, for (B) territory, the United Nations should exercise supervision in respect of trusteeship through a body responsible to the General Assembly.

Charter Revision.—In their opening speeches, Mr. Eden and Mr. Stettinius both said that the Charter now to be adopted would be open to later revision. This assurance may help some delegates to accept points in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals which they do not like, but on which they would not wish to wreck or delay the work of the Conference. But they may wish to propose that the Charter should contain express provisions for its own revision, perhaps after a stated period. (Uruguay suggested that the method of electing the Security Council should be reviewed after eight to ten years.)

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 292

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
9TH MAY, 1945.

Copy No. 141

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

THE unconditional surrender of all German armed forces in every theatre of the European war to the three major Allies—Great Britain, Russia and the United States—was officially announced to the world by Mr. Churchill at 1500 hours (B.D.S.T.) on Tuesday, the 8th May. The surrender had been signed by General Bedell Smith, Chief of Staff to General Eisenhower, and by General Jodl, Chief of the German General Staff, at Rheims on Monday, the 7th May. It was to take effect from 1201 a.m. on Thursday, the 10th May. A further ceremony of surrender took place in the early hours of Wednesday, the 9th May, in Berlin, when Marshal Zhukov, for the Soviet High Command, and Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur Tedder, Deputy Supreme Commander of the Western Allies, received the surrender of Field-Marshal Keitel (OKW), General-Admiral Friedeburg (OKM) and of Colonel-General Stumpff (OKL). The signature of this document of surrender was witnessed by General de Lattre de Tassigny and by General Spaatz. Those signatures confirmed the final destruction of Hitler's Third Reich and of the rule of force and fraud which had been imposed by it on Europe.

The final surrender of all the German forces followed on a series of partial capitulations. On the 2nd May it was announced by Field-Marshal Alexander from Allied Headquarters, Mediterranean area, that all forces under the command of General von Vietinghoff-Scheel had surrendered unconditionally and that the surrender would become effective from 1200 G.M.T. on the 2nd May. The instrument of surrender had been signed on the 29th April by two German officers, one representing Vietinghoff-Scheel, the other Obergruppenführer Karl Wolff, Supreme Commander of the S.S. and police in Italy. The German forces covered by this surrender were all those in Italy to the Isonzo river in the

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north-east as well as all those in Vorarlberg, Tirol and Salzburg, and in parts of Carinthia and Styria. All told these forces numbered almost a million men.

On the 3rd May Hamburg was surrendered by its commander, General Woltz. On the 4th May Field-Marshal Montgomery reported to General Eisenhower that all enemy forces in Holland, North-West Germany and Denmark, including Heligoland and the Frisian Islands, had surrendered to the 21st Army Group as from 0800 hours B.D.S.T. on the 5th May. This instrument of surrender was signed, on behalf of the Germans, by General-Admiral von Friedeburg, Admiral Dönitz's successor as Commander-in-chief of the German Navy, General Kinsel, Chief of Staff to Field-Marshal Busch, and two other officers. On the same day remnants of the German 9th and 12th armies surrendered to the American 102nd infantry division on the Ninth Army front, and in the afternoon of the 5th May the German Army Group "G," commanded by General Schulz and comprising the German 1st and 19th armies, surrendered to General Devers, Commander of the 6th Army Group. Even before the final surrender, therefore, the unsurrendered German forces were confined to the pockets along the French coast and on the Channel Islands, those in the Mediterranean islands, the forces in Norway, the divisions still opposing the Russians along the eastern front, some still facing the Americans in Czechoslovakia and Austria, and the forces engaged with Tito's troops in the Balkans and Southern Austria.

The policy of surrender in the west but not in the east has been clearly expressed throughout the week by spokesmen of the German Government. Early on Saturday morning (5th) an appeal to soldiers of the centre, south and south-east groups of German armies was broadcast from Dönitz himself, admitting that the struggle against the Western Powers had lost all meaning, but that other troops must still fight on in order to "save as many Germans as possible from Bolshevisation and enslavement." The new Head of the State assured the troops that his every act, military or political, was undertaken towards this end of sparing German lives. Those who at such a moment thought only of their own life would be treated as traitors. A broadcast from south-eastern Germany explained that this policy of fighting to save life meant holding out "until an ordered withdrawal of the women and children from the danger zone of Bolshevik destruction and enslavement" had been achieved. A Forces broadcast from Norway announced (also on the 5th) that "the struggle against Bolshevism is being continued with determination and stubbornness by the German armies under the command of Field-Marshal Schröner in eastern Saxony, western Silesia, the northern Protectorate and in the north-east of the Ostmark."

Much the same had already been said to the German people by Reich Minister Speer on Thursday, but in terms less logical in form and more difficult for the ordinary German to understand. The state of Germany, Speer said, could be compared only with what it had been during the Thirty Years' War. He affirmed that the whole reason preventing Dönitz from ceasing to fight was the necessity of reducing the risk of famine and disease. Yet he denied that Germany was still in any sense master of its fate, which now rested entirely with the enemy. The main burden of the speech was an appeal to avert chaos in Germany by intensifying that "constructive spirit" whereby German workers had repeatedly overcome the damage caused by Allied air-raids. Speer urged that "the understandable lethargy" caused by terror and disappointment must disappear and that, if famine were to be prevented, urgent railway repairs must be attended to (even by the most primitive methods), that industry and trade must facilitate such repairs, that food transport must have priority, and that farmers must increase still further their delivery quotas.

Before admitting that things had come to such a pass as this, the German Government made somewhat obvious attempts to continue its policy of splitting the Allied coalition. On the 2nd May, the new Foreign Minister broadcast a rather confused denunciation of the San Francisco Conference, in later versions of which a passage was added to the effect that the world was faced with a fateful decision between chaos and order, peace and war, life and death. Even after the surrender of the German north-western forces, Radio Wilhelmshaven broadcast a speech by its Deputy Gauleiter, the content of which was really quite incompatible with such a surrender. It implied that very few divisions had actually surrendered, as the majority had been transferred to the eastern front and that her western enemies would one day recognise what Germany had achieved in order to save them from Bolshevism.

In almost all the speeches mentioned above stress was laid upon Germany's "heroic fight" which would, said Speer, one day meet with the admiration of just history, and which merited generous and decent treatment from the victor.

The latest pronouncement so far received, an address to troops in Norway by General Böhme on the 7th, urged Germans to remain what they had always been —decent, patriotic soldiers. But the most outspoken utterance on these lines occurred in a speech by Gauleiter Konrad Henlein on the 6th May, the final passage of which was a defence of the settlement at Munich in 1938 of the Sudeten question. This agreement, said Henlein, remained for the Sudetens the legal foundation of their membership of the German Reich, and to the world it could not become "a scrap of paper." The States, which in 1938 had decided on the separation of German from Czech territory in Bohemia, had thus taken over a moral guarantee, confirmed by the "most objective critical examination" made by the Runciman Committee. Henlein entreated Sudetens to believe that Right remained Right and was on their side.

It is as yet uncertain whether the Allied Powers will recognise Dönitz' Government, or any new body of Ministers to whom Dönitz may delegate the powers which he claims to have received from Hitler, as the Government of Germany. The present Government, so far as evidence now goes, must be presumed to consist of all the Ministers of Hitler's Government, except Göring (Air), resigned the 24th April; Goebbels (Propaganda), reported to be dead; Ribbentrop (Foreign Affairs), replaced by Schwerin-Krosigk (for whom, as Minister of Finance, no substitute has been announced); Bormann (reported killed), von Neurath and Hans Frank (captured by the Allies), and Hitler himself. The remaining Ministers are as follows: Thierack (Justice), Funk (Economics), Backe (Food and Agriculture), Seldte (Labour), Hierl (Leader of the R.A.D.), Speer (Armaments, Building, &c.), Rust (Science and Education), Dorpmüller (Transport), Ohnesorge (Posts and Telegraphs), Rosenberg, Lammers (Chief of the Reich Chancery), Meissner, Frick (Protector of Bohemia and Moravia), Seyss-Inquart (Commissar for Occupied Netherlands), K. H. Frank, and Keitel, Chief of the High Command.

During the last stages of the Nazi régime the principal party leaders have, not unnaturally, withdrawn from the limelight. Hitler's body has not been found and one of his personal physicians emphatically denies the probability of death from cerebral hæmorrhage. No convincing evidence of his death has indeed, yet been provided, though it remains inherently probable. The bodies of Goebbels and his wife and children have been found by the Russians. Death is attributed to poison. Göring, with his wife and child, has been captured by the Seventh Army in the Tirol. Bormann, head of the Party Chancery, was said by the German-controlled Prague radio on the 6th May to have been killed in fighting the Russians in the Reich Chancery, but this broadcast attributed the death of Goebbels to the same cause and, in any case, the source is more than tainted. Of Ley, or Himmler and his chief S.S. henchmen—Kaltenbrunner, Berger, &c.—no definite information is available. Stockholm reports suggest that many high Nazi officials are in Norway and it may be that some will be now found there. Others would seem more probably to be in the mountainous areas of the south. But, of the most notorious party figures, at present none of the first rank and only Hans Frank (Governor-General of Poland) of the second rank has, as yet, fallen into Allied hands.

At a moment when Germans in almost every fighting zone seem anxious to lay down their arms, the writ of Admiral Dönitz has been disregarded in one important area. The German radio station in Prague refused to recognise the surrender order issued from Flensburg and ordered German forces in the Protectorate to fight on. Not only so, but the city of Prague, which Dönitz had on the 3rd May declared a hospital town, has been the scene of a rising of Czech patriots against the German garrison. Although the American forces had advanced beyond Pilsen, and were considerably nearer to the city than the Russians, still over a hundred miles to the east, the patriots' appeals for help broadcast throughout the 5th and 6th, could not be answered at once, and it appears from German reports that the Germans were attempting to suppress the revolt throughout the 7th. This was done by troops given the savage order by General Schörner to "crush all Czech resistance with all modern means of war." The German efforts were never wholly successful and on the morning of the 8th May it was reported by the B.B.C. that negotiations for the unconditional surrender of the Germans in Prague were being conducted. But since then, although Russian troops are said to have occupied Prague, there have been further reports of brutal activities by groups of S.S. men both in Prague itself and in other parts of Bohemia and Moravia.

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AUSTRIA.

The so-called Austrian "redoubt" has been split into isolated fragments by rapid Allied advances from several points. Passau, Braunau and Wasserburg were captured by the American Third Army, which went on to take Linz—declared an open city by the Gauleiter—on the 6th May. The provinces of Vorarlberg, Tirol, and Salzburg, and parts of Carinthia and Styria, were included in the general surrender of the forces commanded by General von Vietinghoff Scheel to Field-Marshal Alexander on the 2nd May. Salzburg surrendered without a fight, and Innsbruck has also fallen. General Patch's Seventh Army advanced through the Brenner Pass to make a junction with General Mark Clark's Fifth Army on the 4th.

Eigruber, the Gauleiter of Oberdonau, continued to broadcast exhortations and messages to the people from Linz until the 4th May, when he denied "surrender rumours spread by enemy stations with regard to Carinthia, Styria and the Tirol." Outside Linz the fighting was to go on. The tone of his utterances, however, was far from confident, and while urging continued resistance to the American forces he made it plain that the real enemy was Russia, and that no real opposition would be offered to the Western Allies. He prepared the population for immediate occupation by them, warning them to refrain from looting and hoarding food. He said that the Volkssturm would offer its services for the maintenance of order, "provided the occupying Power agree to this." Scheel, the Gauleiter of Salzburg, announced on the 6th that he had ordered the Volkssturm to be transferred into a *Land und Stadtwacht*, under the order of the "competent administrative authorities," to help the police and maintain order.

There is still little news from the part of Austria occupied by the Russians. A Moscow-controlled station broadcasting to Austria on the 2nd May described conditions in Vienna, where most districts were said to be lit once more, many factories working, and concerts and cinemas were open. In the districts occupied by the western Allies, the first liberated Austrian radio station began to broadcast on the 2nd May. It announced that General Leclerc's armoured troops coming from Bregenz had entered Dornbirn, and using the pre-1938 Austrian interval signal—a metronome—it relayed French and American programmes in German, and appealed to other Allied radio stations for equipment. On the 3rd this station, known as Radio Vorarlberg, claimed that it had prevented Gauleiter Hofer from broadcasting an appeal for further resistance. Another station, apparently also under the control of Austrian patriots, issued a warning on the 3rd on behalf of the "Executive Committee of the Austrian Resistance Movement," that no arms were to be carried in the streets. Arms were only to be carried by forces installed by the Austrian Resistance Movement to maintain peace and order, and recognised by the United States authorities. The same station later gave a list of the members of the "Executive Committee of the Austrian Resistance Movement for the Tirol," many of whom were from Innsbruck.

The deadlock of the question of the Provisional Austrian Government, and on the zones of occupation in Vienna, continues. A Russian broadcast on the 2nd May said that Dr. Renner's Government had assumed office. At noon on the 29th April the members walked in procession from the Town Hall to Parliament, amidst scenes of "enthusiasm and joy," and the first solemn session took place. Despite the patronage they have lent to its formation the Soviet Government have not yet formally recognised this Government. The French Ambassador in Moscow has added his protest to those of the United States and Great Britain, whose Governments continue to press for the speedy departure of the Allied Missions to Vienna, in the hope that some progress may be made towards the solution of this difficulty and of the question of zones, when our representatives are on the spot. M. Molotov, in reply to Mr. Stettinius, said that he did not think the discussions of the zoning in the E.A.C. should constitute an obstacle to the immediate despatch of the Missions, and said that he would report to Moscow and try to meet us on this.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

Nowhere has the indeterminate character of the last days of the war been more in evidence than in Bohemia. The Czechs themselves, fearing the demoralising effect of the long years of German occupation and propaganda, were perturbed that no rising on which national revival could crystallise had taken place as it

had in Slovakia. Those fears at any rate have been relieved; and first reports from the patriot-controlled Prague radio in the early hours of the 6th May suggest that a good deal of careful preparation and valour had gone into the planning. The order of events is still obscure, but it seems that an organised rising under the leadership of the Czech National Committees took place on the 5th May, and that a truce was arranged with the occupying troops who, however, broke the truce. Prague itself had been declared a "hospital city" by Dönitz on the 3rd, following on his decision to permit the International Red Cross to set up headquarters to care for the thousands of sick and wounded driven there within the tightening Allied ring.

It is doubtful if considerations of a humanitarian nature were the sole factor in this decision; Dönitz announced at the same time a reconstruction of the Protectorate Government which had previously sought a safe-conduct for the German forces in return for a capitulation to the Americans.

After the seizure of the radio by Prague patriots, the German and Quisling leaders continued to queer the issue by broadcasting from a station some miles north of the city, denying the general capitulation order, particularly with regard to the Russian front and retailing all the items of news considered likely to appeal to the Czech *bourgeoisie*—the Polish "crisis" at San Francisco, the Trieste "crisis," the "correctness" of the German soldier, and, of course, Bolshevik atrocities.

The presence of General Vlasov's Russian Army near Prague may indicate another deliberate attempt to confuse relations between the Allies. The patriots nevertheless knew that many of these men had joined the Wehrmacht only to escape the labour battalion, and when appealed to over the radio early on the 6th they came in force to the assistance of their brother Slavs. German troops were disarmed west of Prague, the city surrounded and finally entered. The patriots continued to call for Allied help throughout the 6th and 7th and after the general cease-fire order, which was disregarded by the Nazis. This final treachery, condemned by the German High Command itself, has undoubtedly destroyed whatever sign of compromise the Czechs might have displayed on the question of the German minorities.

The German-controlled radios in the Republic have made repeated reference to the anti-Beneš Czech and Slovak elements in the United Kingdom and the United States. These, such as the National Councils in London, generally discredited by the bulk of their fellow nations, have proposed an Allied military control of Czechoslovakia. A last fitful attempt to create division was made on the evening of the 7th in a curious broadcast in Slovak, claiming to speak for the Independent Slovak Republic and its President (Tiso) and denying the surrender order. It was not until 1·30 a.m. on the 8th May that Prague could report the cessation of hostilities.

The American and Soviet armies did not succeed in relieving Prague before the final capitulation, but American tanks, after capturing the great armaments centre of Plzeň, pushed on through Beroun to within a few miles of the western suburbs. Soviet forces, aided by Czechoslovak soldiers and airmen, completed the occupation of the heavily-defended Silesian industrial area, and joined forces with their other spearheads driving from Brno to capture Olomouc.

Meanwhile, life in Slovakia is returning gradually to normal. Bratislava, only moderately damaged, has been added to the territories already administered by the Slovak National Council for the Košice Government. Reconstruction work will be considerably speeded up now that U.N.R.R.A. supplies for Czechoslovakia are being unloaded at Constantsa.

POLAND.

After the Secretary of State's inconclusive conferences with Mr. Stettinius and M. Molotov in Washington, reported in *Summary* No. 289, further discussions, which were renewed early last week at San Francisco, gave a brighter promise. M. Molotov expressed himself hopeful of a speedy solution. It seemed that objections to M. Mikolajczyk had been overcome, since M. Mikolajczyk's statement on his attitude to the Crimea Agreement; and that nothing stood in the way of an early summons of Poles to Moscow for consultation, except perhaps the question of the proportions in which the new Provisional Government should be compounded of new Ministers and of the existing Warsaw Administration.

But over all these discussions hung the cloud of uncertainty as to the position of the representative Poles who had been reported by the London Polish Govern-

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ment as having gone to meet the Red Army General Ivanov on the 28th–29th March. Suddenly this uncertainty was ended by M. Molotov's announcement on the 4th May that the two parties referred to had been arrested on the charge of "diversionary activities against the Red Army." A *Tass* statement, given below under "U.S.S.R.," specifies charges of "sabotage in the rear of the Red Army" and of "maintaining illegal radio transmitters in the rear of Soviet troops"; *Tass* connects the charges emphatically with one of the arrested persons, General Okulicki, who, after serving under General Anders while the latter was still in the U.S.S.R., returned to Poland and was appointed successor to General Bor-Komorowski after his surrender following the crushing of the Warsaw rising.

The Secretary of State, after consultation with Mr. Stettinius and M. Molotov, issued the following statement from San Francisco: "The British and United States Governments have been making persistent enquiries of the Soviet Government about a group of prominent Polish Democratic leaders who were reported to have met the Soviet military authorities in Poland for discussions at the end of March. They have now been officially informed by M. Molotov on behalf of his Government that these leaders have been arrested on a charge of 'diversionary activities against the Red Army.' Mr. Eden and Mr. Stettinius immediately expressed their grave concern to M. Molotov at receiving this most disquieting information after so long a delay, and asked him to obtain a full explanation concerning the arrest of the Polish leaders, a complete list of their names, and news of their present whereabouts. The Foreign Secretary has reported this most serious development to His Majesty's Government, and has informed M. Molotov that meanwhile he cannot continue discussion on the Polish issue."

It has been indicated, also from San Francisco, that Mr. Eden's action has the entire support of the Prime Minister.

The Polish Government in London on the 6th May issued a statement giving the names of 15 persons who had gone to meet General Ivanov, and repeating the information it gave early in April as to the manner in which the meeting was arranged. This, they stated, took place in consequence of an invitation, received by the delegates in Poland of the London Polish Government from representatives of the Red Army, to discuss the reorganisation of the Provisional Government coupled with a specific invitation to General Okulicki to discuss the disbandment of the "Home Army."

As to the technical charges, the existence of the London Polish Government's delegates and their organisation in Poland is undeniable, as is likewise the fact that it still maintains a wireless communication with the Poles in London. It is also believed that the Home Army, though its members have been disbanded, still retains a skeleton organisation. These organs of the London Polish Government continue side by side with the *de facto* Warsaw administration and the Red Army. This clash of authorities seems inseparable from the situation in which one Government is recognised in London and another in Warsaw.

However, if the charges are persisted in, it can only be applied logically to the Delegates and the Home Army Commander, who together form only one-third of the number of persons "arrested." The majority of the mission consisted of representatives of political parties, who had no administrative responsibility. In any case, it seems extremely improbable that any of the 15 persons named, all men holding positions of responsibility, should have had a part in the deaths of 100 Red Army officers and men, as suggested by *Tass*. Some fatal incidents have occurred, but the evidence goes to show that the persons responsible for excesses in Poland have at least on some occasions been General Vlasov's forces or Ukrainian S.S. groups, both under German command; while on the Polish side there have been excesses committed by the N.S.Z., an extreme Right-wing irregular force which has long defied the orders of the Polish Government delegates and is also alleged to have had German support.

It is difficult to see how the conflict can be ended except by the formation of the new Provisional Government which will then be recognised by the three Great Powers. It is a misfortune that this incident has served to prolong the very state of divided loyalties which alone made it possible for it to occur.

As to the question of wireless transmission, while its technical illegality must be admitted, it cannot be overlooked that had it not been continued it is doubtful whether news of the mission and arrest of the 16 Polish representatives would ever have reached London.

The National Homeland Council, which is the nominated legislative body to which the Warsaw administration serves as an Executive, met last week for

the first time in Warsaw. It ratified the Treaty with the U.S.S.R., recently signed; it approved the promotion of General Zymierski to the rank of Marshal; and confirmed certain "ministerial" changes, of which the most important was the appointment of M. Wincent Rzymowski as "Foreign Minister," a post hitherto held by the "Prime Minister," M. Osobka-Morawski.

SOVIET UNION.

Another link-up between Allied forces was reported on the 3rd May, when Soviet troops under Marshal Rokossovsky, after an advance during which Rostock was captured and enemy forces cleared from the island of Rügen, contacted the British Second Army along a 60-mile front from Wismar to Wittenberge. On the 5th May the capture of Swinemünde, on the Baltic Sea, was announced. During the capture of Berlin reported in last week's *Summary*, about 134,000 Germans were reported to have been taken prisoner; in the pocket south of Berlin more than 60,000 Germans were killed and about 120,000 were taken prisoner. Further advances were made during the week south-west of the city. A hundred miles to the south of the capital, Dresden was occupied on the 8th May, while the day before the capture of Breslau, after a prolonged siege, had been completed. Slower progress was made in Czechoslovakia, but troops of the 4th Ukrainian front took Tesin on the 3rd and Olomouc on the 8th May, while Marshal Malinovsky's forces have continued their offensive east of Brno.

No news of Germany's unconditional surrender was given in Moscow until 1 a.m. on the 9th May, when the Soviet Home Service relayed the terms of the instrument of unconditional surrender signed in Berlin on the 8th May. At the some time it was announced that the 9th May was to be a public holiday to be celebrated as the Day of Victory, and all Soviet State institutions were instructed to fly the State flag of the U.S.S.R. for the occasion; the broadcast ended with the National Anthems of the U.S.S.R., Britain, the United States and France. Fighting continued on several sectors of the Soviet-German front on the 8th May.

The official Soviet statement on the House of Commons questions concerning the disappearance of the Polish leaders, the alleged arrest of Witos and the reports of shootings of Poles in Siedlce was issued by *Tass* and broadcast on the 6th May. The facts as given by *Tass* were that the group of Poles referred to consisted of 16, not 15, persons, and that their leader was General Okulicki, who was mentioned as being an "especially odious person" and therefore conveniently passed over in silence by the British reports. This General and his group were accused by *Tass* of diversionary acts which resulted in the loss of the lives of over 100 Red Army officers and men and of illegally maintaining wireless stations in the rear of the Soviet troops. They had not "disappeared" but were arrested by the Soviet military authorities and were under examination in Moscow. The reports about the shootings in Siedlce were dismissed as "fabrications from beginning to end," which had evidently been planted on the Members of Parliament concerned in the enquiries by Arciszewski agents. The report of the arrest of Witos was also stigmatised as completely false. (See also under "Poland.")

The report of the Extraordinary State Commission for Investigating Atrocities on the Oswiecim concentration camp, compiled in February and March, was published by *Tass* on the 7th May. The camp was said to cover 467·5 hectares, and always to have contained from 180,000–250,000 prisoners. The account contained lurid details of "conveyor-belt" extermination of prisoners, of whom a total of 4 million were said to have been put to death; according to *Pravda's* editorial, the Oswiecim camp surpassed everything hitherto known in technique and cruelty. *Pravda* concluded with a solemn warning that these crimes would not be forgotten and that the Hitlerite scoundrels responsible would be found out in any hospitable neutral country or any uninhabited island, or at the very bottom of the ocean. British accounts of Belsen and Buchenwald have been reported briefly in the Soviet press, but they were not linked with Maidanek and Oswiecim in this *Pravda* indictment.

In *The War and the Working Class* (No. 8) M. A. Sokolov attempts to analyse the "Soviet and Anglo-Saxon conceptions of Democracy." M. Sokolov agrees that Soviet and Anglo-Saxon conceptions of democracy are fundamentally different as "the economic basis of society in the U.S.S.R. differs from that in England." There are, however, some very sharp references to the practice of democratic Powers in colonial countries and to the present state of affairs in Greece. "English democratic rights," asserts M. Sokolov, "are enjoyed only by

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the inhabitants of the metropolitan country whereas the far more numerous inhabitants of the British colonies . . . . are still waiting vainly for democratisation, freedom and independence. It is well-known that there is not even a whiff of democracy in colonial countries." A democrat "in our days" is defined as one who resolutely fights Fascism, while those who believe that democracy can be inaugurated by restoring pre-war forms of political life in many European countries are denounced. "In truth," argues M. Sokolov, "this life, for instance in Poland, Yugoslavia, Greece and Finland, had little in common with democracy." "Quite apart from universally known cases of the grossest violation of democracy in European countries like Greece," adds M. Sokolov, "it is sufficient to recall the state of affairs in the colonial world." "In Belgium, Holland, Denmark and Norway the political structures were honeycombed with reactions. . . . The liberated people therefore want a forward-looking democracy. . . . . Yugoslavia and Roumania have taken the first steps. The Polish people were building up their new life on democratic principles." This authoritative expression of the Soviet point of view shows how far the Anglo-Saxon and Soviet conception of democracy are at variance.

The Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. has issued a Fourth State War Loan to the amount of R. 25 milliards for a period of twenty years. (For the conditions of issue of the last Soviet State War Loan, see *Summary* No. 240.) The shares of the loan and the revenues therefrom, including prizes, are to be exempt from State and local taxation. As in previous issues, the Fourth State War Loan consists of a lottery and an interest issue. The former issue will be floated among the population while the latter is to be taken up by agricultural cartels and associations for the joint cultivation of land. In announcing this new war loan, the People's Commissar of Finance, M. Zverev, stated that it would be utilised for the "final defeat of Hitlerite Germany and the reconstruction of the country." Immediately after M. Zverev's speech, the Presidium of the Central T.U. Council met to organise an all-union campaign to launch the loan among the workers of the Soviet Union and to explain its importance.

The Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. has celebrated the 50th anniversary of the invention of radio-telegraphy by the Russian scientist M. A. S. Popov (1859–1905), by a decree honouring the inventor and instituting various measures for the future promotion of radio science. A Popov gold medal is to be awarded annually to a Soviet or foreign scientist for outstanding work or inventions in the sphere of radio; the 7th May is to be set aside every year in the U.S.S.R. as Radio Day; several scholarships for students are to be established at technical institutes in Leningrad and Moscow, and the daughters and granddaughter of M. A. S. Popov are awarded pensions by the State.

Much publicity has been given to M. Herriot's sojourn in Moscow after his liberation by the Red army, and his address urging Franco-Soviet co-operation was broadcast (4th May).

The Soviet Ambassador to Italy, M. A. Kostylev, presented his credentials to Prince Umberto on the 28th April.

For General Vlasov's eleventh-hour attempt to secure a homeward passage by assisting the patriots of Prague to disarm German troops, see under "Czechoslovakia."

SCANDINAVIA.

The official liberation of Denmark took place at 8 a.m. on the 5th May, when cease fire was proclaimed in accordance with the terms of surrender. Fighting, however, continued in Copenhagen for some little time, between the patriot forces and fanatical Germans, who were supported by fire from their ships in the harbour; to an even greater extent the struggle took the form of a round-up of Danish collaborators.

At noon King Christian and the new Prime Minister, M. Buhl, broadcast to the Danish people to celebrate the liberation of the country, and to announce the formal appointment of a constitutional Government. This consists of 18 members, but an inner Cabinet of 10, representatives of all parties, has been appointed to deal with urgent problems. Seats in the Government are equally divided between the old politicians and the Freedom Council. While there are said to be only two representatives of the Communist party, Aksel Larsen and Alfred Jensen, Prof. Mogens Fog and M. Frode Jacobsen, who are also included, are generally considered to be in close sympathy with Communist views. M. Arne Sörensen's party, Dansk Samling, is represented by M. Sörensen himself and

by M. Juel Christensen. The representatives of Danish resistance abroad, M. Christmas Möller, who becomes Minister for Foreign Affairs, and M. Kaufmann, appear to have been reckoned in the Freedom Council contingent, which also contributes the Minister of Justice, M. Busch Jensen, the drafter of the new penal laws, who is believed to have no party affiliations. The politicians consist of four Social Democrats, including the Premier and M. Hedtoft-Hansen, two Conservatives, MM. Ole Björn Kraft and Fibiger, two Liberals and one Radical. The new Government is only expected to hold office till the elections which will probably be held in the autumn. The Rigsdag has been summoned for the 9th May.

Norway has had to wait for liberation until the general capitulation of the 7th May. Until nearly the end of last week there was considerable apprehension in Norway that the Germans would make the country a final focus of resistance. On the 5th May, however, after a consultation with his Ministers, Quisling broadcast a conciliatory speech appealing for calm and order and expressing the willingness of his Government to collaborate with all active forces in the country in the endeavour to escape civil war. This passive attitude was generally accepted throughout the Quisling Party, though Jonas Lie struck a somewhat more bellicose note in a proclamation published in *Germaneren* on the 5th May and in a speech delivered on the same day. In the latter he said "it is our duty to fight so that our culture may survive."

On Monday night General Böhme, German Commander in Norway, conveyed the fact that capitulation in a somewhat tactlessly worded order of the day, in which he laid the blame on Count von Krosigk, claiming that "we are standing here undefeated and strong as before. No enemy has dared to attack us," and expressed the hope that his forces would be dealing with men who would respect a soldier's honour, and emulate the disciplined attitude which the Wehrmacht had displayed towards the Norwegian people.

Apart from a harmless and natural demonstration outside the Möllergaten Prison, calm seems to have prevailed, though as late as 10·30 a.m. on Monday the German police had made arrests in Oslo. At 6 p.m. the Swedish radio reported that an Allied Naval Force of forty-eight ships was entering Oslo Fjord, and stated that a landing was expected at any moment.

In preparation for the resumption of control by the constitutional Government, the Minister of Justice, M. Terje Wold, recently broadcast from London, announcing the supersession of the legislation promulgated in Norway by the Germans and their puppets, in favour of previously existing Norwegian law and the provisional ordinances drawn up by the Government in London. To this clean sweep of laws and orders made in Norway during the occupation there would, said M. Wold, be a few exceptions, covering such technical matters as price control and rationing, and such things as the provisions made by the Administrative Council in 1940.

LOW COUNTRIES.

At 8 p.m. on the 4th, a broadcast informed the Dutch that the German forces in the Western Netherlands had agreed to surrender unconditionally. The surrender came into force at 8 a.m. on the 5th. Twelve hours later Queen Wilhelmina, who together with Princess Juliana had recently arrived in the Netherlands, broadcast to her subjects. She expressed her joy at the completion of liberation and her gratitude to the Allies. She ended her speech with a reference to the great tasks that lay ahead: "Under the yoke of the oppressor we have rediscovered ourselves; our energy has reawakened. Now is the time to prove our mettle. Our balanced character, our centuries-old civilisation and our spiritual driving force will undoubtedly give us a strength in action by which we will show the world what we can do . . . . More than ever are we united in spirit with our fellow subjects of the Empire—in the Netherlands East Indies—who are still suffering so bitterly under the enemy's yoke. May the hour of deliverance soon dawn for them too—and through our efforts."

Since the 29th April (see also last *Summary*) large quantities of food have been daily sent to the Western Netherlands. As soon as the Germans had surrendered, arrangements were made for their speedy removal from their present quarters to designated prison camps. There is evidence that some S.S. troops—many of them Dutch traitors—disobeyed orders and fired on Dutch civilians and on the Dutch Forces of the Interior—whom General Blaskowitz agreed to regard

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as regular troops at the time of his surrender. But no possibility now remains of serious opposition to the Allies. Mussert, indeed, has been arrested by British troops.

It is to be noted that the Dutch at this moment of extreme need have been receiving aid from Belgium in the form of supplies and the services of doctors. The Dutch Ambassador to Belgium has expressed the gratitude of his countrymen in a broadcast from Brussels and expressed his belief that co-operation between the Netherlands and Belgium will be close, cordial and successful.

In a speech at the fourth plenary session of the San Francisco Conference, M. Spaak thus defined the point of view of the Belgian delegation. "Let the Great Powers be freely accepted leaders. We have confidence in their strength and experience. But they, on their part, should not forget that we are less inclined than they to trust in power which, indeed, we lack, and see in their respect for justice and law the supreme safeguard of our existence. Because of that preoccupation we cannot but hope, as do other delegations, that the juridical and moral bases of the new organisation will be more clearly defined."

The executive committee of the Belgian Socialist Party has passed a resolution to the effect that there will be dissension in Belgium should King Leopold return and automatically resume the exercise of the regal functions. The Socialist Party, therefore, must oppose the immediate restoration of power to the King and support any initiative tending to induce the King to abdicate The text of this resolution was published on the 4th and aroused much controversy. The Catholics take the line that the regency should be terminated by the King and reject the suggestion that it is for Parliament to declare it at an end. There are no precedents to follow; feeling on both sides is likely to be strong, and a major political crisis may well occur. It may be noted that M. Spaak has been recalled from San Francisco in view of impending events.

FRANCE.

General François Sevez, on behalf of France, signed at Rheims the Act of Unconditional Surrender of all the German forces on the 7th May. General de Lattre de Tassigny was one of the signatories of the ratification of the Act at Berlin the following day.

Before the cessation of hostilities the First French Army advanced into the Vorarlberg, took several towns in Austria, and on the 4th May received the surrender of the 24th German army. French forces also liberated the island of Oléron.

According to the French home service the French Government support the British and American Governments in their refusal to recognise the Provisional Government sponsored by the Russians in Austria. The French Mission for Austria, headed by M. Baudet, is now in Italy with the other Allied Missions waiting to proceed to Vienna.

The Foreign Affairs Commission of the Consultative Assembly has proposed that the Government should seek to obtain the inclusion of economic clauses in the terms of the German armistice. These would provide for the delivery to France of food and all kinds of raw material, the replacement of livestock and the allocation of prisoner-of-war labour. The Commission has also called for a Reparations Commission on which France would be represented and has asked the Government to negotiate the immediate transfer of the Saar coal mines to French ownership. A majority considered that this transfer should also carry with it the political annexation of the Saar territory. The Commission was unanimously in favour of putting the Ruhr under international mandate and opposed to the creation of a Rheno-Westphalian State. A majority advocated a security zone along the whole of the German left bank of the Rhine and held that this should be an international zone, and, like the Ruhr, controlled by an international force. In a press conference at San Francisco M. Bidault also has stated that the Ruhr must be placed under international control. At the same time he said he preferred to treat the idea of a Rheno-Westphalian State with reserve.

Among the prominent Frenchmen freed by the Allied armies are MM. Reynaud, Daladier, Léon Blum, Delbos, François-Poncet, Albert Sarraut, and Ybarnégaray, and Generals Gamelin and Weygand. Colonel de La Rocque was also found. Mr. Churchill has sent messages of congratulation to MM. Herriot, Reynaud, Daladier and Blum.

Although the final results of the municipal elections, save in Paris, will not be known until after the second ballot, it is clear that the swing to the Right which had been expected in the provinces as a reaction against the claims of the

Resistance Movement has not occurred, that the women's vote has not been the Conservative influence it was expected to be, and that the country has moved to the Left. In spite of apparent apathy, public interest in the elections was considerable. In Paris, 80 per cent. of the electorate voted and the two most striking things about the results were the sweeping victory of the Communists, which would have been still greater but for the system of proportional representation in force, and the success of the *Mouvement Républicain Populaire*, which has clearly benefited from the mass of former Conservatives and Radicals who sought to vote further to the Left without going quite as far as the Socialists. The latter party has emerged with no great gains but has maintained its strong pre-war position. A number of Deputies and Senators who voted for Pétain in 1940 and were ineligible have been returned in country districts, but will be unable to assume office until the *Jury d'honneur* has rehabilitated them. The press interprets the election results as a victory for the ideas of the Resistance Movement, and the National Council of Resistance published a statement on the 5th May expressing deep satisfaction at the results, and at the May-Day demonstrations which followed the elections, and asking that General de Gaulle should now put an end to the period of waiting and introduce the new régime for which the country had voted.

In Algiers May-Day celebrations were marred by a clash between the police and Arab Nationalist demonstrators. There were other demonstrations elsewhere and, although the official communiqué admitted only three deaths in the whole of Algeria, it is believed that in Algiers alone one policeman and about ten Arabs were killed and three policemen and twenty-five Arabs wounded.

Mme. Pétain has been arrested on a charge of collusion with the enemy. The French wireless has stated that Rear-Admiral Bléhaut, the former Vichy Minister for the Navy, who accompanied Pétain on his return to France, will be tried by the High Court and that the chief witness for the prosecution in the trial of the Marshal will be M. Reynaud.

(See also "Spain and Portugal" for the problem of Laval, and "Middle East" and "United Nations" for other French news.)

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

On the 2nd May, after spending several days on the Austro-Swiss frontier trying to persuade the Swiss authorities to give him sanctuary, Pierre Laval, accompanied by his wife and four other French persons, of whom Abel Bonnard, ex-Vichy Minister of Education, was the most interesting, landed at the Barcelona airfield in a J.U. 88 German bomber. Their arrival being quite unexpected, they were detained at the airport. Laval and Bonnard have since been taken to the well-known fortress of Montjuich in Barcelona where they are being held *incomunicados*. Inasmuch as Laval is the first notorious traitor who, entering a neutral country unasked, has been refused asylum, his case is of some interest.

On the same day the Minister for Foreign Affairs told the United States Ambassador that, except for Mme. Laval, the party would be ordered to leave immediately, and, if they refused, that they would be handed over to the Allies. Laval, speaking on the telephone with Señor Lèquerica himself, not unnaturally was reluctant to relinquish what he hoped was going to be a congenial climate. However, he was ready, he said, to give himself up for judgment by an Allied tribunal, but he was not going to surrender to the French. He was therefore interned in the Montjuich prison.

His Majesty's Government and the United States Government are agreed in the opinion that, since Laval is not a United Nations war criminal, this is a matter for the French and Spaniards to settle. For their part, the French Government have not been backward in sharing the same view, and, while recognising that there were no legal grounds upon which they could demand the extradition of M. Pierre Laval, they did instruct M. Truelle, their non-accredited Minister in Madrid, to call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs to request that Laval, who is now, at least to us, hardly more than a "triste individu en cravate blanche," should be delivered across the frontier into their hands. The United States Ambassador and Mr. Bowker, His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires, have together also urged this course on the Minister.

But this simple solution does not suit the Spaniards at all. Franco-Spanish relations are not good, the representatives in both capitals are still only unofficial, and although Laval's descent upon Barcelona is embarrassing to the Spanish Government, General Franco is not the man to shy at the chance of showing

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contumely to a neighbour who, once guilty of the solecism "Il n'y a plus de Pyrénées," has been a source of frequent annoyance ever since. And he backs his "pointe de malice" with reasons, rather good reasons. Señor Lequerica, well primed with the adjectives of international law, argued that to hand over Laval would be tantamount to extradition. Spain had no agreement with France which would permit that; it would be a measure which would constitute a flagrant violation of all the principles of international law and justice; it would create a most dangerous and objectionable precedent. Extradition of political offenders had never taken place between France and Spain, and if the Spanish Government were now to extradite Laval it would raise at once the thorny question of the Spanish political refugees in France. Not that they looked upon Pierre Laval as a welcome visitor; on the contrary his presence was an embarrassment. They would agree to any arrangement for his rapid departure save that of crossing the frontier from Spain into France. Let him be taken away by any Allied warship or merchantman, let him go to Gibraltar, let him go anywhere but to the Pyrenees. So now the ball is back in the Allied court. It is for the French to say how they would like it to be played.

It is reported from Madrid that on the 7th May the German Chargé d'Affaires was summoned to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and informed that relations between Spain and the Third Reich had ceased.

Some surprise and indignation have been shown among the Allies at the decision of the Portuguese Government to pay protocolary tribute to the alleged memory of Adolf Hitler. All official flags, including those of the large British-built Navy, were flown at half-mast. Indignation is permissible, but this gesture should surely not cause surprise, at least among the readers of this *Summary*. It is absolutely of a piece with Dr. Salazar's character, meticulously formal, rigidly remote, icily abstract. The gesture was not a condonation of Hitler's criminal lunacy, but a precise, detached observance of diplomatic usage. Dr. Salazar has, however, been rather shaken by Allied resentment, and, in reply to our representations, has tried to make amends for his quite explicable lack of tact by closing the German Legation and other Nazi establishments. Never have the Portuguese Government been known to act so quickly.

ITALY.

The unconditional surrender on the 2nd May of the German Army in Italy under the command of General von Vietinghoff-Scheel to Field-Marshal Sir Harold Alexander marked the first step of the complete collapse of Germany. The first contact between Allied and German representatives apparently took place last February, but owing to various difficulties amongst them—that of keeping Himmler in the dark—the pourparlers took two months. The number of men involved was a million and the area surrendered included all North Italy up to the Isonzo together with the Austrian provinces of Vorarlberg, Tirol and Salzburg as well as parts of Carinthia and Styria.

Mr. Churchill sent Signor Bonomi a message of congratulation on the liberation of Italy and the part the Italian regular forces as well as the patriots have played in the defeat of the Germans. Mr. Churchill also expressed his satisfaction that comparatively little damage had been done to the material resources of the North of Italy. The final paragraph in which Mr. Churchill said that he looked forward to the time not far distant when Italy would join the United Nations in the more fruitful labours of peace, has caused great pleasure both to the Italian Government as well as the people. The tribute to the part played by the patriots is that which has caused the greatest satisfaction. Signor Bonomi has sent a reply thanking Mr. Churchill in warm terms for his message.

The fact that Italian patriots were in control of the big cities in Northern Italy before the arrival of the Allies has enormously encouraged the nation as a whole. Honour has been vindicated and the period of humiliation is over. The Committees of National Liberation have undoubtedly been effective in their control generally and it looks as if they would co-operate usefully with Allied military authorities.

The absence of any invitation to San Francisco is still, however, keenly felt and the Council of Ministers have unanimously approved a declaration protesting against Italy's exclusion which the Foreign Minister, Signor de Gasperi, has been instructed to forward to the President of the San Francisco Conference and to all the Governments represented there.

It is reported in the press that representatives of the Central Committees of National Liberation of both North and South Italy as well as the leaders of the six Parties represented on the Central Committee of the South have held a meeting to discuss the future Italian Government. The representatives from the North, who have plenary powers, expect a new Ministry, representative of the whole of Italy, to emerge. There is said to be strong feeling against the retention of Signor Bonomi as Prime Minister and Signor Nenni, the leader of the Socialist Party, Signor Parri of the Action Party and Signor Longo of the Communist Party have been mentioned as alternatives.

THE VATICAN.

The immediate reaction of the Vatican to the news of the surrender was a prayer that "to this first mercy may be added the other and greater mercy, a durable, Christian peace for all nations without exception." The Vatican wireless in Italian hoped for a "just and loyal peace." This preoccupation with justice in the post-hostilities world was to be seen in *Osservatore Romano*'s article on the death of Mussolini: Justice must be done; but justice must not be confused with revenge, or punishment descends to the level of the crime it punishes, and "becomes a manifestation of that execrable party spirit that led to the condemnation of a whole nation from the Christian point of view." This veiled allusion to the recent descriptions of German Concentration Camps, whose horrors the Vatican, along with other Governments, had known for years, was followed by a warning that "one should keep silence about the cruel episodes which fan human passions and induce the most irresponsible elements to indulge in insane imitation."

The Catholic-Communist controversy in Italy continues (see *Summary* No. 291 under "Italy"). On the 15th April *Osservatore Romano* denied that the Church had created what Togliatti called an anti-Communist terror and said that, so long as Atheism was an essential part of Communism, any truce Communists made was intended to last only until they felt able to ban Christianity. *Quotidiano* accused the Communists of using the wolf and lamb technique, and pointed out that the Church had not waited for Germany to attack Russia before condemning nazism. "The Church by championing liberty is the enemy of dictatorship in every form."

Moscow continued its attacks on the Vatican in a broadcast of the 30th April. In a list of those who wished to save Hitler and his evil friends it included business men, elderly ladies of high society and the Pope, "that Mysterious Shepherd who protects wolves from sheep." As usual, the main complaint is that the Pope has made no clear cut condemnation of Nazi excesses, and the care for legal forms which caused the flag of the Lisbon Nunciature to fly at half-mast when Hitler died would not make it more easy for the Russians to understand the Vatican's ways.

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

Professor Szentgyörgyi has arrived in Moscow at the invitation of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. A private source states that Count Stephen Bethlen, the ex-Premier, and Count Bela Teleki, formerly Chairman of the Transylvanian Party, have also been removed to Russia, but in this case by order of the Soviet authorities.

Allied troops are reported to have found in a German prison another ex-Premier, M. Kállay. Yet another, L. Bárdossy, took refuge in Switzerland (a week later he was ordered to leave); but the Archduke Albrecht is reported to have been refused admission to that country.

Roumania.

Progress over the trial of war criminals appears from public accounts to be slow. The "questioning" of the first batch seems to have been completed and they are to appear before a People's Court on the 14th May. This list includes the names of sixteen senior officers, together with "minor officials," school teachers and n.c.o.'s. In spite of the mass arrests, many members of the Iron Guard are still free, and, according to report, some are actually being welcomed into the Communist Party on the ground that they had all along constituted a fifth column in the Guardist movement. Meanwhile it has been

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announced that 1,283 political prisoners arrested before the 6th March are to be released, some of whom are admitted to have been Guardists.

On May Day organised demonstrations were held in Bucharest, a large part of the crowd consisting of school children who had evidently been trained to shout Communist slogans. Such slogans have been a feature of the Bucharest radio for some time past, and the general impression is that Communist propaganda has made a notable advance.

Recent reports from Maramures indicate that the local agitation in favour of union with the Ukrainian S.S.R., which had flared up in February, is dying down, possibly as a result of a change of directive from Moscow. The Ukrainian leader Odovichuk is still in Sighet, but his influence is on the wane, and a prefect appointed by Bucharest has recently been installed in the town.

Yugoslavia.

Events in Venezia Giulia overshadowed everything. On the evening of the 30th April Tito's Order of the Day announced that Yugoslav troops had occupied several towns north of Fiume and in eastern Istria and were fighting in Fiume, Pola and Trieste. His Order of the 1st May stated that Yugoslav troops had occupied Trieste, Monfalcone and Gorizia and reached the Isonzo on a wide front. But Tanjug, late that night and next morning, spoke of Trieste being "invested" and of fierce street fighting proceeding there. Nevertheless salvoes of artillery were fired at Belgrade in the early hours of the 2nd May and Tanjug described the enthusiasm with which the Triestini were welcoming the Yugoslav army and decorating their town. The official view had been expressed in a leading article in *Borba* of the 30th April. It was the unshakable determination of the Yugoslav peoples to incorporate Istria, Trieste and the Slovene Coastland (the hinterland north and east of Trieste) in their country and any attempt to frustrate these aims would "be brought to nought by the might of the new Yugoslavia."

On the 2nd May *Politika*, but not *Borba*, printed the Allied communiqué announcing the meeting of Allied and Yugoslav forces at Monfalcone on the 1st. What was never announced at Belgrade was the fact that at 1630 hours on the 2nd May the German Commander in Trieste surrendered to General Freyburg, commanding a New Zealand Division. Few Yugoslav troops were found in the city and the British troops firmly established control of the port area.

On the same day Radio Belgrade said that the Yugoslavs had crossed the Isonzo and were advancing on Gemona, north of Udine.

Also on the 2nd the Headquarters of the 4th Yugoslav Army issued a warning to the Allies that no Allied forces should cross the Isonzo, and on the 3rd it required Allied forces to retire to the west of the river. Nevertheless British troops entered Gorizia, without incidents, on the morning of the 3rd and Allied Force Headquarters had then received no reports of a Yugoslav crossing of the Isonzo.

On the 3rd May Yugoslav Supreme Headquarters issued a communiqué denying the accuracy of Field-Marshal Alexander's announcement of the occupation of Trieste and Gorizia by his troops; on the grounds that there had been no German garrison in Trieste after the 30th April. It added that some Allied forces had, without Yugoslav permission, entered these cities, "which might have undesirable consequences, unless the matter is settled by mutual agreement." The same day Radio Belgrade broadcast an article from *Naprijed*, rejecting any future for Trieste except inclusion in Yugoslavia and ending "Istria and Trieste are ours and will be ours."

Tito's Order of the Day on the 3rd May announced the Yugoslav capture of Fiume and Pola. Near Trieste the confusion was increased by the surrender to the Allies of some thousands of Serbian chetniks.

By the afternoon of the 4th May the New Zealand Division were holding Monfalcone and the port area of Trieste in strength, and moving up to the support of their forward elements in Gorizia. The Yugoslavs held most of the city of Trieste. German forces retiring north-west from Fiume had recaptured Sappiane.

On the 5th Allied forces had reached Plezzo near the northern end of the Isonzo valley; but the Yugoslavs controlled the valley from Gorizia to Caporetto and were further west at Cormons.

Later reports stated that the Yugoslav forces in and north of Trieste had been considerably increased; that in Trieste all the seven barracks and most large buildings had been seized by the Yugoslavs; that all man-power between the ages of 18 and 60 was being conscribed (in violation of the Law of War), the

Italians for forced labour and the Yugoslav sympathisers of military age for the army; that all Italians of any standing had been arrested by the Yugoslavs; and that Yugoslav elements were infiltrating west of the Isonzo. The New Zealanders had been reinforced by an American Division. The situation was evidently explosive.

Borba of the 5th May contained a long article expressing surprise that demonstrations in support of the Italian retention of Trieste were allowed by the Allied authorities in Italy. It denounced the Italian Government for requesting the application of Allied Military Government to Venezia Giulia, and stated that the area was already under Allied (*i.e.*, Yugoslav) administration. It was sarcastic about the Italian Government's expression of gratitude to the Supreme Allied Commander for liberating Trieste, saying that when the New Zealand troops entered Trieste "there was not a single German or Italian Fascist soldier in the town." It then proceeded to attack the British press, especially the *Daily Herald* and the *Manchester Guardian*, for advocating Allied Military Government of Venezia Giulia. *Politika* contained a similar attack.

Meanwhile a frank exchange of views by telegram had been taking place between Field-Marshal Alexander and Marshal Tito, the former basing himself on the oral understandings reached in Italy in August 1944 and at Belgrade in February 1945, the latter on the changing circumstances of the war and the political interest of Yugoslavia in Venezia Giulia. Finally Tito accepted the suggestion that General Morgan, Alexander's Chief of Staff, should meet him in Belgrade to settle differences.

In the north a Yugoslav Division, with orders to seize Klagenfurt, the capital of Carinthia, has begun to cross the Austrian frontier.

In Croatia, after the German surrender, the Yugoslavs have advanced rapidly and captured Zagreb. The partisan press has been threatening the Croat Catholic clergy, including by name the Archbishop of Zagreb, Mgr. Stepinac.

A Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina has been set up. As in the other four regions so far organised, the Premier is the Communist Secretary of the National Liberation Front. The Macedonian Government, it now appears, consists exclusively of Communists.

On the 30th April it was announced that the Yugoslav Government had decided to recognise the administration of General Hodza as the Government of Albania, to establish diplomatic relations with that Government and with the Government of Bulgaria [with which Yugoslavia is still technically in a state of war]. They had also decided, at the request of Syria and Lebanon, to recognise the independence of, and establish diplomatic relations with, those two States [with neither of which can Yugoslavia have extensive intercourse].

Greece.

M. Sophianopoulos' action at San Francisco, where he voted against the British and American delegates on the question of the admission of Argentina, is reported to have met with a good deal of disapproval in Athens, where it was felt in many quarters that it was unfortunate that the Greek delegation should have ranged itself with the U.S.S.R. in opposition to Great Britain and the United States. According to the Athens wireless, M. Sophianopoulos explained in an interview given to an Argentine newspaper that in fact the Greek delegation were looking forward to the collaboration of Argentina in the work of the Conference; the standpoint which Greece took up while the invitation was under discussion had been dictated by her sincere desire to emphasise that it was a matter of prime importance for the success of the Conference to maintain unanimity on serious matters between the four Powers taking part.

On the whole, the stock of the Voulgaris Government appears to be rising; leaders of both the Communist Party and the recently amalgamated E.L.D.-Socialist Party have had interviews with the Premier, after which the former went so far as to say that any change in their attitude towards the Government depended on whether measures were taken to restore normal conditions and to guarantee popular sovereignty, while the latter stated that, though on principle they disapproved of Service Governments, they were not prepared, simply for the sake of principle, to oppose the Government, and would support it in any steps it might take to ensure liberty and prosperity and to suppress the activities of Military Leagues. The Communist Party is believed to be heading for a purge, in which M. Siantos will probably lose his post as Secretary-General. Meantime, it has been announced in the Greek press that M. Zachariadis, the former leader of the Party (see *Summary* No. 287) has just been released from Dachau.

There is no improvement in the financial situation and the drachma is still declining; prices are rising, and in consequence there are many demands for

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increased wages and salaries. On the 3rd May there was a strike of bank employees, including those working in the Bank of Greece, because the Government had refused them the Easter bonus granted to industrial workers; there have also been other strikes which have had to be settled by an increase in wages. The Finance Minister has reached London for discussions with British officials.

Albania.

When in Belgrade towards the end of April, Enver Hoxha referred to Yugoslav friendship as vital to Albania. He thanked the Yugoslav army for equipping and training Albanian units, and he expressed the conviction that the two countries could help one another economically, Albania providing crude oil and petrol in exchange for Yugoslav wheat and maize. On the 30th April the Yugoslav Cabinet decided to recognise Enver Hoxha's administration as the Government of Albania and to establish diplomatic relations with it. This consecrates the close relations which have always existed between the two Leftist régimes, that of Enver Hoxha being in fact much like that of Marshal Tito in miniature. In consequence, Yugoslav influence on Enver Hoxha's policy may well become even greater than hitherto.

Bulgaria.

The decision taken on the 28th April by the Yugoslav Government to establish diplomatic relations with Bulgaria was warmly welcomed in Sofia. The Fatherland Front Government, which within a month of its obtaining power agreed with Marshal Tito's Government last October to collaborate in the fight against Germany and to settle all differences in a brotherly spirit, has consistently kept reconciliation with Yugoslavia in the forefront of its policy, and is doubtless gratified at the prospect of being at last in full diplomatic relations with one of the United Nations.

The Bulgarian authorities recently drew up a statement to show the extent of the military contribution of Bulgaria to the Allied cause. According to this, the Bulgarian troops, including reserves, employed against the Germans in Yugoslavia last year numbered 448,000 and suffered 17,000 casualties, while 100,000 Bulgarian field troops have co-operated with the Red Army in Yugoslavia and Hungary since December last, and have sustained 12,800 casualties.

According to fairly reliable reports several of the closest friends of Dr. J. M. Dimitrov, the former Agrarian leader, have been arrested in spite of the protests of the three Agrarian members of the Cabinet, and he himself has been put under house arrest. There are also indications that, with Soviet support, the Communists intend to dispose, by one means or another, of the possibility of his ever again leading the Agrarian Party and menacing the present dominance of the Communists. The vicious campaign which the Communists are conducting against him lends some colour to the suspicion that they intend to impeach him in the People's Court on charges of actively opposing the Government's foreign and home policy and spreading defeatism in order to split the coalition.

The People's Court is stated to be hearing no fresh cases. It recently sentenced to death eleven members of the judiciary and police and four business people, at the same time condemning a hundred or more of the accused to imprisonment, but acquitting an even greater number

Turkey.

More than two months of negotiation ended with the signature in London on the 4th May of an Anglo-Turkish Trade and Payments Agreement, which is regarded by both sides as satisfactory. As from the 21st May, when it comes into force, it abolishes the Anglo-Turkish clearing office and provides for payments between the sterling area and Turkey being settled in sterling through Turkish accounts. The Turkish Central Bank will publish its buying and selling rate for sterling, including the premium to be applied to certain operations. The Turkish delegates, who bargained with characteristic obstinacy, would not agree to a uniform rate of exchange applicable to all permitted transactions, nor would they accept any arrangement which would have reduced Turkish prices to a reasonable level. However, the right of the Turkish Central Bank to convert sterling into gold ceased on the 31st March and has not been revived.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

Hassanein Pasha, Chief of King Farouk's Royal Cabinet, who first became ill at Lord Moyne's funeral and has been intermittently on the sick list ever since, has had another heart attack. It is questionable whether he will ever be fit to

resume duty at the Palace, but King Farouk has so far been unable to find a suitable successor. As long as Amr Pasha was acting for Hassanein, the latter's absence was not so greatly felt, as Amr proved an excellent substitute; but since Amr's departure for London as Egyptian Chargé d'Affaires there, there has been no one to fill the gap at the Palace. It is not an easy post to fill, and much depends on the King's choice.

The Egyptian press has referred to a speech, delivered at the San Francisco Conference by the Egyptian Minister for Foreign Affairs, in which he expressed the view that the Conference should approve the revision of treaties which have now become incompatible with present circumstances. A statement by one of the experts attached to the Egyptian Delegation at San Francisco is also quoted, to the effect that the presence of British troops in Egypt was of no further use, and that the condominium of the Sudan must also be reconsidered.

In spite of our representations to the French, they seem determined to send reinforcements to Beyrouth. If it was merely a matter of replacement, possibly no great harm would be done, but for the French to send additional troops, especially coloured troops, is undoubtedly a dangerous move in present circumstances. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of both the Levant States, especially of Syria, have expressed their apprehension at the projected move. They intend to address a note to the French as well as to the other Allies, requesting that the status of Allied troops in the Levant should be regularised.

We have again pointed out to the French the dangers of sending reinforcements, but so far without much success. General de Gaulle has said that General Beynet will be returning to Beyrouth this week, and will be empowered to hand over to the Levant States one brigade of *troupes spéciales*, which according to General de Gaulle would be numerically rather more than the reinforcements being sent. But if the *troupes spéciales* are to be replaced by French troops, the advantages of this gesture—so long delayed—will be more than outweighed by the apprehension caused by French reinforcements.

The Regent of Iraq is still hoping that the invitation to visit the United States originally issued to him by President Roosevelt, will be renewed by President Truman on the conclusion of the thirty days' mourning for the late President on the 12th May. If, however, as is possible, the invitation is delayed, the Regent would like instead to visit England, where he might meet the Iraqi delegates on their way home from San Francisco.

The notorious Rashid Ali, who was responsible for the *coup d'État* in Iraq in 1941, and who has since then spent most of his time as an exile in Germany, has just failed in an attempt to escape into Switzerland, having been turned back by the Swiss authorities at the frontier. It may therefore not be long before he falls into Allied hands, and we are considering what steps to take in this event.

Last week the Persian Majlis selected Ibrahim Hakimi as the new Prime Minister. Hakimi was Minister without Portfolio in the Cabinet of Qavam, and is reported to be pro-British. He is, however, 72 years of age, and is not thought to be a man of any importance.

THE FAR EAST.

On the 3rd May Admiral Suzuki said that Japan's position in East Asia had become more difficult and her responsibilities heavier because of the developments in Europe. He expressed deep sympathy for the German people who had fought valiantly for more than five years and had made enormous sacrifices. Japan, he declared, was fighting solely for her existence and in self-defence. Japan's integrity and the liberation of East Asia went together so that the countries of East Asia were united by identical war aims. Suzuki asserted that these war aims were essentially different from those of the war in Europe, "therefore our faith cannot be shaken by European developments." He declared his determination to fight on with everything he had got and that he wished to take this opportunity of proclaiming, both at home and abroad, Japan's faith in certain victory.

On the same day General Minami, the president of the Dai Nippon Seijikai, told members of the Lower House of the Diet that the Japanese Government had anticipated from the outset of the war the situation which had now arisen in Europe. Japan had fought in alliance with Germany, but recently the war situation had developed in such a way that co-operation between the two countries had become virtually impossible. Germany's plight, declared Minami, was sincerely regretted by Japan, but it would have almost no effect on her military strength. Japan must fight on whatever the odds against her.

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This foreshadowed Togo's statement to correspondents on the 6th May. He declared that Germany's attempt to conclude peace with the United States and Great Britain, but to continue the war against the U.S.S.R., conflicted with the war aims of Japan, who was at war with the United States and Great Britain but who maintained neutral relations with the U.S.S.R. It was also a flagrant violation by Germany of the agreement between Japan and Germany not to conclude a separate peace. In these circumstances Japan would reserve the right to deal with the Tripartite Pact and other political agreements with Germany from a new point of view.

The Japanese are continuing their stubborn defence of Okinawa and are making fantastic claims of American air and naval losses. The *Domei* naval correspondent on the 6th May declared that Admiral Toyoda had recently issued instructions to the Japanese Navy in which he had declared that the fate of the Japanese Empire depended on the issue of the Okinawa battle. The correspondent said that before the Okinawa operations suicide assaults by Japanese air units were a special means of attack, but in the Okinawa fighting this method had become a common practice and not only the Air Force, but also some units of the Japanese Fleet were engaged in attacks from which they did not return. The object now was to annihilate the American forces.

On the 5th May the Sixth National Congress of the Kuomintang was convened in Chungking. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek spoke at the opening session. He said that the political sense of the Chinese people had been quickened by the war and that the early inauguration of a constitutional Government was necessary. He formally proposed that the National People's Assembly, which is to adopt the draft constitution, should be convened on the 12th November. He also told the Congress that its task was to improve the living conditions of the Chinese people, to prevent monopoly by capitalists and so to eliminate the causes of class struggle. The object of the Sixth National Congress of the Kuomintang should be to conclude the fifty years of revolutionary struggle in China and to secure a bright future for her.

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The extent of demobilisation in the American armed forces which will now take place was indicated in a War Department announcement on the 5th May. Only about 650,000 men in the European Theatre of Operations can expect their discharge, and it will be as much as a year before most of them get back home. Many troops will go straight to the Far East without a furlough in the United States. The present strength of the Army is 8,300,000, of whom 2 million altogether will be discharged in the next twelve months. Senator Edwin C. Johnson (Democrat, Colorado) has been campaigning for a simple "first-in, first-out" formula, akin to the British scheme of demobilisation. The present American arrangements depend on four factors—total length of service, number of months spent overseas, credit for combat, and number of dependent children. The allocation of points for these conditions will now be announced. There is unlikely to be any cut in inductions, since, as General Marshall explained to the House Military Affairs Committee on the 4th May, present arrangements will leave a shortage in man-power requirements. On the previous day a House joint resolution calling for the deferment of farmers was vetoed by the President, and the 185–177 tally against the veto failed to obtain the necessary two-thirds majority required to override it. President Truman thus won one of his first skirmishes with Congress.

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date of Philippine independence and economic freedom would be advanced and that a Commission would be appointed to assist him in attaining these objectives, represents one aspect of American colonial policy; while the insistence of Naval spokesmen, supported by the Senate Naval Affairs Committee, that bases in the Pacific must be retained under American control represents another element which the Administration must take into account.

LATIN AMERICA.

In Argentina the occasion of the fall of Berlin brought the anticipated clashes (See *Summary* No. 291), but as the streets of the capital were, according to Press reports, filled with mounted, motorised and pedestrian police, and the Government buildings held by troops, with carbines and tear-gar apparatus well in evidence, it is perhaps not surprising that Buenos Aires, unlike Berlin, survived the ordeal. Two policemen were reported killed, and one civilian. The Government connected the disturbances with the recent alleged plot, and the exiles in Montevideo have continued their propaganda barrage.

Meanwhile, Argentina's delegation to the San Francisco Conference has been appointed, and includes Dr. Cesar Ameghino (who now becomes Foreign Minister, no longer acting, and relinquishes the Ministry of Finance), and the Ambassadors in London and Washington.

In Chile, negotiations for the formation of a "political" Cabinet seem to have fallen through, and President Ríos is continuing to govern with a Cabinet of his "personal friends."

In Cuba, the Minister of Public Works has resigned, ostensibly on grounds of ill-health.

UNITED NATIONS.

The San Francisco Conference.

All proposed amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals had to be submitted by the national delegations by Friday night, the 4th May. They constitute 700 pages of documents; but it is known that they overlap very considerably in principle and often in detail also. The process of collation carried on by the four sponsoring Powers has already resulted in a set of amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals agreed between the latter. The most interesting of these agreed amendments are: (i) the suggestion that the Security Council should be empowered to recommend terms of settlement of a dispute between any two Powers which had proved incapable of agreed solution. A Great Power party to the dispute would not possess a veto on such recommendation; (ii) the proposal that, in electing to non-permanent seats on the Security Council, the Assembly should have regard, primarily, to the contribution made by member States to the maintenance of peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organisation, and, secondarily, to equitable geographical distribution.

Field-Marshal Smuts has drafted a preamble to the Charter which sets forth the aims and ideals of the organisation.

The detailed work of drafting the Charter has already begun in earnest. Four Commissions have been set up to deal with its principal aspects (General Provisions; the General Assembly; the Security Council; Judicial Organisation). These Commissions, however, are not likely to meet until reports have been prepared for them by the dozen technical Committees which have also been constituted. It is in these Committees that the drafting work will be begun, and some of them have already started on it. Besides the formal meetings of the Conference, there have throughout been constant consultations between the delegations of the four sponsoring Great Powers. During the last week, France has been associated with them in these discussions and will attend them regularly in future.

The Trusteeship Committee has already met twice and the five Great Powers have also met to discuss trusteeship for dependent territories. In addition to the United States trusteeship proposals (outlined in last week's *Summary*), these meetings have had before them detailed proposals from the United Kingdom and Australian delegations. In both the United States and the United Kingdom proposals it is made clear that the only territories to be brought under trusteeship machinery are (*a*) territories administered by any of the United Nations under League of Nations Mandates; (*b*) territories which may, as a result of the war, be removed from the sovereignty or mandate of non-members of the

United Nations; (*c*) other territory which may be voluntarily brought under the machinery by the State now responsible for its administration as sovereign or protector. Australia has suggested the addition, to the last category, of territories which the Assembly might decide to bring under the machinery on the recommendation of a special Conference of Powers administering dependent territory. Even with this Australian addition it would still be clear that there is no suggestion that all colonial dependencies should be automatically brought under trusteeship machinery. The United Kingdom delegation have, however, emphasised that trusteeship *principles* are valid for all dependent territories and have been fully accepted for their dependent territories by His Majesty's Government. The United Kingdom delegation have suggested that the distinction of treatment proposed by the United States (see last week's *Summary*, page 22) between strategic and other areas would give rise to certain difficulties. They would prefer that the general trusteeship obligations (relating to the welfare of the inhabitants) should be binding in relation to all the territories in the three categories (*a*), (*b*) and (*c*) above, and should be the subject of reports to a body responsible to the Economic and Social Council. The Power administering any such territory should also ensure that the territory plays its part in the maintenance of peace and security and should furnish the Security Council with any information required on this aspect of the administration. Thus, instead of there being two distinct classes of areas there would be, for all such territories, two sets of obligations, each requiring the rendering of necessary information to the appropriate organ of the new Organisation.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 293

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
16TH MAY, 1945.

Copy No. 141

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

THE last official communiqué of the German High Command was broadcast from Flensburg shortly after 8 p.m. on the 8th May. Signed "on behalf of the Grand Admiral" by General Jodl, it announced that, from midnight on the 8th/9th May, hostilities would cease in all theatres of war, that destruction of stores, sinking of ships, &c., were in contradiction to the terms already signed (the word "surrender" was not used), and that communication in cypher must cease. Unconditional surrender had already been made known to the German people by Dönitz himself in a broadcast earlier on the same day. The "last sacrifice" of German soldiers who had "proved their mettle in countless battles" would, he said, be "to set out on the bitter road to captivity." He himself would do everything possible to fulfil his promise of securing "tolerable living conditions" for the German population. "We must," he continued, "face facts squarely. The foundations on which the German Reich was built have collapsed. The unity of State and Party no longer exists. The Party has left the scene." Regarding his tenure of office, Dönitz said that it rested with the Occupying Powers whether he would be able to function. He was willing, as long as they permitted, to remain until the will of the German people could be expressed in the selection of a Head of the State.

The uncertain position of Dönitz and his Government, if he has one in anything but name, has not yet been resolved. It has, indeed, been made the more apparent by an order issued on the 11th May over the signature of Field-Marshal Busch, who stated therein that he had taken over the command of Schleswig-Holstein and the areas occupied by Montgomery's troops. This he had done "by order of the Grand Admiral and in agreement with the British Occupation authorities." He declared that his task was to ensure discipline and supplies, and that all military and civil authorities in his sector had been put under his orders and would receive his directives.

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Behind this looms the important question of the political interpretation of the German surrender. The instrument signed by the Germans was an instrument of military surrender, being the capitulation of the entire German armed forces and attested by Field-Marshal Keitel and other representatives of the High Command. "This act of military surrender" will, it is expressly stated, be superseded by any general instrument of surrender applicable to Germany and the German armed forces as a whole. This document does not therefore entail the political surrender of the German State, as did the instrument signed by Erzberger and his colleagues in 1918.

It should not be thought that chaos in Germany dates from last week's collapse. The after-effects of systematic Allied bombing of communications are proving almost as effective in hindering administration now as the bombing itself was in clogging the final efforts of the German war machine. In early April the Swiss Government complained that their Berlin embassy was out of reach and that communication with German Government departments was unobtainable. A confidential report by a Nazi official in Lemgo (a town of 12,000 people in the State of Lippe) stated late in February that every official journey had become a problem and that inordinate effort was necessary for the transmission of any instruction. Now, after defeat, Germans are finding it beyond their power even to ensure the food supply of large centres of population. From Munich A.M.G. therefore announced on the 12th that the transport of food and other goods towards the city would be started immediately and that American engineers were employing 1,000 workmen to repair the railways. The "Municipal Administration of Hamburg" announced on the 11th "by permission of the Military Government" that shops and businesses in the city must reopen forthwith between 9 a.m. and 5 p.m.

The larger task on which such arrangements as these depend, is the cleansing of the administration itself. Flensburg radio, on the 12th May, published the fact that A.M.G. had, among other decrees, dissolved the Nazi Party, repealed several of the most fundamental Nazi laws including those on the relation of State and Party, and on race, had set up military tribunals and abolished the Ministry of Propaganda. Germans are forbidden to cross the Reich frontier, to publish anything without permission and must use English as official language. The weekly reports of A.M.G. fill out this picture on the positive side by making plain the provisional arrangements so far tried out in occupied areas. The machinery of local administration is set in motion in so far as reasonably reliable officials are found to work it. If after observation these men prove to have a bad record or to be suspect they are removed and replaced. In the course of such experiments certain attitudes of the German population have emerged from the mass of dulled indifference which still seems to be the mood of the majority. "Obedient but sullen" is the keynote of the most recent summary available, which proceeds to comment on increasing evidence of attempts to disclaim responsibility for the Nazi régime, especially for the concentration camps, and some fear lest the Allied forces fail to protect Germans against foreign workers. On the other hand, meetings of former trade union members have been held in the Aachen region, and from Thuringia there is reported a move on the part of Social Democrats to round up Nazis and secure an efficient advisory body to assist A.M.G. This information, although the latest available, dates from before the German surrender; it is not clear what progress has been possible in the larger cities.

A.M.G's. most pressing problem would seem to be constituted by the foreign workers, of whom so far over a million and a half have been counted, two-thirds of this total being in camps. The largest number under the care of a single army is 750,000, reported held by the 9th U.S. Army. The problem of food and welfare has proved manageable in cases where German military food stocks could be drawn upon and where Allied military personnel were available to ensure discipline. Elsewhere looting would seem to have been fairly general, although it is stated that Displaced Persons have not been much more concerned in this than Germans. There have been no large-scale disorders and the behaviour of the mass of foreign workers is said to have been obedient and in many cases cheerful.

Despite the capture of important personalities during the final stages of the fighting, the leaders of Nazi Germany are not yet all accounted for. Hitler's body has not been found. The report of Bormann's death is not confirmed. The whereabouts of Himmler and Ribbentrop are not known. Both Göring and Kesselring made statements after their capture. Göring admitted that he realised after D-Day that the war was lost, that the Russian break through the central

eastern line had made him still more certain, but in the same breath he said that had Germany been able to continue the war, new types of bombing planes would have been brought into use which would have surprised the world. His own biggest surprise of the war had been provided by the long-range Allied fighters able to accomplish the two-way journey between England and Berlin. Kesselring admitted (to Americans) that the German defeat was due to Allied air power and bombing policy. He spoke of Hitler as a great man who would have preferred an alliance with the United States and Great Britain, and of the Siegfried Line as impregnable if it had been properly manned. He had distrusted the "V" weapons but had strongly urged the direct invasion of England. The friendly treatment accorded to these captives has aroused resentment in various quarters and has evoked a sharp rebuke from the Supreme Allied Commander-in-Chief.

In view of suggestions made during the course of the war that German church leaders might have to assume political powers, it is of interest to note recent developments concerning two of the more outstanding among them. Pastor Niemöller has been recovered by the Allies on the Swiss border, having been hurriedly removed with other hostages from Dachau; according to photographs and reports he is in relatively good health. The Bishop of Münster, Count von Galen, interviewed in his diocese by American pressmen, stressed the fact that he was a German bishop, loyal to his country and unwilling to discuss political questions. He made it clear, however, that he was worried by the public danger constituted by foreign workers roaming through Germany at a time when the German police was powerless to maintain order, and that he feared the growth of Communism in Germany if the Allies allowed famine conditions to develop. He was also incensed by the destruction of churches by Allied bombers. His "unpolitical" attitude was, in fact, that of a thoroughly patriotic German and, despite his known and courageous opposition to some Nazi measures (*e.g.*, "mercy killings") he uttered no word of condemnation of the German policy of aggression against other States.

AUSTRIA.

The situation in Austria, both military and political, appears to be difficult and confused. Allied troops are advancing from several points to occupy the country. In the west the French and American forces penetrated further, to disarm the German troops who were waiting for them. According to a French correspondent with the American Seventh Army on the 13th May, however, the equivalent of two SS divisions in the Salzburg mountains are refusing to surrender, and are waging a guerrilla war, destroying bridges, and carrying out small-scale night raids on villages in order to obtain food. The Red army, advancing from the east, linked up with Allied forces south-east of Linz, and since the 9th May claims to have disarmed 560,000 Germans and captured 45 generals. The Russians have entered Bruck and Graz, and have advanced still further to the west. Some difficulty has been encountered in defining the areas to which the troops of each of the Allies should confine their activities. The British troops coming up from the south have met Yugoslav troops, who are penetrating into Carinthia and some of whom have been in Klagenfurt. (See "Yugoslavia.")

On the 7th May a broadcast announced the formation of a new "provisional Provincial Government, formed from all parties," to take over the administration of Carinthia. This Government appealed to all Carinthians, whether German- or Slovene-speaking, for support, and said that its foremost task was to maintain "a free and unpartitioned Carinthia." No officials were to be dismissed without the consent of this provincial Government. On the following day (8th May) a complete list of offices in the new provincial administration was given, headed by the *Landeshauptmann*. On the same day this "supposed provisional Provincial Government of Carinthia" was denounced by "Station Austria" as a "sheer fake," and a "Nazi German trick and provocation." The statement about the dismissal of officials was used to support this claim, and the broadcast went on to assure listeners that Marshal Tito had expressly stated that he would not take an inch of foreign soil—his troops were coming as liberators, and had now liberated Klagenfurt. The Carinthians were urged to "submit to the Provisional Government in Vienna." ["Station Austria" is a Russian-controlled station believed to be on Yugoslav soil, and is the means by which news about Dr. Renner's Government and its proclamations are broadcast.]

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A station describing itself as Graz announced the formation of a provisional Provincial Government of Styria on the 8th May. It was said to consist mainly of members of the former Provincial Government, led by a man who had performed the same office after the last war, and worked in the Government until 1934. Next day, however, orders were broadcast from Graz, dated the 9th May, by a Town Major, who said that complete power was concentrated in his person as the representative of the High Command of the Red Army. He issued a comprehensive series of orders, concerning amongst other things the registration of all Reich Germans over 16, the dissolution of the Nazi party, and the giving of information about hidden German soldiers, "criminal elements," stores, strongpoints and minefields. It would appear that two self-appointed and, perhaps, anti-Russian provisional Provincial Governments have been suppressed by Russian action before British forces arrived.

In the west an "Austrian Freedom Station" in Aussee claimed that the Freedom Movement there, in which hundreds of people of all parties in Aussee had rallied for weeks in the struggle against National Socialism, had taken over all offices and authority without bloodshed, and assumed full power. Relations with the American troops there were cordial. The food situation was satisfactory. Schools would remain closed for the time being.

From Vienna the "News Service New Austria" announced an agreement between the "three recognised parties," *i.e.*, the Austrian Popular party (*Österreichische Volkspartei*), which may be the Christian-Social party under a new name, the Socialist party, consisting of the Social Democrats and the Revolutionary Socialists, and the Communist party. These had agreed to the formation of a "Provisional Provincial Executive Committee" (*Landesausschuss*) for the province of Lower Austria. Provisional Rural Executive Committees (*Gemeindeausschüsse*) were to be formed in all rural communities, the number of constituent members of each Committee to be determined in accordance with the votes cast at the last free democratic local elections.

"Station Austria" gave more news of conditions in Vienna. The food situation was eased by the supply of Red army stores to the population. 190 schools are open again in the city. There is a newspaper called *Neues Österreich*. An article in it describes the housing problem, and another calls for the employment of underground fighters in the public services. Cardinal Innitzer celebrated a Thanksgiving Mass on the announcement of Germany's unconditional surrender. Great May Day rallies were reported, in which many foreign workers took part, and the crowds were addressed by members of the Provisional Government.

The Provisional Government issued on the 11th May a message to the nation on Germany's capitulation, and a proclamation, in which it gave a stern warning to those who "despise democracy" or had supported the Nazi régime. Those who had done this "through pressure of economic circumstances," however, and did not take part in any Fascist crimes, had nothing to fear. Free Austria wished to live in friendship with the Danubian States, and would "strive to conclude treaties of peace and friendship with the numerous peoples against whom Hitler went to war, amongst these our closest neighbours."

The text of an "Austrian Declaration of Independence," signed by Dr. Renner and Dr. Scherf (Social Democrats), Kunschak (Christian Socialist), and Koplenig (Communist), was broadcast by "Station Austria" on the 12th May. This proclaimed the Democratic Republic of Austria to be restored and it was to be reconstructed in the spirit of the constitution of 1920. The *Anschluss* was declared void. In the Provisional Government was vested "all legislative and executive powers, due regard being paid to the rights of the occupying Powers."

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

The national rising in Prague and other parts of Bohemia continued with confused fighting throughout the 8th and 9th May. The German forces refused to recognise the cease-fire order; those under General Reimann did negotiate a surrender to Czech representatives at Český Brod on the 8th, but units under Field-Marshal Schoerner and General Woebler maintained resistance as they fell back between the Americans and the advancing Soviet tanks. In the city itself, savage attacks were made upon civilians, hospitals and famous buildings, and an air attack was staged to synchronise with the relay of Mr. Churchill's victory broadcast. The following morning, the 9th May, Soviet tanks entered Prague after a rapid night thrust southward from Saxony through the Elbe gap. By the 11th, Soviet armies, fanning out in many directions, had cleared most of

Bohemia and Moravia, and linked up with the Americans to west and south of Prague near Plzeň and České Budějovice.

With the liberation of the capital, the Czechoslovak Government has returned to Prague. The party, headed by Premier Fierlinger, was received at Kbely airport on the evening of the 10th May by the chairman and vice-chairman of the Prague National Council, Dr. Pražák and M. Smrkovský, and by the commander of the Czechoslovak forces in the rising, General Kutlvašr. The President, Dr. Beneš, in a triumphal progress through the Moravian countryside, arrived at Brno on the 13th from Bratislava. No statement on the situation has so far been attributed to him, and an earlier report that he had arrived in Prague with the ministerial party was premature.

The Soviet Army, immediately upon its entry into Prague, made a statement to the Czech National Council through Lt.-Colonel Zajcev, who said that the U.S.S.R. had no intention of forcing on the country one type or another of administration, for the Czechs were good patriots and well able to rule their own land; the sole aim of the Soviet Union was to liberate the Czech people. Dr. Ripka, Minister of Foreign Trade, in a farewell speech in London on the 14th May, reaffirmed the independent character of the Czechoslovak Government, although admitting the dependence of the small Central European States on Soviet Russia in matters of security. Marshal Koniev was given a public reception in Prague on the 11th May, and all public buildings were flying the Soviet flag beside the Czechoslovak one.

The work of the patriot National Councils is being taken over by the various Ministries, but they are charged with the work of preparing the way for the election of Provincial National Committees in Bohemia and Moravia-Silesia. Numerous speeches have been broadcast by Ministers outlining their programmes. All have been at pains to stress the debt owed to the Red Army, and the need for close co-operation with the U.S.S.R. The Defence Minister, General Svoboda, echoed the statements of Vice-Premier Gottwald and the Education Minister, Professor Nejedlý, when he proclaimed that "the new Republic will be a Slav State, a State of fraternal and equal nations of Czechs and Slovaks, without Germans and Hungarians." There were frequent references to Munich, and of the impossibility of co-operating with the Sudenten Germans.

The hunt for traitors and collaborators, who are to be brought before People's Courts, goes on. Henlein, after being captured by the Americans, escaped by suicide. Hacha, Bienert, ex-Generals Klecanda and Gajda, and many other quislings, are in Czech hands. The Czechoslovak Press has been carrying out its own purge of collaborators. The Social Democratic, Socialist, Communist, People's Catholic and the Revolutionary Trade Unionist organisations are already publishing their newspapers again. *Česka Pravda* (organ of Beneš's Socialist National Party) said that its Party had been resurrected "not for narrow Party aims, but to ensure the continuance of democratic competition, criticism and control, which distinguish democratic from totalitarian systems."

POLAND.

General Bor-Komorowski, who was released by the advancing American forces in Southern Germany, and reached London on the 12th May, is reported to have stated that when he gave the signal for the Warsaw Rising last summer he "expected the Russians in five to seven days, but after two days they were pushed back about 30 miles." As to the arms then available to the Polish forces in Warsaw he is reported to have said that 30 per cent. had been dropped by parachute from British planes before the Rising. Of those dropped during the Rising 85 per cent. fell in the German lines.

As stated in *Summary* No. 261, General Komorowski was appointed Commander-in-Chief by President Raczkiewicz shortly before the collapse of the Rising, a substitute being found for him during his captivity. Lately, General Anders was made Acting Commander-in-Chief. No statement has as yet been made on the question whether General Komorowski will now be instated in the Command.

The position as concerns the arrested Polish Delegates remains unchanged. As the Secretary of State is reported to have said in San Francisco, most of the arrested persons were just the sort who should be consulted before forming the new Provisional Government. M. Mikolajczyk has since stated that the Delegates were always "sincere advocates of co-operation with Russia." This does not necessarily hold good of General Okulicki, whom the Warsaw administration and the Soviet press chiefly accuse of anti-Russian activities. It is now reported from Lublin that there is "indignation" in Poland against General

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Okulicki, and that the Warsaw administration may demand that he should be handed over to it for trial. Meantime, reports continue to circulate that more arrests are being made, in Poland, of persons suspected of carrying on communications with the London Government, or serving under its instructions.

A Victory Celebration was held throughout Poland on the 9th May. In Warsaw, at a meeting in the Theatre Square, a resolution was moved that "the Polish frontiers on the Oder, the Nissa (Neisse) and the Baltic, which have been gained by the heroism of our soldiers, cannot be changed."

A radio address given on the 13th May blamed the London Government for "rejecting" territorial compensation in the West and North for lands they would have to cede in the East. "It is not true," the speaker said, "that we had the choice of a Poland stretching from Woloczyska to Zbaszyn (Bentschen), and one from the Bug to the Oder. The choice was much narrower: between a Poland from the Bug to the Oder, and one from the Bug to Zbaszyn." According to a statement issued on the 11th May 1,000 persons are leaving Lodz shortly for Frankfurt-on-the-Oder to fill administrative and industrial posts.

SOVIET UNION.

On the 8th May the German group in Kurland, which had continued an isolated struggle for many months, ceased resistance. So, too, did the grouping in the Vistula estuary. German troops in Czechoslovakia, under Field-Marshal Schörner, continued to fight even after surrender had been signed in Berlin. But after the capture of Prague on the 9th May this group was split up, and by the 13th May its annihilation was almost complete. Between the 9th and 14th May over 1,230,000 prisoners were taken on all fronts, including 101 generals.

Marshal Stalin broadcast to the U.S.S.R. on the 9th May. He announced that "the preliminary protocol of surrender" (hitherto not mentioned in the U.S.S.R.) had been signed in Rheims on the 7th May, and the final instrument of surrender in Berlin on the following day. "Being aware of the wolfish habits of the German ringleaders, who regard treaties and agreements as an empty scrap of paper, we have no reason to trust their words. However, this morning, in pursuance of the instrument of surrender, the German troops began to lay down their arms and surrender to our troops *en masse*. This is no longer an empty scrap of paper. This is the actual surrender of Germany's armed forces. Three years ago, Marshal Stalin reminded his audience, Hitler had proclaimed as his aim the dismemberment of the U.S.S.R. To-day the Soviet is celebrating the victory, "although it does not intend either to dismember or destroy Germany." No doubt with Japan in mind, Marshal Stalin concluded: "The period of war in Europe is over. The period of peaceful development has begun." In an Order of the Day issued on the same evening, the Marshal ordered a victory salute of thirty salvoes from 1,000 guns. A victory medal is to be awarded to all who participated in fighting against the enemy. During the celebration on the 9th May cheering crowds visited the British and United States Embassies.

Many messages of congratulation have been published in the Soviet press, including those exchanged by His Majesty The King and M. Kalinin, Marshal Stalin, the Prime Minister and President Truman. The Patriarch Alexius was interviewed by *Izvestiya* and expressed his joy at the winning of victory. The Orthodox Church, he said, had contributed over 300 million roubles to the defence fund. But, even more important, it had demonstrated throughout the war its complete unity with the Government.

During the past week the Soviet press celebrated the unrivalled military prestige of the Red Army and the incomparable burdens borne by the Soviet peoples during the struggle. "The heroes of the Soviet people," declared *Pravda*, "delivered our country from the German invader and the whole of Europe from destruction." An editorial in *The War and the Working Class* (No. 9) on "The Soviet Union in the Struggle for International Security" succinctly expressed the prevailing attitude as follows: "The Soviet people emerge from the world war a victor people, tempered in the stern trial of nearly four years of a war unparalleled in magnitude, in effort and in material expenditure. The eyes of the world have been opened to the giant might of the Red Army, the invincible strength of the Soviet social system, the firmness of the Soviet State and the tremendous potentialities of the Socialist economic system." But the Western Allies were not forgotten. Konstantin Fedin wrote on the 14th May: "No other military alliance could have carried out with such iron consistency such an offensive and brought about such a defeat as the alliance between the U.S.S.R., the United States and Great Britain." On the 12th May *Izvestiya* carried an article by the London correspondent of *Tass*, describing the victory celebrations

in London. M. Rogov added that he was convinced that Anglo-Soviet friendship means much more than diplomatic treaties, and stressed the warm welcome given to him as a Russian. Anglo-Soviet friendship, as many people told him, means in the first place friendship between the two peoples.

Mrs. Churchill's visit to the Soviet Union was very fully and cordially reported in the Soviet press. The high lights of her visit were her reception by Marshal Stalin on the 8th April, the award to her of the Order of Labour (the 12th April) "for outstanding merit in carrying out social measures for the collection of funds in Britain for medical aid to the Red Army" and her two broadcasts. After visiting hospitals and other institutions in Moscow, Mrs. Churchill travelled to Leningrad, Stalingrad, Rostov, the spas of the Northern Caucasus, Sebastopol and Odessa and thus had a very favourable opportunity for acquainting herself at first-hand with the extent of the Soviet need for Red Cross help. On the eve of her departure, she was entertained to lunch at the Kremlin by M. Shvernik on Victory Day; the tributes paid to her, to the Prime Minister and to Britain on this occasion by her host, Mme. Molotov and other speakers were stated to be extremely warm and sincere. Mrs. Churchill's broadcast of the Prime Minister's message on the same evening was a fitting climax not only to her visit but to a day celebrating the great Soviet victories.

Soviet scepticism about Hitler's death is still maintained, though official reports have been issued of the finding in Berlin of the bodies of Goebbels and his wife and children, dead from poisoning. The lenient treatment being accorded to Goering was sternly castigated in *Izvestiya*, which expressed great surprise that he should be receiving care and attention instead of being hanged as a murderer and gangster.

On the 11th May the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. ratified the Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Post-War Collaboration between the U.S.S.R. and the Polish Republic, which had already been ratified a week earlier from the Polish side.

The important problem of reparations was dealt with in the current number of *The War and the Working Class*, in an article entitled "Rehabilitation through Man-power," by Professor Trainin. The thesis developed in this article was that the time had now come for the Germans to repair the damage wrought by their armies in Allied countries in accordance with the decision of the Crimea Conference. Professor Trainin emphasised the special importance of reparations "in kind," and of the provision by Germany of the man-power required to restore the devastated areas of Europe. Furthermore, the employment of Germans for this purpose, he asserted, would greatly contribute to Germany's economic disarmament. Professor Trainin, himself a jurist, argued that this question could not possibly give rise to any legal controversy.

Izvestiya's special correspondent has sent an interesting despatch to Moscow on the progress of the San Francisco Conference. The absence of certain political personnages (unnamed), as well as Mr. Eden's impending return to Britain, he said, indicated that international attention was again being focussed on Europe. San Francisco was criticised as being too remote from world affairs (though admittedly a magnificent city); this was reflected "in the people's less lively reaction to the celebration of victory." He recorded the attention given by the United States press to the claims of Latin American countries, who were striving to make their regional organisation completely independent of the international security organisation. In this connexion, *Izvestiya* observed "some Governments do not want the five Powers, including the Soviet Union . . . . to have the right to agree among themslves on principles affecting the western hemisphere countries. These are, of course, the reactionary critics of the Crimea Agreements." Finally (in spite of the Soviet Union's own marked preference for pacts of regional security in South-East Europe), *Izvestiya* attacked "the ferocious advocates of regional security who claim that regional interests are incompatible with the powers of the Security Council."

On the 10th May the death was announced from heart paralysis of Colonel-General Alexander Sergeyevitch Shcherbakov. Although only 44 years of age, M. Shcherbakov was one of the four or five most powerful figures in the U.S.S.R. He had for seven years been Secretary of the Moscow City and Regional Committees, in which capacity he was credited with the organisation of the defence of the capital during the war. He was one of the four secretaries of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. In 1941 he became a substitute member of the Politbureau, the real centre of power in the U.S.S.R.; he was also a member of the Organisation Bureau and of the Control Commission of the

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Party. He was a deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., and a member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S.S.R. General Shcherbakov was head of the very important Political Department of the Red Army, and also Director of the Soviet Information Bureau. He was awarded the Order of Lenin three times, as well as the Orders of Suvorov and Kutuzov, 1st class. Tributes to his memory were published by all the papers. The Guard of Honour in the Hall of Columns in the House of the Trade Unions was mounted among many others by Marshals Stalin and Voroshilov and M. Malenkov. On the 12th May the urn with his ashes was carried by members of the Government headed by Marshal Stalin towards the Kremlin wall where it was placed next to the ashes of Marshal Shaposhnikov.

The fourth State War Loan, launched on the 5th May for the amount of 25 milliard roubles, was over-subscribed in eight days by more than 1 milliard roubles; the loan was closed on the 14th May (see last week's *Summary*).

(See also under "Denmark" and "Czechoslovakia.")

SCANDINAVIA.

The restoration of satisfactory conditions in liberated Norway is proceeding with remarkable smoothness and rapidity. An advance party of the Norwegian Government has arrived, two Ministers entering the country via Sweden on Saturday and others accompanying Crown Prince Olav on a British warship which reached Oslo on Sunday, the 13th May. The Crown Prince was welcomed with scenes of extraordinary enthusiasm. As early as the 8th May, the local officials temporarily appointed by the Home Front in consultation with the Norwegian Government in London were told to assume their functions immediately after the German capitulation.

Banks have been instructed to block all accounts belonging to N.S. members and organisations, and the round-up of quislings by the Home Front has been immediate and comprehensive. Lists had long since been compiled, and hundreds of Nazi collaborators were at once arrested in all the principal centres—1,550 in Oslo alone. Quisling himself, with five of his Ministers, surrendered on the 9th May at Akershus, while two others had previously been taken into custody. Jonas Lie, Riisnaes and the notorious Rogstad were run to earth and surrounded at Skaldum Farm, Stabekk, a few miles west of Oslo, with the result that Riisnaes eventually gave himself up, while the other two committed suicide. Another criminal who chose the same course was the infamous S.S. General Fehlis, and two mangled bodies, believed to be those of Terboven and Rediess, were found in the residence of the former and await final identification. They are believed to have blown themselves up. According to the Swedish radio, Terboven's body has now been identified by means of X-ray photography, which revealed some old fractures in his arm.

The Supreme Court, the resignation of whose members in 1940 was one of the earliest gestures of resistance, reassembled for the first time on the 14th May. The reception of the Crown Prince, on behalf of the Home Front Leadership, by M. Paal Berg, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, revealed on Sunday the carefully guarded secret of M. Berg's connexion with the Home Front.

To meet the prevailing food-shortage in Norway, the Swedish Government have promised the delivery of 55,000 tons of grain, 5,000 tons of flour, 4,000 tons of fats and 10,000 tons of sugar, besides other food-stuffs, and intend to make very special efforts to overcome the formidable difficulties of transport. There is also a prospect of assistance from Denmark, and the position should soon be satisfactory, since a recent article in the clandestine press admits that in Norway there have been no famine conditions approaching those of Holland and some other occupied countries.

Denmark has also got quickly to work. On May 11th it was reported that more than 7,000 persons suspected of collaboration with the Germans, had already been arrested. The Rigsdag reassembled on the 9th May, and in his speech on this occasion, which he described as one of the greatest days in Danish parliamentary history, the Premier, M. Buhl, stated that the necessary steps had now been taken to achieve the recognition of Denmark as a member of the United Nations. He declared the Anti-Comintern Pact rescinded, on the ground that it had been signed under duress. With regard to the Slesvig question, M. Buhl stated that his Government regarded the Danish frontier as fixed, but that the position of the minorities on each side of the frontier required reinvestigation, owing to the complete change of conditions during the war. In conclusion, he made a strong appeal for national unity.

Some concern was caused in Denmark by the landing of Russian forces on Bornholm on the 9th May after bombing attacks on the island. On the 11th May 15,000 Russians were reported to have arrived. M. Christmas Möller, the new Foreign Minister, has expressed the intention of visiting the spot as soon as possible on behalf of the Government. Assurances have, however, been given by the Commander of the Soviet Forces to the effect that his troops will be withdrawn as soon as the Germans have been disarmed and evacuated.

On the 7th May the Swedish Radio announced the cessation of diplomatic relations between Sweden and Germany and the Government's intention to intern a number of members of the German legation and consulate staffs. Their premises had been taken over by the Swedish authorities. Considerable numbers of German officers and soldiers who arrived in Swedish ports with a request for internment were instructed to leave the country. On the 12th May, however, the Swedish Radio announced that some two thousand had now received permission to stay until further notice.

Finland has received the news of Germany's capitulation with an enthusiasm somewhat unusual in a recent ally of the defeated country. Rejoicings were to some extent camouflaged as being concerned with the liberation of occupied Scandinavia, but were none the less widespread and emphatic. A semi-official peace and victory celebration was arranged in the main square of Helsinki on the 8th May by the three dominant political parties, and was addressed by members of the Government. In the Diet on the same day, M. Fagerholm, the Speaker, expressed the deep gratitude of the Finns to the Allied Nations for having "saved Europe from the dreadful danger threatening it." Satisfaction was not confined to Russophil sections of the Left: the moderate and cautious *Helsingin Sanomat* published on the 11th May a eulogy on Mr. Churchill which could hardly have been more enthusiastically expressed. While England, said this paper, was fighting alone, behind her were the thoughts of the whole democratic world. *Vapaa Sana*, organ of the Democratic League, even went so far as to rebuke Sweden for her neutrality, an attitude rather difficult to assume in the press of a country which actually fought on the beaten side!

THE LOW COUNTRIES.

Broadcasting on the 5th, Professor Gerbrandy expressed gratitude to the Allies for the liberation of the Netherlands and the joy of the Dutch thereat. "You are free," he went on to say, "free to heal the wounds of our people. The Government knows by experience in the territories previously liberated how much our people long to take their share in this . . . . You are free to write the truth in your papers. . . . . You are free to revive our Dutch institutions. . . . . You are free to prepare yourselves for the gigantic task awaiting you in the Pacific."

In a press conference at the Hague on the 11th, General Kruls, head of the Dutch Military Administration, explained that authority in the Netherlands was for the time being vested in the Commander-in-Chief of the Canadian Army, to whom the Dutch Administration is subordinate. General Kruls added that he wished to avail himself of the advice of the "vertrouwensmannen" (Council of Confidential Advisers), which had been constituted during the German occupation and had performed valuable service before the arrival of the Dutch Military Administration in the Western Netherlands.

Preliminary reports indicate that the destruction of port installations at Rotterdam, though considerable, has not been as great as had been expected. Ships of less than 4,000 tons can already use the port; the grain elevators are intact, though the ore elevators have been destroyed; the slipways in the shipbuilding yards are undamaged. But all cranes and dredging equipment and much shipbuilding plant have been destroyed or carried off to Germany. Amsterdam has suffered less. On the other hand, most of the larger canals are temporarily blocked, and most of the bigger river bridges have been destroyed.

The food brought into the Western Netherlands by the Allies arrived only just in time to prevent a catastrophic famine. Its speedy distribution is proceeding smoothly. But, while rejoicing at their deliverance from famine and oppression, the Dutch are afraid the Germans may escape paying the full penalty for their misdeeds. A speaker on the Resurgent Netherlands Radio declared on the 14th: "It is—I expressly wish to make this public—extremely painful for us Dutchmen to see at this moment Allied soldiers sitting next to German soldiers who have plundered and maltreated us; sitting next to each other on peasants' carts, amiably talking to each other and smoking cigarettes." General Foulkes, however, the Allied Commander-in-Chief in the Netherlands, has broadcast a

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statement to the Dutch that "the prime task of the Allied Forces in Western Holland is to quickly clear out the Boches from the Netherlands. . . . . I can assure you," he added, "that as far as is physically possible no German will be allowed to take away with him any articles of loot."

The Belgians were informed on the 8th that King Leopold had been liberated by American forces near Salzburg. This news caused the "bureaux" of the Senate and the Chamber to send the King messages congratulating him on his liberation. The Catholic Senators and Deputies met and voted a resolution expressing the opinion that the King should forthwith resume the exercise of his regal functions. This was only to be expected in view of the professed attachment of the Catholic Party to the King. The Liberals are divided and the Liberal Senators and Deputies passed a vaguely-worded resolution which implied that a definite decision should not be taken until the nation had been fully informed. The attitude of the Socialists and the Communists to the King has remained unchanged (see last *Summary*).

The Prince Regent and the Prime Minister, accompanied by a Liberal, a Communist and a Catholic colleague, forthwith proceeded to Salzburg, where they saw King Leopold. On the 13th M. van Acker, who was then back in Brussels, read to a press conference a letter from the King to his brother, which said: "My state of health, as a result of my captivity, does not permit my immediate return to Belgium. During my detention all my thoughts have been for my people. I beg you to continue the mission you have assumed in the country's interest until my health is restored." M. van Acker deplored the mischief of spreading false news and said: "Belgium is in need of calm, and so are we all, regardless of our political opinions." He added that each member of the delegation had been separately received by the King and that no proposal or suggestion had been made by the Government to His Majesty. The King was not well, he had been subjected to a terrible strain, but the state of his health did not warrant any anxiety.

The King's children have also been liberated and will, according to M. van Acker, return to Belgium as soon as the King so directs.

Degrelle, the Rexist leader, has escaped from Germany to Spain. (See under "Spain and Portugal.")

FRANCE.

The German surrender entailed the liberation of the French ports still in German hands, Dunkirk, Lorient, La Rochelle and St. Nazaire. It was also the occasion of an exchange of cordial messages between The King and General de Gaulle and General de Gaulle and Mr. Churchill. The first reports of the cessation of hostilities appeared in the Paris afternoon papers of the 7th May and public rejoicing began at once. While the celebrations at first lacked spontaneity, and were to some extent overshadowed by the knowledge that great numbers of Frenchmen had still to be repatriated, there could be no doubt of the enthusiasm of the huge crowds which thronged the streets of Paris on the 8th May. On the 9th General de Gaulle, together with members of the Government and the Diplomatic Corps, attended a solemn *Te Deum* at Notre Dame. The General was escorted to and from the West Door by the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris who was excluded from the *Te Deum* after the liberation of the capital, but may now be presumed to have been officially rehabilitated.

The elections for the Conseils Généraux which were to take place on the 27th May and the 11th June have now been postponed until the autumn. By then all the prisoners and deportees may be expected to have returned. At present they are coming back to France by road, rail, and air at the rate of between ten and forty thousand a day, and General de Gaulle has thanked General Eisenhower for the assistance given by the United States Army and Air Force in the work of repatriation. There has been a steady trickle of suspicious characters among the repatriates, and the security control which has been tightened now constitutes the main bottleneck in the process of repatriation. Considerable resentment still persists because the municipal elections took place before the majority of prisoners and deportees could exercise their vote. Preliminary reports of the results of the second ballot in these elections, which was held in the provinces on the 13th May, indicate that the victory of the Left has been maintained.

While there is a general expectation that there will now be a reshuffle of the Government in view of the election results and the return of eminent French statesmen from Germany, it is interesting to note that the Communist *Humanité* and two well-known Resistance papers, *Combat* and *Libération*, contend that the

men responsible for French policy in and before 1940 are not qualified to direct it in 1945. MM. Reynaud, Blum, Daladier, Albert Sarraut, Yvon Delbos, and Jouhaux are now back in France, as are Generals Weygand and Gamelin and Colonel de la Rocque. MM. Reynaud and Jouhaux are reported to have travelled from Strasbourg in General de Gaulle's personal aeroplane. Other well-known Frenchmen recently discovered in Germany are the resisting Bishop of Clermont-Ferrand, Mgr. Piquet, Prince Xavier of Bourbon-Parma, and the notorious quisling, Fernand de Brinon. (For Laval see "Spain and Portugal.") General Weygand and Jean Borotra were arrested on their return, but owing to his state of health Weygand has been detained at the Val de Grâce Military Hospital. The preliminary interrogation of Pétain has begun, and his trial is expected to take place before the end of June.

It has now been publicly announced that as from the 1st May the French authorities have taken over responsibility for all civil supplies for France. The practical effects of this change will, however, be small. The food situation in Paris shows little improvement but the authorities claim that the amount in calories of the rations is now twice that for the corresponding period last year. The meat position is still difficult, but there is less criticism of M. Ramadier and of the organisation of food supplies.

The fall in unemployment from about 600,000 at Christmas to about 300,000 now reflects the increase in industrial activity resulting from war contracts. The coal situation remains the principal supply problem and looms larger than ever. The French have been told that there is little hope of their receiving coal from the Saar or the Ruhr for many months to come, and they are therefore turning attention to the need for improving domestic production. They have submitted to the new Coal Sub-Committee of the Four-Party Committee a list of their urgent needs in mining material, clothing and supplementary rations for miners and have said that they will recruit extra personnel from returned French prisoners of war and will employ larger numbers of German prisoners of war. Meanwhile the question of coal supplies from French production to the Allied armies remains in suspense. The French have said that unless extra coal can be made available either by imports or from the Saar they will be unable to supply any to the Allied armies this month.

French reactions to the first reports of the San Francisco Conference showed disappointment that negotiations seemed to be strangled by apparently endless and insoluble discussions about procedure. It was also suspected that the real work of the Conference was being done in private by the "Big Four." The admission of France into the inner circle of Great Powers was therefore welcomed with special satisfaction. There was also considerable pleasure at the minor, but, to the French, important, success obtained by the acceptance of French as one of the two working languages of the Conference.

An official announcement from Algiers on the 10th May reported further disturbances in Algeria, stating that on VE-day Arabs had attacked the inhabitants of Setif and district in the neighbourhood of Constantine and that the army was assisting the police to maintain order. It has since been learnt that at least 50 Europeans have been killed. The French authorities are understood to have carried out punitive air bombing in the Guelma district and to be bringing reinforcements by air from France. There is no reason to doubt that they have the situation well in hand.

(See also "Italy" (for French activities in Piedmont and Liguria), situation well in hand.

SWITZERLAND.

Throughout Switzerland there was a spontaneous desire to share the joy of the rest of the world that the misery and destruction of war were over for Europe at least. The Federal Council gave a lead to the public by the announcement that, as Switzerland had come through the conflict for the second time in 30 years, practically unscathed, the nation would do well to celebrate the cessation of hostilities as discreetly as possible. Gratitude to God for their salvation was the keynote of the Swiss pronouncements, and the churches were filled to overflowing for the thanksgiving services held on V-day.

The end of the Reich as an independent State resulted in the decision by the Federal Council on the 8th May to recall the Swiss Minister from Germany and to close the German Legation in Berne. Members of the German Legation were instructed to leave the country within three days. Measures would be taken

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to enable the necessary consular activities to be carried on in the interests of Swiss subjects in Germany and the German colony in Switzerland.

The Swiss Legation in Washington has been requested by the State Department of the United States to take steps to effect the transfer to that Department of all German real estate, archives and property which had hitherto been under the protection of the Legation, the unconditional surrender of Germany rendering the services of a protecting Power no longer necessary.

Switzerland has received numerous messages of thanks, including a message from Mr. Churchill, for her humane services throughout the war, particularly in regard to prisoners of war and in the representation of foreign interests through the International Red Cross.

Great concern has been caused the Swiss Government by reports of the ill-treatment of Swiss citizens in Japan and Japanese-occupied areas. A number of Swiss in Manila have been killed by Japanese troops, while the Swiss Legation in Japan is subject to such severe restrictions that it is almost unable to carry out its duties. The Federal Council has sent a strongly-worded protest to the Japanese Government, claiming compensation where necessary and demanding a radical change in the treatment of Swiss citizens in the future.

The problem of distinguishing between the desirable and the undesirable from among the multitudes desiring admission to Switzerland continues. Among those recently refused entry were Rashid Ali, the former Prime Minister of Iraq, and the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem. Allegations have appeared in the Swiss press that certain undesirable Hungarians had succeeded in slipping into Switzerland, where they were living in considerable affluence.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

Beyond a request from the French Provisional Government that His Majesty's Government should approach the Spanish Government in order that Pierre Laval should, through our good offices, be handed over to them, there are no further developments to report. It is understood that the United States Government would be prepared to accept a solution on these lines. The position, therefore, in this delicate affair is that the ball is still in the Allied court. We are considering whether to play it, and if so how. In the meantime, another national criminal, as distinct from a United Nations war criminal, has arrived in Spain. On the 8th May an aircraft with Léon Degrelle, the notorious Belgian Rexist leader, crash-landed on the beach at San Sebastian. (The Rexists are Fascists who, incidentally, owe no special allegiance to the House of Coburg; their title, taken from a Catholic publishing firm, refers to *Christus Rex*.) The machine had flown from Oslo, and with Degrelle, who was wearing the uniform of a German colonel, were his secretary and four German airmen. All the party, who were injured, were removed to the Military Hospital, and His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires and the United States Embassy were informed by the Under-Secretary of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs that Degrelle was being held "at the disposal of the Allied Nations." The situation now is exactly the same as with Laval, the Spanish Government being anxious to be rid of him and ready to accept any arrangement for his removal, save that of handing him over directly to the Belgian authorities. It is difficult to say whether greater embarrassment is caused to the Spaniards or to the Allies by the flying visit of these unwanted guests, for nobody wishes to have anything to do with either Laval or Degrelle. The Spaniards as a people have never been particularly impressed with the achievements of modern science, and they now have an opportunity of reflecting upon one of the political disadvantages of air transport. How easy, if only these aerial fugitives had come by sea, how easy to say to them "Sorry—try Portugal." As things are, these incidents are not likely to improve anyone's relations with anyone else; moreover, the handling of them may well affect the fate of other European traitors.

In their attitude to the end of the war in Europe the Portuguese Government have certainly tried to efface the bad impression caused in Great Britain by their tactless commemoration of Hitler's death. Shortly after the Prime Minister's announcement on the 8th May Dr. Sampayo, the Secretary-General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, called on His Majesty's Ambassador; he was followed by Dr. Salazar, who presented the congratulations of the Government and of the Portuguese people. Dr. Salazar also addressed the National Assembly on the 9th May. Portugal, he said, had passed unharmed through the war in Europe without sacrificing her national dignity, her interests or her friendships. When it had been necessary to take up an attitude in favour of friends or Allies she had done so serenely, accepting the risks and sacrifices involved. (This was a reference to the Azores operations, rather than to the

decision, taken on the eve of D-day, 1944, to suspend the export of wolfram to Germany.) Portugal, he claimed, had maintained her position without subservience to the powerful and without disregard of the weak or oppressed who needed help and refuge. Dr. Salazar then paid a handsome tribute to Portugal's oldest ally. He confessed that his hopes of victory had turned to certainty only after the contemplation of the war effort which, although within the capacity of the British people, had probably never been equalled in the history of humanity. It was evident to all that the British victory and that of the United States—in which Brazil had actively collaborated—would have the effect so far as the west was concerned of transferring to the Atlantic the centre of gravity of international politics. "Although bleeding from countless wounds," Dr. Salazar concluded, "Great Britain rises amid great ruins not only victorious but invincible; and, having strengthened the links in the various parts of the Empire, she can appear before the world and among the greatest as a veritable educator of peoples, a mother and a leader of nations." Glowing words.

ITALY.

The question of Trieste and Venezia Giulia, which is dealt with mainly under Yugoslavia, is having a serious effect on the Italian political situation. Signor Bonomi and Signor de Gasperi have protested, on instructions from the Council of Ministers, to the Chief Commissioner of the Allied Commission regarding the situation in Venezia Giulia. Referring to the promised establishment of Allied military government, Signor de Gasperi showed the Chief Commissioner a copy of a Trieste newspaper in which the composition of the Slovene Government of Istria was published. According to journalists who had returned from that area, all men over 16 years were being conscripted to fight Chetniks in Yugoslavia and Venezia Giulia. These journalists also said that Italian political leaders were disappearing and that the Yugoslav Government had declared that it considered them as prisoners of war. Since Allied military government had not been set up in Venezia Giulia Signor de Gasperi told the Chief Commissioner that the Italian Government might be forced to resign because the question of Trieste and Venezia Giulia had become one of national importance on which Italians of all parties were united. This is undoubtedly true, except that Signor Togliatti, the leader of the Communist Party, appears to be in an ever-increasing dilemma as to the position he should adopt and to be as much in the dark regarding the extent of Moscow's commitments as everyone else. The Council of Ministers also issued on the 12th May a communiqué urging that Venezia Giulia should be occupied and administered by the Allied forces with whom the armistice was concluded because the difficulties of a final settlement would be greatly increased if the Yugoslav occupation was allowed to continue.

The Committee of National Liberation of the North, which visited Rome in order to get in touch with their party leaders and also to discuss a change of Prime Ministers as well as a reshuffle of the Government, seemed, after closer examination of the situation, to have come to the conclusion that Signor Bonomi might be, after all, the best man at any rate for the time being. But the situation in Venezia Giulia has encouraged the Communist-Socialist Alliance to press their demand that Signor Nenni, the leader of the Socialist party, should be given the Ministry of the Interior. Signor Togliatti has actually suggested that Signor Nenni should become President of the Council as well, but it is thought that he would be willing to agree to Signor De Gasperi as President of the Council providing Signor Nenni became Minister of the Interior. Signor Bonomi, accompanied by various Ministers, is said to be on his way to tour the north, where he will be able to judge for himself as regards the political situation in the industrial area. Although early elections and the Constituent Assembly are desired by all, the extremists are particularly anxious to hurry them on as they believe that abnormal conditions due to lack of food and general disorganisation will greatly favour their chances. The Committee of National Liberation of the North may, however, have appreciated the difficulties of holding any elections for some months and have decided that, in the meantime, co-operation between the parties is the most important thing to work for. Trials of Fascists in the north have gone on at express speed and already at least 1,500 have paid the extreme penalty. Although trial and execution have proceeded so rapidly, British liaison officers have reported that, in practically every case, the sentence was no more than deserved. In future all courts will be under the control of the Allied Military Government.

It is now confirmed that damage to industrial plants and hydro-electric power stations is only slight and that as soon as raw materials are available

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industry can make a start. Coal is particularly needed, since, although the main lines are electrified, practically all the side lines run on steam. Coal is also needed for the building trade, &c. The port of Venice, as well as Genoa, should soon be available for traffic and the railways are said to be in far better condition than expected.

The situation on the Franco-Italian frontier tends to become daily more obscure owing to the French forbidding entry into the zone occupied by their troops. In the Tenda area the French Commander is reported to have made compulsory the use of the French language and currency, and to be replacing Italian with French officials. The Tenda area forms part of the frontier rectifications unofficially suggested by the French as necessary for strategic reasons. In the Val d'Aosta a French Committee of National Liberation is said to have been set up with the intention of holding a plebiscite on annexation of the Valley to France. No frontier rectifications in this area have been suggested by France except for a small strip on the Col of the Little St. Bernard. Although the French Government has, on more than one occasion, denied any participation in political activities in the Val d'Aosta and has stated that it has no intention of influencing the Val d'Aostans, it has not yet confirmed Field-Marshal Alexander's orders to General Doyen, the French Commander, to withdraw his troops to the frontier and General Doyen refuses to move unless his orders are confirmed by his Government.

THE VATICAN.

On the 10th May, five years to the day since the Pope had sent to the rulers of Belgium, Holland and Luxemburg his sympathy at the loss of their countries' freedom, he congratulated them on its restoration. On the 9th May the Pope broadcast a message of thanksgiving for the end of the European war. He took it for granted that millions had given their lives for a new world founded on the fear of God, respect for human dignity and the sacred principle of equality of rights for all peoples and all States, large and small, a world wherein lies and rancour give place to truth and charity. The message called for a great drive for reconstruction.

The new French Ambassador to the Holy See, Jacques Maritain, the philosopher of Catholic Democracy, presented his credentials on the 10th May. In a short speech he addressed the Pope as "the man who had defended natural law and human dignity, justice and charity throughout these difficult years." In his reply, the Pope spread the mantle of his approval over the work of M. Maritain, whose writings have been attacked in some Catholic circles as dangerously "Left": "We appreciate the choice of the man who has openly avowed his acceptance of the Catholic faith and of the philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas, a man who has put his great abilities at the service of the doctrinal and moral principles which, at this time of universal discord, the Church never ceases to propagate in the world." The Pope then quoted the saying of another great Catholic democrat, Cardinal Verdier, that France must form a new axis of civilisation with the Church. He made a pointed reference to the attacks on Catholic secondary schools in France, which have been so cleverly disguised as attacks on Vichy legislation.

On the 12th May the Vatican Radio announced that the Archbishop of Gorizia had arrived in Rome. Earlier this month Yugoslav Partisans had arrested him and the Vatican had urged the Allies to secure his release. The same source that told of Mgr. Margotti's arrest reported the arrest by Partisans of the Bishops of Ljubliana and Trieste. According to a high Vatican authority the Bishop of Ljubliana's name was amongst those of 20,000 Slovenes listed by the Communists to be killed when the Partisans took Ljubliana.

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

The food and general supply position improved in Budapest but deteriorated in Debrecen following the departure of the Government and the Allied Control Commission. Prices consequently tended to rise in Debrecen although they fell in Budapest.

A recent report from the economic expert with the British Military Mission contained a recommendation that the activities of the *Budapest Bourse* in

publishing quotations for dollars, sterling and Swiss francs should cease as they constituted an intrinsic violation of the Armistice terms, and all foreign currency holdings should be registered with the Provisional National Government and held for the eventual part settlement of reparations. There were, however, no reports that any transactions had in fact been carried through.

The Council of Ministers accepted a draft Bill providing for the dissolution of the gendarmerie and the punishment of all ex-gendarmes who opposed the democratic and anti-German movement. *Szabadsàg*, in a leading article, urged a more thorough purge of the professional staff of Budapest University, alleging that certain professors of the Faculty of Medicine had been involved in Fascist activities.

Gyöngyössi made a public statement on the 9th May on the implications for Hungary of the end of the war. He expressed satisfaction that Hungarian troops were then fighting with the Allies, and that the termination of hostilities would mean that henceforth deliveries made to Russia would be reckoned as payment of reparations. He expressed deep concern about the fate of Hungarian prisoners of war and deportees, counting on the goodwill of Russia to assist in their repatriation. He advanced the hope that Hungary would now be permitted direct contact with foreign countries. To the Press a few days later he reiterated the outlines of Hungary's foreign policy, stressing the desirability of Russo-Hungarian co-operation and friendship.

On VE-Day, Miklós sent a message of gratitude and appreciation to Mr. Churchill.

M. Kállay and M. Horthy junior arrived in Naples after being released from a concentration camp. Szálasi and Beregffy are reported to have been captured and interned. Bajcsi Zsilinszky, whose death was reported in *Summary* No. 282, was proclaimed a national hero.

Roumania.

The "All Clear" announcing the end of the war in Europe was sounded in Bucharest at 2 p.m. on the 9th May. The main celebrations of Victory took place however on the 10th May, Roumania's National Day. The official speeches on that occasion maintained that permanent friendship, mutual assistance and collaboration with the U.S.S.R. would be the basis of Roumania's foreign policy, though there were warm references to the part played by the Western Allies in the defeat of Germany. On the 10th May Roumanian troops were still reported as fighting along with the Red Army north-east of Brno.

General Radescu left the sanctuary of the British Legation on the 7th May on a guarantee of protection from M. Tatarescu and a statement from General Vinogradov that there was now no danger. His departure has done much to improve relations between His Majesty's representatives and the Russians, and gave added cordiality to the Allied VE-Day celebrations. At a party on that day given by General Susaikov, His Majesty's representatives were unexpectedly confronted by members of the Roumanian Government, headed by the Prime Minister. M. Groza delivered a tactful speech congratulating all three Great Powers in equal measure, and, the embarrassing opening having been successfully surmounted, the whole evening passed off in an atmosphere of unusual conviviality.

Bucharest radio has given much publicity to the Congress of the Magyar People's Union, which opened at Chuj on the 7th May, and to the good wishes sent to it by the Minister of Propaganda, Professor Constantinescu Iaşi.

Patriarch Alexei of Moscow has now sent a return delegation to the Orthodox Church of Roumania headed by Archbishop Ieronim of Kishinev—the delegation was given a big reception by Patriarch Nicodim, which was attended by the First Secretary to the Soviet political adviser.

Yugoslavia.

If the Yugoslav intention to annex Venezia Giulia needed further demonstration, that was given in a broadcast speech by one of the Regents, Dr. Manditch, who said: "By the occupation of Trieste, Monfalcone and Gorizia our heroic army has demarcated the new Yugoslavia's western frontier . . . . We have learned that borders are written with blood and not with ink. . . . "

On the 12th May the Belgrade press published an interview with the Yugoslav Chief of the Staff, who described the Yugoslavs' swift dash across Venezia Giulia and claimed that they were liquidating the last German pockets at Trieste when General Freyberg's troops arrived on the 2nd May [a variant from the Yugoslav communiqué of the 3rd May, that no German garrison existed after the 30th April]. "Thus," said the General, "our troops were able to conquer Istria,

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Trieste and the Slovene Coastland without anybody's help.'' He even went so far as to say that the Triestini had given the Yugoslavs ''a very cordial reception,'' and that the meeting with the Allies had been ''very cordial.'' Such statements will possibly make it difficult for Marshal Tito to modify his claims.

General Morgan met Tito at Belgrade on the 8th and 9th May. Tito rejected Field-Marshal Alexander's proposal of a military demarcation line east of Trieste and the Isonzo valley. He claimed Venezia Giulia by right of conquest and said that he would claim it, and territory further west, at the Peace Conference. He offered Field-Marshal Alexander the use of Trieste port and the communications to Austria, under an Allied-Yugoslav military commission, but stated that civil government would be carried on by the Partisan committees long established underground and now already in power. When General Morgan informed Tito that Field-Marshal Alexander was referring the issue to the British and United States Governments, Tito shrugged his shoulders. Field-Marshal Alexander subsequently informed Tito that he proposed to continue using the port of Trieste to maintain his forces and that he trusted that Tito would ensure that no regrettable incidents occurred.

As early as the 7th May a Yugoslav communiqué claimed the capture of Cividale and Udine (in pre-1914 Italy). There are considerable Yugoslav forces west of the Isonzo, and those around Trieste have been much increased.

To emphasise their contempt for International Law the Yugoslavs have set up the sixth and last of their regional Governments, that of Slovenia, not in Ljubljana, the Slovene capital, but in Trieste, *i.e.*, on occupied Italian territory. As in the other five cases the Premier is the secretary of the Front (the party). In the same arbitrary manner the administration of Trieste has been handed over to the executive committee of the local Partisan committee. As contact with the rest of Italy has been stopped, and as Venezia Giulia has depended on food supplies from the Po valley, a serious food situation has already arisen. On the 8th Monfalcone was said to have supplies for only two days. The Italian press has daily been printing reports of Yugoslav terrorism, expropriations, executions and deportations, carried out presumably in anticipation of a possible plebiscite. The correspondents of at least five London newspapers have described Yugoslav troops firing on the populace and the treatment of Trieste as a conquered city.

The situation is extremely grave; and, if the practice of ''smash and grab'' is successful in Venezia Giulia, it is likely to be applied elsewhere. The Acting Secretary of State, Mr. Grew, made a public statement of United States policy on the 12th May. He emphasised the need for settling the numerous territorial problems of Europe by discussion aiming at equity. ''. . . . The United States Government reiterates its view that a disinterested military government is essential in Venezia Giulia in order not to prejudice, through sudden unilateral action taken in the flush of victory, a final solution corresponding to the problems and principles involved . . . . no territorial problem can be solved by proclamations issued in the wake of an army on the march.'' Mr. Grew's statement has the full support of His Majesty's Government.

In Carinthia, in south-eastern Austria, events have followed a somewhat different course (see "Austria"). Yugoslav propaganda has long declared the Yugoslav intention of annexing southern Carinthia. But by the agreement of the greater Allies Carinthia and Styria are the zone of British occupation in Austria. British troops, approaching from the west, occupied Tarvis and Villach, just anticipated the Yugoslavs for the occupation of Klagenfurt, and encountered Yugoslav intention of annexing southern Carinthia. But by the agreement of side south of the Drave in force and were seizing motor-cars, printing-presses, the bicycles of the Austrian police and anything of value. A British correspondent stated that they set up a road-block which forced the British to redirect their traffic for a time. The British Ambassador on the 12th May delivered on instructions a note to Tito requiring the immediate withdrawal of Yugoslav troops to the south of the 1937 Austrian frontier. On the 14th Tito replied demanding that his forces should be allowed to remain where they were in Austria; but offering that they should come under Field-Marshal Alexander's command as other Yugoslav troops elsewhere in Austria, he stated, would be under Marshal Tolbukhin. Nevertheless reports state that some of the Yugoslav troops have been withdrawn from Tarvis and have retired from Völkermarkt, though swearing to return in force.

On the 7th May a broadcast speech by a Croat official called upon all in Zagreb to offer no resistance. Zagreb was occupied by the Yugoslavs next day. The capture of Ljubljana had been announced on the 7th. Unlike Trieste these two cities contain no British correspondents to describe their ''liberation.''

Radio Belgrade has been threatening "dissidents, reactionaries and clericals"; and at the victory rally in Zagreb on the 11th speakers denounced Dr. Machek (who, so they said, had fled with the Germans) and the Archbishop of Zagreb, as traitors. It is evident that the Catholic clergy are to receive harsh treatment. (For the arrests of Bishops, see "The Vatican.")

From Belgrade it was announced that the Yugoslav political police are "nearly every day" destroying "terrorist groups." Mihailovitch's forces in Bosnia, much reduced and in a bad way, are being chased in the mountains.

Greece.

On the 11th May it was officially announced by Mediterranean Headquarters that German garrisons had surrendered in Crete, Milos, Rhodes, Leros, Cos, and various smaller islands of the Aegean. On the same day Radio Athens announced that the Regent would shortly visit the Dodecanese on board the cruiser Averov, with a destroyer escort. The Regent's journey, it was stated, was significant in that it was being made at "an extremely delicate time as regards international politics before the Peace Conference." It was understood that Greece's Allies, particularly Great Britain, intended by this "decision" to make a gesture which would constitute a recognition of Greece's contribution to the common Allied struggle. No member of the Government would travel with the Regent, who would be accompanied by a delegation of military leaders and by members of the Dodecanese Committee. The Regent would visit all the islands, including Castellorizo. Particular significance must be attached to the fact that the Regent would be seen off by British officials and that on Rhodes he would receive a medal from General Paget; considering that such awards were given only on the native soil of the recipient, it might be understood that Rhodes was already regarded as Greek territory. No announcement had yet been made about the establishment of Greek political authority on the Dodecanese. The Regent would probably also take the opportunity to visit Crete. Later, Radio Athens announced that the Acropolis had been illuminated on the occasion of "the union of the Dodecanese with Greece." The Ministry of Supply was sending food to the Dodecanese and the Ministry of Education would be glad of British assistance in conveying school books to be distributed to the children.

For some time there have been indications that public opinion in Athens was becoming increasingly anxious for the Greek Government to make some official gesture towards the Dodecanese (General Plastiras, indeed, wanted to send detachments of the National Guard to the three islands liberated in March), and there were scenes of wild enthusiasm at the Piræus when the Regent set sail on the 13th May. His Majesty's Ambassador and General Scobie were there to see him off.

Replying to a question in the House of Commons on the 16th May, Mr. Hall said that His Majesty's Government realised the strength of the feeling about the Dodecanese, but they regarded it as essential that changes in the sovereignty over the islands, like any other territorial transfers, should not be decided in advance of the peace settlement. The Greek Regent had asked permission to pay a short visit to Rhodes to convey the greetings of the Greek people to the Greek inhabitants of the Dodecanese, and His Majesty's Government had willingly granted this request, as it in no way infringed the principle that the future status of the islands must be left over until the peace settlement.

(See also under "Turkey.")

Albania.

Public pronouncements during VE celebrations in Albania seem to have given the credit for victory not only to the Red Army but also, in fair measure, to the Anglo-Saxons. A broadcast stated that Albania's task now was to co-operate with freedom-loving nations for the establishment of peace, especially in the Balkans, to maintain independence, to reconstruct and to consolidate the Albanian democratic régime. But that Enver Hoxha's conception of democracy is on Russian rather than on Western lines appeared from the further statement that the army would act mercilessly against all who opposed the so-called "People's régime." Besides the army, Enver Hoxha's Government seems to rely on an efficient spy system. It has also been regimenting the people in various spheres —trades unions, women's associations and particularly youth organisations. Even the Bektashi community, which represents more than a quarter of the Moslem population, has been put under new chiefs who are doubtless in sympathy with the new régime.

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Bulgaria.

Although in the Bulgarian celebration of VE-day the chief emphasis, as was to be expected, fell on the achievements of the Red Army, the part played by Britain and the United States was by no means ignored. On the 12th May Sofia Radio reported that Bulgarian troops were in touch near Klagenfurt with the British 8th Army.

The Communists have kept up their frantic efforts to bring the Agrarians under their control. Tension between the two parties is acute and the risk of a breach considerable. Having split the Agrarians, the Communists evidently now mean to suppress the moderate section. At an Agrarian party conference called on the 8th May for the avowed purpose of resolving the crisis the Agrarian Cabinet Ministers remained silent, but the extremists, besides continuing their shameless defamation of Dr. G. M. Dimitrov, started an agitation for the elimination of a score of his followers and obtained the election of a new executive committee, which they doubtless hope to find amenable. In an accompanying press campaign the Communists have not scrupled to invoke the name of Stambuliiski, nor to charge Dr. G. M. Dimitrov and his friends with being the tools of foreign interests. The Communists have foreshadowed "explaining" matters to the people with a view to "purging" the Agrarian Party, and they have asserted that the economic well-being of peasants and workers depends on maintaining the unity of the Fatherland Front.

The cessation of hostilities in Europe raises the question—left open by the terms of the Bulgarian armistice—of the degree to which during this second phase of the armistice period Britain and the United States will take an active part in the control of Bulgaria. On the other hand there is no indication that the Red Army commander, General Biryusov, intends to relax the unostentatious support which he has been giving to the Communists, and a resolution passed at the abovementioned Agrarian conference was in favour of the conclusion at the earliest possible moment of a political and military alliance with the U.S.S.R.

It is reported that Tsankov, who fled last September and headed the "free Bulgarian Government" in Germany, has been captured in Berlin with two Bulgarian Deputies and that all three will be returned to Bulgaria where they were some time ago condemned *in absentia* to death.

Turkey.

As became a member of the United Nations, Turkey did not fail to celebrate VE-day, but the form given to the congratulations which reached President Inönü and the Government in Angora from the provinces was ingenious and perhaps unique: the Turkish leaders were thanked for keeping the country out of the war. In the Grand National Assembly the Prime Minister, M. Saracoğlu paid a handsome tribute to Britain, Russia and the United States and their great leaders and also to Greece. He claimed that the decision taken by the Turkish Government six years ago to side with Britain—had been justified and that Turkey had given all assistance to her Allies. He expressed confidence in the San Francisco Conference and asked the Assembly in its turn to have confidence in him.

On receiving the news of Greek troops landing in the Dodecanese under British auspices the Turkish Government showed an interest in the future of the whole group and more particularly Leros, Kalimnos, Kos, Nisiros and Symi which are nearest the Anatolian coast. This interest is no doubt prompted by strategic considerations. About the 5,000 Turks who still live in Rhodes and Kos the Turkish Government does not seem to be much concerned. (See also under "Greece" above.)

Another cause of anxiety for the Turkish Government is the agitation now going on in Syria for the retrocession of the Hatay (district of Alexandretta) which Turkey extorted from France in 1939.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

Both King Farouk and the Egyptian Prime Minister have conveyed their warmest congratulations to His Majesty's Government on the defeat of Germany. VE-day was celebrated in Egypt with expressions of Allied and democratic solidarity, though unblushing emphasis was, as usual, laid on the valuable services rendered by Egypt to the Allied cause, and on the rightful claim by the Egyptian people to a reward for their assistance.

In a victory statement published in the press Nahas Pasha urged that an end should be put to martial law in Egypt. The abolition in Great Britain of some of the Government's special war-time powers has provoked a movement in Egypt for a similar end to be made of political censorship, internment and the excessive use of military tribunals.

Among formal amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks Charter the Egyptian delegation at San Francisco have recommended the following insertion in Chapter 5, Section B, paragraph 1: "To advise, on the request of any member concerned, the reconsideration of treaties which have become inapplicable, and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace." This amendment, obviously based on the suggestion made by the head of the Egyptian delegation at the plenary session on the 28th April, clearly points to the oft-repeated desire expressed by successive Egyptian Governments for the revision of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty.

(For recent discussion of the Zionist question in America see under "United States of America.")

On the 7th May the French Provisional Government issued a communiqué stating that General de Gaulle had received General Beynet, who would be returning to Beirut immediately, and had instructed him on the negotiations to be undertaken with the Syrian and Lebanese Governments, "taking account of the imminent ending of a state of war in the Eastern Mediterranean." The object of these negotiations would be to conclude treaties, "which will on the one hand settle questions raised by the substitution of a régime of independence of the Levant States for that of the French mandate, and on the other hand assure the cultural, economic and strategic interests of France."

As expected, a French cruiser reached Beirut on the 6th May with 900 troops, and left again on the 9th May with, it is said, about 500 on board. Though disembarkation took place without incident, the arrival of fresh troops, coupled with rumours of further reinforcements, has added colour to the belief that the French intend to build up enough forces in the Levant to compel the States to accept a dictated settlement.

In the Lebanese Chamber on the 8th May the Minister for Foreign Affairs stated that the troops in question had been sent as a relief in exchange for an equal number to be repatriated. He said that in future the Lebanese Government would insist on its consent being obtained for all such military movements, until peace allowed of the final departure of the Allied forces from the country. He added that his Government was willing to conclude agreements with any of the Allied States, but only on the basis of complete sovereignty and without giving a predominant position to any of them.

VE-day and those following were marked in Beirut by a display of French flags (distributed by the French); French lorries, decorated with tricolours, parading the town; tricolours attached to parachutes rocketed overhead by the French; and the shouting of such slogans as, "This is your country, O de Gaulle!" As a result, incidents have not been lacking, and clashes between the French and the local population have occurred not only in Beirut, but also in Damascus and Homs. All this has done nothing to lessen the excitement already prevailing, and the atmosphere thus created can hardly be propitious for the negotiations due to be opened. Nevertheless, it is believed that the local Governments intend to discuss terms with General Beynet, though they might, of course, break off negotiations in the event of more French troops arriving, unless these proved to be only replacements and not additional forces. The *Jeanne d'Arc* is due to reach Beirut on the 17th May, so it will not be long before we know how events will shape.

The apprehensions felt in the Levant States about French reinforcements are shared by the Iraqi Government. The Iraqi Prime Minister recently expressed to the Counsellor of the British Embassy his fears that such "provocative action" might have serious consequences, more especially as the troops being sent to the Levant were Senegalese.

The Regent has now received President Truman's invitation to visit the United States, where he is due to arrive on the 23rd May. His Royal Highness hopes to spend some three weeks there, after which he would like to pay unofficial visits to Canada and to this country.

Musa Alami, the Palestinian delegate at the recent Arab Congress, has been visiting Iraq, and left Bagdad for Damascus on the 9th May. The object of his mission was to obtain a promise from the Iraqi Government of a substantial contribution towards the expenses of the Arab propaganda offices to be set up in Washington and London. It was, however, only just before his departure

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from Bagdad that Musa succeeded, with the help of the Regent, in securing from the Iraqi Prime Minister a letter promising a contribution of £15,000 now, and a further £75,000 after the passing of the budget.

In reply to a question in the House of Commons on the 9th May, Mr. Law said that His Majesty's Government had welcomed the successful formation of the League of Arab States. They would await with sympathy and interest the results of the detailed conversations which were now to be begun for reducing the barriers which divided the Arab peoples, and for promoting co-operation between them. His Majesty's Government hoped that these discussions would yield useful and practical results.

The new Prime Minister of Persia, Ibrahim Hakimi, presented his new Cabinet to the Shah on the 10th May. The composition of this Cabinet cannot be said to be very impressive, although several of its members have held ministerial office before. M. Zand, the Minister of War, held the same post in the previous Cabinet, while MM. Arasteh (Communications) and Adl (Minister without Portfolio) were also members of it, but occupied different positions. M. Salih, the Minister of Justice, who is attending the Conference at San Francisco, was in charge of that Ministry in the last of M. Said's Cabinets.

THE FAR EAST.

On the 9th May, after the news of the unconditional surrender of Germany, the Japanese Cabinet held an extraordinary meeting and issued an official statement to the effect that Japan's war aims were not altered by the collapse of Germany. Japanese press comment in general paid tribute to the tenacity with which the German armies had fought; but expressed regret that Germany had not after all held out to the very last, and asserted that Japan would not fail to do so. Ishiro Tokutomi, a veteran Japanese journalist, writing in the *Mainichi* (8th May) said that Hitler's greatest misfortunes were made by himself; in particular through his mistake in attacking the U.S.S.R. and so committing Germany to a two-front war. Dr. Shizo Koizumi, the President of Keio University, declared that a section of the German people, especially the middle-aged class, lacked strong faith in final victory. The result of this was the present pitiful plight of conquered Germany, which was an object lesson to the Japanese people that the war must be won at any cost (*Domei*, 8th May).

The *Yomiuri-Hochi* (11th May) said that there had been no sign of disappointment or dismay among the Japanese people at the final collapse of Germany, and this bore out the Government's statement that there would not be the slightest change in Japan's determination to fight on. The end of the European War would not mean peace or a new order in Europe, for the end of the common struggle against Germany was already marked by increased friction between the United States and Great Britain on the one hand and the U.S.S.R. on the other. But Japan was not over-estimating the divergencies between these Powers; also she was well aware that the United States and Great Britain were relieved of the strategically disadvantageous burden of fighting in two theatres of war. Henceforth their full strength would be thrown into the Pacific War. (This contradicted what the paper had said on the 8th May, when it had endeavoured to show that very little reinforcements could be sent from the European to the Pacific front.) The lesson Japan should learn from the defeat of Germany was that a war was always decided in the last five minutes. Unlike Germany, Japan would never flinch in her efforts to bring the war of Greater East Asia to a successful end. The *Mainichi* (11th May) said much the same.

With war industry in the Japanese homeland undergoing heavier air onslaughts, the importance of Manchuria as a supply and production base has been a constant theme in Japanese official and press comment. A *Domei* message of the 9th May from Hsinking said that a "fighting strength inspection system" had been established and that Ginjiro Fujiwara, formerly Minister of Munitions in the Koiso Cabinet, had been appointed as "Fighting Strength Inspector." Fujiwara and his assistants, who were all high Japanese industrial experts, would have the task of increasing the production of light metals and the manufacture of aircraft. A further report of the 12th May said that many measures had been adopted to increase the production of aircraft in "Manchukuo."

Motoki Yamazaki, the new-appointed president of the South Manchuria Railway Company, declared that he would make the greatest efforts to increase the transportation capacity of the lines under his control as well as to raise

the production of coal, oil and other war materials in enterprises operated by the company (*Domei*, 11th May). The "Manchukuo" Premier, Chang Ching-hui, who has recently been on a visit to Tokyo, expressed his admiration at the spirit of the Japanese people under air-raids and declared that "Manchukuo" would make every effort in aid of Japan.

The Japanese continue to try to divert attention from the heavy blows which are being inflicted upon them by making fantastic assertions about American casualties.

Domei (10th May) said that, at the beginning of the fighting in Okinawa the American 24th Army Corps played the principal rôle, but that in a fortnight's struggle the 27th and 96th divisions of this Corps were reduced by more than a half. The Americans then withdrew these divisions and replaced them by the 1st Marine Division from Saipan and the 7th Army Division. With these they launched three offensives, on the 19th April, the 26th April and the 8th May, but each time met with bitter resistance from the Japanese defenders. Altogether the Americans were said to have eight divisions in the Ryukyu Islands; with over a half of their total strength engaged with the Japanese holding the southern part of Okinawa. The Japanese line ran from Aja on the west coast through Mayeda and Kochi to Gamasha on the east coast, a distance of 8 kilom. The Americans had managed to cross the Aja River at a point 3 kilom. north of Naha. The Japanese claimed that, up to the 7th May, the American ground forces had suffered 34,700 casualties, and that their sea and air forces had lost heavily through repeated attacks by Japanese air and submarine units, including Special Attack Corps (*Domei*, 11th, 12th May).

The Chinese claim to have begun a general counter-offensive against the Japanese forces in Western Hunan and to have driven them back on Paoching. This city has been heavily bombed by the American air force. The Chinese are jubilant over their success and say that it shows what properly equipped and trained Chinese troops can do (Chungking Radio, 11th May). The Chinese also say that they have retaken Foochow; their military communiqué spoke of street-fighting in the city when their troops broke into it on the 11th May. However, military observers in Chungking pointed out that the Japanese kept only a small garrison in Foochow and had quite probably withdrawn a part of this to Formosa (Chungking Radio, 14th May).

The *Ta Kung Pao* (8th May) said that, if the U.S.S.R. took part in the war against Japan, then the Kuriles and southern Sakhalin should come under her trusteeship. But, declared the paper, Formosa was Chinese territory and must be returned to China, not put under international trusteeship, even if American forces took part in an attack upon it. Referring to colonial territories which still remained under Japanese occupation, the paper declared that China must be the spokesman of the small nations and must demand a change in the colonial system. The Communist *Hsin Hua Jih Pao* (8th May) asserted that both the World Wars had arisen over the question of colonies. The colonial Powers, especially Great Britain, were increasingly dependent upon their colonies, as though they could not exist without them. But among colonial peoples the movement for liberation had reached its peak. Some countries, in particular the United States, would break down the barriers of the old imperialist Powers and cause their colonial possessions to draw away from them, at first economically and later politically. But the clash between the Great Powers might lead one to give help to an independence movement in the colonies of another and thus help to bring about the next World War.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Many American newspapers printed the complete text of Mr. Churchill's review of the war which was broadcast last Sunday and heard by a vast audience in the United States. As usual, the Prime Minister's speech has been received with acclaim. "His voice," said the *New York Herald Tribune*, "was the drum beat which rallied free men everywhere. Unmentioned in the speech, unnoted in the record, the voice, the heart, the mind and will of Winston Churchill united to form one of the greatest facts of the last five years of human history." His categorical assurances that Britain will stand shoulder to shoulder with the Americans in the war against Japan have, once again, been welcomed, and his remarks that the proposed world organisation must not become a shield for the strong and a mockery for the weak, together with his utterances against "totalitarian or police governments" were generally interpreted as a friendly reproof to the U.S.S.R.

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Growing concern, however, is expressed on the radio and in the press on the development of Russo-American relations. Except for extreme Russophobes, all commentators are alike in agreeing that " something must be done " to overcome the present difficulties.

The statement by Mr. Crowley (Foreign Economic Administrator) that Lend-Lease programmes were being reviewed and that pending the completion of this study, " new shipments to Europe (were) being held up except those destined to countries now at war with Japan," was widely interpreted in the United States as signifying that Lend-Lease aid to Russia had been suspended. One leftish commentator saw in this alleged discontinuance of Lend-Lease aid to Russia, a " display of strength " which dealt a heavy blow to Russia but returned no profit to the United States. The Administration, however, has taken steps to correct this assumption. Mr. Crowley himself immediately declared that there was nothing ominous in his announcement of the suspension of Lend-Lease supplies to Russia, and in a statement to the press Mr. Grew, the Acting Secretary of State, again emphasised that the " end of organised resistance in Europe is not the end of the war," and that the President was empowered to continue to move Lend-Lease supplies to Europe during the continuing military occupation, as he was equally authorised to furnish necessary supplies to foreign countries on the basis of continuing hostilities in the Pacific. Referring to the Soviet Union, Mr. Grew said that Lend-Lease shipments to the Soviet Union would be " reviewed and continued where they were justified on the basis of adequate information regarding the essential nature of the Soviet military supply requirements, and in the light of competing demands." But he did anticipate substantial reductions in the current programme for the U.S.S.R. Mr. Grew's statement on Trieste (for fuller treatment, see under " Yugoslavia ") added, however, to the view held in certain quarters that the Americans were getting " tough and hard-boiled " with the Soviet Union. On the whole the press and radio have exercised a remarkable restraint on the subject of relations with the U.S.S.R., and in general there have been exhortations to practise " tolerance and patience." In some instances specific suggestions have been made for a meeting at which President Truman could confer with Marshal Stalin and Mr. Churchill on the various thorny problems, such as the Polish issue, which at present tend to divide the major Allies.

While discussions continue at San Francisco on the question of colonial trusteeship, Admiral King, Commander-in-Chief of the Navy, is reported as having informed the Appropriations Committee of the Senate that the Navy, with President Truman's approval, has delivered to the Secretary of State, Mr. Stettinius, a request for bases on a number of islands in the Philippines.

Mr. " Bob " Hannegan, the Chairman of the Democratic Party, who hails from Missouri and who is an old friend of President Truman, has been appointed, as was anticipated, Postmaster-General. This appointment, the first President Truman has made to the Cabinet, follows established tradition and has caused little comment, though one or two papers have interpreted it as signifying that the President is making active plans for the 1946 and 1948 elections. But while the majority of comment has been apathetic to the nomination of the new Postmaster-General, the re-nomination of Mr. Lilienthal as Administrator of the Tennessee Valley Authority (T.V.A.) has aroused quite genuine enthusiasm. Although an ardent New Dealer, Mr. Lilienthal has won the reputation of being an able and sound administrator, and his reappointment has been hailed by the Liberals as proof that, despite his desire to maintain good relations with Congress, President Truman has no intention of yielding to pressure groups.

On the 16th April Mr. Donald Nelson, the former chairman of the War Production Board and subsequently the personal representative of President Roosevelt in China, where his task was to organise Chinese war production, tendered his resignation. President Truman has accepted this as effective from the 15th May. In his stead, and at Mr. Nelson's suggestion, Mr. Edwin A. Locke, Jr., who has been associated with Mr. Nelson throughout the war, has been appointed to complete Mr. Nelson's mission, which it is anticipated will take three to six months.

The President has also appointed Lieutenant-Colonel Hodgson as United States Commissioner on the United Nations War Crimes Commission in London. He succeeds Mr. Herbert Pell whose deputy he has been for some time.

Widespread indignation has been aroused in the United States by the courteous treatment accorded to Goering. The Veterans of Foreign Wars Organisation has issued a protest against this " coddling," and fear has been expressed that because they hold military commands, high German personalities

will escape trial as war criminals. General Eisenhower's promise of drastic action to prevent a future " coddling " of high German officers has been received with marked relief, though there is a growing demand for a speed-up of the trial of war criminals, among whom should be included, according to the *New York Times*, " the German generals and admirals who broke every merciful convention by which civilised society tried to limit the horrors of war." Goering himself is roundly condemned as a criminal of the worst type for whom the death penalty is demanded, and he is described as " the number two butcher."

Mayor La Guardia, who incidentally a short time ago announced that he would not seek a fourth term as Mayor of New York, has addressed a mass meeting which is said to have been attended by 60,000 persons and was organised by the Zionists. Senator Wagner formally denounced the British Government, along familiar lines, for its Palestine policy.

[See also under " Yugoslavia."]

LATIN AMERICA.

Victory in Europe was celebrated with much enthusiasm throughout Latin America. Even in Argentina the Government attended a solemn thanksgiving service in the Cathedral at Buenos Aires and General Farrell hastened to declare his satisfaction to Sir D. Kelly and voiced his assurance that he himself had never been Nazi, Fascist nor even totalitarian. In Brazil there was jubilation; and President Vargas received representatives of the foreign press. Asked whether Brazil proposed to declare war on Japan, he was reported as saying that Brazil had been the first country to show her solidarity with the United States, that Brazil would not take an isolated attitude, and that she was ready to give the United States the co-operation that might be asked of her. Other countries that have not declared war on Japan are Colombia and the Dominican Republic.

The Latin American representatives at the San Francisco Conference have so far appeared prominently in two issues—that of the admittance of Argentina, and that concerning the part to be played by regional groups in the world security structure. In the case of Argentina, the Latin Americans were able to win United States support, and gained their objective, which they appeared to regard as a *quid pro quo* for their support in the admission of the Ukraine and White Russia. Mr. Molotov was able to marshal some strong objections, but the Latin Americans spoke and voted with ardour and won their case by a considerable majority. The number of votes at the disposal of this region thus rises to twenty. The United States press (except the Russophobe organs, which recorded it as a score against Mr. Molotov) has criticised the decision somewhat frankly, as giving away a moral point.

On the matter of regional organisation and the world security body, the Latin American delegates have demanded recognition of the special arrangement affecting the western hemisphere, apparently in such a way as to reserve for it the power to settle disputes without reference to the world organisation (see under " United Nations ").

In Argentina, Colonel Perón has admitted in the course of conversation that the attitude of the U.S.S.R. at San Francisco has discouraged his Government from pursuing the question of recognition. He may, however, congratulate himself that his elaborate precautions against disturbances upon the fall of Berlin and capitulation of Germany were adequate to secure the immediate survival of his régime. He himself seems to be bent on questions of post-war prosperity, and General Farrell has made high-minded declarations of Argentina's humanitarian duty of giving full collaboration by sending its produce to relieve the distress of others. The Interventor of Cordoba has, however, told the press that in his opinion elections would soon be called. Sr. Ameghino has been sworn in as Foreign Minister, and his place in the Ministry of Finance has been filled by Dr. Irigoyen, who was under-Secretary in the Castillo Government.

UNITED NATIONS.

Mr. Eden, Mr. Attlee, M. Molotov and Mr. T. V. Soong have left San Francisco, as also have some other leading delegates, including Mr. Mackenzie King (Canada) and M. Spaak (Belgium). Lord Halifax now heads the United Kingdom delegation, with Lord Cranborne and Sir Alexander Cadogan as his

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principal lieutenants. The Conference is carrying on with its Committee work, mainly conducted behind closed doors.

Mr. Eden said before leaving that the most difficult outstanding problem was that of fitting regional security arrangements into the pattern of world security. The Dumbarton Oaks plan had proposed that no regional security arrangement should be brought into active operation without the authorisation of the Security Council. The U.S.S.R., however, insisted that her bilateral security pacts with her western neighbours and with France should operate without awaiting such authorisation. The other three sponsoring Great Powers finally agreed to put forward an amendment which would have the effect that Council authorisation would not be required for the enforcement operation of regional arrangements directed against Germany and her associates, until such time as responsibility for maintaining the peace against our present enemies shall be transferred to the Organisation. This has caused the Latin American States to ask that the Pan-American regional security arrangements provided for by the Act of Chapultepec should be similarly exempted from Council authorisation. This raises the possibility that such claims might be extended even further to exempt other regional plans, and that such extensions would seriously reduce the importance of the Security Council. The United States, equally interested as a Great Power in the Dumbarton Oaks plan and as an American State in the Pan American system, was put in a difficult position. Australia proposed, as a compromise, that the operation of a regional security arrangement should require the votes of three permanent and four non-permanent members of the Council (which would remove the "Great Power veto" on such authorisation), and that, if no action had been agreed on by the Council within a specified time limit, regional arrangements might operate without its authorisation. The five Great Powers are considering an alternative solution on the lines that any regional arrangement may operate if the Council has failed to maintain peace and security and if an armed attack on a member State has actually occurred. Such operation would, however, have to be reported to the Council at once and would not impair the right and duty of the Council to take any subsequent action it deemed necessary to maintain or restore peace.

The problem of trusteeship for dependent territories, which required reconciliation between the United Kingdom and United States proposals (see last two issues of this *Summary*), has been further complicated by the submission of additional proposals by the U.S.S.R. The most important of these were (*a*) that "full national independence," and not merely "self-government," should be laid down as the goal of trusteeship administration; (*b*) that the Security Council should designate the strategic areas which, on the United States plan, were to be exempt from supervision by the Trusteeship Council; (*c*) that membership of the Trusteeship Council should include (besides the States exercising trusteeship and an equal number of States not exercising trusteeship) those permanent members of the Security Council not exercising trusteeship. It has been assumed in the press that the second proposal implies a right of the Security Council to inspect such strategic areas, but this assumption has no foundation in the text of the Soviet proposals. The third proposal would have the effect of putting the States exercising trusteeship in a minority on the Trusteeship Council.

The acceptance by the Great Powers of the amendment recognising the special position of the "middle Powers" in elections to the Security Council has averted the demand for an increase in its numbers, and the membership (eleven seats) suggested in the Dumbarton Oaks plan was accepted, after some initial difficulty, by the Conference committee which deals with this part of the Charter.

Throughout the Conference there has been pressure by the Committee of the World Trade Union Conference (which happens to have been meeting across the bay in Oaklands) that their representatives should attend San Francisco meetings as consultants. Any such special recognition of a non-governmental body would clearly have opened the door to a series of similar claims by other non-governmental bodies, and the Steering Committee of the Conference has therefore rejected this suggestion.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 294

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
23RD MAY, 1945.

Copy No. 141

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

THE military aftermath of the German collapse is confusion on a vast scale masked by a remarkable show of discipline. Almost all German fighting units, excluding nests of S.S. troops in the southern mountains, have now been captured and the fighting proper has therefore been succeeded by the scarcely less arduous tasks of locating forces, establishing camps and communications, maintaining supplies and preserving order. For the most part the German troops are being fed and policed under the control of their own commanders. The scale of the reorganisation may be gauged from the fact that the total of prisoners taken in the west is now set at 5 million. At sea, the U-boats continue to surrender promptly. Thirty-three out of sixty were located by the morning of the 18th May; nineteen of these had reached ports in the United Kingdom. Only one possible case of scuttling has been so far reported; the mood of the U-boat commander of 1945 is not that of his prototype of 1918.

There have been certain developments in the course of the past week regarding Dönitz and the Ministers of his self-styled Government. It was stated at S.H.A.E.F. on the 16th May that Dönitz and other German officers are being used temporarily under Allied control to help with the feeding, disarmament and medical care of the German armed forces. It is not known whether certain broadcasts which have been intermittently sent out from N.W. Germany are connected with any single directing authority. The latest of such broadcasts (on the 17th) purported to come from "Sender Lindemann of the Armeeoberkommando Lindemann." Prominent Nazi officials known to be in north-west Germany include Stuckart, State Secretary of the Ministry of the Interior, Riecke, second in command under Backe, Conti, the Reich Health Leader, Ganzenmüller, the able No. 2 of the Ministry of Transport, and Wegener, Gauleiter of Weser–Ems. Except in and around Flensburg, German military and political organisation is reported as practically non-existent. The rapidity

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with which the end came deprived the Germans of opportunity to destroy official records and files. Many more of these have been found intact, in dispersed hides, than was expected, for example the complete files of Reich Coal organisation.

More is now known of the revolt which took place in Munich on the 27th April, already referred to in this *Summary* (No. 242). Many of the young men involved in it have been interrogated and, in particular, its leader, a certain Captain Gerngross, aged 31, lawyer, artillery officer and High Command interpreter. This man impressed his interrogator as being a born leader, with considerable personal magnetism and genuine liberal and democratic convictions. His movement, known in its final stages as F.A.B. (Freiheitsaktion Bayern) consisted originally of small opposition groups formed after 1933. The key men secured appointment during the war as interpreters within Wehrkreise. Several of them worked in the Mossburg prisoners' camp and were instrumental in arranging the escape of, and the transmission of intelligence by, Allied officers. Stores of arms were assembled and the operation was fixed for the 27th April, since it was learnt that only one battalion of S.S. would be in Munich that afternoon. Main roads were blocked, Party officials killed, Giesler's headquarters seized (though the Gauleiter himself was absent), the local army commander, General von Westphal, imprisoned, the main Munich wireless transmitters captured, and Ritter von Epp besieged in his own house. The Statthalter is said to have given an undertaking that he would go to the American lines and was allowed to depart unescorted. (This would explain the announcement on the Freedom Radio at 10·15 a.m. on the 28th April that Ritter von Epp had decided to break off the fight against the Americans.) Owing to the unexpected arrival of a strong force of S.S., the street fighting went against the F.A.B. who were thus unable to hold their positions until the Americans entered Munich on the 29th. But (still according to the interrogations) members of the movement claimed that despite heavy casualties they had not only settled old scores, but had enabled the U.S. 7th Army to enter Munich practically without fighting and had given an example of German readiness to resist the Nazis by arms in a case which promised reasonable chances of success.

It is still not possible to know what has happened to the German press since the collapse. In some cases, no doubt, printing plant has been destroyed or removed. This happened to almost all the papers published in Frankfurt-am-Main. In Leipzig on the other hand, two local dailies appeared regularly up to the day of Allied entry. Machinery parts were found intact and paper stocks available. It was discovered on investigation that the editor of the *Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten* was arrested in January last for what was considered too free comment on the ineffectiveness of secret weapons and on the German chances of victory. Germans are reported to be desirous for news, both by wireless and press, and more interested in local than in world affairs. German prisoners in a French camp have started a German newspaper under Allied supervision. The journalists found in Buchenwald have formed an "International Press Section" intended both to handle publicity about the camp, and to issue daily news bulletins in the various languages of the inmates.

On the 5th May a message was broadcast from S.H.A.E.F., conveying in ten languages the instructions of the Supreme Commander to liberated prisoners and displaced persons in Germany. They were told not to move from their district, owing to the prior claim of military operations still impending, to form groups of their own nationality, choosing leaders who might deal with the Allied military authorities. They were warned that sabotage and looting would be punished and were given a general outline of the possibilities of repatriation, which in the case of the peoples of Western Europe would be naturally more rapid and easy than for those of the eastern and south-eastern countries. Russians were assured that they would be transferred to Russian authorities as soon as possible. Poles would be given an opportunity of saying whether they wished to return to Poland.

AUSTRIA.

No further development in arrangements for the establishment of the Allied Control Commission in Vienna has taken place. In Carinthia, however, the situation appears to be more encouraging, and the Yugoslav troops in Carinthia are withdrawing across the frontier into their own country. A Yugoslav broadcast on the 18th May said that in deciding to hand over the military administration of Carinthia to the Allies, Yugoslavia did not renounce her rights

there. The Soviet Government had accepted the proposal that Yugoslav troops should occupy a part of Austrian territory east of Carinthia, the broadcast continued, and Yugoslav troops were already occupying this territory. The Soviet Government, however, have not indicated yet that they have replied to the Yugoslav proposal. Another Yugoslav broadcast on the 20th May reported the holding of a meeting in Klagenfurt on the 16th for "elections" to the "regional National Liberation Committee," an occasion which became a "solemn demonstration of Slovene-Austrian friendship." The Carinthian Provisional Government (see this *Summary* No. 293) of which nothing has been heard since the 9th May, was harshly attacked by speakers at this meeting.

Vienna Radio announced a meeting of the Cabinet Council on the 13th, at which a number of constitutional laws were passed. Dr. Renner, in the chair, stressed that the Provisional Government did not consider its task to be the introduction of new constitutional laws. It saw itself justified and obliged, however, to cut out all "Fascist experiments," and to take the 1918–33 democratic constitution as a basis, "from which to lead to a state of affairs in which the new Parliament will create the final constitution." Laws to be decided upon now were, therefore, "laws of transition, to guarantee the stability and continuity of legal life."

The Provisional Government has issued a decree outlawing the Nazi Party, and all pre-1918 members are required to register. Station Austria reported that Gerde, the Minister of Justice (said to have been a prisoner in a concentration camp for sixteen months), had outlined the "rehabilitation of Austrian legal procedure." The measures proposed included the abolishing of Nazi laws, the restoration of property and funds, and the acquittal of those unjustly imprisoned for political offences. These matters would be dealt with by a Ministerial Commission. A great purge of all Nazi elements in the Vienna City administration was reported to have begun, under the supervision of the Mayor, General Körner. All Army officers, N.C.O.'s, doctors and officials of the former Austrian Army, living in Vienna, were required to register.

The first steps in the reconstruction of Austria appear in a series of orders and appeals which have been made to the people. The Vienna Labour Office, on the 16th May, issued an appeal for the registration of all workers in the building and timber trades. On the 18th it was announced that all building materials were controlled by the State Office for Public Works and Reconstruction. In Graz on the 15th, factory managers were told to submit lists of employees. No new personnel were to be engaged without instructions from the Labour Exchange, and workers could only be directed to essential work, especially agriculture. On the 16th, the "Red Army Town Commandant of Greater Graz," who took up his appointment on that day, issued the first of a series of orders to the entire able-bodied population, who were called up, district by district, for a day's clearance work.

Although Styria is within the British zone of occupation, the Styrian Provisional Government, unlike the Carinthian, appears to have been confirmed in office. On the afternoon of the 19th, Dr. Renner arrived in Graz, and held discussions with the Chairman. He also visited the Red Army Town Commandant in the Town Hall. Graz Radio announced on the same day that a "Provisional Free Youth Committee" for Styria had been set up, consisting of three Communists, three members of the Austrian Socialist Party, and one of the "People's Party," which turns out to be the Christian Social Party under a new name.

Trade Unions are being re-established in the part of Austria under Soviet control. On the 14th, Station Austria reported that the Nazi Labour Front was to be "liquidated by the recently-formed Austrian Trade Union Council." On the 19th, it broadcast an article by the Chairman, the Secretary of State for Social Welfare in the Provisional Government, Böhm. He wrote in the paper *Neues Österreich* that the organisers felt from the very beginning that it was impossible to carry on from where the Trade Unions left off in 1934. Unity of purpose was to replace the former multiplicity. All parties would co-operate in the new Council. Within a few days the initial preparations would be concluded, and work might begin. In Styria, a provisional Trade Union Commission was established, with Fritz Matzner, a Social Democrat, as chairman, and Karl Eisner as deputy.

Vienna's artistic life is getting into its stride again, according to Station Austria, with a performance of the "Marriage of Figaro" in the Volksoper, and a concert by the Wiener Philharmoniker. Vienna Radio said on the 18th that the city's electricity supply would be normal soon; but in many households fuel

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stocks are exhausted, and stern warnings were given to the numbers of people who were causing destruction in the Wienerwald by carrying away trees and bushes for firewood. Cardinal Innitzer, who, according to another report, has been arrested, inspected the progress of the repair work on St. Stephen's Cathedral. The Vienna Technical College is to reopen on the 28th May. A scheme for the return from rural evacuation of the many children, of whom trace was lost during the winter transfer of camps, has been inaugurated.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

A new phase in Czechoslovakia affairs may be said to have been inaugurated on the 17th May by the return of the President, Dr. Beneš, to Prague. His arrival was the occasion for a triumphal procession from Wilson Station, down St. Wenceslas' Square, to the famous Old Town Square, scene of many dramatic events in Bohemian history. The President delivered his first important speech since his arrival on native soil. He described his own personal struggle against the conditions which had resulted in Munich, and his unshaken belief in Allied victory. He enlarged on the main points of the Government programme—the equality of Czechs and Slovaks within the State, the common policy with U.S.S.R., and the uncompromising purge of non-Slav and undemocratic elements in the political, economic and cultural life of the country.

On the 15th May, Dr. Ripka intimated that the Czechoslovak Government was now able to consider the question of the Diplomatic Corps proceeding to Prague. British and American parties are expected to proceed within a few days. The Premier, M. Fierlinger, in an interview with the Prague correspondent of the Bratislava Democratic newspaper *Čas*, denied that the Soviet authorities had obstructed communications between the Košice Government and Czechoslovak representatives in London; difficulties were the natural result of the war situation and the sole reason for the postponement of the invitation to the complete Diplomatic Corps. M. Fierlinger announced that an autonomous National Council had been set up in Carpatho-Ukraine, with M. Petruszak as Government delegate at Užhorod. The people of this province, who spoke the language of the peasants of Poltava and Kharkov regions, had expressed a wish to be joined to the Soviet Ukraine. The matter would be settled in a perfectly friendly way with the U.S.S.R.

The first contacts have been made with the Western Allies by the newly returned Government; Premier Fierlinger received General Hubert, who represents United States forces on Czechoslovak territory and made agreements with him concerning civil affairs in the occupied zone. On the 19th, President Beneš gave an interview to reporters of the military newspaper *Stars and Stripes*. Czechoslovak reporters from Prague Radio made a tour of the Sudeten areas under United States control west of Plzeň. These last confirm the American reports of the surly and hostile nature of the Sudeten German population, and of the difficulties in setting up Czech-controlled local National Committees in these areas. The Minister of Education, Professor Nejedlý, has decreed that all the former German schools are to be closed down, and the teaching of the German language forbidden, in keeping with the new minorities policy and the Slav-character of the new States.

Much space in the Czechoslovak Press and Radio was devoted to the demonstrations on the 20th of the Society for Cultural Relations with the U.S.S.R. The President of the Society is the Minister of Education, Professor Nejedlý, who has announced also that he will continue in his capacity as Vice-Chairman of the All-Slav Committee in Moscow.

The Minister of Defence, General Svoboda and his Chief-of-Staff, issued more detailed statements on the reconstruction of the Czechoslovak Army. Soviet method is to be closely studied and adopted; in fact, Soviet armaments and instructors are to be supplied. Red Army textbooks are being issued to the Czech and Slovak units, and the ablest officers are shortly to be sent to military schools in Russia itself. The Czechoslovak units fighting with the Western Allies have been largely recalled already, and negotiations are proceeding for the return of the Czechoslovak Fighter Wing of the R.A.F.

POLAND.

Details were given, in the Polish London Daily of the 19th May, of a questionnaire stated to have been handed by the Russian Colonel Pimienov to the Polish Party Representatives at the time when (according to the Polish

London Government's statements) they arranged to meet General Ivanov. (For Marshal Stalin's recent denial that a meeting of Polish delegates with Red Army representatives was arranged, see below under "U.S.S.R."). The points in the questionnaire are: (1) Name of Party, (2) Outline of its history and social and geographical scope, (3) Party Programme, (4) Internal organisation of the Party, (5) Press organs, (6) List of subsidiary organisations of the Party, with their names and addresses, (7) Method for disclosing the Party and its subsidiary organisations, (8) Method for disclosing the military formations organised by the Party and formerly comprised in the Home Army, (9) List of Party members arrested during the occupation of Poland by the Red Army, (10) Indication of two or three Party representatives for discussion with the Russian Command.

M. Mikolajczyk, in addressing the Polish Peasant Party on the 21st May, as its acting chairman, said that he still "did not rule out the possibility that problems relating to the future of a free and independent Poland could find a satisfactory solution by an agreement of the Big Three Powers." He said that Poland needed a Government of national unity based on unfettered elections, with no foreign troops on Polish soil. The Soviet secret police should also be withdrawn. He emphasised the desire for friendship and close collaboration with Russia. "Should it, however (he added), be proved that the Yalta decisions cannot be put into effect, the authority over the Poles who could not return to their home country could not remain in the hands of the present Polish Government or of groups leaning towards totalitarian methods." The Government of M. Arciszewski could not pretend to represent the whole Polish nation, and should therefore resign.

M. Wojciech Trampczynski, former Marshal of the Senate, for many years a member of the Sejm, and before 1914 a member of the Prussian Landtag, has given a press interview in which he is reported as saying: "Notwithstanding this or that divergence between my views and those of the Provisional Government camp, I believe the time has come for all national forces to unite and present a single front to the world. . . . I will agree to any policy as long as it is independent and distinctly anti-German. As far as our relations with the U.S.S.R. are concerned, I have always believed that we should be friends with Russia." As to the Warsaw rising he said: "I have incontestable proof that the Germans tried to provoke a rising to find a pretext for destroying the capital."

Bishop Adamski of (Polish) Silesia has issued a pastoral letter expressing the gratitude of the Catholic Church in Poland for its liberation. "Religious life," he says, "is returning to normal. The Provisional Government has already returned to the Church its property the Germans had taken. . . . Children will not only go to Polish schools, but in those schools they will have the same measure of Catholic education as they had before. . . . Our services will be held once more at the usual hours. Religious processions will again march through our streets and squares. . . . Only one language, apart from Latin, will be heard in our churches: the Polish language. We are deeply grateful to the Polish Provisional Government which, by its existence and its activities, has secured for us the free exercise and care of our Catholic faith."

According to Warsaw broadcasts, increasing progress is being made in the settlement of Poles from cities, from over-crowded rural areas, and from districts east of the Curzon Line, in the area west of the Polish-German frontier, as well as in the former western provinces of Poland itself. There is an economic motive for this, in the fact that since a large proportion of the German owners have fled before the Red army, the land needs repopulation at once to save the present year's crops. The Warsaw Administration appears also to be anxious to find room both for Poles from east of the Curzon Line and from areas where the land available under the Land Reform is inadequate to satisfy the local demand. Towns in old Polish territory are being encouraged to "adopt" places in the liberated western territories and send settlers there. Thus Warsaw has adopted Elbing and Allenstein. Settlement in Opole Silesia is proceeding, and is now being extended to districts west of the Oder.

SOVIET UNION.

On the 15th May the Soviet Information Bureau announced that the registration of German prisoners taken on all fronts had been completed. No communiqués have been issued since that date.

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Marshal Stalin's answer to Mr. Parker's letter concerning the arrest of the sixteen Poles was published by *Tass* on the 19th May :—

"1. The arrest of the sixteen Poles in Poland headed by the well-known diversionist General Okulicki has no connexion with the question of the reconstruction of the Polish Provisional Government. These 'gentlemen' were arrested in accordance with the law protecting the Red army rear from diversionists—a law similar to the British Defence of the Realm Act. The arrests were carried out by Soviet military authorities in accordance with an agreement concluded between the Polish Provisional Government and the Soviet Military Command.

"2. It is untrue that the arrested Poles were invited for negotiations with the Soviet authorities. The Soviet authorities do not and will not conduct negotiations with those who break the law on the protection of the Red army rear.

"3. As far as the question of the reorganisation of the Polish Provisional Government itself is concerned, it can only be solved on the basis of the Crimea decisions, because no deviation from these decisions can be permitted.

"4. I think the Polish question can be solved by agreement between the Allies only if the following elementary conditions are observed :—

"(*a*) If in the reconstruction of the Polish Provisional Government the latter is recognised as the basic core of the future Polish Government of National Unity, as in the case of Yugoslavia where the National Liberation Committee was recognised as the basic core of the United Yugoslav Government.

"(*b*) If as a result of the reconstruction a Government is created in Poland which will pursue a policy of friendship with the Soviet Union and not the policy of the *cordon sanitaire* against the Soviet Union.

"(*c*) If the question of the reconstruction of the Polish Government is resolved together with the Poles who now have ties with the Polish people, and not without them."

The only new point was Marshal Stalin's definite statement that it was untrue that the arrested Poles had been invited for negotiations with the Soviet authorities. The analogy of Yugoslavia for the reconstruction of the Polish Provisional Government had not previously been put before the Soviet public. (For Polish comment on Marshal Stalin's statement, see under "Poland.")

The Soviet press and radio has continued to exhibit great alarm and despondency about the degree of recognition which Admiral Dönitz and his "Ministers" have appeared to be receiving from the Western Allies, as well as about "the Göring incident," "the Guderian incident" and "the Busch incident." "The world expects political consolidation of victory," M. Hoffman declared in *Krasnaya Zvezda*, on the 17th May. "This is all the more important since there is already every indication of a political rallying of the friends of the utterly defeated imperialist Germany." He concluded in words of some significance : "The settlement of political problems connected with the occupation of Germany and the establishment of the control of the Allied Powers . . . will facilitate the settlement of a number of other post-war problems in Europe." M. Viktorov, writing in *Pravda* on the 19th May, spoke of world opinion "watching suspiciously the considerate attitude towards the worst criminals of all time and of all peoples." M. Yermashev, broadcasting in English on the same day, demanded, in addition to the speedy punishment of Nazi leaders, "that there must be no deals, no compromises, no tolerance in the sphere of economic relations, towards the organizers of German aggression." There can be no doubt that the most deeply rooted of all Soviet suspicions—that Great Britain may wish to preserve the "reactionary elements" in Germany as a bulwark against Bolshevism—has been revived in an acute form by the events of the past fortnight. This, as M. Hoffman hints, goes far to explain the intransigent Soviet attitude on other questions now in dispute. The announcement that Dönitz is being treated as a prisoner of war does not seem to have done much to reassure the Soviet authorities. On the 20th May *Izvestiya*, in an article entitled "A Dangerous Game," observed that "under pressure of public indignation, placatory assurances have been given. They have proved to be conflicting, equivocal and contradictory. . . . The Dönitz incident is . . . . causing alarm in all countries. It has already ceased to be a mere accident or misunderstanding."

Numerous Soviet reports are coming in about the situation in Berlin, where a municipal administration has already been formed under the Russian Commandant, Colonel-General Berzarin. Working directly under the Commandant is a German Lord Mayor, while local German mayors are subordinated to the District Commandants in each area of the city. The Lord Mayor, Dr. Arthur Werner, is described merely as an architect who had been persecuted under Hitler, but several of the District mayors held office before Hitler and subsequently been in prison.

M. Mikoyan, Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and People's Commissar for Foreign Trade, was sent in person to investigate the food situation in Berlin and Dresden; he is familiar with the German economic situation, as he played an important part in the negotiations for the Soviet-German Trade Agreement of August 1939 and in subsequent economic relations between the two countries. His report published in *Pravda* (19th May) contained much of interest; in it he followed up the line taken by M. Alexandrov in his polemic with Ehrenburg (see *Summary* No. 289) that the Russians had no quarrel with the German people as such, and quoted in this connexion "the well-known Russian proverb—Don't hit a man when he's down." M. Mikoyan maintained that by organising in advance the Russians had been able to distribute rations which actually exceeded those provided by Hitler and his clique. The reasons he gave for the critical food situation in Germany have a certain piquancy, for he ascribed it to compulsory Government requisitioning of the total harvest, which did not permit peasants to sell on the open market any surplus they might have over and above their own immediate requirements. The Soviet Command was said now to be allowing free trading in Berlin to stimulate production and improve distribution.

For the Russian activities in Bornholm see under "Denmark."

For the Soviet-Roumanian Trade Agreement see under "Roumania."

For Marshal Stalin's reply to the E.A.M. victory telegram see under "Greece."

See also under "Turkey" and "Middle East."

A delayed *Tass* message from Chungking, dated the 8th May, stated that the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the U.S.S.R. to the Chinese Republic, M. A. Petrov, has presented his credentials to Marshal Chiang Kai-shek.

The War and the Working Class (No. 9) contained a gloomy account of the stagnation now afflicting Dairen and the Japanese-occupied cities of Northern China, from the pen of M. A. Subbotin, a recent traveller in Northern China and Manchuria. M. Subbotin noted "the impress of the crisis on the Japanese Empire, like the indelible traces of disease on the face of a chronically sick man." "All key positions are held by Japanese, and all the skilled workers in the factories are likewise Japanese." The Chinese are chiefly employed for auxiliary jobs." The great port of Dairen (the second largest on the whole coast from the Okhotsk Sea to the South China Sea) "is dead." Details were given of the Japanese officials' high-handed requisitioning of agricultural produce and the deplorable state of agriculture, and of Japanese arrogance towards the Chinese. Vast stocks of metal, grain and soya beans were awaiting transportation in Dairen and along the Manchurian railway system. The author very bluntly stated his contempt for "the new order" and "the real state of the 'sphere of co-prosperity,' economically and politically." By contrast, he recalled the essential part played by the Russians in the construction of the South Manchurian railway, the port and the old city of Dalny.

The Secretary of the Sakhalin Communist Party, M. Chizkov, stated recently in connexion with the 20th Anniversary of Soviet Sakhalin that in the past four years the area under crops had increased by 16 per cent., that the population had increased ten-fold in two decades, and that the formerly impenetrable taiga was now the site of 113 schools, hospitals and many towns and villages.

The centenary of the Great Russian micro-biologist, I. I. Mechnikov, was celebrated in the Soviet Union by many measures to honour and perpetuate his memory. A Mechnikov gold medal is to be awarded annually to a Soviet or a foreign scientist, special Mechnikov prizes are to be offered annually to Soviet scientists for outstanding work in the sphere of micro-biology, epidemology, biology, &c., and various Mechnikov scholarships are to be established at Soviet medical and scientific Institutes.

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SCANDINAVIA.

The situation on the Danish island of Bornholm was eased considerably on the 19th May, when a delegation of the Danish Government arrived by air. This consisted of M. Christmas Möller, the Foreign Minister, with M. Kristensen, the Minister for Internal Affairs, M. Hedtoft Hansen, Minister of Labour, and the Communist Minister, Axel Larsen. Up to the date of their visit, considerable anxiety had prevailed, particularly when on the 15th May the Soviet Commander severed all communication between Bornholm and Denmark, and the latest news received prior to that date reported the arrival of Russian artillery and tanks with reinforcements in numbers which seemed disproportionate to their ostensible task of dealing with the surrendered German garrison. The Swedish press especially displayed most serious misgivings, and *Expressen* on the 15th May reported a declaration by the Soviet Commander to the effect that the question whether the Russians would remain after evacuating the Germans was still undecided. *Svenska Dagbladet* (17th May) spoke of "clouds on the political horizon of the south-east Baltic," and described as "barbarous and senseless" the bombing operations which had preceded the Russian landing. The devastation caused by these operations to the towns of Rönne and Nexö, as disclosed in the report of the Amtmand, M. von Stemann, was indeed considerable, the damage being estimated at 60 million kroner. About 4,500 persons were rendered homeless. There was, however, no loss of Danish life, since warning leaflets dropped before the attack secured the complete evacuation of the two towns. The blame is attached by the Danes to the Commander of the German garrison, for his refusal to surrender.

On arrival at the airfield, M. Möller expressly thanked "the glorious Russian army," on behalf of the Government, for having liberated Bornholm from German occupation, and the Russian commander, Colonel Streptov, responded with the assurance "we have come here exclusively to clear out all that is German, and, this task once fulfilled, Denmark will continue to be a free and independent country."

The Danish Government announced on the 17th May, the severance of diplomatic relations between Denmark and Japan. They have also applied for the recognition of Denmark as one of the United Nations.

On the 19th May the South Slesvig Danish Minority sent a deputation to M. Buhl. While recognising that there is no support for the incorporation of this territory in Denmark, they were understood to propose a Danish mandate area extending to the Eider, in which only Danes could acquire full Danish civil rights.

The Norwegian National Day, the 17th May, was celebrated with special enthusiasm natural in the circumstances. In a message on this occasion, King Haakon urged a welcome of the Allied forces sent to complete the liberation of Norway, and called for loyal compliance with any regulations which they might issue. He also pointed out that the exigencies of the war with Japan might for some time impede the importation of civilian supplies in the quantities desirable.

Though the situation in Norway is generally quiet, a number of quisling volunteers fired from ambush in Oslo on the night of the 16th May, and there was an exchange of shots in several places.

On the 15th May, the arrival in Finland was announced of the Russian delegates to the Commission charged with fixing the frontier in the Petsamo area, now ceded to the Soviet Union. The leader of the Finnish delegation has also been appointed.

ERRATUM.

Summary 293, p. 9, line 3. For "15,000" read "1,500."

LOW COUNTRIES.

On the 16th the Dutch Cabinet tendered their resignation. Queen Wilhelmina has asked them to continue to act until she has had the consultations necessary for the formation of a new Ministry. In tendering their resignation the present Ministers were fulfilling an undertaking—first given in 1941 and since then often repeated—that a new Ministry would be formed when the liberation of the Netherlands had been completed.

Important pronouncements on two aspects of Dutch policy have recently been made. Broadcasting from San Francisco on the 17th to the American

people, Dr. van Kleffens argued that the only way in which the Netherlands could obtain compensation from Germany was by the annexation of some small but fertile portion of German soil. "It need not be much, just a fraction of our total area, but some such measure must, in my opinion, be taken to enable us from the start to feed our people as best we can, to provide some compensation for the immeasurable damage which Germany inflicted on us . . . and also as an act of justice in order that Germany should realise that war does not pay. I think that on these three counts our case is unanswerable."

On the 18th Dr. van Mook addressed a meeting under the auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations and discussed proposals for a reform of the structure of the Netherlands Realm. "I can," he said, "only give an outline of some of the proposals that have been suggested. It will be for the people of the Netherlands, the Netherlands East Indies, Surinam, and Curaçao to decide. We may be certain these four parts will have internal autonomy and representative institutions; that is but an extension of what has already been evolved. The central government of the Kingdom may consist of a Ministry and Assembly, chosen by the four parts, or it may have legislation passed upon by regional representative bodies. Its function will probably comprise foreign affairs, defence, and international economic affairs. Matters between several parts may be dealt with by common consultation. . . . In the Indies themselves, the evolution towards responsible government, with a Ministry under the Governor-General, seems a logical consequence of their constitutional history up to the present."

Radio Brussels announced on the 30th that during the previous week King Leopold had suffered from acute heart trouble and was at present unable to travel; a Belgian specialist had been called in.

For some time strikes have been endemic among the Belgian miners. Drastic steps to put a stop to them have now been taken. M. van Acker has announced in a broadcast that all strikes were prohibited for three months and that all agitators and fifth columnists would be arrested. The recent strikes, said the Prime Minister, had been of a political character and had been caused by peripatetic agitators. The Government was determined not to increase wages further—that would lead to inflation. But they would do all they could to improve food supplies. Much, indeed, had already been done, largely owing to the aid of Belgium's Allies. But if "to-morrow they were to learn that instead of working we were folding our arms . . . . the Allies, doubting our goodwill and wisdom, would abandon us to our fate." M. van Acker went on to defend the direction of labour and said the trade unions approved of it. The Miners' Union, however, has resolved that it will oppose direction and will never renounce the right to strike, but has recommended the miners to suspend their strike for a week, to enable negotiations to be carried on and a referendum to be taken.

FRANCE.

Much satisfaction has been caused in France by the White House statement concerning the cordial interview between President Truman and M. Bidault on the 18th May. In this the President was said to have spoken warmly about France, to have expressed his desire to meet General de Gaulle, to have indicated his Government's appreciation of the part which France could and should play in the settlement of questions of European and world interest, and to have confirmed their willingness to relinquish to France part of the American zone of occupation of Germany. M. Bidault has since stated his hope that a meeting between the President and General de Gaulle would take place soon, perhaps when the President meets Mr. Churchill and Marshal Stalin. This hope, of course, voices the French desire that the General should take part in any future conversations of the "Big Three."

The President's assurance that French aid will be welcome in the war against Japan was also received with great satisfaction. Encouragement to the French to participate in the Far Eastern War has likewise been given in a telegram to General de Gaulle from General Cheng, the Chinese Minister of War. After congratulations on the victory in Europe General Cheng's telegram concluded: "We firmly believe that to restore peace in the world your brave troops will

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join their Allies, Britain and the United States, in hastening the defeat of Japan.'' According to the French Press Agency the movement of French troops now in progress, which involves a certain reinforcement of French units in Syria and the Lebanon, is being carried out with the idea of creating a *zone d'étape* for operations in the Far East as well as to enable the French authorities responsible for maintaining order in the Levant to meet their obligations. '' Well-informed '' French circles point out that these military movements in no way modify the French Government's decision to recognise the full and complete independence of the Syrian and Lebanese States, or their desire to bring the present negotiations with the Governments of those countries to a conclusion (see also under '' Middle East '').

On the 15th May the Consultative Assembly held a special victory session. The most outspoken speech was that of M. Saillant, the President of the C.N.R., who demanded a swift completion of the purge, acceleration of the work of repatriating prisoners and deportees, and the introduction of reforms such as those advocated by the C.N.R. He urged that a united effort should be made '' to achieve this second victory which France needs,'' and which he said had been so clearly asked for at the recent elections. After this, General de Gaulle's rather formal review of the part played by France in the war was evidently not entirely in accord with the spirit of his audience, who were perhaps hoping for some clue to the Government's plans to meet the urgent problems ahead. It was noticeable that on several occasions the Communists refrained from joining in the general applause by which the General's speech was punctuated. The Central Committee of the Party has, however, issued a manifesto in which it states its readiness '' to assume a greater share of responsibility for the management of public affairs within the Provisional Government headed by General de Gaulle.''

The results of the municipal elections show that the heavy Communist majority in Paris was not repeated to the same extent in the provinces, where the Socialists still retain control in most of the large towns. The common lists were generally successful and consisted of such broad and comprehensive coalitions that most parties can claim some measure of popular support. Hence it is not easy to make any clear deduction from the elections beyond the obvious fact that the majority of the population voted against the Right and that this was a reflection of their natural desire for a complete break with the past rather than of universal support for Left-wing parties. The Right, however, protest that the confusion in which the elections took place does not permit the drawing of any definite conclusions about the general feelings of the country. It is true that the Communists did help to confuse the issue by manœuvres to ensure that they should be associated with the winning side. At Compiègne, for example, a Resistance list in which they were included was opposed by an independent list sponsored by Baron de Rothschild. In the second ballot the Communists deserted the Resistance list and joined the Rothschild list which was eventually successful. The elections were also marked by a continuation of the violent Communist campaign designed to prevent co-operation between the M.R.P. and the Socialists and to represent the M.R.P. (the Left-wing Catholic party) as reactionary. The Communists undoubtedly fear the growth of a powerful centre party able to rally the progressive Conservatives. As a counter-move they are making a strong bid to persuade the Socialists to join them in a single '' Parti Ouvrier Français.'' Although the Communists are supported in this by the left wing of the M.L.N. they are unlikely to induce the Socialists to commit political suicide by such a a fusion.

There has been a wave of strikes in various parts of France during the past week, strikes of coal miners in the north, a brief general strike in the Rhone department, and threatened strikes of Marseilles tram workers and Paris insurance staffs. Repatriated prisoners and deportees have also demonstrated in Paris. The extreme gravity of the coal situation was emphasised in a broadcast appeal to the miners on the 17th May by the Minister of Industrial Production, M. Lacoste. The Minister stated that the National Railways had barely enough coal left for six days and that if the miners slowed up or temporarily ceased production the life of the nation would be paralysed. For lack of coal only 12 of the country's 108 blast furnaces were working. The supply of coal to industries making building materials had had to be cut by 75 per cent., yet there were many homeless people waiting for these materials. It had been impossible to put aside any coal for domestic heating in winter, and supplies to sugar refineries had also had to be cut by 50 per cent.

M. Léon Blum and M. Herriot have been received by General de Gaulle, and M. Blum has resumed political direction of the *Populaire*. The death is reported from Toulouse of M. Joseph Barthélemy, a former Vichy Minister of Justice.

(See also '' Italy,'' '' United States '' and '' United Nations.'')

ERRATUM.

The last two lines of the last *Summary* should have read : '' (See also ' Italy ' (for French activities in Piedmont and Liguria), ' Vatican ' and ' Middle East.')''

SWITZERLAND.

Indignation was aroused in Switzerland by reproaches in certain American papers that Switzerland had failed to issue reports concerning the terrible conditions prevailing in the German prison camps, and more particularly the concentration camps. Both the Federal Council and the press emphatically repudiated all such criticism, maintaining that the Swiss delegates and the International Red Cross had done their best, obstructed as they often were by the attitude of the German authorities. As for the concentration camps, neither Switzerland in her capacity of Protecting Power, nor the International Red Cross had any authority to visit them, since there is no international law which allows a Protecting Power the right to aid political prisoners. Therefore Switzerland could not accept reproaches for failure to do her duty, and she meant to proclaim her innocence in no uncertain terms.

On the 15th May, the Federal Council dealt in detail with the demobilisation of the Army, which it was agreed should be carried out as quickly as possible. A considerable number have already been released, but the continuation of certain duties makes the retention of some troops essential.

Deutsche Zeitung in der Schweiz, the organ of the German colony in Switzerland, has been banned by order of the Federal Prosecutor. Many members of the colony had been obliged by the National Socialist Party to become regular subscribers to the paper, which had a German editor.

A Yugoslav Commercial Mission has arrived in Berne to discuss with the Federal authorities the resumption of trade between the two countries.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

The case of Léon Degrelle, the Belgian Rexist who, as reported in last week's *Summary*, took refuge in Spain, is being handled by the Belgian Government themselves direct with the Spanish Government. There are no further developments in the Laval episode. However, it is the considered view of His Majesty's Government that this is a matter to be settled between the French and Spanish Governments and one in which they should not intervene.

Though there are rumours in plenty, there are still no proofs that General Franco really intends to bring the Spanish régime more into line with the political thought of other western European countries. There are, for instance, no signs of '' defalangización,'' though his interest in the newly-formed '' Guardia de Franco ''—recruited from Falange extremists and the Blue Division and groups of which now exist in Spain and even in Morocco—may foreshadow an apparent shift of political power away from the Falange (see *Summary* No. 262). But it is not likely to be more than a surface change, even if it comes off. The Party, who are uneasy at the possibility of a political defeat, are not likely to go down without a struggle; how bitter or prolonged that would be depends more on the Army than on the '' Old Shirts '' of the Falange itself. And at the moment it is not easy to say what the military attitude would be to a change of régime involving the disappearance of the Falange. The majority of the Generals are probably Monarchists, while the junior officers, much cosseted by Franco, are against any change. But it is the regimental commanders, the Colonels, who are the key men. They are by tradition the authors of flaming *pronunciamentos*, the leaders of revolt; and at the moment they are divided in their attitude to the political future. Meanwhile the Monarchists seem to be waiting on events in the hope that Don Juan's manifesto, which produced singularly meagre immediate results, may have a powerful delayed action.

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There is something equivocal in Franco's own attitude to the victorious Allies who can exercise so much influence over the future of Spain. He pursues undaunted his courtship of the United States, which proves once again that he does not lack either optimism or courage in embarking upon a bold and imaginative enterprise. His attitude towards Great Britain is less clear. There is no question that in his approach to the Prime Minister last November he was sincere in his desire for a closer understanding with His Majesty's Government; and Mr. Churchill's cool reply did not seem to diminish his ardour. In a conversation last month with a visiting Roman Catholic journalist he still professed the same intentions, and spoke blandly of his hopes of creating a Spanish Institute in London, which would doubtless give employment to the recently appointed Cultural Attaché in the Spanish Embassy. But, according to reliable information, this hardly squares with the views of the Caudillo expressed on different occasions to the Generals and to the Duke of Alba, when he spoke of this country as being at the mercy of Freemasonry—which to him is almost the equivalent of Communism —and really not counting for anything in the world. From all reports of Caudillian cerebration two reasonably stable opinions emerge: one, that he counts on increasing disunity among the United Nations to ensure his own survival; and the other, a basic truth rather than an intellectual appraisal, that Francisco Franco continues to be highly satisfied with Francisco Franco.

Allied proposals made in Madrid and Lisbon have resulted in the placing of an embargo on Axis property in the Peninsula. Decree laws giving effect to the freezing of Axis assets have been issued in Madrid and Lisbon. The application of them will not be easy. In view of the strained relations between Spain and France, the French Provisional Government, while informed of the negotiations, were not associated with His Majesty's Government and the United States Government in the approach to the Spanish Government.

On the 18th May Dr. Salazar addressed the Portuguese National Assembly. The theme of his speech was a justification of the régime and of Portugal's policy of neutrality during the war.

ERRATUM.

Summary No. 292, last paragraph, 3rd line. For "large British-built Navy" read "largely British-built Navy."

ITALY.

The C.L.N.A.I. is apparently suffering from disillusionment. A party of representatives of the C.L.N.A.I. went to Rome with the intention of reconstructing the Government from top to toe in accordance with their wishes. They discovered, however, that this was not quite so simple as had been imagined, mainly owing to their "wishes" being all divergent. They have now returned to the North and have met with considerable criticism for their failure. Although the last thing to be desired is a wider rift between the North and South, it is to be hoped that the North will realise that, although it is more important industrially and agriculturally, the less favoured South is part of the same country and that North and South must combine. The latest reports indicate that the Socialist Party is probably the strongest in the North and that the Communist Party has not the following that was expected. Signor Togliatti's attitude to the Trieste question may have had something to do with this.

It is more difficult to assess the strength of the Christian Democrat Party since its followers are mainly from the agricultural areas. Stress is being laid on the importance of every Italian belonging to a political party and independents are being censured more and more because it is felt that unless the people become more politically educated another form of dictatorship may supervene. As regards the Monarchy, it is not yet possible to judge what the masses really think. A certain amount of organised anti-Monarchist propaganda is being carried on in the big cities, but it would not yet be safe to say that this represents the views of the majority.

A statement has been issued in Paris complaining that British press reports regarding the situation in zones in Italy occupied by French troops are inaccurate. This statement denies any wish on the part of the French Government to annex any "Italian nationals" but points out that certain villages "with a French population" were left on the Italian side of the frontier when this was drawn in 1860. These villages, according to the statement, have expressed a spontaneous wish to return to France. No particular areas are mentioned. If by "a French

population" is meant a population which speaks French and the French Government does not consider French-speaking people to be "Italian nationals," then large areas of Italian territory will be involved. On the other hand, if it is only a question of certain villages in the Col di Tenda area then it is a different matter, but in any case the French claims ought to be reserved for the peace table.

THE VATICAN.

On the 16th May the Vatican wireless announced that Father Rupert Mayer, S.J., had been freed from Schloss Ettal where the Nazis had confined him. Even before 1933 Father Mayer had publicly pointed out that the Nazi doctrine of hatred made an insuperable barrier between Nazis and true Christians. Father Mayer, known in Germany as the Catholic Niemöller, was praised by the Pope last January for his great work in Munich, from which the Nazis drove him (see *Summary* No. 278, "Vatican"). Thus the Western Allies have in their hands the two German champions, Protestant and Catholic, of Christian freedom against the submergence of man.

In his speech to the Italian Sports Association the Pope warmly advocated sport, reasonably indulged in, as an essential part of character training, and repudiated the notion that the Church had ever belittled it. The English might perhaps be pardoned if they assumed that the Pope had them in mind when he said: "The country which gave origin to sport also originated the proverbial 'fair play' . . . . which preserves them from the dangers of a closed and uncompromising nationalism."

The Vatican is gravely disturbed at the reports that Tito's Yugoslavs (see *Summary* No. 293 under "Vatican") have killed thousands of Slovenes and Croats including many priests, and intend eliminating all who through education and independence of view, are not fit subjects for a Communist régime. Large numbers are appealing to the Vatican to save them.

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

Official lists of War Criminals were published in the Hungarian press, dividing the accused into various categories, of which the following are among the most important:—

(1) Those in leading positions who helped, or failed to prevent, Hungary's entry into the war.
(2) Those in leading positions who gave support to the Arrow Cross Movement and promoted a more intensive prosecution of the war.
(3) Those who participated in the Szálasi *Coup* of October 1944.
(4) Those who did intellectual work in furtherance of the prosecution of the war or in support of Arrow Cross propaganda.
(5) Those responsible for oppression and atrocities in occupied territories and for illegal executions and tortures.

The lists are probably not yet complete and do not include all those who are being brought before the People's Courts. They contain no reference to any member of the Horthy family.

Russian radio commentaries continued to urge greater energy in the prosecution of the purge and the eradication of Fascism, quoting criticisms in the Hungarian press which alleged undue leniency, and claimed that Arrow Cross men were to be found in the Army and the National Committees or, as in a certain internment establishment, enjoying "the height of luxury, getting excellent food, having dances and soirées, while the hard-working people of Budapest receive a daily bread ration of 150 grams."

Two new Hungarian ministers were appointed: E. Gerö as Minister of Trade and Transport, and F. Nagy as Minister of Rehabilitation. Z. Vas was reported to be the new Mayor of Budapest.

The establishment of a Christian Democratic Party was sanctioned by the Government but the parties represented in the Independence Front refused to recognise it.

A statement by the Minister of Agriculture expressed hope that no land would be left uncultivated in areas east of the Danube, while greater efforts would be needed in the Transdanubian districts where fighting had lasted longer. The petrol Hungary had received from the Soviet Government had done much to facilitate the agricultural revival.

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On VE-Day, Miklós sent a telegram to Marshal Stalin expressing gratitude for Hungary's liberation, to which Marshal Stalin replied with his good wishes.

The Hungarian State treasures and gold reserve were discovered in the crypt of a monastry in Spital, Austria. These included notes worth £32,500,000 and gold to the value of £7,500,000, as well as banknote printing blocks. The art treasures included 14th century manuscripts and 20 cases of jewels and other valuables.

Roumania.

The Roumanian Trade Delegation to Moscow has returned to Bucarest, after having completed a Trade Agreement which gives Russia substantial economic interests in Roumania. Russia within the next year is to receive 9 million dollars worth of goods. It was first suggested that 1938 prices should apply, but at present prices the goods would be worth nearly double that sum, and the final Agreement did, in fact, provide the higher assessment of value. Russia desires to acquire an interest in a number of Roumanian concerns, but repudiating any desire to monopolise Roumanian trade, and aiming only at being on a level with other countries. It is reported that a Russo-Roumanian Oil Company is to be formed, which is to have a first claim to any new concessions. The management of this concern is to be shared equally between Russia and Roumania, but Russia is to nominate the general manager of the company. A River and Maritime Navigation Company and a Civil Aviation Company are to be formed on the same lines. Roumania consents to Russia employing 58 per cent. Russian staff in all these concerns.

For the last week the Roumanian press and radio, which, of course, are strictly controlled, have been indulging in a series of hysterical outbursts by way of creating what the authorities no doubt consider the proper atmosphere for the trial of "war criminals." The slogan commended to the Roumanian people is "Death to all war criminals." Prominence is given to a resolution from the employees of the *Official Gazette* demanding that *lawyers who have the audacity to defend the Fascist beasts shall themselves be put on trial beside them.* The latest list of "criminals" includes editors of newspapers which were, or were supposed to be, pro-German in tendency, and which have been suppressed during the present régime. Side by side with this there is a hint that a way of escape may be found for "legionaries who repent." No doubt there will: after the time-honoured fashion in Roumania. There is no doubt that a fair trial would prove the guilt of many of the accused, but by no means of all of them. But no chances are to be taken. There is no inclination to forgo this opportunity of getting rid of private enemies, and at the same time of enriching a number of officials at the expense of "penitent legionaries."

The prohibition of the purchase and use of wireless receiving sets has been removed.

Yugoslavia.

The Belgrade press and radio maintained a barrage of propaganda about Venezia Giulia; the biggest gun being a long statement by Kardelj, Tito's chief political assistant, on the 13th May. Kardelj, while agreeing that the settlement must be made by the Peace Conference, insisted that Trieste and almost all Venezia Giulia must become Yugoslav and that the Yugoslavs must occupy the area now.

The British Embassy expressed the hope that the distorted view of events given by the Belgrade press would be met by reiterations of British communiqués by the B.B.C.

Mystery enshrouds the "election" of a body called the Executive Committee for the City of Trieste. Radio Belgrade announced, on the 16th and 18th May, two different lists of persons as elected, while Tanjug, on the 20th, stated that that day 156 "delegates" had elected 106 persons who would elect an executive committee to administer the city. Also on the 20th Radio Belgrade said that 1,348 delegates and 165 guests met "to elect delegates for the Municipal Liberation Assembly." The meeting was not reported to have elected anyone, but to have passed mutually contradictory motions against "Fascism" and for a "People's Court."

A high British military authority reported that the Yugoslavs' victimisation of the local population was rousing the indignation of the Allied troops and that a joint occupation or Yugoslav administration would not work. Food supplies for Venezia Giulia, earmarked and stock-piled for delivery, are held up by the Yugoslavs' refusal of Allied Military Government.

On the 15th identical British and United States Notes were presented in Belgrade. They protested against the settlement of territorial questions by violence, and asserted the need for disinterested Allied Military Government in Venezia Giulia; but, in view of previous plans proposed for the region, only demanded such Government in an area including Trieste, Gorizia, Monfalcone and Pola, and the communications through Gorizia to Austria. At the same time the Soviet Government were informed. Tito's reply on the 18th amounted to a repetition of his already rejected proposals to General Morgan (see preceding *Summary*, p. 16, paragraph 2).

Thereupon Field-Marshal Alexander sent the Commanding Officers of his units a message to be passed on to the Allied troops. It said that Tito's action in asserting his territorial aims in Italy and Austria by arms and occupation "would be all too reminiscent of Hitler, Mussolini and Japan"; that we had been fighting to prevent just such actions and to seek an international order based on equity; that we ourselves could be trusted to occupy the territory in question, since we did not covet it; and that it now remained to hear whether Tito would insist on establishing his claims by force.

The message, released on the 19th, provoked an angry retort from Tito, given to broadcast by Radio Belgrade.

Moscow maintained silence on the whole question till the 19th, when the press published Kardelj's statement of the 13th.

On the 21st the Yugoslav Government, without waiting for a reply to their Note of the 18th, modified their demands, offering to accept Field-Marshal Alexander's Military Government "in the Slovene Littoral area on the basis of the demarcation line proposed by Field-Marshal Alexander, subject to certain minor modifications," and provided that Yugoslavs should participate in the military administration, that Yugoslav units should remain in the area and that the Military Government should act through the civil authorities now set up in the area. The proposals sacrifice some appearances, but ingeniously retain the reality of the Yugoslav demands. Nevertheless, this offer of apparent compromise has some significance.

In Austria great confusion has reigned in Carinthia, where in addition to Allied, Yugoslav and Bulgarian troops, there have been retreating or captured Germans, Slovene and Croatian anti-Tito troops, and civilian refugees. The Yugoslavs proclaimed their military government in Klagenfurt and elsewhere, looted and established a "minor reign of terror." On the 15th May the United States Ambassador at Belgrade presented a Note, supporting the British Note of the 12th requiring the withdrawal of the Yugoslavs to the south of the Austrian frontier. On the 17th a second British Note, supported by a United States communication, was presented to the Yugoslav Government. It declared that, partly because of Yugoslav claims to the Austrian territory concerned, His Majesty's Government would not hand over part of the British zone to Yugoslav occupation nor permit Yugoslav units to share in the occupation of the zone. It repeated the request for the immediate withdrawal of Yugoslav troops to the Yugoslav side of the Austrian frontier. On the 18th an article in *Politika* said "it is true that Allied forces were the first to occupy the greater part of Carinthia . . . . The Yugoslav Government received with regret the Allied refusal of our request to occupy Carinthia." The article said that this did not affect the validity of the Yugoslav claims, and added that "the Soviet Government accepted our proposal by which our troops were to occupy a part of Austrian territory east of Carinthia. Our troops are already occupying this territory and at the same time withdrawing from Carinthia." The statement implied that Yugoslav troops were being withdrawn from Carinthia, but advancing into Styria, which is also in the British zone, though as yet almost entirely occupied by the Russians. The next day His Majesty's Ambassador was informed that Yugoslav troops had been ordered to retire from the area of Austria west of Dravograd (*i.e.*, from Carinthia only); the movement would be somewhat delayed by the need to take their booty with them.

The reconditioning of the internal structure of Yugoslavia proceeds. The Minister of Commerce and Supplies has been authorised to regulate planned production and distribution of all grain and seeds, raw materials for textiles, all live-stock produce except milk and cheese, all wood for fuel and industrial needs, all coal and various other articles. It has been decided to establish a State Transport Concern, and a State Petroleum Concern, for the import, export and distribution of petroleum and its products. A State Commercial Corporation, the "People's Stores," has been established and "will deal in all industrial, agricultural, forestry and grocery goods." On the 2nd February the "Presidium

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of the National Liberation Assembly of Serbia" appointed eleven lawyers as a provisional executive of the Serbian Chamber of Lawyers (*i.e.*, the free legal profession). This body refused to strike off the roll of Serbian lawyers certain "enemies of the nation and traitors." Accordingly the Presidium itself has struck the lawyers in question off the roll, dissolved the provisional executive and struck its resistant members off the roll, and suspended all lawyers and articled clerks on the roll of the Chamber of Lawyers. The Minister of Justice is to appoint someone to draw up a new roll of lawyers and articled clerks.

ERRATUM.

Summary No. 293, p. 16, paragraph 6, 1–7. In place of the whole line "Yugoslav intention . . .", read "Yugoslav troops at Völkermarkt. Meanwhile the Yugoslavs were in the countryside . . . ."

Greece.

The Regent had a spontaneous and enthusiastic welcome when he arrived in Rhodes (see last *Summary*), and there were Greek flags and slogans everywhere. According to Radio Athens, the whole population came into the capital to celebrate. General Paget received the Regent, who, after attending a service in the Cathedral, made a speech in the Cathedral Square, in which he said: "My present pilgrimage to Rhodes is an official confirmation of the indivisible intellectual and moral ties between the free Greek Dodecanese and the free Greek State . . . . The Dodecanese are free and Greek, and can wait with unshakeable confidence for the confirmation of this fact by the Allies." On his return to Athens the Regent informed His Majesty's Ambassador that he had never in his life seen such deep joy expressed by a whole population or encountered such a spirit of complete unity; after such an expression of feeling it would be easier to await with confidence the final decision of the Peace Conference. Meantime, lest there should be any suggestion that the future status of the islands is being prejudiced, all Greek troops are being withdrawn, a step which will certainly meet with an unfavourable reception in Athens.

Athens celebrated VE-day fairly soberly; the only incidents were an attack on the office of *Rizospastis* by some Right-wing extremists and the defacing of the sign outside Sovfilm (a Greek company which exploits Russian films). In Salonica armed clashes between National Guards, Royalist Youth (B.E.N.), and Communists resulted in three deaths. The King's Name Day was officially celebrated on the 7th May, and in and around Athens and Piræus and in the Peloponnese a good many Royalist posters and photographs were in evidence. In Salonica the occasion passed almost unnoticed. His Majesty's Ambassador, who has been travelling about the country, reports an almost embarrassingly enthusiastic reception wherever he went. British and Indian troops are universally liked and respected, while the authority of the Greek Government is still rather tenuous, and, indeed, the Government is rarely mentioned. The peasants are working hard, and there is an outward appearance of tranquillity, though under the surface there is still a lurking fear for the future, and in some districts the people are living in squalid poverty.

Generals Papagos, Bakopoulos, Pitsikas, Kosmas and Dedes have been released from imprisonment in Germany, and have returned to Athens. *Eleftheria* suggests that Right-wing circles are particularly interested in the return of General Papagos, whom they regard as the most suitable head of a Service Government, both on account of his connexions with the Royal Family and because it is thought that his conduct as Commander-in-Chief in Albania and his captivity in Germany will evoke the requisite popular sympathy.

M. Partsalidis, Secretary of the Central Committee of E.A.M., has sent a telegram to Marshal Stalin conveying the greetings of the Greek National Liberation Front to the Marshal and to the Russian people. The joy of the Greek people, he adds, is darkened by the fact that those who resisted are to-day subjected to unexpected persecutions. None the less, they are firmly convinced that Fascism and collaborators still dominating their political life will be uprooted. Marshal Stalin has replied briefly, conveying his greetings to the freedom-loving Greek people. Telegrams sent by the Regent and the Prime Minister to Marshal Stalin and M. Kalinin have not been acknowledged.

Albania.

The fixing of prices for local produce and for gold is an indication that Enver Hoxha's administration is still beset by economic difficulties, but it is

making effort, not without success, to improve the situation. The administration claims to have sent representatives to enquire into the needs of the devastated South and already to have relieved 20,000 people. Sugar, flour, milk and coffee which the Allied military authorities are reported to have handed over in Durazzo will have been a godsend to populace and authorities alike.

The special court at Tirana has sentenced three more people to death and four to long terms of imprisonment. Six more have been executed at Valona. In and near Scutari more political arrests are reported.

Bulgaria.

Mr. Churchill's broadcast of the 13th May, and particularly his remarks about democracy and totalitarianism, attracted much attention in Bulgaria. The Fatherland Front newspaper reproduced the mild criticism of the *Daily Worker*.

The Bulgarian press and radio have given prominence to the recognition by Marshal Stalin, Marshal Zhukov and the Moscow wireless of the Bulgarian contribution to victory over Germany. Speaking at Plovdiv on the 13th May the Foreign Minister did not conceal his hope that Bulgaria would soon be considered to have worked her passage. He repeated the assertion that the Bulgarian people had always been on the side of the Allies and he contended that the Bulgarian partisans had made as great sacrifices as those of Belgium, Holland and other countries recognised as Allies because of their resistance. Proceeding to review foreign relations M. Stainov said that all quarrels with Yugoslavia had been eliminated and that Bulgaria readily accepted the new status of Macedonia as an independent State within the frontiers of Yugoslavia. He claimed that certain circles in Greece were displeased by the improvement in Yugoslav-Bulgarian relations and glossing over Bulgaria's utter failure so far to make the reparations to Greece stipulated in the armistice, professed disappointment that Greek politicians, far from reciprocating Bulgaria's desire for close relations—which was shown to be genuine by the conviction of more than a hundred Bulgarian officials for crimes perpetrated in occupied Greece—should be shouting "to Sofia!" Between Turkey and Bulgaria there were no territorial claims. Bulgaria, like the U.S.S.R., was locked up in the Black Sea, but the question of the Straits would be decided between the U.S.S.R. and Turkey. Bulgarian friendship with the Soviet Union was giving good results. The present shipping shortage would have prevented the United States or Britain from supplying the 13,000 tons of oil products, the 30 million kilog. of iron, the rubber and the cotton which had already been received from Russia in return for tobacco.

Turkey.

Mr. George Hall's statement of the 16th May about the Dodecanese (see "Greece" in last *Summary*) coupled with the withdrawal of Greek troops who had been landed should allay the anxieties of the Turkish Government lest the status of the islands should be settled over its head.

The Turkish Government has approved the passage through the Straits of twelve mine-sweepers which Russia is obtaining from the United States. Now that Turkey is technically a belligerent she has, under the Montreux Convention, full discretion to allow or forbid the passage of warships.

M. Saracoğlu sent Marshal Stalin a somewhat fulsome message of congratulation on the Red Army's victory. In return he received a remarkably frigid acknowledgment, and a Soviet broadcast in Turkish complained again of symptoms of fascism in Turkey.

In another outspoken article, M. Sertel criticised the Government for having done nothing, by regulating production and consumption, to keep down the cost of living and for failing, now that the German clearing system was no longer a factor, to adjust the Turkish economic system to that of the United Nations and to establish commercial relations with them.

Speaking at a festival of Turkish youth on the 19th May President Inönü expressed the opinion that the hope of future peace lay in the nations showing respect and understanding for one another. The emphasis which he proceeded to lay on democratic institutions in Turkey seems to have been a reply both to recent Russian aspersions and to local criticism. War-time restrictions, he said, would be lifted. The Grand National Assembly, while repressing disorder more firmly than former authoritarian régimes, would continue training the people to live and think in freedom and ensuring further progress in a country which had accomplished many reforms in a short time. Foreign propaganda and

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the rise and decline of foreign policies had left false impressions which must be guarded against. Profiteering had caused suffering to the public, but never tainted the leaders. The nation had successfully passed the moral and political tests of the war and the people's Government would continue to progress along the path of democracy.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

Nahas Pasha has followed up his statement in the press on the abolition of martial law in Egypt by a letter to His Majesty's Ambassador on the same subject. In this letter Nahas Pasha refers to the recent revocation by His Majesty's Government of certain war-time regulations in Great Britain, and argues that liberties which have been restored to the British people should no longer be withheld from their Egyptian allies. Nahas goes on to say that he proposes shortly to raise the question in the Senate, and he hopes that His Majesty's Government will agree to the immediate abolition of martial law and various restrictions imposed on Egypt during the war.

While the news of the German surrender has been welcomed throughout Egypt, the general public hardly expect any immediate material benefit to accrue to them as a result of the end of the war in Europe. There is indeed a widespread fear of economic difficulties increasing in the near future—a fear that is not diminished by the public lack of confidence in the ability of the present Egyptian Government to meet these problems. The local press continues to publish highly-coloured and doubtless exaggerated accounts of the part played by the Egyptian delegation at San Francisco.

The situation in the Levant States has not improved: indeed it has deteriorated. General Beynet, who reached Beirut from Paris last week, told Mr. Shone that he seemed to have returned to "almost a battle atmosphere." His words soon proved true in Aleppo, where on the 20th May a serious riot took place, resulting in casualties among French troops and Syrian civilians. Elsewhere there have been demonstrations, and in most of the principal towns the shops are closed.

On the 17th May the French cruiser *Jeanne d'Arc* arrived at Beirut with a further battalion of French troops. The following day in the Chamber of Deputies, where the atmosphere was extremely tense, the Lebanese Prime Minister stated that his Government had more than once defined its attitude towards any attempt on its independence. "That attitude will not change," he went on. "The danger we see approaching threatens not only Lebanon, Syria and the Arab countries, but also the honour of Europe. All should be convinced that our brother Arab countries will, if necessary, join in the fight and die on our side. Those who threaten us should remember that they have important interests in neighbouring countries, and any aggression against us will infallibly have repercussions on those interests."

In spite of the unfavourable atmosphere prevailing, a meeting took place in Damascus on the 18th May between General Beynet and representatives of the Syrian and Lebanese Governments to discuss the French proposals for a treaty. In two identical notes for the consideration of each Government the French state that they, who are responsible for granting independence to the States, wish to safeguard France's interests, cultural, economic and strategic. When agreement has been reached on these three points, the French will be prepared to hand over the *Troupes Spéciales* to the Levant States, on condition that they remain under French military command "so long as considerations do not allow full exercise of national command." No reference is made to the immediate transfer of a brigade of *Troupes Spéciales*, to which it was understood General de Gaulle had agreed.

Replies to the notes have already been sent by both Governments, refusing to negotiate under what is alleged to be a threat of force. The deadlock therefore remains. Nor will the situation improve if, as is believed, a third French ship arrives shortly with further reinforcements. Every effort is being made by ourselves and by the United States Government to urge the Levant States to refrain from any untoward action, and at the same time to impress upon the French Provisional Government the dangers that are bound to arise from sending reinforcements at this time. (See also under "France.")

Events are being closely watched in neighbouring countries. Ibn Saud has asked that we shall continue to do all we can to maintain Syrian independence, and is sure that His Majesty's Government will not allow the French to impose Senegalese troops on the country. He also proposes to send a telegram to General

de Gaulle, drafted in dignified and non-provocative terms, urging him to accept the fact of the Levant States' aspirations for complete independence.

Iraqi interest in the affair, to which reference was made in last week's *Summary*, has been encouraged by the recent visit to Bagdad of M. Chamoun, the Lebanese Minister in London, who has been spending some weeks in the Lebanon, and whose journey to Iraq is doubtless not unconnected with the situation in the Levant. The Iraqi Government is being pressed to send arms to the States, and, if things get worse there, it may well comply not only with arms but even with "volunteers."

It is reported from Washington that the Jewish Agency for Palestine has handed to the Soviet delegation at San Francisco a memorandum on Jewish rights in Palestine. The memorandum is said to explain the functions of the Jewish Agency as the internationally recognised representative Jewish body for Palestine, and to contain comments by the Agency on the proposals of the United States and Great Britain regarding trusteeship of mandated territories.

The Paris correspondent of *The Times* reports that the Mufti of Jerusalem was recently captured by French forces in Southern Germany and has been brought to Paris, where he is interned in a hotel. It had previously been reported that the Mufti, in trying to escape, had landed in a German aircraft near Berne, but had been arrested and deported by the Swiss authorities, who refused to grant him asylum.

His Majesty's Ambassador at Tehran has received a note from the Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs requesting that British forces should be withdrawn from Persia forthwith. The note, which begins with congratulations on the end of the war with Germany, stresses the importance of Persia's returning to normal conditions as soon as possible in accordance with the wishes of her people. The note goes on to claim that the war with Japan cannot be affected by the presence of Allied troops in Persia, and that, now that the war with Germany is over, there is no longer any need for foreign troops to remain on Persian soil. A note requesting the withdrawal of their troops has been similarly addressed to the Governments of Russia and the United States through their respective representatives in Persia.

THE FAR EAST.

On the 15th May the Japanese Foreign Office declared that "owing to the unconditional surrender of Germany and to other developments in Europe, the Tripartite accord between Japan, Germany and Italy concluded on the 27th September, 1940, and various other relevant agreements providing for special collaboration as between Japan and Germany and other European Powers are deemed to have ceased to be effective" (*Domei*, 15th May). This declaration invalidated a total of eleven agreements. The most important of these are, in addition to the Tripartite Pact of 1940: the Anti-Comintern Pact between Germany and Japan, of the 25th November, 1936; the Protocol between Germany, Italy and Japan, of the 6th November, 1937, whereby Italy adhered to the original Anti-Comintern Pact; the Protocol extending the Anti-Comintern Pact, concluded on the 25th November, 1941 (this extended the 1936 Pact for five years); and the Tripartite Pact between Japan, Germany and Italy on the joint prosecution of the war, signed on the 11th December, 1941. The other six agreements are those on economic and on cultural co-operation concluded by Japan with Germany, Italy, Hungary and Bulgaria respectively between 1938 and 1943. The Japanese-sponsored Nanking China and "Manchukuo" Governments have announced their abrogation of the Anti-Comintern Pact (*Domei*, 17th May).

This step is an obvious gesture of appeasement to the U.S.S.R. in the hope of persuading that Power to remain neutral. The *Yomiuri-Hochi* (17th May) said that the principal objective of Japanese diplomacy should be the ensuring of security in the rear. The paper declared that throughout the war both Japan and the U.S.S.R. had faithfully adhered to their neutrality and had carefully avoided any betrayal of trust or confidence. This was a fact that would be remembered by the U.S.S.R. in the days to come. But the paper added that there was no knowing what line the U.S.S.R. would follow in the future. The *Asahi* (19th May) said that the Tripartite Pact had been concluded on the premise that the Soviet Union was to be neutral and the Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact further endorsed this position. The Anti-Comintern Pact lost its meaning in 1943, when the Comintern was disbanded. Even during Shigemitsu's tenure of

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the Foreign Office the basis of Japanese diplomacy was found in the viewpoint that friendly relations between Japan "and its good-neighbour neutral Power" held the key to peace. The *Asahi* went on to recount how Togo, when Director of the Europe and America Affairs Bureau of the Foreign Office, had worked for a Soviet-Japanese Pact, and, when Director of the Asiatic Affairs Bureau, had furthered the agreement by which the U.S.S.R. sold its interests in the Chinese Eastern Railway. As Ambassador to the U.S.S.R., Togo had laid the foundations of the Neutrality Pact. He was now "racking his brains" for the furtherance of this diplomacy. (The *Asahi* did not refer to the Soviet declaration of the 5th April giving notice that it would not continue the Pact after 1946.)

The other aspect of Japan's "renovated diplomacy," dwelt on by the Japanese press, has to do with her relations with China. The hope of detaching Chungking from the coalition against Japan is evidently still cherished in Tokyo, despite the failure of previous ventures. The *Mainichi* (19th May) declared that the way the Great Powers were handling the Polish question indicated what was in store for Chungking when those Powers directed their full attention to East Asia in general and to China in particular. Chungking, aided by the United States, had taken advantage of Soviet preoccupation with the European War to extend its sphere of influence in Sinkiang Province; this action was like "that of a pilferer sneaking into another's house while its occupants were away." But now the U.S.S.R. had her hands free and the Soviet press was already giving increased prominence to Chinese matters. The *Mainichi* also alleged that some Chungking as well as Nanking leaders felt that a decisive battle between Japan and the United States fought out on Chinese soil would spell doom for the Chinese people, and that the only way to avoid such a danger would be to declare China neutral and to request both the Japanese and the American armies to withdraw from Chinese territory. The *Mainichi* said that Japan was bound by her alliance with Nanking to withdraw her troops upon the termination of the war, but that she could not possibly do so while the Americans were sending additional forces to China and were planning a landing on the Chinese coast. The hint to Chungking is plain enough.

On the 17th May *Domei* announced that the Taisei Yokusankai would be disbanded on or about the 10th June and that its subsidiary organs would be merged with the newly-formed People's Volunteer Corps. These organs included the Yokusan Men's Corps, the Dai Nippon Women's Association, the Dai Nippon Young Men's and Boys' Association, the National Commercial Service Association and the National Agricultural Service Association. The National Industrial Service Association, the National Labour Service Association and the National Marine Transport Service Association would continue to function in view of their independent character, while the disposal of the General Headquarters of the New Asia Movement would be handled separately by the Greater East Asiatic Affairs Ministry.

The Taisei Yokusankai should be distinguished from the Taisei Yokusan Seijikai, which has been replaced by the Dai Nippon Seijikai (see this *Summary*, Nos. 285, 287 and 290). The *Asahi* (18th May) said that the enthusiastic support given to the Taisei Yokusankai when it was inaugurated in 1940 had waned; it had become too bureaucratic in character and had lacked any clear policy. The *Mainichi* of the same date made similar criticisms and both papers hoped that the People's Volunteer Corps would prove more effective in organising the people in general for the furtherance of the war effort. Isamu Inouye, the Assistant Editor of *Overseas News*, in a radio broadcast on the 19th May, said that the dissolution of the Taisei Yokusankai, so far from having anything to do with a peace overture, was an unequivocal manifestation of Japan's determination to continue the war to the bitter end. On the 21st May Iguchi, the spokesman of the Board of Information, flatly denied that Japan had ever made any overtures for peace to the United States or Great Britain.

The Sixth National Congress of the Kuomintang has concluded its deliberations. These have been conducted in secret and little apart from brief statements on various resolutions passed has as yet been made public. On the 16th May Dr. Wang Shih-Chieh, the Chinese Minister of Information, said that after long deliberations a special committee of the Congress had fixed the 12th November as the date for convening the National People's Assembly. Questions as to the membership and the powers of this Assembly would be left to the decision of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee, but opinions from members of other parties would be taken into account when the People's Political Council met at the beginning of July.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The volume of press and radio comment on the San Francisco Conference has considerably diminished, although the Conference is still prominently featured. President Truman's talk with M. Bidault has been given considerable space and it is generally felt that the White House statement, subsequently issued, not only reflected American goodwill towards France, but was also "a strong vote of confidence for General de Gaulle" (for fuller treatment of Franco-American relations see under France). News from the Far East is now naturally given more space, but attention is still concentrated on the troubles and turmoil in Europe, and there is much speculation concerning Russia's real intentions.

A burst of criticism greeted Mr. Elmer Davis's statement that the Office of War Information intended to monopolise German information media and that British and American papers would not be allowed to circulate in the American-occupied zone of Germany. President Truman's promptness in reversing this decision earned him almost unanimous praise, and confidence is expressed that General Eisenhower and the occupation authorities can be relied on to see that nothing is allowed to circulate which might foster anti-democratic sentiments. Unless Germans witness the functioning of a free press and radio, it is argued, they will never appreciate the advantages that accrue. A desire for the speedy trial and punishment of War Criminals, including the leading high ranking German officers, and all those who planned the war, also continues to be forcibly expressed.

The Bill which would give President Truman authority to reduce American import duties up to a further 50 per cent. by reciprocal trade agreements (see *Summary* No. 286, page 21) was approved last week by the House of Representatives Ways and Means Committee. This is regarded as an important victory for the President, though the fact that it was only approved by 14 votes to 11 is significant. The 11 opponents comprised 10 Republicans and 1 Democrat. "Such a line-up indicates," in the words of the *New York Times*, "that the vote on this measure in full Congress may be on traditional party lines. Apart from the danger to the extension of the Act, a vote of this type would," the *New York Times* maintained, "be an outstanding example, particularly from the Republican side, of the triumph of historic party politics over common-sense and present logical consistency . . . . and it is time for the Republicans, and in particular, those who sincerely wish to preserve free enterprise, to re-examine their first principles." The *Washington Post* also considered the Republican Party "ill-advised to make this a party issue."

The next stage is consideration of the measure this week by the House of Representatives followed by consideration in the Senate's Finance Committee and later by the Senate itself. In some circles it is considered that the President may yet be forced to accept some weakening amendments to secure the passage of the Act in the Senate, where the real battle will take place. While the parallel with the extension of the old Act in 1943 is imperfect, it is encouraging to bear in mind that although there were then fears of a stiff battle in the Senate after a comparatively easy passage in the House, these were not justified by the event.

Mr. William Batt, Vice-Chairman of the War Production Board, in a Speech at Chicago, gave it as his view that news of a United States policy of progressively lowered tariffs would probably be the best news that British business men could receive. In urging an extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act, Mr. Batt added, "whereas we in the United States desire to increase exports after the war to ensure full employment, Britain's need to increase exports is fundamentally different. Britain needs to increase her exports primarily to meet the cost of her necessary imports, if she is to maintain anything approaching her pre-war standard of living, let alone provide full employment."

Attacks on international cartels have been made by Mr. William Clayton (Assistant Secretary of the State Department) and Mr. Biddle (the Attorney-General). Mr. Clayton proposed that there should be a world agreement for the control of cartels and suggested the establishment of an "international office for business practices, tied into the United Nations Organisation through the economic and social council, to facilitate inter-governmental co-operation." He described the O'Mahoney Bill, requiring the registration and public disclosure of restrictive contracts between American and foreign industries, now under consideration by a Senate Sub-Committee, as a useful element in this programme, which, if passed, would substantially discharge the obligations of the United States under the section calling upon each signatory nation to require registration of proper information relating to international business agreements. Mr. Biddle

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continues to inveigh against the old German cartels, particularly against I.G. Farbenindustrie. He maintained before the Senate Judiciary Sub-Committee, which is studying a Foreign Contracts Bill for the restriction of foreign contracts in which United States corporations participated, that " many cartel arrangements necessarily disrupted during the European phase of the war are being resumed," and he also urged the Senate to approve of the O'Mahoney Bill. Somewhat more surprisingly, Mr. Pew, the President of the Sun Oil Company, and powerful behind-the-scenes figure in the Republican Party, has advocated freeing world trade " from the straitjackets of cartels, unduly high tariffs, quotas and all other restraints that don't come from the free choice of a free people."

The House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee has unanimously approved a resolution urging that the United States should participate in an international educational and cultural organisation.

The Bill to substitute a majority of both Houses for the two-thirds rule of the Senate which is now required for treaty ratification, has been passed by the House of Representatives but, as on past occasions, it is exceedingly unlikely that the Senate will be willing to accept this proposal, thereby voluntarily surrendering one of its most cherished prerogatives. Senator Burton, however, is reported to have declared that he would support a constitutional amendment to provide for the ratification of treaties by a simple majority of the Senate.

Mr. Morgenthau, Secretary of the Treasury, reported last week that new dimes bearing President Franklin Roosevelt's likeness would be minted as soon as possible, and would probably be ready for distribution by the end of the year. He also said that Mr. Roosevelt's portrait would be used on one of the war bonds for the eighth war loan.

LATIN AMERICA.

In a statement to the Press on the integration of regional and collective systems in the general system of international security, Mr. Stettinius has recalled that the discussions at Mexico City envisaged, in the Act of Chapultepec, the conclusion of an inter-American Treaty. After the close of the San Francisco Conference, it was the intention of the United States Government to invite the other American Governments to undertake in the near future the negotiation of a treaty which " would be consistent with the charter of the world organisation and would support and strengthen that organisation, while at the same time advancing the development of the historic system of inter-American co-operation."

According to broadcast reports, the Brazilian Acting Foreign Minister has declared this to be one of the most far-reaching developments of the Conference; he added that the treaty would be signed before the end of the year. The compromise on the regional issue is described under " United Nations."

In Argentina, the Minister of the Interior has made a statement on the Government's attitude to a return to " institutional normality." Declaring that the Government had decided to begin the restoration of this long-promised and much-desired state of grace, Admiral Teisaire said that the following stages must be completed : the cancellation of the decree prohibiting political activities, approval of the charter for political parties and the creation of an electoral law, the organisation of the parties, the definitive preparation of voting lists, arrangements for elections, and finally elections. Admiral Teisaire also referred to the freedom of the Press and the release of political prisoners, " as things went on " —it would, however, be as well to maintain the state of siege while the country was at war. It is impossible not to question the sincerity of this statement, and it is notable that there is still no reference to a date at which elections will be held, while the liberty of the individual and of the Press remains subject to constant interference by the police.

At least a partial motive for this new manœuvre may be found in the record level of unpopularity which the Argentine Government has achieved for itself. The official attitude towards popular demonstrations, the encouragement of police repression, and the maladroitness of Colonel Perón's efforts at social legislation have bred an abundance of critics, who, however, appear to be unwilling to expose themselves to the Army and police, while complaining that the régime has been saved by recognition. Much of the Army is anxious to retain its privileged position, and though there are some soldiers who may be sensitive to civilian discontent and dislike, at the moment there appears little likelihood that the civilians by themselves will be able to eject the existing régime.

Sr. Ghioldi, the Secretary of the Socialist Party, is apparently to be sent to a convict settlement, though the Government did not implicate him in the recent " plot." The Interventor of Córdoba, reported in last week's *Summary* to have prophesied early elections, has resigned " for reasons of health "; three of his ministers, their under-secretaries and the chief of police appear to have shared in this sudden indisposition.

In Brazil, the newly-founded Social Democratic Party is reported to support General Dutra—its name may well add to the confusion of the situation. The death is reported of Sr. Armando Salles de Oliveira, former Governor of São Paulo, and in 1937 a candidate for the Presidency.

In Chile President Ríos has at length formed a Cabinet. It is apparently based on the Radical Party without Liberals, but with representatives of some of the smaller parties. The final representation in the new Chamber appears to be 74 for the Left-wing parties, and 71 for the Right : the new Cabinet cannot rely on a majority, and the temperature of Chilean political life is hardly likely to be lessened during the forthcoming session.

The Presidents of Guatemala and El Salvador are reported to have met at San Cristóbal in order, according to the Press, to exchange views about the federation of their countries : they are reported to have agreed to this in principle as a first step towards the establishment of a Central American Union.

UNITED NATIONS.

At San Francisco, the Committee dealing with trusteeship has had before it a working draft prepared by the United States in consultation with the United Kingdom. In the discussion on this draft Lord Cranborne pointed out that the adoption of " independence " as an aim for the administration of all dependent territories as proposed by China and the U.S.S.R.) would be unsuitable, and indeed harmful, to many dependent territories. The United Kingdom and the United States are, however, considering a formula whereby areas placed under the trusteeship arrangements of the new organisation should be assisted to attain " self-government or independence, according to the varying circumstances in each territory." Lord Cranborne also made a vigorous defence of the view that the imposition on dependent territories of the " open door " for immigrants and goods from all nations without discrimination might operate against the interests of the inhabitants of these territories, adding the strong point that no independent State would accept such an " open-door " policy for its own metropolitan territory.

On the regional security issue good progress was made. The desire of the Latin American States for a special mention in the Charter of their regional security plan (provided for in the Act of Chapultepec) had been damped by the discovery that this proposal was leading the Arab States to make similar demands for their regional security arrangements. Press reports during the past ten days that the five Great Powers had agreed on a solution for this problem were premature; but the U.S.S.R. has now accepted, with only minor amendments, the solution agreed on between the United States and the Latin American States and subsequently accepted by the United Kingdom, France and China. The proposal as finally agreed is that the Charter shall not impair the right of individual or collective self-defence, if a member State is subject to armed attack, until the Security Council has taken measures to maintain peace. Such individual or collective action would have to be reported to the Council at once and the Council would retain its right to take any subsequent action it might deem necessary.

The Committee dealing with the structure of the Security Council has agreed that France should have a permanent seat on it (the words " in due course " in the Dumbarton Oaks plan being now omitted).

Discussion in Committee has begun on the " Great Power veto " in the Security Council. The smaller Powers, which dislike the veto, are likely to try to have its operation limited to cases of enforcement action, and to ensure that it should not be used to block other types of action, *e.g.*, amendment of the Charter, investigation of a dispute, or recommendation for its settlement by the Security Council. There is also a move to secure that no State will be called on by the Council to provide armed forces for enforcement action unless it has participated in the discussions on the Council leading to such action.

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The Committee dealing with Economic and Social Co-operation has proposed to add to the "purposes" of the organisation in this field specified in the Dumbarton Oaks plan "the promotion of higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development."

The United Kingdom has proposed amendments to Section A of the Dumbarton Oaks plan which would mention the International Labour Organisation as a body to be associated, by special arrangements, with the economic and social work of the new organisation. The United States delegate on the Committee, while paying a high tribute to the work of the I.L.O., opposed this special mention of it, as did also the Soviet delegate, who said that the I.L.O. did not represent the workers of the U.S.S.R. The question was referred back for informal negotiations.

One important result of the Conference has been the explosion of the belief that representation of the Dominions there (or, indeed, on international organisations generally) meant "six votes for Britain." On almost every issue so far raised at the Conference, one or other Dominion has taken an independent line. Support of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia for the U.S.S.R. has been more regular than support of the Dominions for the United Kingdom. In any case the six votes which might conceivably have supported a United Kingdom proposal or the five (counting the Ukraine and White Russia) which may be expected to support a Soviet proposal could not in themselves swing a Conference decision. In fact, the only delegations which have acted as a *bloc* at San Francisco have been those of the Latin American States; and, under the two-thirds rule, their twenty votes could block any decision by a plenary session of the Conference. Moreover, if the two-thirds rule proposed at Dumbarton Oaks for important Assembly decisions goes into the Charter, these same States will have a similar blocking power in the Assembly of the new organisation. Thus the "Great Power veto" is not the only kind of veto which may raise problems in world organisation.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary
No. 295

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
30TH MAY, 1945.

Copy No. 141

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

THE outstanding event of the past week has been the arrest of several hundred German personalities in the region of Flensburg. These include both military and civilian officials, members of the German High Command and the political colleagues of Dönitz. The Grand Admiral himself, Jodl, the Chief of Staff, Speer and Schwerin Krosigk are now held as prisoners. Thus ends an episode in German history as remarkable as it was brief. For just over three weeks Dönitz was able to proclaim himself Hitler's successor and Head of the German State. Whatever may be thought either of his pretensions or of the politicians whom he brought into partnership with him, there can be little doubt of his usefulness to the Allies in tiding over a most difficult transitional period. The unexpectedly rapid surrender of masses of troops and the general disruption of the means of communication throughout the Reich (as described in this *Summary* last week) made it imperative for the Allied Command to ward off even greater chaos by ensuring that orders were effectively given and rapidly obeyed. The obvious way to achieve this end was to use the chain of command already existent in the Reich. The end was achieved and the arrest of Dönitz and his officials has now put an end to idle talk about possible "recognition" of a Nazi German Government. But it should perhaps be put on record here that these arrests create a situation which may be called unique in modern European history, in that one of the great sovereign States of Europe is without any Government whatever as a result of military defeat. Germany is not annexed to, nor ruled by, a Foreign Power. The Reich is under the military control of the Allied Powers, but apart from this control there is no central civil authority in Germany. A political vacuum exists which will have to be filled.

The little brief authority which the Grand Admiral enjoyed may now therefore be reviewed in perspective. He assumed power on the 1st May, and

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claimed that he had been appointed on the previous day by Hitler as his successor. The claim received no very wide recognition and, indeed, the breakdown of communication throughout Germany made such recognition technically very difficult. Of the messages of German Commanders published by the two or three transmitters of north and south Germany, only two contained an outspoken adherence to Dönitz. K. H. Frank, Senior S.S. Leader in the Protectorate, said: "The oath of allegiance which we gave to the Führer from now on holds good for every German in regard to Grand Admiral Dönitz. We shall support and obey him." Friedeburg, the new Commander-in-Chief of the Navy, declared a very natural loyalty to his predecessor. But it was remarkable that such Commanders as Lindemann, Boehme and Busch issued no special assurances of the same kind.

The political activity of the Grand Admiral was neither spectacular nor far-reaching. His aim, he said, was to secure "tolerable living-conditions" for the people. In a broadcast of the 8th he urged them to face facts squarely and to realise that the foundations of the Reich had collapsed, and he warned them that it rested with the Occupying Powers whether he would be allowed to continue his functions. These, as far as publicly announced, amounted to little more than issuing orders for what a colleague termed "the winding-up of military tasks" and appointing a few essential collaborators. The first of these was Schwerin-Krosigk, whom Dönitz on the 2nd May transferred from the Finance Ministry to that of Foreign Affairs. The other appointments were not made public in Germany. The B.B.C. announced on the 14th that four members of Hitler's Government had been invited by Dönitz to form a "cabinet of experts." These were Speer (Armament Production), Backe (Food), Dorpmüller (Transport), and Seldte (Labour). The quartette is interesting and would seem to represent an attempt to continue essential services by safeguarding repairs, communications and food distribution, and at the same time to placate the Allies by the choice of "respectable" Germans. None of the four have been overtly concerned with atrocities; Speer and Backe are technical experts even more than Party men. The other two are pre-Hitlerian figures, Dorpmüller a civil servant, and Seldte a Stahlhelm leader. The political colour of such a Cabinet, apart from its head, could be claimed to be more Nationalist than Nazi, the brand of nationalism being not unlike that of the Papen Cabinet of 1932.

The dissolution of the Nazi hierarchy has been so rapid that all of Hitler's chief collaborators would now seem to be accounted for, with the exception of Ribbentrop. The most dramatic disappearance has been that of Himmler, who was arrested whilst trying to cross a bridge at Bremervoerde (between Wesermünde and Hamburg), by sentries of the British Second Army on the 21st May and who, during examination, succeeded in committing suicide by biting on a tube of poison concealed in his mouth. Thus ends, at the age of 44, the career of one who appeared to have outdistanced all his fellows in the race for power. He became head of the S.S. and master of the police forces of Germany, and developed the military formations of the S.S. (*Waffen* S.S.) on a lavish scale. Since 1943 he has been Minister of the Interior and in 1944 was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the German Home Army. He even commanded an army group on the eastern front. In the last weeks before the German collapse it was he who offered unconditional surrender to the Western Allies. No man bore a heavier responsibility than he for the atrocities committed in the concentration camps. He was the prototype of the fanatical Nazi, reported to be completely loyal to Hitler and to no one else, passionately concerned with the preservation and expansion of the Master Race, in whose service he created his ruthless machinery of espionage and torture. He was in some things as credulous as in others he was crafty; there is evidence that he believed the wildest stories of "V" damage in England.

Among other Nazis who have this week chosen the same end have been Friedeburg, the new head of the Navy, and von Greim, Göring's successor as Commander of the Luftwaffe. One of Himmler's chief adjutants in the SS, Werner Best, who since October 1942 has been Plenipotentiary of the Reich in Denmark, has been arrested in Copenhagen, together with important members of his staff. Among the recently captured are Forster, Gauleiter of Danzig, and the notorious Streicher. Among prominent Germans discovered in a concentration camp at Dobbiaco, just south of the Austro-Italian frontier, are Schacht, Niemöller, Thyssen, Generals Halder and Falkenhausen, and members of the families of Gördeler and Stauffenberg.

Information is now available concerning areas of the Reich under Russian occupation. The city of Berlin, so far administered by a military governor, has

since the 21st May had a German Lord Mayor, Arthur Werner, an architect. His first assistant, Karl Maron, is said to be a metal worker. Health is looked after by the famous surgeon Sauerbruch, once a member of Niemöller's congregation in Dahlem. Andreas Hermes, a former Reich Minister belonging to the Centre Party, is in charge of food policy and a Social Democrat, and Protestant clergyman, Fritz Buchholz, has been appointed to advise on church matters. The first issues of a new *Berliner Zeitung* have appeared. The Russians have apparently been energetic in their endeavour to restore normal life to the city. A high Russian official described on his return to Moscow the appalling conditions regarding food and housing which were still to be found in Berlin as in other German towns. Russian treatment of civilians in Germany would seem to have become much more considerate since the last furious days of fighting. Whereas the town of Insterburg in East Prussia is said to have been sacked and burnt, Dresden has by contrast received supplies of food and materials for essential reconstruction; peasants are reported to be free to sell their produce in the open market and trade in consumption goods has been restarted. The lavish issue of occupation marks, which have in many cases penetrated to the American zone, is one among several indications that joint control of the volume of money in the Reich is an urgent necessity.

An interview given by Pastor Niemöller to Dorothy Thompson (printed in the *Observer*, 20th May) stands in sharp contrast to the remarks of Count von Galen quoted in this Summary recently (No. 293). The pastor painted a dark picture of the condition of his country. Germany, he said, was entirely adrift; there was nothing which had not been corrupted and compromised under Hitler. The only positive force which he discerned was an "unassuaged spiritual hunger after righteousness and truth." He prayed for a common programme of the administering Powers; any system suppressing personal conscience would bear too great a resemblance to Nazism. He thought it essential that western civilisation and Russian Communism should reconcile their systems and learn from each other. He seemed to contemplate for himself no other future than returning to preach the Gospel to his own people.

AUSTRIA.

Arrangements are now being made for British, United States and probably French representatives to visit Vienna in order to gain information upon which they can advise their Governments on the demarcation of the respective zones of occupation there. It is hoped that, as a result of these visits, outstanding questions before the European Advisory Council relating to the occupation and control of Austria will be settled.

During the past week the Government of Marshal Tito has withdrawn its troops from Carinthia, though claims to the areas previously occupied are still being vigorously made by Belgrade Radio (see under "Yugoslavia"). It also appears that Yugoslav forces have moved into parts of Styria now occupied by the Russians but provisionally allocated to the British zone of occupation. From "Station Austria" in the area occupied by the Russians the death by suicide of Jury, Gauleiter of Lower Austria, together with some of his intimate friends, was announced by a Herr Siegel, described as a Secretary of State but probably one of the Under-Secretaries of State, whose names have not yet all been officially given. From the same source also came an account of a visit by Dr. Renner, head of the Provisional Government, to Graz, where he addressed a meeting of officials of the Styrian provisional provincial administration. He laid particular emphasis in his speech on the critical food situation, which "caused the Government the most serious anxiety," but he also spoke of the other serious economic problems of Austria and explained the constitutional and anti-Nazi legislation already passed by the Provisional Government. *Landeshauptmann* Machold, head of the Styrian provisional administration, and his colleagues, promised to do all in their power to assist the plans of the Provisional Government.

Some remarkably optimistic reports on conditions in Vienna have been made by the Austrian radio stations under Russian control. The resumption of some train and postal services has been announced; it is also stated that electricity from Styrian water-power installations is soon to be available for Vienna; that assistance is being given by the Russians to the maintenance of rations for the population; that the Vienna District Health Insurance scheme has resumed its

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activities; and that a considerable number of Viennese theatres would give performances on Sunday, the 27th May. But one report, made by persons who have recently left the city, suggests that conditions may be much more difficult than could be gathered from the broadcasts. It says that the food situation is catastrophic, that the city is without gas, and that the Russians have requisitioned all transport.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

The occasion of President Beneš's 61st birthday on the 28th May was celebrated by a performance of Smetana's opera "Libuše" in the Prague National Theatre. Both the opera and the theatre are symbolic of the national and cultural struggle of the Czechs, and the performance was preceded by appreciations of the work of the President. The Ministers of Defence and Education both praised the sober, statesmanlike qualities of Dr. Beneš, and following the now familiar line of all ministerial utterances, referred to the friendship with Russia, the all-Slav policy and the federal nature of the Republic. Criticisms of the new orientation of Czechoslovak foreign policy led M. Masaryk in a press statement to refute charges of Sovietisation. M. Fierlinger, discussing the 1943 Pact with U.S.S.R., showed awareness of the same criticisms, when he declared "this pact and our friendship with all other Slav nations must not encroach on our friendly and cordial relations with the other democratic States"—and an admonitory note, "It will, however, be necessary for certain remaining prejudices in the West with regard to the Soviet Union to be swept away."

On the 24th and 25th, President Beneš sent telegrams of greeting and thanks to the Heads of State of the major Allies, the Balkan countries, Holland and Norway. On the 23rd Paris Radio announced the departure of a French diplomatic mission for Prague.

One of the claims made by the Czechs in 1919 and dismissed by the Supreme Council—the recognition of a special status for Lusatia—has made an interesting re-emergence. Prague Radio, in broadcasts on the 24th, 25th and 26th, announced that a National Committee of Lusatian Wends had arrived in Prague, that this Committee had appealed to Stalin and the Allies, and had requested incorporation in Czechoslovakia. The Wends were urged to resume cultural activities, and proclaim their Slav character to the occupying forces. This small and scattered minority, numbering barely 100,000, speaks a language closely related to Czech, and inhabits localities in Prussia and Saxony. At any rate, before the rise of Hitler, the Wendic tongue was certainly spoken in this area, but the Slavs had suffered from century-old and almost overwhelming Germanisation. The Czechs probably regard this minority now as a means of bargaining over the proposals to expel Sudeten Germans. The instructions in Wendic, "Prague calling Bautzen," were couched in such terms, however, as to convey the idea of a territorial claim rather than a mere exchange of population.

By a ruling of the Ministry of the Interior, the term "Sudeten" is to be replaced by "Border Regions." This is a further development in the plan to liquidate the minorities. Czech schools have been reopened, and Czechoslovak troops, from the Soviet front, reinforced by reservists, are steadily occupying these regions. The district of Ceské Velenice (opposite the Austrian town of Gmünd) incorporated in 1920 and detached by the Munich Agreement, has been reoccupied by the army. Czech National Committees are to take over theatres, and Czech staffs are to be appointed to run the large hotel industries of the cities and spas of N. and W. Bohemia. The Ministry of Agriculture is to send special commissions into Sudetenland to advise the Committees on the problem of colonisation and confiscation of property occupied by Germans and collaborators.

Meanwhile, the work of general reconstruction goes on. The most urgent concerns of the Government, apart from questions of repatriation and medical aid for the Terezin concentration camp, are the restoration of transport and communication, and the organisation of food distribution and production. The Minister of Industry, M. Lausman, declared on the 22nd, that 60 per cent. to 70 per cent. of all industry, particularly the heavy branches, and all banks, were to be brought under the national administration. This nationalisation of resources is closely connected with the policy of confiscation as applied to the minorities and collaborators.

POLAND.

In a statement issued on the 22nd May the Polish Government in London dealt with certain points in Marshal Stalin's letter to the Moscow correspondent of *The Times*. There could be no doubt, they claimed, that the arrested Poles had been invited by the Soviet authorities for the negotiations, and had received assurances of personal safety; the Polish Government possessed the text of Colonel Pimenov's letter extending the invitation on behalf of Colonel-General Ivanov. In the course of the introductory conversations, it was added, Vice-Premier Jankowski had asked where lay the boundary line between the competence of the Lublin Committee and that of the Red army, and had received from Colonel Pimenov the reply that the committee must comply with the directions it received from the command of the 1st White Russian Front.

On the 28th May General Bor-Komorowski assumed the functions of Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Armed Forces, which had originally been assigned to him in September 1944, but which, during his absence, were at first shared by the President, the Minister of National Defence and the Chief-of-Staff, and later (in February 1945) taken over by General Anders as Acting Commander-in-Chief. In an interview with press representatives in London on the 18th May, General Bor-Komorowski said it was still his hope that Poland and Russia would work together in friendship. The Warsaw rising had been arranged to synchronise with the Russian advance, but he himself did not believe there was any other reason for their withdrawal on the east than the sharp German counter-attack which forced them to yield ground. Of the arrested Polish leaders, General Bor said that they were with him in Warsaw, and that he could testify to their being good democrats, patriotic, and thoroughly loyal to the Allies. He added that the future of the armed forces who had been fighting for the western allies was a matter to be decided by the Polish Government.

It is reported from Sweden that a commission of three, including a representative of the Swedish Foreign Office, will leave shortly for Warsaw to investigate the possibilities of importing Polish coal to Sweden; rumours of a Swedish offer to help in the reconstruction of Danzig harbour in return for coal deliveries have been described by the Swedish Foreign Office as premature. According to a recent Lublin broadcast report, on the other hand, to meet the Baltic countries' interest in the possibilities of importing Polish coal, the Central Maritime Office in Danzig has sent a special commission to Kolberg to report on the harbour's present condition.

Following a recent *démenti* by Polpress of reports that U.N.R.R.A. cargoes destined for Poland had been kept back unloaded at Constanza, it was announced on the 26th May that the fourth vessel carrying such supplies had arrived in that port, and was being unloaded immediately; one or two railway transports laden with U.N.R.R.A. cargo were leaving daily for Poland, and 500 railway trucks in all had so far been despatched.

A "Ministry of National Reconstruction" under Professor Michal Kaczorowski (stated to be a member of the Socialist Party) has been set up by a decree of the "Provisional Government" dated the 24th May. (For Soviet press comment on Polish questions see under "The Soviet Union").

SOVIET UNION.

On the 24th May the Soviet Government gave a reception in honour of Red army officers, at which among many other toasts Marshal Stalin proposed that of M. Molotov. "A good foreign policy," he said, "sometimes weighs more than two or three armies at the front." The only foreigners reported as present were a Polish miners' delegation now visiting Moscow; in their honour M. Molotov drank to friendly relations between the U.S.S.R. and Poland. Marshal Stalin proposed a toast to the Soviet people, and especially the Russian people. In 1941–42, he said, "our Government made not a few mistakes, and we experienced desperate moments. . . . . A different people could have said to the Government: 'You have failed to justify our expectations, go away, we shall install another Government which will conclude peace with Germany and assure us a quiet life.'" Not so the Russian people, whose confidence in the Soviet Government "proved to be the decisive force which ensured the historic victory over the enemy of humanity—over fascism."

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Soviet publicists in San Francisco and Moscow have in the past week been sharply on the defensive in regard to Soviet aims in general and Soviet foreign policy and Soviet "democracy" in particular. The tone of laudatory self-righteousness which marks these articles suggests that recent speculation about Soviet policy in the British and American press has caused considerable irritation. M. Zaslavsky, writing in *Pravda* on the 26th May, attacked those British journalists (and especially the *Yorkshire Post*) who contrast "eastern" and "western" methods in diplomacy. "Before the war," M. Zaslavsky recalled, "the predominant 'western method' of British foreign policy consisted in setting whole West European world against the Soviet Union" and led up to Munich; this was, however, followed by the later "western method" of the Anglo-Soviet alliance. To which "western method" did the *Yorkshire Post* refer? M. Zaslavsky then went on to deny that the U.S.S.R. was acting unilaterally in, for instance, Poland and Austria. On the contrary, the Red army was acting in full conformity with the decisions of the Crimea Conference in destroying Fascist institutions in the countries which it liberated. Thereupon "democratic parties and groups which during the occupation waged an underground struggle against the Germans emerge into open political life; . . . . wherever the military situation permits, the Red Army turns over the administration to the liberated peoples themselves." "Soviet foreign policy is clear, logical and consistent," claimed *Pravda's* International Observer. The same article quoted Mr. H. G. Wells's letter in the *Daily Worker* "unmasking the new provocative campaign of reactionary elements. . . . and a systematic whispering campaign that the next war will be Anglo-American against Russia."

M. Zhukov (*Izvestiya's* special correspondent in San Francisco) described the freedom of the Anglo-American press as largely mythical in a message broadcast from Moscow in English. He declared that British and American newspapermen often pass trenchant and objective judgments on the principal problems connected with the United Nations' Conference—"but they never wrote in the same spirit and said in advance that they wouldn't." In another despatch M. Zhukov declared that "alarming rumours had crept into the press that there may be a serious change in British foreign policy in general." He hinted at the dangers that had been created at San Francisco by "talk about *blocs*" and that the Crimea decisions might be blasted by an accidental majority composed largely of small Powers.

The press conferences given on the 14th May by the representatives of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Republics at San Francisco, MM. Manuilsky and Kiselev, are of some interest. M. Manuilsky, whose utterances carry weight as he is not merely People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Ukraine but a member of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party, insisted strongly on the loose federal nature of the U.S.S.R., maintaining that the Ukraine did not exercise its right to secede merely owing to the economic, political and strategic advantages deriving from union with the Great-Russian people. M. Manuilsky anticipated an extended development of the Ukraine's diplomatic and consular relations with other countries, including, of course, the United States, stating that the initiative for the opening of such relations should come from both sides. In reply to a question, he affirmed that all the sixteen Soviet Republics would seek individual membership in the new world organisation. On the subject of trade M. Manuilsky stated that the Ukraine intended to export only raw materials and not industrial goods, adding that so far the Ukraine preferred to conduct its foreign trade jointly with the other Soviet Republics. M. Kiselev's statement on the position of Byelorussia was on the same lines and contained no special point of interest. Both statements affirmed the desire of the two republics to maintain friendly relations with Poland, M. Manuilsky repeating the familiar Soviet pronouncements on the need for a strong Poland as a neighbour of the U.S.S.R. He laid great stress on the fact that Poland's economy, based on private property and private initiative, was no bar to her co-operating with States with a different social structure. Such a collaboration between differing systems had proved most fruitful in the case of Great Britain and the U.S.S.R. M. Manuilsky defended the Ukraine's need for a friendly Poland on the analogy of the desire of Great Britain and the United States not to have hostile neighbours. If Britain did not wish Antwerp to be a pistol pointed at her heart, the Ukraine was equally justified in not wanting Cracow to be a pistol pointed at "the ancient Ukrainian city of Lvov."

Marshal Stalin's statement on Poland recorded in last week's *Summary* has been followed by a fresh outcrop of prolific comment on the Polish situation in

the Soviet press, the Government in exile and its adherents in Poland being denounced for the organisation of sabotage and murders inside the country. The activities of the Warsaw Government were analysed in an article in *The War and* question of a Communist system being inaugurated in Poland, and that private capital and private initiative were being encouraged. According to the article, medium and small enterprises, which had been taken over by the Government in the early stages of liberation, were already being handed back to their owners. Stress was also laid on the free development of the different political parties, and the article concluded that it was absurd to imagine, in view of all these developments, that the fate of Poland could be decided without the Polish people. *Krasnaya Zvezda* (24th May) expressed grave concern at the proposed reorganisation of the Polish Government (*sic*) in London to convert it into a "strong 'Fight Russia' team," and at the plans on foot for the future disposal of the Polish army abroad. The British and American press was quoted to the effect that this army, now some 300,000 strong with the addition of the Poles who had been mobilised into the German army, was to be transferred to north-western Germany on the pretext of helping in the occupation. "The plan to concentrate a 300,000 strong army of Poles with an anti-Soviet outlook on German territory not far from the Soviet occupation troops should put on their guard all who value the cause of peace and the freedom of the peoples." General Bor-Komarowski's interview to the press in London was treated with considerable sarcasm in *Izvestiya* (23rd May). One of the most interesting facts that emerged from the interview, according to *Izvestiya*, was that the Hitlerite Gauleiter, on General Bor's own admission, had so easily contacted the leaders of the "Polish Underground." Many British, according to *Izvestiya*, were at last beginning to understand with what "petty provocateurs and dirty adventurers" thy had to deal, but the article ended on a wistful note of "How long, O Lord, how long?"

The first comment in the Soviet press on the Trieste situation has appeared in the form of a historical survey of the problem by Professor Zvavich in *Krasnaya Zvezda* (26th May). The Professor, after contending that Trieste should have gone to the new Yugoslav State at the end of the first World War, maintained that the act of those who signed the secret Treaty of London in 1915 assigning it to Italy was prompted by the fear of a Slav *bloc* stretching from Vladivostok to Fiume—the first step to world conquest by the "Scythians," as Harold Nicolson had put it. The subsequent acceptance of Italian aggression in Fiume was "the original sin of those who stood in superstitious fear of the Scythians." After describing Trieste and Istria as a whole as an armed camp of fascism right up to 1945, Professor Zvavich affirmed that Marshal Tito's forces alone had liberated the area and were therefore entitled to occupy it, though the Yugoslav Government was quite ready to discuss the problem of Trieste at the Peace Conference. The same points were made by M. Viktorov in a *Pravda* article (26th May) deploring the "unexpected and provocative treatment" of the Trieste question in many American and British papers, which merely served to fan suspicions and prevent the development of collaboration between Italy and Yugoslavia. Such a noisy press campaign, according to M. Viktorov, was apparently meant to make up for the absence of weighty arguments against "Yugoslavia's realisation of her legitimate rights, won in heroic struggle."

The new Yugoslav Ambassador to the Soviet Union, M. Popovic, presented his credentials to M. Shvernik, vice-chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., on the 24th May.

Sweden has become a target for Soviet propaganda during the past week, in the form of a concerted attack on certain sections of the Swedish press for their failure to share in the general jubilation over the defeat of Hitlerite Germany, and for their anti-Soviet attitude. *Izvestiya* (25th May) particularly criticised Swedish suspicions about the Russian occupation of Bornholm, and also the "slanderous" reports put out in the Stockholm press to the effect that Soviet troops had wrecked and plundered the building of the Swedish Legation in Budapest. The Red army had, in fact, rendered every assistance to members of that Legation. Complaints of the cavalier treatment accorded in Sweden to Russian officers who had crossed over from Norway compared to the lavish reception given to Germans in similar case were published by *Tass* (27th May) in the form of quotations from the Swedish paper *Expressen*. On the following day *Pravda* came out with a vigorous article roundly trouncing the Swedes for having systematically violated their neutrality in Germany's favour during the war, and for keeping up a pro-German and anti-Soviet policy even now that

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hostilities had ceased. The article admitted that there were other circles in Sweden which did desire friendly relations with the U.S.S.R., and insisted that the vital interests of the Soviet and Swedish people in fact coincided.

One of the most distinguished scientists of the Soviet Union, Academician Alexander Fersman, died on the 20th May after a long illness. M. Fersman had received many high scientific awards both in the Soviet Union and abroad, and was awarded the Wollaston Medal by British geologists in 1943. After the Revolution he took an active part in the Commission for Studying the Natural Resources of Russia and in establishing new research institutions. His personal research work in mineralogy and geo-chemistry has contributed very largely to the development of the Kola peninsula, the Urals and Central Asia.

SCANDINAVIA.

The Soviet Government has renewed diplomatic relations with Denmark and has accepted the appointment of M. Dössing as Minister. The fact was reported in the Russian press on the 22nd May.

On the 23rd May the Soviet representatives on the island of Bornholm issued a written statement on the position. This recognises Bornholm as a part of Denmark, and states that the Russian occupation was merely due to the fact that the island lies behind the Russian zone of occupation in Germany. The occupation is stated to be temporary, "until questions pending in Germany in connexion with the war have been settled." The Danish Administration and the normal life of the population are not to be interfered with.

In response to an order to disband 80 per cent. of the armed forces of the Danish Resistance Movement by the 1st June, a number of the military groups in this movement forwarded, on the 23rd May, a resolution to the Government demanding an effective purge of the Officers' Corps and of those who had collaborated with the Germans in other branches of public life, with severe punishment for traitors. Until such a purge had taken place, the Freedom Fighters considered disbandment to be premature.

Any charge of slackness in dealing with collaborators appears, however, to be ill-founded. It was stated on the Danish radio on the 27th May that more than 12,000 arrests had been made since the date of liberation, and that in Copenhagen alone arrests had amounted on an average to a hundred a day.

In Finland the Central Committee of the Social Democrat Opposition has sent a circular to Finnish workers announcing its decision to join the Democratic League, in further pursuit of the policy adopted for the election. It claims, however, that this does not involve its severance from the Social Democratic Party, in spite of the formal expulsion of these secessionists by the party council at the time of the election. On the 20th May the amalgamation was welcomed at a meeting of the enlarged Council of the League. It is claimed that this step will result in the allocation of four or five seats on the Council of the League to the Social Democratic element. In an article in his paper *Vapaa Pohjola* on the 24th May M. Keto, a leading spirit in the group, explains further that the reason for advising members of the Opposition not to resign from the Social Democrats is that otherwise the property of the branches would revert to the party. He hopes that the effect of the policy adopted may be "gradually and painlessly" to subject the Social Democrat Party to the influence of the Democratic League.

On the 22nd May it was announced that the chairman of the Finnish Communist Party, Aimo Aaltonen, had been appointed deputy head of the State police. His chief, Dr. Brusiin, has no known political affiliations, but was the president of the Committee of Investigation into the former activities of the State police, and owed his appointment to the Communist Minister Leino.

A certain number of hints have appeared in the press of the Left in Finland as to the desirability of a pact of friendship and mutual assistance between Finland and the Soviet Union, on the lines of those concluded with some other countries. The prevalent opinion seems, however, to be that expressed by *Ilta Sanomat*, to the effect that Finland is not in a position to conclude such a treaty at present, and that the proposal would not be entertained by the Soviet Union until the armistice had been superseded by a definitive peace and normal relations re-established.

A speech by M. Hansson, the Swedish Prime Minister, at Karlskrona on Whit-Sunday, foreshadowed the probable dissolution of the existing political

coalition in Sweden at an early date. He asked the parties concerned to discuss the question, in view of the contemplated resignation of the present Government in the autumn. In the circumstances, expectations are entertained that a purely Social Democrat administration will come to power.

The Norwegian Government left London for Norway on Sunday, the 27th May. The King is expected to follow somewhat later.

The Norwegian Trade Union Secretariat has taken the initiative in a move to secure a union of the Communists and other elements in Norwegian labour in a single Labour Party. The boards of the Labour Party and the Communist Party have been invited to appoint three representatives each, to start negotiations for that purpose. The Communist Party has promised to take immediate steps to discuss the question internally.

The preliminary examination of Quisling, in preparation for his trial, began on Saturday, the 26th May.

LOW COUNTRIES.

Some interesting observations on political trends in the Netherlands have been made by a Dutch journalist. He holds that it will not be easy to constitute the new Cabinet and that, when constituted, it is unlikely to last much longer than two months. He adds that most people hope that at least one Communist will be included in the Cabinet "as a matter of practical politics . . . . though communism is not widely spread. Very few red flags or Stalin slogans can be seen anywhere, even in the working-class districts of Rotterdam or Amsterdam." It is of some significance that he notes that "no single figure has appeared on the Dutch political stage since the liberation who is universally proclaimed as a future Prime Minister. The political aspect of the illegal movement is also confused. They were definitely united in Resistance. Now that Resistance is over, there is not necessarily political unity among them."

The distribution of food in the recently liberated parts of the Netherlands is rapidly improving, but coal is still desperately scarce and, until transport has improved, the maintenance of food supplies and the provision of adequate coal supplies will be extremely difficult. Fortunately, the arrangements made for the feeding of those suffering from the worst effects of starvation are working well. Several teams are engaged in administering special treatment to such cases. Sir Jack Drummond, a distinguished nutritional expert, has declared after a visit to the Netherlands that such aid is most necessary. "Reports," he says, "of a large number of deaths in the western Dutch towns from starvation are quite correct. We saw hundreds of people of both sexes and all ages as emaciated from starvation as any we had seen at Belsen concentration camp."

The fact that malnutrition and actual starvation have seriously, if temporarily, reduced the working capacity of many Dutchmen should be borne in mind when estimating the difficulties which will attend reconstruction in the Netherlands. Some particulars of another aspect of these difficulties have just been given by the Finance Minister. At the end of 1944 the national debt amounted to more than 12·5 milliard guilders. The Netherlands Bank has a claim in reichsmarks valued at 4–5 milliard guilders.

M. van Acker's strong measures against strikes (see last *Summary*) have achieved a considerable initial success. Most of the Belgian miners are reported to be back at work.

On the 26th Radio Brussels broadcast a medical bulletin, signed on the 24th by two doctors who were attending King Leopold, which ran as follows: "The King's health has improved and continues to progress favourably."

FRANCE.

On the 25th May Field-Marshal Montgomery was invested by General de Gaulle with the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour in the *Cour d'Honneur* of the Invalides. He was entertained to lunch at the Ministry of War, when General de Gaulle paid a glowing tribute to him and "the glorious British Armies," and emphasised the bonds between "our two old and noble countries." In the afternoon he opened the British Army Exhibition and was received by M. le Troquer at the Hôtel de Ville.

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Recent developments in the Levant have been the subject of Anglo-French diplomatic exchanges on the spot and in Paris, of press and wireless comment and of official statements. The French have made much of an unfortunate incident which took place on VE + 1 Day but has not been reported in the British press, when some 200 men of the 16th Arab Battalion of the Palestine Regiment took part in demonstrations in the Lebanon and paraded a portrait of the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, and damage was done to a French convent and other Christian establishments. Following French representations to His Majesty's representative, this unit has since been removed from the Levant; but the incident has been reported on the French wireless and was referred to by General de Gaulle in his last conversation with Mr. Duff Cooper on the 26th May.

On the following day General de Gaulle, in his speech at the anniversary ceremony of the Conseil National de la Résistance, is reported to have alluded to the differences between the French and Levant Governments; certain foreign papers, said the wireless commentator, seemed to take a delight in magnifying the episodes. That evening the French Ministry of Information (apparently replying to the Foreign Office statement issued on the 26th—see under "Middle East") announced that the French troop movements in the Levant were merely reliefs and replacements; much greater military movements had been carried out at the same time, and certainly for the same reasons, by the British authorities, who had not previously concerted them with the responsible French authorities. The French Government regretted that the Syrian and Lebanese Governments had seized this opportunity for refusing to negotiate with General Beynet, who was charged with reaching a general settlement of questions of common interest. As France had proclaimed the independence of Syria and Lebanon, as she to-day proposed settling with them the conditions guaranteeing that independence and as she had given proof of her intentions by securing their participation at San Francisco, the Syrian and Lebanese Governments had no real ground for fearing French intentions.

General de Gaulle followed up his "victory speech" to the Consultative Assembly (see last *Summary*) with a broadcast on the 24th May inspired by the recent wave of strikes and the public discontent at the food distribution. "Yesterday there was no national duty more important than to fight. To-day there is none more important than production." He vigorously defended the Government's policy of refusing to follow the demagogic line of "artificially increasing the fictitious incomes of all and sundry." He warned against slackness in producers and against strikes as contrary to the public interest. But reconstruction did not mean a return to the state of affairs existing before the war. He announced that before the end of 1945 three important reforms would have been made: (1) a reform of the civil service, to enable the Administration to cope with modern problems; (2) the control by the State, but "without spoliation," of the production of coal and electricity and of the distribution of credit; (3) measures to increase the population by family grants and "rational rules concerning immigration." Let Frenchmen be united, patient and hard-working.

The speech had a good press, though the Radical *Dépêche de Paris* regretted that the head of the Provisional Government had now "for the fourth time" buried pre-war institutions, while the Communist *Humanité* protested that no mention was made of an early general election, of the application of the programme of the C.N.R. and of the purge. The C.G.T., on the other hand, issued a statement welcoming reform No. 2 as a first step towards the application of the C.N.R. programme and demanded that it should be carried through at once in consultation with the C.G.T. and the C.N.R.

While strikes continue in various regions and new ones threaten, as at Nancy and Nice, negotiations have been proceeding between the Government and the C.G.T. on the question of wages. The C.G.T., in which the Communist element is now very strong, maintain that they have long warned the Government of the gravity of the food situation and at the same time stopped incipient strike movements to ensure France's wholehearted support of the war effort. The Christian Workers (C.F.T.C.) have joined with the C.G.T. in approving token strikes undertaken for "strictly professional" reasons only. The present strikes have mostly had a "token" character and have generally had a sympathetic press.

After a meeting of the Council of Ministers on the 22nd May, a communiqué was issued stating that the present level of prices and wage-rates would be maintained but that certain modifications of wages in territorial zones and of maximum wage-rates would be introduced. The C.G.T. stated in reply that the concessions made were insufficient, that it would seek support from the Consultative Assembly,

and that the suppression of the black market and an equitable food distribution were equally necessary.

The serious food situation has an important inter-Allied aspect. In Paris senior French officials have made it clear to us that their loyal acquiescence in working hitherto through the Anglo-American Combined Boards and refraining from independent purchasing has produced extremely disappointing results, since even when the French have received allocations either shipping has not been forthcoming or difficulties over procurement have stultified allocation. In other cases allocations of supplies have been inadequate and in the particular case of meat nil. The French also allege that more favourable treatment has been accorded to Belgium. The state of alarm apparent in official circles in Paris has been accentuated by the estimates now available of the enormous cereal requirements of French North Africa—where undoubtedly economic hardship has contributed to the recent troubles. In general His Majesty's Embassy fear that the economic situation in France is rapidly deteriorating and that unless great efforts are made there will be serious trouble.

(See also under "Switzerland," "Spain" and "Middle East.")

SWITZERLAND.

The resumption of normal relations between Switzerland and France—admittedly a matter of considerable importance to Switzerland—appears likely to be effected with the arrival in the near future of M. Karl Burckhardt to head the Swiss Legation in Paris. The appointment was made last February, but at the request of the French Government M. Burckhardt remained at the head of the International Red Cross until the duties of that organisation became less delicate and numerous.

Meanwhile, discussion has been continued in Paris on the question of the granting of French port and transit facilities to Switzerland. Agreement has been reached on many points of vital interest to Switzerland—*e.g.*, the maximum draught of ships to be unloaded at Marseilles and other ports; the tonnage that may be unloaded daily at Toulon; the use of Marseilles by Swiss export traffic for overseas.

With the exception of a few districts telegraphic communication has also been resumed between the two countries.

Since the closing of the German Legation, the Swiss Government has carried out an intensive search of consulates, flats, houses and clubs. Investigations are still proceeding. According to a statement by M. Kobelt, chief of the Federal Military Department, German espionage in Switzerland had increased to such an extent since 1940 that there was ground for believing that an attack was being prepared against Switzerland.

Twenty-five persons, mostly former members of German Legation or Consulate staffs, whose acts had endangered the safety of Switzerland, have been expelled. Similar action is likely against some 250 more, whose cases are at present under examination.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

Mopping-up operations continue in Madrid and Lisbon. The disposal of the person of Pierre Laval (which presumably forms a precedent for the case of Léon Degrelle) is still puzzling the Spaniards. His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires in Madrid has informed the Spanish Foreign Minister that His Majesty's Government regard the problem as a purely Franco-Spanish one, to which the obvious solution is the delivery of Laval to the French authorities without further delay. The Spanish Government are reluctant to deport Laval as an undesirable alien, alleging that extradition is not in the Franco-Spanish tradition. Certainly the rule of live and let live has been much favoured among Latin politicians. But Señor Lequerica is probably most unwilling to bestow any favours on France at the moment. Alternative solutions appear to be to put Laval and his party into a plane with orders to fly back where they came from (a scheme which might be baulked by the pilot's refusal to take off), or the provision of a Spanish pilot for the same purpose.

Meanwhile, most of the German schools in Spain are now reported to be closed, and arrangements are being made in Madrid and Lisbon for the examination of the contents of the German Embassy and Legation.

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No such sign of post-war mopping-up has been given by General Franco, who, speaking at Valladolid, the birthplace of Falange, on the 20th May, referred in traditional style to the unity of the armed forces and the movement, and roundly denounced the absence of progress which characterised pre-Franco Spain. *E.F.E.*, the Spanish Press agency, complacently reported that the American Press had "emphasised in their headlines the Caudillo's devotion to the Falange"—thus wilfully misreading the American Press's pronounced dislike for that institution.

Dr. Salazar's address to the National Assembly (briefly referred to in last week's *Summary*) contained a defence of Portugal's policy of neutrality and an explanation of her loyalty to the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance. In post-war affairs Dr. Salazar reverted to his favourite theme of the overriding importance of the Atlantic basin—a western European *bloc* looking towards and supported by the Americas and Africa. Like General Franco, he attacked the opponents of his régime, and left no doubt that he was determined not to allow them to unseat him. Finally, he referred to proposals for a moderate constitutional reform which was to be presented for the consideration of the Chamber. He envisaged the granting of increased legislative functions to the Assembly and Corporative Chamber, and hinted that elections might follow.

TANGIER.

It will be recalled that on the night of the 13th–14th June, 1940, Spanish Moroccan troops entered Tangier and took control of the International Zone. On the 14th June the Spanish Consul-General informed the foreign representatives that Spain had occupied Tangier for the sole purpose of defending the neutrality of the Zone, which was threatened by events in Europe. The Commander of the Spanish troops subsequently told His Majesty's Consul-General that all rights of Statutory Powers would be respected, and that the troops would act in the name of the Sultan "as police." In view of the general situation, the only course for the representatives of the Statutory Powers was to maintain correct relations with the Spaniards, but not to acknowledge the Spanish usurpation. In the following November the Spaniards suppressed most of the administrative machinery of the international régime, and in December officially incorporated the Zone into Spanish Morocco. With some difficulty His Majesty's Government were able to negotiate with the Spanish Government at the close of the year a *modus vivendi* which safeguarded the special personal rights of British subjects in Tangier and guaranteed the continued functioning of British institutions. In return His Majesty's Government accepted the *de facto* Spanish occupation of Tangier and recognised Spain's "special interest" in the Zone. It was made clear, however, that this arrangement was only provisional and was without prejudice to the rights of His Majesty's Government or to third parties to the relevant international instruments. This also included a Spanish assurance that there would be no fortification of the Zone. (At the time of the Allied landings in North Africa in November 1942 it may be noted, His Majesty's Government gave the Spanish Government an assurance that "these operations would not compromise the existing *modus vivendi* in Tangier in any way.")

In 1941 the Spaniards ejected the Mendoub (the representative of the Sultan), invited the German Government to send a consular representative, and suppressed the French (Shereefian) Customs Administration. There was an epidemic of major and minor vexations, and in February 1942 serious outrages led to energetic British protests in London and Madrid. Nevertheless, unpleasant incidents continued to occur. As part of the agreement of May 1944 with His Majesty's Government and the United States Government, the Spanish Government at length promised to suppress the German Consulate-General and to repatriate all German agents: in dealing with the latter they displayed true Spanish dilatoriness.

Subsequent events have probably taught even the most dyed-in-the-wool Falangists not to be sanguine about the survival of this experiment in empire-building. His Majesty's Government have repeatedly made it clear that they proposed at the appropriate moment to put forward to the interested parties suggestions for the future of Tangier. On the 12th May His Majesty's Embassy in Washington submitted to the State Department a memorandum setting out the views of His Majesty's Government regarding the future of Tangier and proposing the holding of discussions, first between His Majesty's Government

and the United States Government, and then between the two Governments and the French Government, in order to prepare joint representations to the Spanish Government for the withdrawal of their troops from Tangier, and to re-establish a provisional international régime, pending the negotiation of a new agreement between the powers concerned.

ITALY.

One of Allied Military Government's first orders on taking over the administration of territories in Southern Italy after the Allied landing in 1943 was to prohibit the holding of political meetings except with A.M.G. consent. Despite this and despite an undertaking not to address public meetings on the part of Signor Bonomi and the other political leaders on their departure to the North, Signor Nenni, the Socialist Party leader, saw fit to address a workers' mass meeting at Vercelli with the result that he was arrested on the 25th May. He was subsequently released on his giving an undertaking not to repeat the offence. Signor Nenni has also written a letter of apology to the Allied military authorities. Signor Togliatti, the Communist Party leader, is also reported to have addressed a meeting at Novara. He was not arrested but was warned that a repetition would mean his having to leave the area under A.M.G.

It is still difficult to appreciate what are the real relations between Signor Nenni and Signor Togliatti and their respective parties. Signor Togliatti is, apparently, of the opinion that he and his party are not yet in a strong enough position to press for the Presidency of the Council and instead is pressing Signor Nenni's claims. Whether Signor Nenni realises he is being used as a stalking horse can only be guessed. He may, of course, be perfectly aware of the situation but feels that once in he can stay in since his party seems, on reports received from the North, to be stronger, at least numerically, than the Communist Party. Signor Togliatti, however, knowing Signor Nenni's hot-headedness, may be banking on his making some major blunder which will give the Communist leader a chance to show his Party's capability to govern. It is still too early to judge, but the way the situation is developing within the Socialist-Communist alliance seems to be increasingly reminiscent of the split which arose within the Socialist Party after the last war and which gave Mussolini his chance.

After so long a period in authority, the C.L.N.A.I. is finding it rather difficult to cede its position to A.M.G. According to the Rome Press the Val d'Aosta has been granted regional autonomy by the Prefecture of Turin on instructions from the C.L.N. of Turin, with French and Italian as the official languages and the right to re-draw the communal boundaries according to the 1922 decisions. This resolution has been confirmed by the C.L.N.A.I. As, however, the Val d'Aosta, together with the rest of Northern Italy, with the exception of Venezia Giulia, is under A.M.G., the C.L.N.A.I. has been informed that the C.L.N. of Turin has acted beyond its present powers and that this grant of autonomy to the Val d'Aosta has no foundation in law. There is nothing new to report in the situation in the Valley.

The barrier imposed between the North and the South has been lifted and civilians are free to travel without a permit up to a line marked by the River Piave and running 25 miles inside and parallel with the frontier. The economic cordon is also done away with but the movement of goods will still be controlled.

THE VATICAN.

Mgr. Johann Neuhaeusler of Munich Cathedral Chapter, Vicargeneral of Cardinal Faulhaber and since 1934 one of the Pope's domestic prelates, had spent four years in Dachau Concentration Camp. He was with the 150 special prisoners whom the Germans moved to the Italian frontier. Eventually, by Ascension Day, they were lodged by the Americans in a hotel in Anacapri "Where we are looked after very well indeed." These details were given by Mgr. Neuhaeusler on the 23rd May when he broadcast from the Vatican in German. (For the list of the important Germans, whose names he read out, see under "Germany".) Perhaps the fact that this German prelate has been allowed to visit the Vatican may do something to meet the Pope's often expressed desire for direct news from German Ecclesiastics, and the Allies' wish that the Vatican should learn at first hand of life in German Concentration Camps. It is noteworthy that Mgr. Neuhaeusler's talk dwelt on the anxiety of prisoners' relatives, on "our sorely tried compatriots," and the need to follow the Pope

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and cherish Christian ideals still more in rebuilding the beloved fatherland. There was no mention of Nazis, and no condemnation of Concentration Camps. Mgr. Neuhaeusler was received in audience by the Pope on the 28th May.

The long views and to the belligerents often exasperatingly detached outlook of the Holy See were vividly displayed in a Vatican wireless talk in French on the 23rd May: the new world must be built with all that was good in the old. It would be childish to reject an experiment merely because enemies had employed it. "Fine factories, holidays with pay, joy cruises, comfortable houses are in achievement, but the country must not be regimented." State ownership was better than the power of Trusts; but the State must respect the nature of man, who "must be free to lead his private life." The talk ended with the plea of that great friend of the Resistance, the Archbishop of Toulouse, for a "world not built for Titans or wild beasts but for men and children and God."

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

The Soviet Commission in Hungary has presented the Hungarian Government with a demand for deliveries of machinery and factory fittings. These are on reparation account (under the Annex to Article 12 of the Armistice), and it is a fact that Gyöngyössy, the Foreign Minister, had said on the 9th May that all future demands would be on that account, not on that of current supplies. Nevertheless, the demand has badly shaken the Hungarian Government. They state that the figures are much larger than those originally agreed. The machinery amounts to 25 per cent. of that in Hungarian factories, and the steel demanded for this year alone is 170,000 tons. The Hungarian Government is nevertheless working out the details for compliance with the demand and Miklós, the Prime Minister, has apparently reconsidered his first thought, which was of resignation.

Miklós' position is, however, certainly unhappy. He is subjected to continuous and active pressure from the Left-wing members of the Government, with whom Gyöngyössy apparently now associates himself. Outside the Government, the Social Democrats have concluded a fresh agreement with the Communists, which apparently means that the former have moved still further to the Left. The press of both parties now appears with the heading "Proletariat of the World Unite!" The two parties, with the Trade Unions and the National Peasants, now describe themselves as presenting a solid common front against reaction.

A plan initiated by the National Peasants for expelling to Germany all the "Swabians" (Hungarians of German origin) who recently showed themselves disloyal to Hungary (about 350,000 persons) has been approved by the Ministerial Council. A substantial number of the persons affected have indeed already fled into Germany, and it is not impossible that others have been taken to the U.S.S.R.

The Seventh Army has arrested the "Quisling" ex-Prime Minister, Szálasi, and some of his staff.

Roumania.

Dl Gheorghiu-Dej, the Minister of Communications, has been conferring with delegates of the Merchants' Union. It was fairly evident that the purpose of this conference was to set at rest Roumanian apprehensions as to whither she was being led. The Minister began by explaining that although the socialisation of industry did originally form part of the programme of the Government and the Communist party, it did so no longer, although certain ill-disposed persons had asserted that it did. The Minister also said that he was assured during his recent visit to Moscow that the Soviet Government had no intention of interfering with the internal affairs of Roumania, a statement with which his hearers must by this time be painfully familiar. Referring to the fact that Great Britain and the United States have not recognised the present Roumanian Government, Dl Gheorghiu-Dej said that this was of no importance as the Government was backed by the Soviet Union, and at the end of the war England and America will have no other choice but to recognise it. He then asked for a vote of confidence from the Merchants' Union. The President of the Union hesitated about this and thought that such a declaration if made should be made by all the Roumanian trade organisations, and said that he would like to consult Dl Max Ausnit. The Minister did not seem very happy over this suggestion, as he said that Dl Ausnit had close relations with the Americans. There, for the moment, the incident closed.

Radio Bucharest broadcasts the intelligence that the "rapprochement of the Russian and Roumanian churches has become a reality, and the outlook is very promising." The Minister of Cults, Parinte Burducea has told the press that the Roumanian Church has recognised the Russian Church. The Roumanian Church has always recognised the Russian Church while there was a Russian Church in effective being to recognise. The nature of the "rapprochement" and the consequent "outlook" is not specified. The present position is that the Roumanian and Russian Churches are sister churches, each under its own Patriarch, and independent of, but recognising the spiritual leadership of the Œcumenical Patriarch. The Russian practice has been to absorb the Churches of subject countries into the Russian Patriarchate.

Yugoslavia.

The British and United States Governments have been considering the Yugoslav communication of the 21st May. Despite superficial calm and the complacency of certain correspondents, the tension in Trieste increased. By the 22nd May it was estimated that the Yugoslavs had carried out about 150 political executions and held about 1,000 political prisoners. They had also looted extensively, and appointed a new management of the port. When they tried to move a 150-ton crane from the port, Field-Marshal Alexander firmly forbade the removal of port equipment. The Yugoslav-created Executive Committee issued a manifesto to the inhabitants of the city, stating their intention to eliminate all "Fascists and pro-Fascists" and to prepare for "democratic elections." Their radio explained that by "fascism" was meant the upper class and "anti-democratic Conservative forces," and said "we are right in lumping together all forces in the other camp under the single name of fascism." For the purpose of such elimination a "People's Court" of twelve persons was appointed.

There has been a sharp exchange of views over the movement of Allied troops in the area north of Trieste; and the Allied Liaison Mission in Trieste has been formally requested by the Chief of Staff of the Yugoslav 4th Army, on instructions from Belgrade, to withdraw. Allied liaison with the 4th Army is effected through the Yugoslav military commander of Trieste.

On the 20th May Radio Belgrade announced the formation of National Liberation Committees all over Carinthia, demonstrations against the Carinthian provincial Government, elections in Klagenfurt for a new provincial committee, and so on and so forth. Five days later it announced, with extreme indignation, that the Allied military authorities had searched the premises of the National Liberation Committee in Klagenfurt, arrested several persons and closed the printing press of the Slovene partisans. It is confirmed that the Yugoslav forces have withdrawn from Carinthia, and that some Yugoslav troops have crossed the Austrian frontier into Styria at present occupied by the Russians.

Tito made two speeches, at Zagreb and Ljubljana. In the first he declared that the partisan movement had welded the peoples of Yugoslavia into a unity, and invoked the Soviet Union as an example of the solution of complex national problems. He announced "We are facing the great historic turning-point of the unification of the Slavs in the Balkans." He then spoke of Venezia Giulia. He admitted that he and Field-Marshal Alexander had made an agreement over its occupation, but said "we came first" and had to protect "our people against the butchery of the Italian Fascists." He insisted that the Yugoslav forces had the right to remain in the disputed areas and that the right would be insisted on; but also that agreement with the Allies would be reached. The new Yugoslavia's first step had been her alliance with the Soviet Union. She must now turn to internal reconstruction, based on the co-operation of the workers, the peasants and the "honest" intellectuals. In the second speech Tito adopted a different tone. Speaking of Carinthia he said: "Our brothers are not yet free . . . . In the name of the new Federal Yugoslavia I say here to-day that we have not forgotten our brothers in Carinthia, who still have to suffer from the Gestapo terror that is clad in a different uniform . . . . A few days after our troops had left Carinthia, we heard cries for help from our brothers there. We have informed our Allies that the responsibility for all that happens there will fall on them alone." Speaking of Venezia Giulia, he expressed resentment at the criticisms of Yugoslavia in the Allied press, and said: "It would be a terrible tragedy if we had to fight again for what we have won in this war."

The tone of Tito's speech at Ljubljana has been faithfully echoed by intransigent articles in the Belgrade press, which resented foreign criticisms and naïvely said that only "Fascists" found life difficult under the new Yugoslav régime. (For comment from Moscow see "Soviet Union.")

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Considerable movements of Yugoslav and former E.L.A.S. troops towards the Greek frontier, and the evacuation of villagers are reported.

Pijade, Vice-President of A.V.N.O.J., has published a statement on the enlargement of A.V.N.O.J. by the inclusion of members of the last Yugoslav Parliament, as recommended by the Crimean Conference. He indicated that few such members could clear themselves of collaboration with the enemy. He thought that A.V.N.O.J. would meet in late June and take in some men "of political standing." He hoped that the Constituent Assembly would meet in October.

Greece.

His Majesty's Ambassador has been visiting Corfu, where, by invitation of the Mayor, he attended the anniversary celebrations of the union of the Ionian Islands with Greece. He reports that the population displayed a great love and respect for everything British; he also states that his visit confirmed the impression, already gathered from visits to other parts of Greece, that there is a strong desire for the return of the King. From Salonica His Majesty's Consul-General reports that the Governor-General for Central Macedonia has informed him that a delegation of Macedonian Liberals, which has the support of the three Governors-General, has left for Athens to represent to M. Sophoulis that the internal situation is rapidly deteriorating, largely owing to the somewhat ineffective and irresponsible amateurs of whom, in their opinion, the present Service Government is composed. The delegation would prefer to see a representative political Government, in which the Provinces would be strongly represented. The Governor-General added that what most people wanted was to get back to normal conditions; in comparison with this desire, constitutional issues were of little account.

Meantime, the Minister of National Economy has been touring the larger towns of Thrace and Macedonia and has announced various measures which the Government is taking to ameliorate conditions in the northern provinces.

The Greek Government has been facing a serious labour situation; there have been strikes in Salonica and elsewhere, which at one point seemed likely to become general. The tobacco workers demanded an increase in wages of 250 per cent., and, had their demands been met, an impossible situation would have been created, as similar demands would immediately have been made by other industries. It has now been reported from Salonica that strikes there have been settled on the basis of an increase in wages of 125 per cent. Meantime, it is interesting to note the increasing number of responsible newspapers which advocate various forms of economic control as a remedy for Greece's economic and financial difficulties; legislation on gold dealings and a general rationing system for all commodities are among the measures suggested. The Greek Government have been reluctant to impose controls, claiming that the public associate such measures with General Metaxas and the Germans; in any case, the Government still look to His Majesty's Government to solve most of their problems by sending them increased supplies. They have gone so far as to establish certain controls over the cotton industry, but are afraid to fix food prices, lest food-stuffs simply disappear from the market. It is to be hoped that M. Varvaressos, who is now back in Athens, and who is known to favour the introduction of controls, may succeed in getting the Government to take the necessary measures.

Albania.

Speaking on the 24th May, the first anniversary of the Permet Congress, which gave birth to the partisan provisional Government, Lieut.-General Koçi Xhoxhe, vice-president of F.N.Ç., expressed gratification—which was no doubt sincere—at Marshal Tito's recent recognition of that Government. He also denounced the provocation of "pro-Fascist jackals" in Greece and reverted to the Government's constant demand that the Nationalists and other Albanians who have taken refuge in Italy should be surrendered by the Allies for trial. He repeated that the present Albanian régime was democratic and had the bulk of the people behind it—an assertion on which the continual publication of messages of loyalty from the provinces is alone enough to cast some doubt.

As a temporary judicial organisation the Government is reported to be setting up a central court at Tirana, a court of first instance in each prefecture and sub-prefecture, and magistrates' courts in other localities. But in the judicial sphere the chief interest lies in the sinister activities of the special court which is still trying "war criminals."

To the division of Italians who fought alongside the F.N.Ç. against the Germans and are now being repatriated, Enver Hoxha sent an appreciative message of farewell.

Bulgaria.

On the 20th May the Communist-inspired agitation against the former Agrarian leader, Dr. G. M. Dimitrov, took the form of Agrarian meetings in Sofia and the provinces at which the near-Communists emphasised the need for collaboration between Agrarians and Communists and consequently for the elimination of Dr. Dimitrov and his closest friends from the Agrarian party. On the 26th May it was announced that as a result of these meetings it had been decided to expel Dr. Dimitrov from the party for trying to cause a breach in the Fatherland Front and for intriguing against that front "with regard to" the Allies. Meanwhile Dr. Dimitrov, who seems to have suspected that the militia were about to seize and do away with him, escaped on the 23rd May from house arrest and went first to the flat of a member of the staff of the British political representative and then to the house of the United States political representative. Militia were posted round the house but subsequently replaced by Soviet troops. In 1941 we had to help Dr. Dimitrov to escape from the Germans in Bulgaria, and from then until his return to Bulgaria last autumn his work in Palestine for the Allies showed him to be a consistent and active anti-Nazi and anti-Fascist. Neither the British nor the United States Government, therefore, can condone what seems to be a flagrant case of political persecution.

When M. Kovačević, the new Yugoslav Minister, presented his credentials on the 22nd May to the three Regents, great emphasis was laid by both parties on the fraternal character of present Yugoslav-Bulgar relations. Elaborating the theme in a press interview afterwards, M. Kovačević said that much remained to be done on both sides and each must support all the just claims of the other.

It has been announced that the public prosecutors attached to the People's Court will cease their activities towards the end of May.

Turkey.

Particular prominence was given in Turkey to Mr. Churchill's warning of the danger that the words freedom, democracy and liberation might be distorted or brushed aside; and that Hitlerism might be replaced by other totalitarian or police Governments.

Angora Radio broadcast the news in Turkish that telegrams of congratulation had been despatched by M. Saracoğlu to Mr. Churchill, General de Gaulle and Mr. Soong on the occasion of the Allied victory in Europe. The telegram to Mr. Churchill acclaimed him as the defender of freedom and justice. No mention was made of the telegram of congratulation sent to Marshal Stalin.

The debate on the new budget took place as usual during the last weeks of May. It had already been decided, however, that in future the financial year would terminate on the 31st December; so that the budget which is under discussion covers only the seven months from the 1st June to the 31st December, 1945. M. Saracoğlu referred, in the course of the debate, to Turkey's heavy commitments for the army, education, public health and assistance for the needy. He stated that the Government possessed 200 tons of gold and 52 million liras in foreign exchange. It intended to utilise these resources productively, to make up for the unavoidable retardations of the war period. Ordinary expenditure for the seven months was estimated at 419 million liras and extraordinary expenditure at 184·4 million, a total of 603·4 million. It had been previously stated that all but 11 per cent. of the total expenditure would be covered by taxation—a very creditable performance, if achieved.

Turkish press reports from San Francisco stated that the Armenian National Committee had submitted a memorandum to the Conference pressing for the transfer of all Armenians in Turkey to Soviet Russia. The reason given was the danger of the extermination of the Armenians by the Turks. The Turkish press declared that the memorandum had aroused the resentment of the Armenians in Istanbul, who were loyal to the Republican Government. Although no doubt Russia still maintains an interest in the Armenians of Turkey, there is no evidence that the Soviet delegation had anything to do with this memorandum. The Turkish Ambassador has returned to Moscow after consultation with his Government. Turco-Soviet relations are still fluid: each side appears to be waiting for the other to make the first advance.

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THE MIDDLE EAST.

During the past week the situation in the Levant States continued to deteriorate, and as the days passed it became fairly clear that, unless one side or the other gave way, the tension would soon reach breaking-point. All towns in Syria remained closed, and demonstrations took place in several of the larger centres. Finally, on the 27th May, fighting broke out in Hama, where the local population was joined by some hundreds of tribesmen, and in Homs. Though full details have not yet been received it is clear that the situation in Syria is very serious. The fact is that, in spite of our efforts and those of the United States to persuade both sides to refrain from any action that might lead to a breach of the peace, mere words are no longer of any avail. The Syrian authorities have warned us many times in recent weeks that the time might come when they could no longer handle the situation with their inadequately-armed forces, and now that actual fighting has broken out, none can say when or where it will end.

Three recent statements, one from each of the protagonists in the dispute, and one from ourselves, give the background to the present picture.

On the 22nd May an official communiqué issued by the Syrian and Lebanese Governments stated that in their view the recent arrival of French troops in the Levant States was an infringement of their sovereignty, and that the French proposals for negotiations were incompatible with their independence. The two Governments had therefore refused to enter into negotiations and had decided to unite for the defence of their independence.

On the same evening a local French communiqué was broadcast in reply, pointing out that the movement of Allied troops in the Levant States was subject since 1941 to the military régime which could not be modified unilaterally. It went on: "The French authorities are therefore astonished at the protests at the arrival of 500 troops on board the *Jeanne d'Arc*, and consider that the Syrian and Lebanese Governments, by invoking a normal troop movement, ... have seized the first opportunity to refuse to negotiate. As regards the treaty proposals, the French authorities have the utmost respect for the independence of the States which France herself was the first to proclaim. . . . With a view to the final settlement the French Government has proposed the conclusion of certain agreements of a cultural, economic and strategic character which in no way affect the independence of those countries."

On the 26th May an official statement was put out by the Foreign Office: "His Majesty's Government are aware of the serious situation which has developed in the last few days in Syria and Lebanon, but specially in Syria. They regret that the improved atmosphere should have been disturbed by the despatch of certain French reinforcements, and that these should have been the occasion for breaking off negotiations for a general settlement between the Levant States and the French Government. His Majesty's Government are in consultation with the United States Government and in constant contact with the parties concerned regarding these developments, and it is earnestly hoped that no action will be taken in the meanwhile to prejudice the amicable solution of the issues involved." This announcement has been favourably received both in the Levant States and throughout the Arab World.

The two main cruxes in the way of a settlement are the demand by the French for military bases and their failure to hand over the *Troupes Spéciales*. If the French would now agree to send no more reinforcements; to withdraw their forces from the towns (as they did earlier in certain cases); to issue the gendarmerie with additional arms; and to transfer at least some of the *Troupes Spéciales*, the situation might still be saved. Unfortunately there is little indication of the French agreeing to yield on any of these points; and a satisfactory settlement can now only be reached by discussions on the highest level.

In reply to a telegram from the Acting Prime Minister of Syria, asking Mr. Churchill to intervene and to persuade France to withdraw her troops from Syria, the Prime Minister has expressed his regret at the breakdown of negotiations between the French and Syrian Governments. Mr. Churchill explains that His Majesty's Government are anxious to see a settlement of the outstanding questions between France and the Levant States which will be satisfactory to all parties, and which will take full account of Syrian and Lebanese independence. The Prime Minister goes on to say that nothing has happened which could possibly justify hostilities between the States and France, and that it is the

duty of Syria to refrain from precipitating any situation which might impede the war with Japan.

(For French reactions see under "France.")

There is considerable feeling in Egypt, as in other neighbouring States, over the situation, and Egyptian sentiment has expressed itself in complete sympathy with the Levant States. Both King Farouk and the Egyptian Government are watching events closely. On the 26th May Abdul Rahman Azzam, the Secretary-General of the Arab League, made a statement to the press in which he described the situation as very serious and predicted "a devastating storm about to break." After criticising French action, he went on to announce a meeting of the Council of the Arab League in Cairo in the first week of June to discuss the question, and ended with these words: "Our brothers the Syrians and Lebanese are asking the help of Arab countries in support of their rightful cause. I am confident that they will receive the assistance they are hoping for, and that it will come from the whole of the Arab nation, Kings, Amirs, Governments and peoples alike." It is understood that the Council has been summoned for the 4th June, and that the result of its deliberations will be communicated to San Francisco before the Conference dissolves.

The Egyptian delegation at San Francisco has been very vocal in the discussions on trusteeship, in which Egyptian delegates have argued that the mandatory or trustee Power has no *rights*, but only *duties* in the mandated territory. So far, however, they have been heavily defeated on each occasion. In the committee on regional arrangements they have attempted to give the Assembly power to take a hand in revising treaties, no doubt with a view to the ultimate revision of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty. It is believed that the Egyptian delegation may even be trying to establish that the only true regional organisation in the Middle East is the Arab League, which should be recognised as such and be given responsibility for maintaining peace and security in that part of the world. They have, however, received little support except from the Arab States and Liberia, and are unlikely to get a sympathetic hearing.

In Iraq, it need hardly be said, the feeling over the Levant States is just as intense as in Egypt. The Iraqi Prime Minister, in a recent interview with a representative of *The News of the World*, was at pains to emphasise the strength of Iraqi sympathy. He could not say what action the Arab League would take, but if the League should decide on the Iraqi army going to the assistance of the Levant States, he, the Prime Minister, would consider ordering it to do so. If the situation should deteriorate, "grave issues" might arise. The position to-day, he said, was quite different from that which developed after the last war, when Syria was "first betrayed and King Feisal turned off the throne by the French." Iraq looked to Great Britain to ensure the complete independence of the Levant States. He saw no possible hope of any compromise between France and the States, "because France could never adjust her interests to those of any other people." Further, the French were incapable of abiding by their pledged word, and the only solution was the complete withdrawal of France from the Levant.

H.R.H. the Regent left Bagdad for his visit to the United States on the 22nd May.

Ibn Saud is naturally also showing anxiety over the crisis in the Levant. In reply to his request for our advice, we are informing him that, while His Majesty's Government regret the despatch of French reinforcements, we still hope that the Levant Governments will continue negotiations with the French by putting forward counter-proposals. We also hope that Ibn Saud will continue to use his influence in the direction of moderation, and will urge the Levant States to refrain from any step likely to lead to a clash with the French.

Meanwhile, Ibn Saud has sent messages to His Majesty's Government and to the United States Government, begging them to effect a settlement on lines which their honour, their war aims and their endorsement of the States' independence must dictate. If these two Governments do not intervene it will mean "failure and disgrace for all concerned." The message ends by stating that Ibn Saud is always advising the Syrians to observe calm and restraint and to trust in the Allies.

As mentioned in last week's *Summary*, the Persian Government has officially requested the British, Soviet and American Governments to withdraw their troops from Persian territory. The Anglo-Soviet-Persian treaty gives the British and Russian Governments the right to maintain troops in Persia until six months after the end of the Japanese war, but the Persian request is nevertheless being sympathetically considered on the British side.

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THE FAR EAST.

Although Japanese official communiqués on the Tokyo air raids are careful to minimise both the number of raiders and the damage they caused, while vastly exaggerating the number shot down, it is clear from *Domei* reports that immense damage has been done, especially by the second raid on the night of the 25th–26th May. Suzuki called an extraordinary Cabinet meeting on the morning of the 26th and told his colleagues that he had apologised to the Throne for the damage done to the Imperial Palace; he said that the Imperial Family were safe. He expressed indignation at the "outrageous and indiscriminate attack." He admitted that considerable damage had been done owing to a strong wind fanning the fires, although he warned against over-estimation of the losses incurred. Various Ministerial buildings had suffered and Suzuki said that this provided an excellent opportunity for Ministers to simplify administrative routine. Among the buildings reported to be burned out are those of the Foreign Office and the Great East Asia Ministry, the Soviet, Chinese, "Manchukuo," and Siamese Embassies, the Swedish and Finnish Legations, the Imperial and Keio Universities, and the offices of the *Tokyo Shimbun* and the *Yomiuri-Hochi* newspapers. Tokyo Radio in Italian (the 26th May) said that the greater part of the capital had been reduced to smoking ruins.

Japanese reports betray the fact that the raids on Tokyo and other large cities are affecting war production and in particular the output of aircraft. Thus, on the 24th May, Suzuki had a conference with the representatives of aircraft companies in Tokyo. He said that aircraft were the key to victory in modern warfare and that those engaged in aircraft production should redouble their efforts in view of the serious situation on the Okinawa front. He said that workers in aircraft factories must stay on their jobs to the last despite the "difficult conditions" in war-time. The Kokusaku Dankokai, or Society for carrying out National Policies, advised Suzuki to supply food, clothing and living quarters to war workers and to give them military status as "soldiers on the production front."

The Suzuki Cabinet, grappling with worsening economic conditions and the havoc caused by air attack, is faced with more political unrest. *Domei*, on the 26th May, said that there had been a conference of representatives of the Dai Nippon Seijikai, the Gokoku Doshikai, the National Defence Comrades Association and other groups, and that these had urged that a special session of the Diet should be convened. (For the Gokoku Doshikai, see this *Summary*, No. 240.) An article appeared in the *Tokyo Shimbun* (the 22nd May) which could hardly have been very palatable to the industrialists and Court party. It was written by Shigemori, described as a noted commentator on Russian affairs. He asked why the U.S.S.R. had been ultimately victorious over Germany, despite the vast territories overrun by the Germans and the great losses sustained by the Red Army. It was not, he held, due to the huge area and resources of Russia; these had not averted defeat in the first World War. It *was* due to the Soviet system and to the strong leadership provided by Stalin. This was a most valuable lesson for the Japanese people. The crisis which confronted Japan appeared almost hopelessly serious, but the Russian position in 1941–42 was equivalent to one in which a large part of Japan was under enemy occupation and the major part of the Japanese army had been destroyed.

Masaharu Hatanaka, a former Moscow correspondent, wrote in the *Asahi* (24th May) that the racial characteristics of the Russians, especially their tenacity and fortitude, had much in common with those of Asiatic races. But these characteristics would not have been sufficient to enable the Russians to win final victory had it not been for their success in organisation for war strength. So brilliant were the achievements of this organisation that by the time the Germans launched their attack the Russians had come to have a keen interest in the maintenance of their system. Remarks such as these provide good ammunition for those who would overthrow the Zaibatsu and set up a thorough-going State Socialist and single-party system in Japan. They were admirers of the Nazis when these were strong, now that Germany has fallen, they may transfer their worship to the other totalitarian shrine.

At the close of its deliberations the Sixth National Congress of the Kuomintang (see this *Summary*, No. 294) issued a manifesto which urged that all patriotic leaders should work together for the early inauguration of

constitutional government. It further declared that victory could only be considered complete when the north-eastern provinces (Manchuria) were liberated, Formosa secured, Korean independence restored and Japanese aggression totally eliminated. The manifesto promised respect for the languages, religions and customs of racial minorities within China and said that a high degree of autonomy would be given to Outer Mongolia and Tibet. On economic matters the Kuomintang apologised for its failure to carry out Sun Yat-sen's programme for the equalisation of land ownership and the prevention of capitalist monopolies and promised reforms in these matters in the future (Chungking Radio, 21st May).

A Reuter message of the 27th May said that the newly elected Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang would meet on the 28th to implement the resolutions of the Party Congress. It was thought in Chungking, however, that neither the Party Congress nor the new Central Executive Committee would produce any marked change in the Government or its policies.

The Party Congress decreed an increase of 200 in the membership of the Central Executive and Central Supervising Committees so that the total membership of these two Central Party organs is now 460. These will all be *ex officio* members of the forthcoming National People's Congress, scheduled to meet on the 12th November. According to a report from Shanghai, the number of delegates to this Congress was fixed at 1,440, and of these the Kuomintang will nominate 240. The Party would thus have a safe 700 nominees at the Congress. As it could certainly count on the support of a good proportion of the remainder, the People's Congress would thus be very much in the Party's hands. If such is its design fierce opposition can be expected from the Communists and from the smaller "splinter parties."

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

With few exceptions newspapers of all political complexions have greeted President Truman's Cabinet changes with applause. The resignations include Mr. Claude Wickard (Secretary for Agriculture), Miss Frances Perkins (Secretary for Labour), and Mr. Francis Biddle (Attorney-General). To fill these places the President has appointed Representative Clinton P. Anderson (Democrat, New Mexico), Judge Lewis P. Schwellenbach (of Spokane, Washington), and Mr. Thomas C. Clark (of Texas), who since 1943 has been Assistant Attorney-General in charge of the Criminal Division). At the same time Mr. Truman announced that Mr. Marvin Jones would relinquish his post as head of the War Food Administration and that that body would now be merged with the Department of Agriculture. Mr. Wickard has been nominated director of the Rural Electrification Administration.

Miss Perkins is the first woman ever to hold Cabinet office in the United States, and she has held such office since being first appointed Secretary for Labour by President Roosevelt in 1933. Her resignation has been continually offered and her task has of late not been easy owing to the creation of numerous agencies, all dealing with Labour, with the consequent loss of prestige in her own department. In his letter to Miss Perkins, the President wrote: "the rights of Labour as a partner in the system of private enterprise in the United States have been more firmly established than ever before. There has been created a co-operative relationship between industry and labour which has been largely instrumental in turning out the weapons of war."

It is generally felt that by these changes the Cabinet has been "substantially strengthened," particularly by the establishment of a better geographical balance —most of Mr. Roosevelt's Cabinet were from the East. At the same time, the new men are "neither Leftists or Rightists (but men) with records of achievement behind them." In some quarters the change is interpreted as a trend from "government by bureaucracy back to Cabinet government," and a determination by Mr. Truman to have a Cabinet of his own choosing without departing from the major policies of the late President.

President Truman has also asked Congress to pass legislation to enable him to reorganise the executive branch of the Government. The War Powers Act and its amendments, which empower the President to make the necessary adjustments in the executive branch, expire after the ending of the Japanese war and every step which has been taken to date will automatically revert to the status existing before the 1941 Act. While Congress had legislated for the orderly conversion from war to peace in other fields, as the President pointed out, "adequate provision had not yet been made" for conversion of the executive arm of government.

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In the view of the *Washington Post*, the President's call for reorganisation powers is closely related to the Cabinet changes, actual or pending. While praising him for "moving resolutely to put the Government's house in order," the *Post* added, however, that "his request is probably too sweeping to be granted in full: what he has requested is nothing less than full power to make over the entire structure of the executive branch at any time, subject to the right of Congress to nullify any such object by majority vote."

Mr. Harry Hopkins and Mr. Joseph Davies have arrived in Moscow and London respectively, as special envoys of the President. The White House has made it quite clear that these missions do not take the place of the projected meeting of the Big Three. They are merely a prelude, not a substitute. Fears have been expressed in the press that the impending elections in England, which, incidentally, are arousing immense interest in America, might delay this meeting. They have, however, been dispelled by statements issued by the White House and by Mr. Churchill.

There is undoubtedly a large and growing anxiety at the deterioration of relations between Russia, Great Britain and the United States, and Russian foreign policy continues to provide the great enigma. In certain quarters, for instance, the *New York Herald Tribune*, the view is expressed that America is allowing herself to be inveigled by Great Britain into an "anti-Russian line-up" and there are calls for America to show an "independent policy" of its own in foreign affairs. Doubtless with the intention of relieving the mounting tension the President has sent to Moscow a man known to be closely associated with President Roosevelt's foreign policy—"the Grand Design"—who also enjoys a considerable measure of popularity in both Moscow and London. Mr. Davies, who was formerly United States Ambassador in Russia and author of the book *Mission to Moscow* is as it were a popular symbol of Soviet-American co-operation. While these missions have attracted little editorial comment they have been welcomed. The *New York Times* expresses the view that Mr. Hopkins' task is the more significant, since he is discussing with Marshal Stalin outstanding issues in Russo-American relations "with a view to smoothing out what everyone must hope are only passing difficulties."

President Truman has won his first important Congressional victory. After a dramatic appeal by him, the House of Representatives passed, by 239 to 153 votes, the Bill extending and broadening the programme of reciprocal trade treaties (see last week's *Summary*). The Opposition was almost entirely composed of Republicans, who, apparently, have returned to the high tariff policies for which their party fought many years ago. The Bill now goes to the Senate, where even the supporters of the Bill concede that they expect difficulty. Mr. Grew has applauded the action of the House, describing it as "an aid to world co-operation." Earlier, Mr. Doughton, the Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, and sponsor of the Bill, claimed that it was the first real test whether the United States was to take part in international co-operation or revert to economic and political isolation.

In addition to the Doughton Tariff Bill, the Bretton Woods measure has made some progress. Although opposition has been strong, it has now been approved by a vote of 23 to 3 by the Banking Committee of the House of Representatives. The Bill is expected to reach the floor of the House almost immediately.

Other signs that the United States is moving along the path of international economic co-operation is the suggestion made by Senator Edwin Johnson (Democrat, Colorado) to the Senate Finance Committee, which is now considering the Repeal of the Johnson Act, which forbids private loans to debtor nations, that the United States should cancel the war debts of 1918. Agreeing with Senator Johnson, Mr. William Clayton (Assistant Secretary, State Department) declared: "It will be necessary to do a great deal of reconstruction work in Europe. It will be necessary for foreign Governments to float large loans and the United States is the only country in a position to furnish both tools and technology." Support for this view also comes from an exceptionally influential group of American business men and bankers, the Committee for Economic Development, which has just issued a report urging the repeal of the Johnson Act and the prompt settlement of all foreign Government debts to the United States arising from the last war, and also of all obligations arising under Lend-Lease or otherwise, for goods and services "actually used up in World War No. 2." This group also expresses itself in favour of lowering the protective American tariff.

LATIN AMERICA.

While it is difficult to assess the opinion of Latin America as a whole with regard to the San Francisco Conference, the degree of recognition now accorded to the Act of Chapultepec seems to have roused fairly widespread satisfaction. The discussion over the question of Trusteeship led the Guatemalan delegation to table an amendment to the effect that the Trusteeship system should not be applied to territories "concerning which there is pending any question, claim, controversy or litigation between States members of the international organisation." A statement appended explained Guatemala's fears lest the Trusteeship system should alter the status of British Honduras and thus "complicate Guatemala's action toward regaining this territory." This amendment was defeated. Shortly afterwards the Argentine delegation formulated a reservation against the application of Trusteeship to territories belonging to Argentina "whether they be the subject of claim or controversy, or are in the possession of other States." This was plainly a reference to the Argentine claim to the Falkland Islands. The Chairman of the appropriate committee, however, declined to accept reservations, and the matter was therefore confined to the minutes.

In a broadcast, Mr. Stettinius has made it clear that "the vote of the United States in favour of seating Argentina did not constitute a blanket endorsement of the policies of the Argentine Government. On the contrary, with many of these policies both the Government and people of the United States have no sympathy. But we recognise that the people of Argentina have been traditionally democratic . . . . By voting to admit Argentina, the United States has by no means changed its position that Argentina is expected to carry out effectively all her commitments under the Mexico City declaration. On the contrary, we consider that her admission to the San Francisco Conference increases her obligation to do so. We expect the Argentine nation to see that this obligation is fulfilled."

The Argentine Press also has published a statement from the *New York Herald Tribune*, in which the new United States Ambassador in Buenos Aires is reported to have replied to a journalist's question "whether the United States and Great Britain preferred dealing with General Farrell's Government" rather than with a democratic one by saying: "We would like to see democratic governments established everywhere." Mr. Braden has stated that he did not make the remark precisely in the form quoted, but it may well serve the Farrell régime as a reminder of the gap between its promises and its performances.

In other respects, the attitude of the Argentine Government is not precisely helpful. Strikes in meat processing factories have shown a tendency to spread, and negotiations for a new meat contract have again been delayed during the absence of the Argentine Ambassador in London at San Francisco. Argentina has yet to be brought to a sense of her responsibilities.

In Brazil the recently-released Communist leader, Carlos Luis Prestes, has been allowed to broadcast from a meeting held at the Vasco da Gama Stadium. The chairman of the meeting declared that Brazil was resolved to raise the banner of National Union, and had no more worthy leader than Prestes. Prestes' own speech was a denunciation of Fascism and an eulogy of those who struggled against it. Brazil, he added, had her own struggle. According to broadcast reports, Major Amilcar Dutra, head of the Department of Press and Propaganda, has been dismissed by President Vargas, and his Department merged into a new body under the Ministry of Justice.

According to a broadcast report, President Vargas has now announced that elections will be held for the Presidency and Congress on the 2nd December, that candidates holding public office must resign at least 90 days before the election date, that members of the armed forces, except officers, shall not vote, and that political parties must have at least 10,000 supporters to merit recognition under the new electoral law.

UNITED NATIONS.

At San Francisco discussions on trusteeship and on voting procedure in the Security Council have continued. No new decisions of importance on either subject have been reached during the past week. Moves by Guatemala and Argentina in connexion with trusteeship are noted above (see "Latin America"). As regards voting procedure, the smaller Powers have asked for clarification of the Crimea Conference formula. The four Great Powers other than France (who

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did not take part in the Yalta decision) are drafting a report on the question. The formula lays down that the veto shall not operate on questions of procedure, and the problem is whether " procedure " can be taken to include the preliminary consideration and discussion of any dispute, and such other matters as recommendation for the appointment of a Secretary-General and amendment of the Charter.

The Committee concerned with the Court of International Justice has proposed that the present Permanent Court of International Justice should be wound up and a new Court created.

As the Conference is expected to end early in June, attention is now being given to procedure for continuing the work it has begun. This will involve making arrangements and preparing agenda for the first meetings of the Assembly, the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. These arrangements are likely to include plans for the transfer of functions from the League of Nations to the new organisation, and for the nomination of judges to the new Court of International Justice. To carry out these tasks it has been proposed that there should be a Preparatory Commission, including representatives of all States which sign the new Charter, and meeting at intervals as required. When it is not in session, its powers would be exercised by an Executive Committee, which would also prepare proposals to put before it. It has been suggested that this Executive Committee, which would be in permanent session, should consist of representatives of the States now represented on the Conference Executive Committee and should sit in London.

At a meeting held in London on the 28th May it was agreed to set up a provisional Emergency Economic Committee for Europe. Belgium, France, Greece, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Norway, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States are represented on the Committee, and other European Allied States have been invited to join it. It will deal with urgent and immediate economic questions, particularly the revival of production in Europe and the distribution of supplies from overseas.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 296

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
6TH JUNE, 1945.

Copy No. 141

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

ON Tuesday the 5th June a joint declaration "regarding the defeat of Germany and the assumption of supreme authority with respect to Germany by the Governments of the United Kingdom, the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Provisional Government of the French Republic" was signed in Berlin by Field-Marshal Sir Bernard Montgomery, General Eisenhower, Marshal Zhukov and General de Lattre de Tassigny. Whilst they "assume supreme authority with respect to Germany" the four Governments declare that this "does not effect the annexation of Germany." The declaration provides for the complete demobilisation of all German armed forces; for the transfer of all warlike equipment of the army, navy and air forces as well as of all merchant shipping to the Allied Representatives; for the release and maintenance of all Allied prisoners of war and other nationals until they can be repatriated; and for the arrest and surrender to the Allies of the Nazi leaders and of all others suspected of war crimes. It further declares that the Allied Governments will take such further steps "as they deem requisite for future peace and security," and that "the Allied Representatives will impose on Germany additional political, administrative, economic, financial, military and other requirements arising from the complete defeat of Germany." On the subject of Germany's future frontiers it is provided, in the preamble to the declaration, that the four Allied Governments "will hereafter determine the boundaries of Germany or any part thereof and the status of Germany or of any area at present being part of German territory." The first of three official statements issued concurrently with the declaration provides that "the frontiers of Germany as they existed on the 31st December, 1937," are to be taken as defining the area of Allied Administration.

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In the second official statement the four Commanders-in-Chief, who signed the declaration, were appointed to form the Control Council, upon which will fall the task of governing Germany. It is to deal with " questions affecting Germany as a whole " and its decisions are to be unanimous. It is to be assisted by a Co-ordinating Committee and a Control Staff, the latter subdivided into twelve divisions roughly corresponding to the departments of a Central Government. The principle of inter-Allied control is maintained throughout, as it is in the administration of Greater Berlin, which will have four Commandants, each of whom will serve in rotation as Chief Commandant. The Allied Governments also issued a statement that, in the exercise of their supreme authority over Germany, they would consult with the Governments of other United Nations.

Considerable progress has been made during the past two weeks with the nomination of native Germans to higher administrative posts than the local government appointments to which they had hitherto been largely restricted. A former leader of the Bavarian People's Party, Friedrich Schaeffer, has been appointed " temporary Prime Minister " (zeitweiliger Minister-Präsident) of Bavaria by the American regional military government officer while a former Social Democratic Party official and ex-Mayor of Mannheim, Dr. Hermann Heimerich, has been made Oberpräsident of a large administrative district comprising the Saar, the Palatinate and Hessen south of the river Main. A pre-Nazi Landeshauptmann, Dr. Hagemann, has become Oberpräsident of Hanover. In the Saar—Palatinate—South Hessen administrative region, Dr. Heimerich is to be assisted by three departmental chiefs who claim to have participated in the abortive " Putsch " of the 20th July, 1944.

Other public officials, who likewise served with some distinction under the Weimar Republic, are re-emerging as heads of the municipalities. Dr. Konrad Adenauer, who was Mayor of Cologne from 1917 to 1933, President of the Prussian State Council and a director of several Rhineland business combines, has returned to office as Mayor of Coblence, after recently serving as special adviser to Military Government. The new Mayor of Leipzig is Dr. Viesling, a well-known lawyer and former member of the Hugenberg Nationalist Party. A member of one of Hamburg's most distinguished families, and a notable adherent of the old Democratic Party, Rudolf Petersen, has been appointed Mayor of that city, the largest in the British zone. The occasional allegation in the Allied press that Nazi officials are not being ousted from posts of minor responsibility as quickly as they might, is not supported by the growing evidence of a determined and on the whole successful drive by Military Government detachments to " de-Nazify " German public life by the earliest possible date. Only the dire need for experts to tackle public health problems has made it necessary in some instances, notably in the Regierungsbezirk Trier, to retain the services of former Nazi doctors.

Several well-known German factories, which prior to the Allied bombing offensive supplied the German Wehrmacht with great quantities of war materials, are now reported to have resumed production under Military Government control. These include the vast Hermann-Goering works near Brunswick, the People's Car factory at Fallersleben—both said to be devoting their entire production henceforth to the work of reconstruction—the Zeiss works at Jena (employing some 6,500 men and women), and the Henschel works at Kassel. The Behring plant at Marburg—still one of the largest serum producers on the Continent—is also stated to have resumed production with the help of Military Government. All banks and six insurance companies have re-opened for business in Kassel. Some cities, as for example Cologne, have re-instituted a postal system within their own boundaries, using plain post-cards and 5-pfennig stamps supplied by Military Government. Nine newspapers are at present circulating in the British and American zones and at least six in the Russian, distribution being arranged in some cases through the local police stations.

An order virtually cordoning Germany off from the rest of western Europe by means of a prohibited zone along her 1937 western frontier, extending in most places to a depth of 5 kilometres, has been imposed by S.H.A.E.F. as from the 31st May. The purpose of this measure is to prevent war criminals and other persons wanted by the Allied authorities from escaping. No one may for the time being enter this zone without military passes or other proper authorisation, and normal residents must leave at once unless they have a special permit issued by Military Government. Displaced persons—who are still estimated to number 4,000,000 in the British and American zones—have been told that they can in future only hope to cross the frontier as part of an official transport. A further

ban exists in the North on all unauthorised travel by civilians across the Kiel Canal and the Elbe in both directions (the Flensburg area of Schleswig is thereby still isolated from the rest of the country), although regulations restricting the movements of population in the areas of Schleswig-Holstein and Hamburg bounded by these waterways have just been relaxed. Movements across the Rhine are likewise limited, and citizens of Cologne are for the moment not permitted to cross from Deutz on the right bank to the rest of the city on the left.

A warning by the new Mayor of Berlin, Dr. Arthur Werner, issued by radio on the 1st June, that anyone caught conspiring to do harm to officials and soldiers of the Red Army would forfeit with his own the lives of 50 members of the Nazi Party, stood out in singularly sharp contrast to the general publicity which the Russian-controlled broadcasts from Berlin have been giving to attempts by the Red Army to improve its relations with the German population. Dr. Werner implied that the Nazi fanatics were still active—especially among the remnants of the Hitler Youth. " Criminals and deluded persons," he said, " were still to be found, who, by ' acts of madness ' (arson was specified as one of the major crimes), wanted to prevent the return of law and order." It is, of course, interesting that such a warning should have been issued by a native German official acting under military control, and not by the Russian military commander himself, who would presumably be the person most concerned with attempts on the lives of his soldiers. So far, the most direct Russian reference to disorders in the Russian zone has been made by the *Tass* agency in a statement of the 28th May that German armed groups who refused to surrender were still roaming the forests. These waged guerilla warfare against isolated Red Army platoons and lived by plundering the remoter farms and villages. Competent observers returning from the Russian zone in the middle of May report that virtually no military Government was seen functioning there, and that there were no regularly established German or Russian police, although 3,000 Military Government troops were expected shortly in Berlin to replace the large numbers of ordinary Russian soldiers who had been withdrawn. Such laws and regulations as had been promulgated were largely concerned with food rationing. No passes or documents were apparently required for circulation. Requisitioning continued and the Red Army authorities were systematically moving from the Russian zone livestock, heavy industrial machinery, automobiles, watches and jewellery. The headquarters of the German Communist Party, which had been set up in Berlin shortly after the Russian entry, had been closed by the local Red Army commander, but party cells were still functioning unofficially in the working-class district of Wedding.

A special control party from S.H.A.E.F., headed by Major-General Robert W. Harper, of the U.S.A.A.F., and Air Vice-Marshal C. R. Steele, has now been established at Berchtesgaden to supervise the dissolution of the former Luftwaffe High Command. The choice of Hitler's own erstwhile stronghold as the seat of this control party is stated to have been influenced by the fact that it was to this " redoubt " area that remnants of the German air force staff withdrew. Presumably persons of importance connected with the Luftwaffe are still at large there, as are undoubtedly a number of Party leaders of lesser fame. Ribbentrop, however, remains the only really outstanding Nazi figure still not accounted for, although an entire section of his Foreign Office has been detained at Liebenau (previously used by the German Government as one of its principal camps for Allied internees) and put under local parole. An appeal to all young Germans to assist in the current pursuit of the Nazi Reich Youth Leader, Arthur Axmann, has been issued by the Moscow radio. One of the Third Reich's most notorious police officials, Kurt Daluege, who was Chief of the uniformed police up to August 1943, is reported to have been captured with twelve other S.S. officers of high rank and more than fifty prominent party officials in the British Second Army sector.

AUSTRIA.

The British, United States and French Missions moved to Vienna on the 3rd June. Marshal Tolbukhin at first requested some reduction in the size of the British and American parties, owing to accommodation difficulties, but later agreed that there should be no such reduction.

Belgrade Radio, on the 29th May, attacked the " so-called Carinthian Government " in Klagenfurt, and alleged that its officials, together with Anglo-United States military police, had " brutally entered the premises of the Slovene Regional National Liberation Committee for Carinthia, searched them, and

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arrested the Commissars, who were taken away to an unknown destination." The broadcast went on to declare that the "Fascist Government" remained in Klagenfurt and was supported by the Anglo-United States Army. The Carinthian Government referred to is probably the "Provisional Provincial Government" which was last heard of on the 8th May, and in its broadcasts strongly opposed all "foreign territorial claims" on Carinthia. A.M.G., however, has not as yet recognised a Provisional Government of Carinthia. On the 4th June Belgrade Radio reported that Marshal Tito, in a speech to the people of Slovenia, said: "Carinthia is ours, and we shall fight for her. We have liberated Carinthia, but international circumstances have been such that we have been obliged to withdraw temporarily."

M. Vyshinski has informed the British Government that the Soviet Government see no grounds for refusing to associate Yugoslav troops with Red Army units in joint occupation of the Soviet zone in Austria. The solution of territorial claims must be related to the peace settlement and cannot depend on the occupation by Allied troops of any given territory, said M. Vyshinski, and in the opinion of the Soviet Government it would be wrong to link the two issues of Yugoslav territorial claims and the participation of Yugoslav troops in the occupation of Austria.

The most urgent problem facing Dr. Renner's Government appears to be the food supply. Station Austria reported on the 29th May that Renner had sent a letter to Stalin on the 16th, describing the economic situation in Austria, and particularly the food supply difficulties. Marshal Stalin's answer promised Vienna supplies, including 45,000 tons of grain, 4,000 tons of meat, 2,700 tons of sugar, and 1,000 tons of fat. The State Food Office was said to have set up immediately a distribution system to ensure a better and more regular food supply for Vienna from the 1st June. On the 31st May, Vienna Radio announced that a rapid count of people living in the city had been made in connexion with the distribution—the number given was approximately 1,500,000. (The pre-war population of Vienna was 1,912,608.) Cardinal Innitzer issued a statement in which he instructed the clergy not to draw the preferential rations offered to them, but to take only the ordinary ration.

Station Austria on the 29th May said that a few days before the Conference of the Austrian Communist Party had been held in Vienna, in which hundreds of Party officials from all districts of Vienna participated. Communist members of the Government attended, as well as a delegation from the "2nd Austrian Battalion" (which had been fighting with the Yugoslav Partisans). The highlight of the Conference was a speech by Vice-Chancellor Koplenig, in which he said that "the only possible form of democratic government is by the collaboration of the three great democratic parties."

The inaugural meeting of the "Society for the Promotion of Cultural and Economic Relations with the U.S.S.R." was held on the 2nd June at the offices of the Secretary of State for Public Enlightenment, at which Ernst Fischer gave an address. Vienna Radio also announced that lessons in the Russian language would be broadcast, "to enable everybody to make themselves understood in Russian."

More measures have been taken to abolish Nazi influence. The Minister of the Interior in the Provisional Government broadcast an appeal for information to help in the capture of National Socialists, "particularly underground Nazis, officials of the Party and the Government, members of the S.S., and all other guilty persons of the Nazi dictatorship." The Vienna Labour Office is being reorganised, and a purge of Nazi officials in the Central and subsidiary offices is being carried out. The department of the Reich Trustee for Labour is to be dissolved.

From Graz on the 2nd June, there was an appeal against looting. Towns and villages would be patrolled night and day "to preserve the peace and security of the population." Landlords were told that they must see that a list was fixed to the front door of every house not later than the 5th June, bearing the name of the landlord and all civilian residents. In a list of films at present being shown in Graz cinemas, the names of several which were produced under the Nazi régime appear.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

His Majesty's Ambassador, Mr. Philip Nichols, and staff, arrived on the 2nd June at the Prague Ruzyň aerodrome. The party was met by the British and United States Chargés d'Affaires. On behalf of the Republic they were

welcomed by Dr. Clementis, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and by Minister Smutný, representing Dr. Beneš, as well as by other State officials. With the party travelled M. Louis Keller, the French Chargé d'Affaires. Thus, with the arrival of the United States Chargé d'Affaires and staff on the 29th May, diplomatic contact between the Czechoslovak Republic and the Western Powers has at last been resumed. President Beneš received the United States Chargé d'Affaires on the 30th May, and decorated a number of United States army officers at a military parade on the same day. The British Ambassador was received by Dr. Clementis on the 3rd, and by President Beneš on the 4th.

The line of demarcation between the American and Soviet armies of occupation has been determined. The American zone includes all the Bohemian Forest area and stretches inland to include the large industrial city of Plzeň with the Škoda works; it runs from Kraslice south-eastwards to České Velenice on the Austrian border. The Russian zone is separated from it by a narrow strip of no-man's land a few kilometres in depth. Civil affairs are everywhere in Czechoslovak hands. The Russian forces have withdrawn from the district of Greater Prague to a distance of about 40 kilom., leaving a garrison behind in the city.

The status of Slovakia has been the subject of important discussions in Prague during the last week. The delegates of the Slovak National Council arrived by air from Bratislava and were given an official welcome and reception. The Government of the Republic and the Præsidium of the S.N.C. have agreed that the Council holds the legislative, governmental and executive power in the autonomous territory of Slovakia, and that until the formation of the Provisional Legislative Assembly, the President exercises the legislative power in affairs concerning the whole State, such as frontiers, security, defence, external affairs, currency and basic problems of education, economics and public welfare. One of the two chairmen of the Supreme Courts is to be permanently a Slovak. The popularity of the new measures is reflected in the *volte-face* made recently by the American Slovak autonomists and separatists, who, previously strongly anti-Beneš, have become supporters of the new régime, whereas the American Czechs have, apart from the Left wing, been more cautious in their attitude.

President Beneš has authorised the call-up of certain categories of officers and men for a period of special military service. This order, announced on the 30th May, affects those born between 1902 and 1915, and forms part of the scheme for rebuilding the army and dealing with the immediate post-war situation. The Minister of Defence outlined the Government's plans before a military gathering in Prague on the 1st June. The purge of anti-democratic elements is to be applied to the army, which is to lose its non-political character with the institution of education officers whose main task will be to educate the men politically.

On the 2nd the Minister of Industry described the new decree concerning the National Administration of Enterprises. The decree regulates the transfer of confiscated property to State control through the agency of the local National Committees. He described it as an important step towards "collectivistic principles" of a revolutionary as well as an economic character.

On the 3rd Prague Radio reported the proceedings at a meeting arranged to launch the Government's physical culture programme. All previous organisations, such as the Sokol movement, are to be merged into a unified system of physical training which will come under the Ministry of Education.

POLAND.

In reply to a question in the House of Commons as to the fate of the sixteen arrested Poles, the Secretary of State said on the 30th May that he had received "no further information additional to what has been published."

Mme. Cecilia Mikolajczyk, the wife of the ex-Prime Minister, has given a press interview since her recent arrival in London after internment in various German concentration camps, including Oswiecim, and eventual liberation by American forces at Plzen (Pilsen).

The London Polish Government issued a statement on the 23rd May concerning German war criminals and giving a short list of names of the principal offenders. "The complete list," the statement adds, "comprises already more than 15,000 names."

Competition for man-power is proceeding between the Warsaw Administration and the London Government. It takes the various forms of recruiting for their respective armies; of instituting rival associations of Poles in France,

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the United States, &c.; of appeals to miners and other liberated Poles in Europe on the one hand to return home, on the other to work in France or Belgium; of radio broadcasts; and of propaganda visits to ex-slave workers and prisoners of war still in German camps. These appeals from the Warsaw side form part of a general campaign for peopling the newly occupied areas of Eastern Germany, where, it is said, as much as 85 per cent. of the German population has left. It has been stated from Warsaw that there is room in these areas for 7,500,000 settlers, of whom 4 million would find accommodation in towns. Rural settlers are moving into southern East Prussia from areas east of the Curzon Line and into Silesia from Galicia. It is announced that the Red Army is now handing over the administration of southern East Prussia to Polish officials, and that Dr. Drobner, formerly a member of the "Lublin Committee," is now "President" of Breslau.

The output of coal in Poland and German Silesia together is stated to have reached 55,000 tons a day and is expected to reach 80,000 tons, or one-third of the 1913 level, in the course of this month.

SOVIET UNION.

The visit of Mr. Hopkins to Moscow seems to be producing a genuine *détente* in Soviet-American relations.

The Soviet Information Bureau issued a communiqué on the 2nd June dealing with the Soviet attitude to the crisis in the Levant. This stated that the Soviet Government had approached the French Government, and also the Governments of Great Britain, the United States and China, recommending that urgent measures should be taken to terminate hostilities in Syria and the Lebanon and to settle the conflict by peaceful means. "The events in Syria and the Lebanon do not correspond to the spirit of the decisions passed at Dumbarton Oaks nor to the aims of the San Francisco Conference of the United Nations for the creation of an organisation for the maintenance of peace and the security of nations." For this reason the Soviet Government addressed its proposal to the other four Powers which had taken the initiative in creating the post-war organisation for peace and international security. (See also under "France.")

M. Vyshinsky has now delivered the official Soviet reply to British objections concerning the participation of Yugoslav troops in the occupation of Austria. The Soviet Government, according to M. Vyshinsky's statement, felt that the contribution of the Yugoslav army in expelling "the German Fascist occupiers" from Austria gave it a right to share in the occupation. M. Vyshinsky went on to reject the British contention that the right of Allied troops to share in the occupation of Germany was no precedent for action in Austria, by arguing that the different treatment decided on for Germany and Austria was irrelevant to to the question of occupation. Finally, M. Vyshinsky expressed the view of the Soviet Government that it would be wrong to link the question of Yugoslav territorial claims on Austria with Yugoslav participation in the Soviet zone of occupation. "It goes without saying that the solution of territorial claims must be referred to the peace settlement and cannot depend on the occupation by Allied troops of any given territory."

The Soviet press has called attention to the situation in Carinthia by publishing reports of the statement made in Ljubljana by a delegation of the Carinthian National Liberation Committee asking that the local populace should be protected from the violence and atrocities of Fascist elements in the area. The delegation was alleged to have complained that the British military administration had incorporated many S.S. men and followers of Nedić into the local police, who were inaugurating a reign of terror, which increased after the Yugoslav troops were withdrawn at the request of the Allies.

It was announced on the 30th May that Marshal Zhukov had been appointed representative of the Soviet Supreme Command on the Allied Control Council in Germany. M. Vyshinsky arrived in Berlin from Moscow on the 31st May.

Major-General Korotkov, the Russian Commander on Bornholm, arrived in Copenhagen with his staff on the 1st June; in a speech at the airfield he expressed the belief that the presence of Soviet troops at Bornholm would only help to strengthen relations between the Danish and Russian peoples. *Tass* has meanwhile been publishing reports from the Danish press which pay tribute to the culture and high level of discipline of the Soviet troops on the island and to their excellent relations with the local population.

On the 28th May Patriarch Alexei of Moscow set out on a series of return visits to the Orthodox Patriarchs of the East at their invitation. The Oecumenical Patriarch had apparently not invited a visit, as Constantinople was not on the itinerary, which includes Damascus, Beirut, Jerusalem, Cairo and Alexandria. The leading members of the delegation accompanying Patriarch Alexei are the well-known Metropolitan Nikolai Krutitsky, and Archbishop Vitali of Tula. The former is to go on to London from Cairo at the invitation of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Archbishop Vitali seems a strange choice for such a solemn occasion, as he was until his reconciliation a year ago head of the heretical Living Church and a somewhat notorious intriguer. Little news has come through about Patriarch Alexei's discussions at his different stopping places; his stay in Damascus was enlivened by the falling of French shells on his hotel. In Jerusalem it is of interest to note that some of the clergy belonging to the irreconcilable group of the Russian Church in exile came to see the Patriarch, and that many members of that community attended the Liturgy celebrated by him in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

It has been announced that as a result of two military topographical expeditions, headed by Lieut.-Colonels Utehkin and Slissenko, a new topographical map of Kamchatka has been made. These expeditions worked on this job through most difficult meteorological conditions for two years, and eventually completed a survey of some 200,000 square kilom. of the Kamchatka peninsula. The importance of this work in the event of the extension of hostilities to the North Pacific area is obvious.

The Soviet press has continued to show uneasiness and resentment at foreign criticisms of the internal organisation and foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. "To be quite frank," M. Isakov said in an English broadcast on the 30th May, "we did not expect that on literally the next day after victory such a furious anti-Soviet campaign could spring up right inside the camp of the United Nations." This campaign was "poisoning the whole post-war international atmosphere." *Izvestiya's* international observer attributed it to "pro-fascists" who regretted the completeness of Germany's defeat. Another English broadcast by M. Osipov on the 28th May dealt at length with "the stereotyped attacks on the U.S.S.R., and in particular, with the accusation that Soviet foreign policy was undemocratic and unco-operative. "Peace will only be lasting when the liberated nations are ensured genuine freedom, and this is inconceivable unless fascism and reaction are rooted out everywhere." The Soviet Union "refuses to act as a force imposing a reactionary Government" on the liberated nations, and that, M. Osipov said, is why its policy is denounced by "all the gentlemen who who are campaigning for the *status quo*, for the return of what once was," by the supporters of "the reactionary Polish clique in London" and of the fascist Franco.

A new article on war criminals by Professor Trainin appeared in *Izvestiya* on the 1st June. He distinguished two types of war crimes:—(1) "Encroachments upon peaceful relations among nations: aggression, organisation of 'fifth columns,' terroristic acts aimed at instigation of international conflicts, &c."; (2) "criminal violations of the laws and usages of war: murder of non-combatants and prisoners of war, organisation of slave labour." Under the main group of political criminals must be included "those who headed and guided the policies of the satellite countries (Antonescu and others)." Professor Trainin went on to criticise those who are looking for "loopholes in the law through which war criminals may escape." He repeated the Soviet arguments that prisoners of war status should not prevent a man being called to account for criminal actions committed by him before he was captured, and that obedience to orders was no justification for throwing women and children into the flames or for executing non-combatants in gas chambers. "The struggle against war crimes is not yet being waged on the proper scale or with the proper speed. In some places political circles in power or—which is sometimes still more convenient—those who are behind the scenes put spokes in the wheel of justice despite the will of the peoples." Professor Trainin especially criticised the London War Crimes Commission for attempting to compile beforehand "a list of all murderers and all traitors" before bringing any of them to justice. "The freedom-loving peoples must act in accord" to punish war criminals in an exemplary manner. "This is the right of the peoples; it is the duty of the governments."

Serious allegations regarding the resumption of international cartel activity were made in a recent article in *Krasnaya Zvezda*. Representatives of German concerns in neutral countries were stated to have signed documents for the resumption of cartel agreements while the representatives of the German Supreme

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Command were signing the instrument of unconditional surrender. As has been frequently asserted in the Soviet press, big German firms were stated to have set up new branches in neutral countries, especially Spain, Switzerland, Sweden, Argentina and some other Latin American countries, during the months preceding the end of the war. It was pointed out that the subsidiary enterprises of great German monopolistic firms such as Krupp and the I.G. Farbenindustrie are not subject to Allied control and that it is these subsidiaries that are at present engaged in re-establishing international cartel connections. Many of the above points were reiterated by M. Mikhailov in a broadcast commentary on the subject of cartels. M. Mikhailov also referred to an interview in London between Martin Agronsky (an American radio observer) and one of the directors of I. G. Farbenindustrie, who apparently still expected that this huge chemical concern should be preserved in the Allies' own interest.

A sharp comment on "American colonial opinion" was published in *Izvestiya* from the pen of its special San Francisco correspondent, M. Zhukov. M. Zhukov admitted the superiority of the United States over Japan in war equipment, but warned the Soviet public against excessive optimism in forecasting the possible duration of the war in the Pacific. On the basis of American reports on military casualties, he stated that "victory over Japan is possibly quite a costly proposition for the United States." Proceeding to the subject of trusteeship in the Pacific area, M. Zhukov quoted certain American authorities to the effect that the attitude of some Powers towards trusteeship deprives the Conference of the support of the majority of the colonial populations. "The American man in the street," he concluded, "is being frankly beguiled by traditional colonial exotic scenes. . . . The colonial propaganda which is zealously tied up with the Pacific war by part of the press reflects the views of those circles which dream of consolidating the victories in the Pacific by creating a substantial colonial fund."

LOW COUNTRIES.

A new movement, which may have considerable political importance, has been started in the Netherlands. This is the Netherlands People's Movement, of which the principles were drawn up by a number of prominent Dutchmen—including members of the Christian Historical, Socialist, and Catholic Parties—during their imprisonment in a concentration camp. The Movement champions freedom, democracy, and patriotism and denounces the class struggle. It appeals to all Dutchmen, irrespective of their Party affiliations, to co-operate in a common effort for the necessary reconstruction of the people's life based upon "personalistic socialism." Professor Schermerhorn, one of the founders of the Movement, has been requested by Queen Wilhelmina to form a new Cabinet in conjunction with Mr. M. W. Drees, a Socialist. It is, therefore, of interest to note that Professor Schermerhorn has expressed the view that the principles of the Movement "offer the only possible basis available at the moment to obtain a workable plan for the future of the Netherlands, because these principles have enough in common with all the trends of thought represented in our nation. Those who will make up the Government must be inspired by these principles. Such a Government may consist of people from various political Parties and of no Party, and there is no reason why the former should not remain loyal to their own Parties."

It may also be noted that Professor Gerbrandy stated at a Press Conference in London on the 1st, that he thought there would be a general trend towards radical Socialism in the Netherlands.

The question of King Leopold has been much discussed in the Belgian Press during the last days. The Communists reiterate their demand for abdication and accuse the King of having always entertained authoritarian and unconstitutional designs. The Socialists also demand abdication. But the Executive of the Party have given a specific reason for the demand. They contend that the King acted unconstitutionally in May 1940, when he refused to accept the advice of his Ministers to leave Belgium with them if the Belgian Army were compelled to surrender. By insisting on sharing the fate of his troops, they argue that he not only violated the constitution, which lays down the principle of responsible government, but also seriously injured the interests of Belgium. This declaration by the Executive will doubtless be debated at the Party Congress which begins on the 9th. The Catholic papers have continued to argue that the King should return and resume the exercise of his regal functions without impediment. They point out that, according to the Constitution, the King can do no wrong and also represent him as a man of noble character, who has suffered much for Belgium, but they do not reply to the constitutional arguments adduced by the Socialists.

On the 4th M. van Acker left Brussels of Salzburg. It is expected that his interview with King Leopold will be followed by important developments.

The Brussels Bourse has reopened in a quiet atmosphere.

FRANCE.

The Syrian crisis and Mr. Churchill's message of the 31st May to General de Gaulle, requesting him to order the French troops to cease fire and to withdraw to their barracks (see "Middle East"), led the General to defend his policy in two public statements. The first, a communiqué published on the 2nd June, said that the French troops had gained control of the situation everywhere except in the Jebel Druse, that their total losses were about twelve killed, and that they had been given the order to cease fire at 11 p.m. on the 30th May (an earlier official version had given the date as the 31st), the day before Mr. Churchill sent his message. The tone and form of this message called for a public reply "which the President of the Provisional Government had judged it preferable not to address to the British Prime Minister." This communiqué was followed later in the day by a press conference at which General de Gaulle read a prepared statement. The conference was reported in full in double-sized papers and was marked by a number of half truths, suppressions of inconvenient facts, and insinuations against Great Britain. After outlining the history of the Syrian problem as he saw it, the General said that France now retained only one power given her by mandate, namely the military command of the Troupes Spéciales, and that French troops in Syria numbered only 4,000–5,000, whereas the British still had some 600,000 men in the whole of the Middle and Near East. He complained that France's position had been complicated by the attitude of the British Government and British agents on the spot. France wished to negotiate treaties with the Levant States which would safeguard her cultural and economic interests and give her possession of certain bases. The General then gave his version of the recent troubles and said that: "To get out of the situation which is evidently very bitter for France" France was ready to negotiate, "but only over the whole matter" and not merely about the Levant States. She was also interested in events in other Arab States and discussions must cover the whole Near and Middle East. Many other Powers, such as the Soviet Union, were also interested in this region and the solution must now be a matter for international co-operation. In conclusion, he claimed that the whole French people was behind the Government on this issue. It is doubtful how far this claim could be substantiated. British press reports suggested that the Government themselves were divided and it is known that M. Bidault has by no means wholly approved the policy pursued during his absence at San Francisco and that he has done his utmost to urge moderation upon General de Gaulle. It also seems clear that there was considerable criticism of the Government at the meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Consultative Assembly on the 1st June, and various Resistance papers, in particular *Combat*, while regretting the manner of British intervention, have been strongly critical of the Government's policy. Unfortunately it appears that the latest British measures to secure order in Syria, such as the imposition of a censorship and the alleged occupation of the Office for wheat distribution, have served only to incense General de Gaulle still more and to strengthen his unfortunate conviction that Great Britain is now carrying out the policy she has long planned of driving the French out of the Levant in order to take their place.

In a lengthy statement in the House of Commons on the 5th June Mr. Churchill replied to General de Gaulle and explained in detail how, so far from stirring up agitation in the Levant States, British influence had been used precisely in the other direction. He had done his utmost to dissuade the French from sending reinforcements to the Levant at the moment when they were making treaty proposals, since this would give the impression that they wished to impose a settlement to be completed under duress. He had told General de Gaulle that he would be willing to withdraw all British troops from the Levant the moment a treaty had been concluded and was in operation between the French Government and the Governments of Syria and the Lebanon. He explained the circumstances leading to British intervention and expressed his regret that his own message to General de Gaulle on the 31st May had reached the General after Mr. Eden had announced it in the House of Commons; no discourtesy had been intended. He also expressed regret that the General had

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not seen fit to inform His Majesty's Government of the instructions to cease fire said to have been sent to the French military authorities late on the 30th May. He made clear that the British authorities had issued no arms to the Syrian or Lebanese except by agreement with the French. Finally, in answer to a question by Mr. Attlee, he said that his proposal for a tripartite conference still held good, but that the suggestion that it should be a five-Power Conference, bringing in Russia and China, would "cause a great deal of delay and require very careful consideration on many grounds."

On the 29th May the French Press Agency issued a strongly-worded semi-official communiqué about the Reparations Commission. This said that Paris was without information about the constitution of the Commission or where it was to meet and that it was inconceivable that it should meet without French participation. "Moreover," the communiqué went on, "it is learnt that no measures have yet been agreed between the Allies with a view to organising and regulating the recovery and requisitioning of material in German territory. The urgency of this operation for many countries and for France in particular cannot be questioned. It is understood that, during the last few months, the French Government has made several approaches to the Allied Governments, none of which have led to any definite result."

Three changes in the Government were announced on the 31st May. M. Teitgen has been appointed to take M. de Menthon's place as Minister of Justice. M. Soustelle, Regional Commissioner in Bordeaux and former Director of the French Secret Services, has succeeded M. Teitgen at the Ministry of Information, and M. Christian Pineau, a Trade Union leader recently released from Buchenwald, has replaced M. Ramadier at the Ministry of Food. The only alteration in party representation is a reduction in the number of M.R.P. Ministers from three to two by the removal of M. de Menthon. M. Soustelle, a henchman of General de Gaulle, is not attached to any party. There has been general disappointment in the press that the municipal elections did not lead to a radical reshuffle of the Ministry and Communist regrets were expressed in a statement by the Political Bureau of the party, which, nevertheless, undertook to continue to support the Government pending elections to a Constituent Assembly. General de Gaulle recently said that a general election would be held before the end of the year, and it is thought unlikely that there will be any further changes in the Government before the election.

On the 3rd June M. Frenay, the Minister for Prisoners and Deportees, received the millionth Frenchman to be repatriated. He said that within a month or six weeks all the prisoners and deportees would be home. Repatriations from Odessa now number 22,899, but shipping difficulties are holding up further returns and it is hoped that an alternative route may be found for the large numbers of Frenchmen still in Poland. In Paris returned prisoners demonstrated on the 2nd June in protest against the inadequacy of the help given them on arrival in money and in kind. In a broadcast on the following day M. Frenay explained the Government's difficulties.

An exchange of banknotes began in France on the 4th June. This extensive operation, which covers all banknotes of 50 fr. and over, and also Liberation Loan, Treasury bills and other short-term Government bonds, is to be completed by the 15th June. By this date holders of banknotes will be repaid the full equivalent of the notes deposited, which will then cease to be legal tender. M. Pleven, the Minister of Finance, has explained that the object of the exchange was to neutralise the banknotes and bonds removed by the Germans, to make a census of all holdings of banknotes and bonds, and to encourage hoarders to put their money into Government bonds.

(See also under "Soviet Union," "Spain and Portugal," "Italy," and "United States.")

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

The Foreign Affairs Committee of the French National Consultative Assembly was reported recently to have recommended the French Provisional Government to ask the Allies to make a joint step requesting General Franco to abandon power forthwith and to give way to a Government in Spain which would organise a free election without delay. No communication has been received from the French Government on this subject and none is expected. Meanwhile, the Paris *Monde* of the 23rd May had published a report from San Francisco that the French Minister for Foreign Affairs had agreed that the Spanish Committee

of National Liberation should install itself in France. This appears to have been the result of conversations between M. Bidault and Señor Alvaro de Albornoz (Chairman of the Committee) which took place at San Francisco. It has also been reported that M. Bidault recommended Señor Albornoz to come to an understanding with Dr. Negrín. This is easier said than done. The reaction in Spain to the French Foreign Affairs Committee's suggestion was naturally of the coolest. The well-known commentator, Eugenio Montes, broadcast an impolite dissertation on French chauvinism, enlarging on the inveterate French habit of making difficulties for the British, and concluding that the French would try to cover their misfortunes in Syria by meddling in Spain. Incidentally, the Spanish Government have chosen this moment to announce to His Majesty's Government their recognition of the independence of the Levant States, though adding that the decision has nothing to do with present events, having been reached some time early in May.

While all this obviously opens up the possibility of a serious embroilment of Franco-Spanish relations, there is now a chance that the situation may be eased by the solution of the Laval question. Señor Lequerica has told the United States Ambassador in confidence that Laval has now expressed the wish to surrender to the French authorities—a bold decision.

Furthermore, the Spaniards have paid a civil tribute to the late French Minister, M. Jacques Truelle, who died in Madrid on the 30th May. M. Truelle, who had been Free French representative in Spain since early in 1943, was at length received by the Spanish Foreign Minister in August 1944; he had his share of unpleasantness during the period of his semi-official mission—in November 1943, for example, armed Falangists raided his office (see *Summary* No. 217). While the Spaniards now attribute much good to M. Truelle, it is obviously a matter of some moment who should succeed him at a rather delicate juncture.

In Switzerland an Infante has been born to the Portuguese Pretender, Dom Duarte Nuno. This will obviously rejoice the hearts of the Portuguese Monarchists, who have hitherto found the lack one of their main handicaps. Obviously, the degree of continuity offered by an heirless monarch is not appreciably greater than that offered by the vigorous (if greying) bachelor who sits in the Presidência do Conselho. D. Duarte Nuno's baby may offer him a new argument.

TANGIER.

On the 30th May a Parliamentary Question about the future of Tangier elicited the reply that the matter was under active consideration. The secretary of the Netherlands Embassy and the counsellor of the Belgian Embassy have called at the Foreign Office to make enquiries on behalf of their respective Governments. The Spanish Chargé d'Affaires has also called. He was told that His Majesty's Government had naturally, with the end of the war in Europe, begun to think of the arrangements necessary for the restoration of the international régime, and that it was hoped, after consultation with the other interested parties, to notify the Spanish Government of proposals "fairly soon." The Marqués de Santa Cruz appeared to assume, as was natural, that His Majesty's Government would now be taking steps to reach an agreed termination of an abnormal state of affairs. The Spanish Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs has since broached the question to His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires, and outlined his own views, which appear to be in favour of a Four-Power control by Great Britain, the United States, Spain and France. The French Government, for their part, have proposed that the 1923 régime should be restored in full, and that pending its restoration the French, as the protecting Power in Morocco, should introduce a force of Sherifian Police for the maintenance of order. Their idea is that the landing of the police should serve as an occasion for a mild demonstration of French, supported by British and American, naval strength. The French Government further propose immediate conversations between the British, French and United States Governments with a view to preparing a joint approach to the Spanish Government and deciding on the steps to be taken to restore an international régime. The British Government and the United States Government, though by no means in entire agreement with the French upon the future, are agreeable to the holding of early conversations, which, however, they consider should take place in London and not in Paris.

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ITALY.

The six anti-Fascist parties of the Committee of National Liberation have come to an agreement, mainly owing to the Liberal Party's calming influence, regarding the formation of a new Government and the rôle of the Committees of National Liberation. The Left wing wished to give the Committee a preponderant part in any future Government, but the parties have now, apparently, agreed that the provincial and communal committees shall act as advisory bodies to the prefects. The other committees are to resume a solely political character, while the factory committees are to be transformed into technical organs " in accordance with the needs of production and social justice." This is to last until the Constituent Assembly is formed. Once again the parties have agreed to collaborate closely and not allow their differences to develop into violent disputes. There now remains the task of forming a Cabinet. This will not be easy for, although the important ministries are coveted by both Right and Left, none of the parties seems to be really anxious to assume more responsibility at this juncture than they need. It is apparently realised that this next period, until the formation of the Constituent Assembly, will be extremely difficult and that it will make or break the party in power, and more probably the latter. Signor Nenni, the Socialist Party leader, and Signor De Gasperi, leader of the Christian Democrats, have both been mentioned as possible Prime Ministers, but a note of caution seems to have crept in and Signor Bonomi may, in the end, continue with his somewhat unenviable task.

The French have taken up an even more intransigent attitude with regard to the zones, occupied by their troops, in Piedmont and Liguria. French troops are reported to have occupied fourteen communes in the province of Imperia and to have refused to allow the establishment of A.M.G. Imperia lies more than 20 miles inside the Italian frontier and is no more connected with possible frontier rectifications than the Val d'Aosta. General Doyen, commanding the French forces in Italy, has confirmed this in a letter to General Crittenberger, commanding the American 4th Corps. General Doyen stated that he had received orders from General de Gaulle not to allow the establishment of A.M.G. in any of the areas occupied by French troops. Signor Saragat, the Italian representative in Paris, has protested to the French Government regarding the situation in the Val d'Aosta. The report that the C.L.N.A.I. had authorised the granting of autonomy to the Val d'Aosta is incorrect. A delegation from the Val d'Aosta apparently made representations to the C.L.N.A.I., which acknowledged the note but made no declaration regarding autonomy. The Press reports that the Italian Government has appointed a Commission to study the question in all its aspects.

THE VATICAN.

On the 2nd June, the day of his patron saint, the Pope spoke to the College of Cardinals. As the Vatican wireless had foretold, it was a speech of great political interest. The larger part of it was an authoritative summary and defence of the Vatican's policy towards the Nazis, and a definition of the Vatican's attitude to the German problem to-day. From that, it passed naturally to consider the nature of a true peace and the enemies that threaten it. Although he was speaking to the Cardinals, the Pope gave his Apostolic benediction to " all who share with us in the desire and search for peace," and the breadth of his appeal was emphasised again when he spoke of the German ministers of religion in Dachau, " Protestant and Catholic."

In the early days of Nazism, the Church did its best to stop the spread of its doctrine. When Hitler triumphed in 1933 it signed a Concordat with him. Pius XII's strenuous defence of the Concordat policy shows how alive he is to the criticism it has provoked. His arguments were that since the German Government asked for the Concordat, " responsibility for all regrettable consequences would have fallen on the Holy See," had it drawn back. The German bishops and the majority of German Catholics approved. The Holy See had no illusions about Nazism. It had no intention of giving approval to its doctrines. It sought only the welfare of German Catholics; and the following years proved that the Concordat had shielded them from worse evils. One argument shows a profound insight into German character: " the Concordat gave Catholics a juridicial basis for their defence and for opposition." Much space is devoted to Pius XI's flaming indictment of Nazi ways and theories, the Encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge* of the 14th March, 1937; but Pius XII

adds what seems a criticism of his predecessor's political wisdom: " the reaction of those who had been inculpated was inevitable . . . . 1937 was a year of indescribable bitterness for Catholics." During the war, Pius XII pursued a less direct policy. He " constantly opposed the laws of humanity and Christian faith to the ruinous application of Nazi teaching." This seemed to him " the only efficacious way of proclaiming the moral law to the world and confirming German Catholics in the ideals of truth and justice," and he sees a proof of the success of this method in the fact that the papal message of Christmas 1942 was expounded to Catholics in Germany. Perhaps it should be said of the 1942 message that, although racialism and suchlike Nazi doctrines were condemned and Christian truth proclaimed, neither National Socialism nor Germany were mentioned by name, and the Pope spoke " to the whole world."

After recalling the number of priests, mainly Poles, who died in Dachau, the Pope condemned Nazi attempts to prove the Church the enemy of the German people, an allegation to which the present Pope and German Catholics are supersentitive.

True peace, he continued, must eliminate social and economic conditions that may again lead to war. It must " affirm human dignity and order in liberty, as did Magna Carta which closed a dark era of violence." Will leaders learn this, or will the powerful force their ways upon the weak? Are hopes to be measured by the " killing of priests, the deportations and arrests without trial that go on in Slovenia, Croatia and other regions"; or by the moral aims which responsible statesmen profess? The Pope has always called this a " fratricidal " war. For him peace means the brotherhood of all men.

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

The main task of the new Ministry of Rehabilitation will be the settlement, or resettlement, of the displaced persons and refugees of whom Hungary now contains large numbers. These include refugees from one part of Inner Hungary to another, persons swept away with the retreating German armies, as fugitives, conscripts or slave labourers, and also refugees from outside the Trianon frontiers. The Roumanian Government has consented to take back some of the refugees from Transylvania; but it is reported that many Magyars have been and are being expelled, without prospect of return, from Slovakia, Ruthenia and Northern Yugoslavia. (For the attitude of the new Czechoslovak Government towards minorities, see *Summary* No. 289.)

Tass reports that Archbishop Gross, the Acting Primate of the Roman Catholic Church in Hungary, called upon the Russian Political Adviser of the Allied Control Commission to present the thanks of the Hungarian Roman Catholic Church to the Soviet Government, the Commander-in-chief of the Red Army and the Soviet Military authorities for the friendly attitude they had shown.

The United States Government has announced that it is prepared to accept immediately an unofficial Hungarian representative whose sole function would be to protect the interests of Hungarians in America. Final approval for this must, however, be given by the Allied Control Commission.

Roumania.

The trial of " war criminals " proceeds according to plan. Owners and editors of newspapers which circulated during the Antonescu régime are at present being dealt with. Meetings have been held in Bucharest at which members of the Government, as well as others, spoke, apparently doing their utmost to prejudice public opinion against the accused while their trial was still in progress. At the same time the Communist-controlled newspapers plead for severe punishment for the accused. Others, including *Scânteia* which is decidedly Communist in outlook, take another line. *Scânteia* gives an example of a camp where the inmates were well treated, and praises the humanity of the commandant. But *Jurnalul de Dimineață* and *Semnalul* were suspended for a period covering VE-day on flimsy excuses, no doubt for fear that they might not deal with the subject in a manner acceptable to Roumania's rulers. The reason given for the suspension of *Jurnalul de Dimineață* was that it had appeared in bad type! It would be difficult to find a Roumanian newspaper which did not appear in bad type, though some are worse than others. The complaint against

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Semnalul was that it had been guilty of *lès-majesté* in printing a photograph of Stalin on the same page as an article entitled "The Dog Hibernates."

The accused journalists pleaded guilty, but asserted that they were working under orders from the Government of the day, and had no choice in deciding the policy of their papers. The prosecution admitted this, but still asked for their punishment for the "immense guilt of contributing to the country's catastrophe."

The earlier batch of accused who have been condemned to death have had their sentences commuted to hard labour for life. The King was advised to take this course by the Prime Minister and the Minister of Justice, who had previously obtained the approval of the Soviet Government. The ground for this action was that those sentenced so far were the minor criminals, and that the trial of the chief culprits was still to come.

Surprise and resentment have been caused in Roumania by a broadcast made by the B.B.C. on the 26th May, which is said to have consisted of Communist propaganda, and to have borne no relation to the truth. The broadcast apparently emphasised the support which the Government enjoys, and the progress in "true freedom" which the country is making.

The house of General Radescu, who recently left the protection of the British Legation for his own home under a guarantee from the Soviet and Roumanian authorities that he would not be molested, was raided on the night of 1st June by an inspector and twenty men of the Siguranța, who asserted that they were searching for evidence against a Roumanian who shared the same house and who was away from home. The general was not molested. The search lasted for three hours and nothing was found.

Yugoslavia.

Trieste has been quiet. All ranks of Allied troops are reported as resenting the Yugoslav persecution of the city's inhabitants. Reports of the food shortage and of Cardinal Schuster's initiative in sending supplies were denounced by Radio Belgrade, which then announced that 30,000 kilog. of lard, 10,000 of tinned meat, 70,000 of flour and 2,400 of sugar had been sent to Trieste from an unnamed source.

Reports of events in Fiume have now come in, and state that the Yugoslavs entered the city on the 3rd May, after the Germans had evacuated it on the previous night; that on the same day Fiume was declared annexed to Croatia; that all official acts are in Croat, and non-Croat-speaking officials have been dismissed; that several leaders of the autonomist movement were murdered; that men under 46 have been conscribed, and doctors, veterinary surgeons and mechanics despatched into the interior of Yugoslavia.

On the 2nd June the British and American Ambassadors presented to Kardelj, in the absence of Tito, notes and a draft agreement providing for the division of Venezia Giulia into Allied and Yugoslav zones of occupation and for the withdrawal of Yugoslav troops to the east of the demarcation line. The Soviet Government had been previously informed of the contents of the agreement.

The Yugoslav press has been loud in its abuse of the "so-called provincial Government of Carinthia," and of the Allied military authorities for permitting such "Fascists" to persecute the Slovene population. As has been pointed out under "Austria," A.M.G. have not at present recognised a provisional Government of Carinthia. Accusations against the Allies of harbouring Slovene "quislings" have also been made.

Radio Belgrade has also criticised the present British Government, saying, "Apparently Churchill could not form a representative Government. Over 90 per cent. of his new Government are Tories."

After the movement of Yugoslav troops into Austrian Styria comes the news of a demonstration in the thoroughly Austrian district of Radkersburg in favour of annexation to Yugoslavia.

It is announced by *Borba*, the Communist paper, that up to the 15th May, 85,000 tons of supplies were delivered to Yugoslavia by Military Liaison and U.N.R.R.A.

Although Bulgaria is still technically an enemy State, the arrival of a Yugoslav Minister in Sofia has now been followed by that of a Bulgarian Minister, M. P. Todorov, in Belgrade.

The unification of the Yugoslav peoples, which is the partisan movement's proudest boast, has received the support of a law promulgated by A.V.N.O.J. [*Note:* Since A.V.N.O.J. is not in session, presumably its presidium is meant], which provides penalties up to death for incitement to racial or religious discord

or for discrimination against Yugoslav citizens on racial or religious grounds. "Scientific criticism of religions" is not to be an offence. The presidium has also provided for the confiscation of profits acquired during the war and exceeding 25,000 dinars (about £125); for the return to its former owners of property confiscated during the enemy occupation; and for the protection of State property, which, with the addition of that of convicted persons, amounts to "great wealth." Even moderate critics of the Yugoslav régime assert that great popular dissatisfaction is being caused by the manipulation of "elections," the numerous trials and the slender chances of acquittal of persons brought before the military and civil courts.

Zhujovitch, the Finance Minister, lecturing a conference of delegates from Serbian district committees, assured them that the new dinar was backed by the Yugoslav gold in foreign banks. He denounced as "speculation" the unwillingness of the peasants to sell when there was nothing for them to buy; and as "bureaucracy" the slow working of the State salt and tobacco monopoly.

The Communist party of Serbia, at their recent conference, are said to have decided to extend the transitional period before the establishment of the State's economic dictatorship from five to ten or fifteen years.

Greece.

The former leader of the Greek Communist party, M. Zachariadis, is now back in Athens, where he will undoubtedly play an important part in directing the policy of his party. After his release from Dachau he gave a brief interview to the Paris correspondent of *Embros*, in which he defined his aims as genuine popular democracy, national independence, close co-operation in the Balkans, and more general co-operation in Europe. Speaking of Greek national claims, he said that in the Dodecanese and Cyprus, where the majority of the population was indisputably Greek, the population should decide its own fate. On the other hand, to raise claims to Northern Epirus and Eastern Roumelia was simply to endanger Balkan peace and co-operation. As was to be expected, M. Zachariadis's views produced a storm of protest in the press and from the leaders of the older political parties, all of whom have, at one time or another, declared in favour of claiming Northern Epirus from Albania and of demanding considerable "rectification" of the frontier with Bulgaria.

The trial of the Puppet Ministers, which has dragged on since the 21st February, has at last been concluded. Opening as it did just after the conclusion of an armistice with E.L.A.S., it was not surprising that the atmosphere of the trial reflected the opinion then prevalent in many circles in Athens, *i.e.*, that E.L.A.S. and the Communists were far more dangerous than collaborationist ex-Ministers and that membership of a Puppet Government or of the Security Battalions was at worst a venial offence. There seems to have been throughout the proceedings an unfortunate lack of dignity, and, as reported in *Summary* No. 282, the defence caused a great deal of delay in the early stages of the trial by pleading to jurisdiction; they finally succeeded in obtaining a declaration by the court that it would suspend, even if it passed, any death sentences. Many of the political witnesses were interrogated on points of opinion rather than of fact, and a good deal of the evidence would certainly not have been admissible in a British court. General Tsolakoglou, the first Puppet Premier, who signed the armistice in 1941, has now been sentenced to death, but Radio Athens states that the sentence is to be commuted to one of life-imprisonment. Two Puppet Finance Ministers, MM. Kotzamanis and Tsironikos, were also condemned to death; the two other Puppet Premiers, Professor Logothetopoulos and M. John Rallis, were sentenced to life-imprisonment. Other former Ministers received terms of imprisonment varying from eleven to five years; six were acquitted. The court declared that in its findings it did not take into account the organisation of the Security Battalions by any of the accused, as it considered that those who organised them had done so simply with the purpose of maintaining order against criminal elements.

M. Varvaressos has now been sworn in as Vice-Premier and Minister of Supply. He has assured His Majesty's Ambassador that he is prepared to impose taxes on the wealthy and to institute rigorous economic controls on the British model.

Albania.

In Scutari and its neighbourhood, according to recent reports, the provisional Government has established complete control although it is distinctly less popular than in the South. Material conditions are also better in the North. There is

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enough food there and roads and bridges are on the whole in fair condition. In the South, on the contrary, there has been great devastation. In many places houses have been destroyed but the inhabitants, being dependent on their land for a living, cannot move elsewhere but try to subsist among the ruins in spite of appalling conditions. Although in a fertile area like that between Durazzo and Valona there is plenty of food, the destruction of roads and bridges prevents its transport to the area further south where there is a grave shortage and under-nourishment. The problem thus created was aggravated by the influx of 18,000 Chams (Moslem Albanians; see *Summaries* Nos. 286 and 287) from the Greek side of the frontier. These people first abetted the Italian invader and then helped the Germans against the Zervas forces. When the Germans departed the Chams fled into Albania to escape reprisals. Under an E.A.M.–F.N.C. agreement, however, some 5,000 Chams returned to Greece last January. Not unnaturally they were attacked by the Greeks whose thirst for vengeance was sharpened by the desire to dispossess them of the rich plain land which they monopolised. All the Chams are now in Albania.

Bulgaria.

A few days ago a woman who had been secretary to Dr. G. M. Dimitrov, the former leader of the Agrarian party, jumped to her death from the fourth floor of the central police station in Sofia after being foully tortured by the militia, the Communist-run force which now polices the country. This leaves little doubt as to what would be the fate of Dr. Dimitrov himself if, before guarantees had been obtained for his safety, he were to leave his sanctuary in the house of the United States political representative which is now watched by militia and plain-clothes police. The commandant of the Soviet forces in Bulgaria has spoken of Dr. Dimitrov as a criminal under Bulgarian law and a Fascist, and the Foreign Minister has tried to make out that Dr. Dimitrov impeded Bulgarian co-operation against Germany by conducting a pacifist agitation in furtherance of the policy of the Agrarian party. Dr. Dimitrov's sole offence, if the truth be told, is that, in the eyes of the Communists, his prestige with the Agrarian party is still such that he is the great obstacle, actual or potential, to the establishment of a Communist régime. In her short existence of nearly seventy years Bulgaria has certainly never brought democracy to a very high level. There has been constant resort to the revolver and brutality in order to settle acute differences. But Dr. Dimitrov can hardly be blamed if he clings to Western ideas of democracy, even as known in Bulgaria, and refuses to compound with communism, in the belief that his country has passed the stage where one-party Government is for the common good.

While his personal safety has been a matter of diplomatic negotiation Dr. Dimitrov has been formally expelled from the Agrarian party at a meeting rigged by extremists, unfounded statements have been broadcast to the effect that the party unanimously condemns his policy and the near-Communists have continued to sap the position of the Agrarian party; they have got seats on its executive committee; they are introducing disciplinary courts into the party, with the right of expulsion; prominent individuals unsympathetic to Communism are weeded out; a new committee has been set up in the Young Agrarian League with the avowed object of purging it of Right-wingers.

The People's Court has ceased its work. According to the Bulgarian authorities it passed the following sentences: death 2,850 (of which 2,025 have been carried out), life imprisonment 1,366, various terms of penal servitude 4,652, "provisional" 690, and acquittals 1,494. But besides all this a large number of people—perhaps as many as 30,000 or 40,000—have been shot or otherwise killed without even the pretence of a trial.

Turkey.

The long-awaited Land Reform Bill was recently laid before the Grand National Assembly. The aim of the Bill is to transform Turkey into a country of small-holders. It provides for the distribution among the landless peasants and immigrants of Turkish race of State and former ecclesiastical ("vakif") lands, uncultivated and reclaimed lands, and lands owned by individuals in excess of 5,000 dönüms (about 4½ sq. kilom.); for compensation in the form of State bonds to dispossessed owners; and for the grant of loans to the new proprietors—free of interest and repayable over twenty-five years—to assist them in stocking and equipping their farms. Special provisions are included in the Bill to prevent the partition of these holdings through inheritance.

Following the somewhat acrimonious debate on the budget, the Minister of Commerce has tendered his resignation. Rail Karandeniz, Deputy for Trebizond since 1931 and President of the Economic Commission of the Assembly, succeeds him.

While expressing, in connexion with the general election in Great Britain, admiration for British democratic institutions, the Turkish press has manifested some anxiety lest the resignation of Mr. Churchill's Coalition Government should result in a weakening of Britain's foreign policy.

The press and radio in Turkey fully support the Syrian and Lebanese Republics in their efforts to achieve complete independence. *Ulus* deplored the fact that Turkey's relations with the Republics were not as friendly as they might be.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

Last week the situation in Syria went from bad to worse. Fighting between the Syrians and the French (which had already broken out in Hama and Homs) spread on the 29th May to Damascus, which up to that date had remained fairly quiet. Firing began at 7 p.m., and was followed by French shelling of the town both on that night and the next. Two great fires about a mile apart were started in the centre of the city. Many buildings were hit, including the Orient Palace Hotel and the Chamber of Deputies, which is said to have been more or less ruined.

There seems to be no evidence for the French contention that the Syrians first attacked their installations in Damascus, though there were individual attacks by Syrians on French personnel and vehicles. In any case the shelling of a thickly-populated and venerated city like Damascus is, in the circumstances, inexcusable. It is, in fact, a tragic repetition of what occurred in October 1925 when, by the orders of General Sarrail, then High Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief, Damascus was bombarded by French troops. Grievous damage to the city was caused on that occasion, which has never been forgotten or forgiven by the people of Syria, although the French Government of the time tacitly admitted the error by immediately recalling General Sarrail from his post. The total number of casualties during the present troubles is not yet accurately known, but as stated by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons on the 5th June, the official casualty figures for Damascus are: killed, gendarmes, 80, civilians 400; seriously wounded, 500; injured, 1,000. These figures are, of course, approximate.

On the 31st May Mr. Eden made his third successive statement that week in the House of Commons on the situation in the Levant. After reporting the shelling of Damascus, the bombing of the city from the air, and the cutting of telephone communication between Damascus and Beirut, Mr. Eden stated that we could "no longer stand aside," and that the Prime Minister had sent the following message to General de Gaulle: "In view of the grave situation which has arisen between your troops and the Levant States and the severe fighting which has broken out, we have with profound regret ordered the Commander-in-Chief, Middle East, to intervene to prevent a further effusion of blood in the interests of the security of the whole Middle East, which involves communications for the war against Japan. In order to avoid collision between British and French forces, we request you immediately to order the French troops to cease fire and to withdraw to their barracks. Once firing has ceased and order has been restored we shall be prepared to begin tripartite talks here in London."

This message had the desired effect and on the next day Mr. Eden was able to inform the House of Commons that General Humblot, Commanding French Forces in Syria, had received instructions from Paris not to oppose the orders of the British Commander-in-Chief. It has since been reported that General Oliva Roget, French Delegate in Damascus, left for France by air on the 4th June.

The French bombardment of Damascus actually ceased after the morning of the 31st May, though individual French soldiers continued to fire at random from roof-tops and doors. News of the decision of His Majesty's Government authorising British forces to intervene became known in Damascus by the evening of that day, and was warmly welcomed not only in Syria and the Lebanon, but throughout the Arab World. Shukri Quwatli, the President of Syria, who has been confined to his bed with a severe illness, expressed his profound gratitude to Mr. Shone for the action taken, and assured him and General Paget that all possible assistance would be given by the Syrian Government to the latter in his task of restoring order and security.

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French troops have since been evacuated from Damascus under British escort, and the latest reports show that more normal conditions are gradually returning, although the bazaars had not yet opened on the 2nd June. There is no doubt that the prompt arrival of British troops, coupled with the French order to cease fire, prevented a bad situation from becoming worse. But if more reinforcements were to be landed at Beirut in the near future, as seems to be the French intention, further trouble would be certain, and we are doing everything possible to persuade the French to cancel the order.

Gratified as they are with British action, the Syrian Government, like that of the Lebanon, have nevertheless shown anxiety about the proposed tripartite discussions; and the Syrian President said that, after what the French had done in the four principal cities of Syria, "he would cut off his hand" rather than sign a treaty with the French. Both he and his Ministers, indeed, made it clear that they could not now co-operate with the French in any way.

(See also under "France" and "United States of America.")

The situation in the Levant States has been the chief topic of discussion in all neighbouring countries. The Egyptian Prime Minister made a statement in the Senate on the 28th May. After referring to the causes of dispute between the Levant States and the French, Nokrashi Pasha said that his Government had notified the Governments of Great Britain, Russia and the United States of recent events, and had made clear that the Levant States had the support of the Egyptian Government and that of other Arab States. In the course of his speech, Nokrashi Pasha spoke as follows: "The Covenant of the League of Arab States provides that its signatories shall co-ordinate their political plans to achieve co-operation between themselves and to safeguard their independence and sovereignty. . . . The Egyptian Government supports with all its strength the Syrian and Lebanese Governments in their attachment to complete independence and full sovereignty. I am sure of the solidarity of the States members of the League, whose Covenant lays down that the Council of the League will take all necessary measures to repel aggression committed against any one of its members."

Egyptian public opinion is severely critical of the French attitude, and holds that a satisfactory solution of the problem is of great importance to the Middle East as a whole and cannot be solved without due regard to the prestige of all Arab States. Anti-French demonstrations took place in Cairo on the 31st May and on the 1st June; and a petition was presented at the Palace demanding the immediate withdrawal of French forces from the Levant. At the opening session of the Arab League Council in Cairo on the 4th June, gratitude was expressed to Great Britain for her intervention, and to the United States and Russia for their support.

Nor has Iraqi interest in recent events in the Levant abated. On the 28th May the Prime Minister of Iraq told His Majesty's Ambassador that he intended to repeat at the meeting of the Arab League in Cairo on the 4th June much of what he had said to the representative of *The News of the World* (see *Summary* No. 295). The Levant States would never agree, he said, to the French retaining any military footing there, but as all the Arab States together were not in a position to fight France, they must look to Great Britain to restrain de Gaulle who was "acting like Hitler." He regarded the presence of British forces as the one stabilising element in the situation, and he proposed to emphasise this at the meeting of the Arab League and to move that His Majesty's Government should be asked not to withdraw their troops.

The announcement, a few days later, that we had intervened had an excellent effect in Iraq. An important meeting of Iraqi tribal shaikhs had been held in Bagdad on the 28th May, but instead of taking action as they had at first intended, they confined themselves to thanking the British for once more coming out as the friend of the Arabs. It is certainly a matter for satisfaction that the shaikhs have behaved so calmly, and that the Iraqi Government has shown such good sense in recent days.

VE-Day in Palestine was regarded by both Arabs and Jews as the signal for intensifying the political campaign. The Jews celebrated the day by ebullitions of strong nationalist sentiment; and in Tel Aviv few flags were in evidence except the blue and white banner of Zionism and a few red flags displayed by the Communist groups. Jubilation at the downfall of Germany was overshadowed for the Jews by their disappointment at the failure to secure a political settlement of the Palestine problem favourable to Zionism. There was widespread demand for free immigration into the country, with emphasis on the establishment of a Jewish State.

Arab reaction, on the other hand, was more superficial, and tended to be influenced by Jewish demonstrations, Arab flags becoming more in evidence in response to the Zionist display. Some anxiety too was felt that the end of the war might mean the end of prosperity, and that political decisions subject to Jewish pressure were at hand.

During the month of May there was a recrudescence of Jewish terrorism instigated by the *Irgun Zvai Leumi*. Telegraph poles were damaged; mortar bombs were fired on police stations and other places, and the oil pipe-line was damaged by explosions in two places. This return to terrorism has caused some anxiety to the Jewish Agency, and has inspired articles in the Jewish press condemning terrorism. At the same time hints from "official" Zionist quarters have been dropped that Jewish public opinion is not necessarily so opposed to terrorist activities as to provide assistance in its suppression.

The Persian Prime Minister, Ibrahim Hakimi, who only took office at the beginning of May, resigned the premiership on the 3rd June, after receiving only twenty-five votes from the Majlis in a vote of confidence.

THE FAR EAST.

On the 29th May the Japanese Ministry of the Navy announced important changes in the highest naval posts. Admiral Soyemu Toyoda, Commander-in-chief of the Combined Fleet and also of the recently created over-all Naval Command, has been replaced by Vice-Admiral Jisaburo Ozawa. Admiral Toyoda becomes Chief of the Naval Staff in place of Admiral Oikawa, who has been made a Supreme War Councillor. Vice-Admiral Takijiro Onishi becomes Vice-Chief of the Naval Staff. Vice-Admiral Ozawa was born in 1886; he rose to be Chief of Staff of the Combined Fleet in 1937, Director of the Naval Torpedo School in 1938, Director of the Naval Academy in 1941, and Vice-Chief of the Naval Staff in 1944. Vice-Admiral Onishi has been prominent in the Japanese naval air arm and became Director-General at Naval Air Headquarters in 1942 and Director-General in the Aeronautical Equipment Bureau of the Ministry of Munitions in 1943. In November 1944 he was appointed commander of the Japanese naval air forces in the Philippines. It was pointed out by "quarters close to the Ministry of the Navy" that both Ozawa and Onishi had long experience in the Fleet Air Arm and their appointment signified determined action by the Japanese Navy in carrying out the decisive battle for the defence of the Japanese mainland.

The *Nippon Times* (2nd June) admitted "shockingly great" damage to Japanese cities from the heavy American incendiary raids, but declared that the Japanese people had shown that they could endure these onslaughts and that the attempt to break their morale had failed. The people had shown their fortitude in the great earthquake of 1923; now the destruction was even greater, but Japan was "even more resolute than ever to combat the unspeakable enemy with whom there can be no compromise." *Domei* (30th May) said that more than half of Tokyo had been destroyed, that the familiar features of the streets and thoroughfares had been completely changed so that it was hard to know what the ruins had formerly been. Communications were much interrupted and many workers had to walk to their factories. However, the *Mainichi* (2nd June) claimed that the "severe damage" to railways in the Tokyo area had been repaired in twenty-four hours. The *Asahi* (1st June) said that the famous Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo was very nearly destroyed when the gale blew flames from the burning neighbourhood across to the roof of the inner sanctuary, but the Shrine Preservation Corps managed to put the fire out. Except for one section Yasukuni still stood amid the ruins of the surrounding residential districts.

One aftermath of the Tokyo raids has been the resignation of Tsuneo Matsudaira, who has been Minister of the Imperial Household since 1936. *Domei* (4th June), in announcing this, said that it was believed that Matsudaira held himself responsible for the partial destruction by fire of the Imperial Palace in the raid of the 25th May. The new Minister of the Imperial Household is Sotaro Ishiwata (for Ishiwata's career see this *Summary*, No. 282).

Domei (3rd June) said that the situation in Okinawa "could not be viewed with optimism." The Americans were attacking with all their available forces, they had penetrated into Naha and Shuri and had advanced to Inabushi about three kilometres beyond Yonabaru. They had also repaired the airfields damaged by Japanese airborne units. However, *Domei* claimed that the American task

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forces had suffered "crippling blows" at the hands of the Japanese Special Attack Corps. [Admiral Spruance recently declared that the Okinawa campaign had cost the United States' Navy the heaviest operational casualties it had yet sustained.]

The *Nippon Times* (4th June) said that the United States had launched an extensive propaganda campaign to induce Japan to surrender and that American aircraft had dropped leaflets urging the Japanese to sue for peace if they wished to be spared the horrors of further bombing. The *Nippon Times* asserted that this showed that the United States was anxious for an early peace because her people were weary of the sacrifices and privations of war. Japan was fighting for her very existence, for the "emancipation of the oppressed kindred peoples of Asia and for the principles of moral justice which alone could lead the world to harmony," and she could consider no peace with compromised these objectives.

The chief news of the week from Chungking is that of the appointment of Dr. T. V. Soong as President of the Executive Yuan and of Dr. Wong Wen-hao as its Vice-President. T. V. Soong has been Acting-President of the Executive Yuan since the 4th December, 1944; his new appointment will not add to his actual powers, but will increase his prestige in Chungking and also in connexion with his forthcoming visit to Moscow. The appointment of Wong Wen-hao as Vice-President is of significance, as Wong is also Minister of Economic Affairs and Chairman of the War Production Board. He is a man of Liberal and progressive views and his new appointment is probably intended by the Generalissimo to counter-balance the influential position of the Conservative group in the Kuomintang, which was strengthened by the proceedings of the Kuomintang Sixth National Congress and of the following Plenary Session of the Central Executive Committee. Chiang Kai-shek himself, as Director-General of the Party, Commander-in-Chief of the Army and President of the National Government, remains, as ever, in supreme control. H. H. Kung is now largely eclipsed since he has lost the Vice-Presidency of the Executive Yuan as well as the Finance Ministry. He remains, however, a member of the Standing Committee of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang and will still wield considerable influence.

The first Plenary Session of the newly-elected Kuomintang Central Executive Committee concluded a four days' meeting on the 1st June. It resolved to leave all matters concerning the convocation of the National People's Assembly to the Standing Committee of the C.E.C., except the date of convocation, which had been fixed for the 12th November by the Sixth Party Congress. It also decided that the Supreme National Defence Council should continue to function and that among the tasks of this body should be that of framing regulations to govern the organisation of political societies. The C.E.C. further decided that the Kuomintang Party programme, formulated by the Sixth Party Congress, should be referred to the various Ministries and departments of the Government whose duty it would be to put the programme into effect. This is to be accomplished within three months and the Kuomintang Central Supervisory Committee is to see that it is done.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

In a message to Congress on the 1st June President Truman gave the American people a salutary reminder of the difficulties which confront them in finishing the war against Japan. He pointed out that, in spite of her heavy losses of aircraft and shipping, Japan has now a much smaller area to defend and an industrial output which is still very considerable, that as her situation becomes more desperate suicidal attacks may be expected to increase and heavy casualties may be inflicted on American forces. Although two million men were being demobilised, there could be no release of naval personnel until Japan was defeated. Within a year the United States would have seven million men in the Pacific, that is, double the number used in the European theatre. While the war continued, food, clothing, petroleum products, lumber, chemicals and many other commodities would remain in short supply. The Message concluded with a reaffirmation that while the United States had no desire or intention to destroy or enslave the Japanese people, "only surrender can prevent the kind of ruin which they have seen come to Germany as a result of continued useless resistance." The Japanese were hoping that "the temptation to return to the comforts and profits of peace will force us to settle for some compromise short of unconditional

surrender. They should know better . . . . we will see this fight through to a complete and victorious finish." The *New York Times* describes this message as "combining confidence, determination and realism," and it has been well received in all quarters.

Another important pronouncement during the week was the "Report on the San Francisco Conference," broadcast by Mr. Stettinius on the 28th May. It surveyed progress so far and expressed confidence "that we will succeed in writing a strong and democratic Charter solidly based on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals with which we started." After alluding to the admission of Argentina, whom the United States expected to carry out all her commitments under the Mexico City Declaration, and to the unsolved Polish problem, the American Secretary of State went on: "I wish to make it absolutely clear that the primary objective of United States foreign policy is to continue and strengthen, during the period of peace, that war-time solidarity which has made possible the defeat of Germany. This is as true of our relations with the Soviet Union as it is of our relations with Great Britain, China and France."

At the end of his long address Mr. Stettinius summarised "the major considerations which must govern our foreign policy": total victory over Japan, full collaboration with other great nations to secure the supremacy of justice, better social and economic conditions, a realisation that "we live in a world where the sovereignty of no nation, not even the most powerful, is absolute." Mr. Stettinius went on to say: "The interests of the United States extend to the whole world. We must maintain those interests in our relations with the other Great Powers, and we must mediate between them when their interests conflict among themselves." This stress on mediation was regarded by some sections of the American press as a change of position and warmly approved; it is interpreted to mean that the United States will be able to "remedy" situations considered liable to arise through clashes between the views of Britain and Russia.

In the complex Levantine crisis, the United States Government has given support of the British attitude. A note which the American Ambassador handed to the French Foreign Minister on the 28th May earnestly urged the Government of France "carefully to review its policy towards Syria and Lebanon, with the purpose of finding a way to make it clear to those countries and to all the world that in its dealings with the Levant States France intends to treat them as fully sovereign and independent members of the family of nations." President Truman disclosed on the 1st June that he was in daily communication with Mr. Churchill on the subject, and Mr. Grew, Acting Secretary of State, told journalists on the 2nd June that he had received the French reply, but refused to comment further. It was left for Mr. William Phillips, personal assistant to the Secretary of State, to expound the official American view. At a dinner of the Institute of Arab-American Affairs in New York on the same day he told his audience that the United States "welcome the development of Arab co-operation" as evidenced by the recent decision to form a League of Arab States. "The United States could not ignore recent events in Syria and Lebanon . . . . We have been in constant touch with all parties involved and sincerely hope that the British troops already on the spot will be able, with the co-operation of both sides, to prevent further bloodshed." Among the press and radio commentators there has been strong criticism of French action, coupled with the customary suspicion of Britain's motives, though Raymond Swing, George Fielding Eliot and others who have been most critical of British policy in Greece and elsewhere, approve what they describe as Britain's rôle of "policeman" in Syria. General de Gaulle's suggestion of a Four-Power conference to negotiate "the question of the whole Arab world" should, in the opinion of the *Washington Post* and other newspapers, be taken up without delay. (See also under "France," and "Middle East.")

The lesson drawn by some commentators from the Syrian imbroglio is that, were the present Soviet proposal at San Francisco in operation, France would have been able to veto all discussion of the question by the projected Security Council. The Russian insistence on this rigid interpretation of the Yalta decision on voting has added to the concern with which relations with the Soviet Union are regarded. Hopes are placed on the missions of Mr. Joseph Davies to London, which has now concluded, and that of Mr. Harry Hopkins to Moscow, from which his departure has been postponed for a few days. The announced cordiality of the negotiations in Moscow is thought to augur well for the Big Three meeting in the "not very distant future."

The British Parliamentary Election is being closely followed. With the exception of a few Left-wing spokesmen, the return of a Conservative Government is frankly hoped for by the majority of influential writers and broadcasters,

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not only so that Mr. Churchill may be available for meetings of the Big Three, but because his party is considered more pledged to the Pacific war, and he is seen as a strong bulwark against Socialism.

An emergency plan designed to tide over the difficult transition period, when men will be demobilised from the armed forces faster than they can be absorbed into industry, was put forward by the President on the 28th May. He suggested to Congress that the Federal Government should make grants to the forty-eight State Governments enabling them to pay larger benefits to the unemployed than they receive now. He asked for the speedy passage of emergency legislation giving unemployed men and women "at least 25 dollars a week" for twenty-six weeks in the year. By leaving the payment of benefits in the hands of State Governments, Mr. Truman's proposal avoids the accusation that a national dole would involve infringing State Rights. Existing Social Security legislation, operative only since 1937, provides for a flat 1 per cent. contribution from employers and employees alike, supplemented to some extent by the public assistance schemes of the various States. The Wagner–Dingell Bill, already before both Houses of Congress, provides for raising the compulsory contribution to 4 per cent. each by employer and employee, and is coupled with a health insurance scheme and the extension of the old-age pension scheme to embrace 15 million more farm workers, also domestic servants, professional and small business men. This proposal for a permanent Social Security code envisages the setting up of federal machinery, such as employment exchanges, for its administration throughout the United States, but, as President Truman pointed out, "Congressional deliberation on the broad issues will take time. . . . I earnestly hope, therefore, that the appropriate committees of Congress will undertake immediate consideration of the emergency problem."

(See also "Latin America.")

LATIN AMERICA.

On the 1st June the Argentine Government published the Charter of the Political Parties, the results of the labours of a Commission appointed last November. Designed to "secure that parties shall be authentic organisations at the service of their country," and that their members shall be "fully conscious of the nation's needs," the Charter (which runs to 109 pages) requires the agreement of at least 1 per cent. of the electorate in a district before application can be made for the legal recognition of a party. The party programme must not advocate the use of force to suppress or alter the Constitution or present institutions; and the armed forces, police and judiciary are not allowed to belong to parties. A federal electoral court in Buenos Aires is to be the supreme electoral authority and can punish irregularities, including failure to vote; it will also control party budgets. Other electoral tribunals are created in the provincial capitals. According to the preamble, the Government now believes that "democracy is the only form of social organisation compatible with human dignity, and the spirit of the Argentine people is identified with democracy." The Minister of Finance has stated privately that parties will be free to resume their activities from the 1st August. In the present state of public feeling this would appear to be the equivalent of suicide on the part of the régime, and it is indeed difficult to believe that this can be Colonel Perón's intention. In any event more than laws are needed to purify Argentine politics.

Meanwhile, Mr. Stettinius's remarks about the Argentine Government, quoted in last week's *Summary*, have drawn a riposte from the Argentine Minister for Foreign Affairs, who, on the 29th May, stated that any doubts that his Government would fulfil their obligations could only arise from an "incomplete understanding of the Argentine situation." The Government, he maintained, had achieved it first task of "purifying the country" and raising the standard of living of the "disinherited classes," and were now entering upon the new stage of returning to normality. Dr. Ameghino complained of the "unfair opinions" that were being expressed about the Argentine Government, when it was "in fact engaged in constructive constitutional work."

A very different picture was presented by the Buenos Aires correspondent of the *New York Times* (1st June), who has produced a despatch violently condemning the Argentine régime. Mr. Cortesi emphasises the wholesale arrests that have filled the prisons, the restoration of political censorship, and the closure of eight newspapers in May alone, and declares that he has seen police directing the traffic, revolver in hand. This despatch has attracted considerable attention

and no little criticism of the State Department and of Mr. Warren's Mission (see *Summary* No. 290). President Truman has told a group of Latin American newspapermen that he is "not very happy" about the situation in Argentina.

President Vargas, speaking at Juiz de Fóra (Minas Geraes), has reiterated his desire to leave office and retire to private life.

A further plot against the Colombian Government (see *Summary* No. 285) has been reported by various broadcasting services. According to Press reports, the Republics of Guatemala and El Salvador have now agreed to become a single State: it is reported that their respective Presidents will resign (see *Summary* No. 294). Such amalgamations have, of course, occurred before in Central America, but their duration has hitherto been limited. The projected union, should it be realised, will be peculiar in view of the opposing political complexions of the two régimes, and also in that the two countries were on the verge of hostilities a bare six months ago.

The rejection at San Francisco of the Guatemalan amendment on Trusteeship (see *Summary* No. 295) has caused some bitterness in Guatemala, where there has been an outburst of agitation in the Press over the question of British Honduras.

UNITED NATIONS.

The San Francisco Conference.—The Conference has reached a deadlock in the same field as that which produced the deadlock at Dumbarton Oaks—the question of the "Great Power veto." The Dumbarton Oaks deadlock was supposed to have been solved by the Crimea Conference formula, which dealt with the disputed issue as follows: (*a*) "Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters should be made by an affirmative vote of seven members"; (*b*) "Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters should be made by an affirmative vote of seven members including the concurring votes of the permanent members; provided that, in decisions under Chapter VIII, Section A, and under the second sentence of paragraph I of Chapter VIII, Section C, a party to a dispute should abstain from voting." (The passages referred to are those concerning (i) the peaceful settlement of disputes by the Security Council; (ii) reference of disputes by the Council to regional agencies for solution.) This formula ensures that, if a Great Power is a party to a dispute, it cannot veto the discussion or investigation of the dispute by the Council nor any recommendations by the Council for a peaceful settlement; but it could veto any decision to take "enforcement action." The formula, however, is open to the interpretation—which is maintained by the Soviet Government—that a Great Power which is *not* a party to a dispute can veto any proceedings on the Council in connexion with that dispute (including discussion, investigation and recommendation). It is on this extreme interpretation of the "third-party veto" that the deadlock has occurred.

The British delegation (with the strong support of the Dominions, led by Australia) had previously hoped that all stages of Council proceedings up to but excluding enforcement action might be free of the third-party veto. But they found there was no chance of Great Power agreement on this wide ground; and it might indeed have led to difficulties. For example, the Council might have passed, by the necessary seven votes, a recommendation for a peaceful solution, against which four of the five Great Powers had voted. The British view now is that the third-party veto should operate on questions of investigation and recommendation, but should not operate to prevent discussion and consideration of a dispute, for which purpose it is contended that an unqualified majority vote should suffice. They point out that Section VIII (A) 4 of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals expressly requires the holding of such discussions in certain circumstances, since it lays down that when the parties to a dispute have failed to settle it by peaceful means the Council should decide whether the continuance of the dispute is in fact likely to endanger security and accordingly whether the Council should take measures for its solution.

The British view has the support of the United States, China, France, the Dominions and probably of the great majority of the other smaller States, who have naturally wished to restrict the Great Power veto. There seemed to be hope of complete agreement on these lines until the question was referred to Moscow. The Soviet Government have rejected the Anglo-American view as to the intention of the Crimea formula and are reported to have recalled to Moscow M. Sobolev, the Soviet expert principally concerned in these "veto" discussions.

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It is important to notice that the Soviet Government do not question the principle that a Great Power party to a dispute shall not be able to veto discussion, investigation, or recommendation for a peaceful settlement of that dispute. But they hold that on all other matters arising on the Council, except procedural matters (see (*a*) of the Crimea formula quoted above), the Great Power veto remains; and they take a literal view, with reference to Chapter VI (D) of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, of what constitutes a "procedural matter." In particular, they reject the view that the consideration or discussion of a particular dispute can be regarded as a procedural matter. There is evidently something to be said for the view that the decision to discuss a particular dispute would not normally be called "procedural." (Nor would recommendations for the post of Secretary-General or for amendments to the Charter—two other points on which the question of the operation of the veto has been raised.) But, apart from subtleties of interpretation, the strong feeling of the British delegation and of those who share their viewpoint is that a nation party to a dispute should have every possible opportunity to state its case before world opinion, and that the free ventilation of the issues involved is of value even if no agreed recommendation follows.

The Soviet Government also point out that there is a continuous link between the decision by the Council to consider a dispute and the series of possible consequent decisions up to and including sanctions, and they argue that if the later stages of this process are admittedly subject to the veto the first stage should be also, since discussion is useless and may even be harmful unless followed by some form of action. This is not so strong a point, as the Soviet Government have already agreed that, in the case of a party to a dispute, the veto should operate in the last stages only.

In connexion with the debate about procedure it may be recalled that on the League Council any member, whether party to a dispute or not, was able under Article 5 of the Covenant to veto a decision; but procedural matters did not require unanimity. The League Council found itself able to discuss particular questions at considerable length and with considerable moral effect by using "procedural" resolutions, *e.g.*, the appointment of Committees to report on special points, or the asking of an Advisory Opinion from the Permanent Court of International Justice. Such reports and opinions could then be "received," though not "adopted" or "acted on," without requiring unanimity. But these methods, too, would appear to be an enlargement of what would normally be called decisions on procedure.

The whole issue cannot for the present be taken further at San Francisco and will have to be resolved at a higher level.

Other United Nations Organisations.—The War Crimes Commission held its first meeting in London on the 31st May. Lord Wright indicated the necessity for central machinery to deal with criminals whose responsibility was not limited to localised offences and who could not, therefore, be dealt with by National Courts. In reply to a parliamentary question on the organisations concerned with European relief and reconstruction, the Prime Minister gave a list of these organisations. It included the new Emergency Economic Committee (see last week's *Summary*) and a new European Coal Organisation, which at present has the same members as the Emergency Economic Committee with the addition of Denmark, and which has held its first meeting in London.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary
No. 297

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
13TH JUNE, 1945.

Copy No. 141

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

FOR the second time within a week, Field-Marshal Montgomery, General Eisenhower and Marshal Zhukov have met on occupied German soil. On this occasion—the 10th June—the meeting took place at General Eisenhower's headquarters at Frankfurt-am-Main, where Marshal Zhukov decorated his British and American colleagues with the highest Soviet military award, the Order of Victory. The Quadripartite Control Commission, provided for in the second official statement issued by the four Allied Powers on the 5th June (see last week's *Summary*) has not, however, yet begun to function either from Berlin or from any other centre. A process of adjusting the areas actually occupied by the British and American forces to the areas of the agreed zones of occupation is now taking place.

In a message to the German people broadcast from the Hamburg radio the same night, Field-Marshal Montgomery explained why members of the Allied armed forces are not allowed to fraternise with German civilians. This time, he stated, the Allies were determined that the German people should learn their lesson once and for all—not only that they were defeated, but that they as a nation were again guilty of beginning a war and that they were responsible for their leaders.

In an equally significant proclamation which he issued on the 10th June, Marshal Zhukov granted all non-Nazi Germans in the Russian zone permission to proceed unhampered with the organisation of anti-Fascist political parties and of free trade unions to carry on collective bargaining with their employers. This proclamation followed a short period in which the Russian-controlled Berlin radio abandoned its normal emphasis on the conciliatory policy of the Red Army authorities towards the German population, and it was accompanied by a statement that the Red Army would, like the Western Allies, enforce some form of

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non-fraternisation order. It suggested that all German political parties aiming at the final eradication of National Socialism would be tolerated by the Russians but added that these, along with the trade unions, must publish a programme of their activities and submit a list of their executive officials. Presumably a careful scrutiny of the programmes and personalities concerned will in the end decide whether all the parties will in fact be allowed the complete freedom to organise and to propagate their views which Marshal Zhukov's proclamation promises. In the politics of occupied Germany, as elsewhere, it is clear that the Soviet authorities are already gravitating slowly towards the idea of a " popular front " of the Left, and remnants of the more conservative anti-Nazi groups, such as those represented, for example in the abortive Putsch against Hitler of the 20th July last, may find themselves labouring under some disadvantages when the time to bid for a wider following in Germany arrives. Neutral correspondents visiting Berlin again for the first time under Russian occupation have been impressed by the absence of any reference to Field-Marshal Paulus or the Free German Committee of General von Seydlitz, and conclude that the captured German Generals in Moscow have outlived their usefulness with the conclusion of hostilities. The Russian-controlled " German People's Station," which during the previous weeks had given considerable emphasis to the development of good relations between the German people and the occupying Russian authorities, announced on the 3rd June that it was speaking for the last time and has not, indeed, been heard of since.

On the 6th June, the Russian press published a map of the Russian zone of occupation in Germany, showing this as including, not only the eastern provinces, but also Thuringia, Mecklenburg, almost the whole of Saxony and the Baltic coast up to, but not including, Lübeck, which is in British hands. Towns in Central Germany, like Leipzig, Chemnitz, Halle, Dessau, Weimar, Jena, Eisenach and Magdeburg, which are still occupied by United States troops, were included. A similar delimitation of the British, American and French zones has yet to be published.

Serious handicaps are already being felt in the preparations for this year's harvest in the British and American zones, despite the determined drive by Military Government to make the land yield its maximum. Although 85 per cent. of the fields of Oldenburg are stated to have been sown, the general shortage of fertilisers is expected to result in crops far below the average. The Colorado beetle has become a serious pest in Bavaria, and a violent hailstorm which swept the local countryside on the 30th May has been found to have destroyed the rye and rape crops completely in some areas. With the gradual migration homewards of the several million Allied nationals and prisoners of war who previously constituted the main labour force on the German farms, the provision of native agricultural workers to take their place has become one of the most difficult problems with which Military Government has to contend. Fourteen special demobilisation centres have now been set up in the areas of North Germany under British occupation to get men of the German armed forces back to agriculture as quickly as possible, and the first batch of 300,000 on the Second Army front are stated to have already received their discharge papers and to be on their way home to the farms. In all zones, the principle that those who refuse to register for work on the land, or wherever else they may be directed, will not be allowed to register for rations, has already had to be enforced. Large numbers of workers who have been directed by Allied labour control officers to Germany's slowly reviving industries have latterly been found to be taking considerable time off to search for food in the agricultural districts further afield, and long columns of persons have been observed daily on the road leading from the Ruhr, where food is scarce, to the relatively rich Westphalian " larder " to the north.

In many parts of Germany the new pattern of ordered economic life continues to emerge satisfactorily. German railway workers, assisted by men impressed from other trades, are reported to be working hard under Military Government control to restore the Reichsbahn network, half of which is already usable again in the British and American zones. Trains are running on the Leipzig–Paris line, transporting French workers back to their homes. The railway repair shops at Nied and Frankfurt-am-Main are busy again. There is, however, an acute shortage of spare parts for locomotives, and almost the entire stocks of coal of the Reichsbahn would appear to have been pilfered by the German population. A branch of the Boach factory has resumed work at Frankfurt-am-Main, as has the " Miag " plant at Brunswick, which used to produce Messerschmidt fighters, but which is now manufacturing agricultural

implements. The Frankfurt-Hoechst laboratories of the I.G.-Farben chemical concern are again producing insulin, and the Merck factory at Dortmund is manufacturing much-needed medical supplies. In the South, the Munich Chamber of Commerce has recommenced its activities, with special departments for crafts, trade and industry. More branches of the Reichsbank are expected to reopen shortly in Western Germany, where the Heidelberg branch, with supplies of cash amounting to 19 million Reichsmarks, has already resumed its activities. Some economic controls enforced by the Nazis—particularly in the field of prices and labour—are having to be retained for the time being in all zones. The Berlin radio, however, has promised farmers who grow more than their quotas that they will be permitted to sell their surplus in an open market.

Progress towards a more normal administration of justice has been made in the West with the establishment at Coblenz of the first German Superior Court (" Obergericht ") to work under the supervision of Military Government. This Court will deal with German cases involving more than 1,500 Reichsmarks, and its jurisdiction will extend over an area normally containing a million inhabitants. It will not, of course, deal with military charges. At the same time, Berlin radio has announced the reopening of a number of district courts (" Amtsgerichte ") to handle civil litigation, with a higher court, corresponding to what used to be the Oberlandesgericht, to hear appeals. One of the most common offences with which the Allied Military Tribunals still have to deal, sitting as they frequently do in the German Criminal Court buildings, is the unauthorised possession of property belonging to the British and American armies; another is the failure of German civilians to report the possession of hunting rifles and other firearms. The looting of farms is apparently a crime which frequently claims the attention of the Allied authorities in the Munich area.

To the growing list of high Nazi officials already in Allied hands have now been added the names of the Duke Carl Eduard of Coburg and Gauleiter Rudolf Jordan of Magdeburg-Anhalt, whose captures were announced on the 8th June. The Duke of Coburg, a grandson of Queen Victoria and reigning head of his line until 1918, was President of the German Red Cross, Nazi Member of the Reichstag and a high officer of the N.S. Motoring Corps. The head of the foreign branch of Himmler's Security Police, SS-Brigadeführer Walter Schellenberg, is stated to have been located in Sweden and to be living in Stockholm under supervision. Units of the American Third Army are reported to have found the former Gauleiter of Vienna and first Nazi Youth leader, Baldur von Schirach. The elusive Ribbentrop is still at large.

AUSTRIA.

The heads of the British, United States and French Military Missions, which arrived in Vienna on the 3rd June, had an interview with the Soviet Commandant of Vienna on the 4th June. It was arranged that technical reconnaissance should be made jointly by the three missions, while general reconnaissance for accommodation should be made by each mission independently. On the evening of the same day, the three heads were received by Marshal Tolbukhin, who was very cordial but insisted that the task of the missions must be completed in the shortest possible time, and that as soon as this was done they were to return for the purpose of reporting to their Governments. He said that this had been agreed to between the Prime Minister, President Truman and Marshal Stalin. On the 6th June the Allied Missions were informed that their task should be finished on the 10th, and that they would be expected to leave on the 11th June. The Russians refused to allow the missions to carry out reconnaissance in the Vienna Gau outside the old city limits, although the purpose of the missions was to inspect the whole Vienna Gau and all the airfields within it. It was clearly the Russian intention that the British, French and Americans should be confined to the joint use of Tulln airfield; and that only the city of Vienna, and not the Gau, should be sub-divided into the four Allied zones. A later report states that the heads of the British and United States Missions have protested against the limitation of reconnaissance, and it would seem that they have now been permitted to extend it to the airfields outside the old city area which are under Marshal Tolbukhin's command, that is on the west bank of the river It was expected that the missions would leave Vienna, as requested by the Russians, on the 11th June, and it is hoped that when they have made their reports to their Governments, a decision as to the zoning of Vienna can at last be reached in the E.A.C.

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The Viennese have apparently greeted the Allied Missions with enthusiasm. Reports from the city indicate that the food situation is unsatisfactory, but is improving. Transport has been commandeered by the Russians, thus crippling industry, distribution and hygiene. Water and electricty are generally restored, but disease caused by bad water is not yet under control. Banks and most shops are shut.

On the 5th June Vienna Radio reported that Dr. Renner had taken the oath at a Cabinet meeting of the Provisional Government, and had then proceeded to swear in the other members of the Cabinet. One of these, Ernst Fischer, the Minister of Education, gave the opening address at a series of extension lectures held at Vienna University. Station Austria, on the 8th June, said that text-books used in schools before 1934 were now being used, and that new text-books were already in print for the first two forms. In future all children were to receive free text-books. The State Food Office was starting a large-scale school meals scheme, and special help was being given to those children who had been excluded from school education by the Nazis. The teaching of Russian and English was to be considerably extended. Vienna Radio announced that all secondary school-children in Vienna were to report to their schools between the 11th and 15th June.

Other members of Renner's Cabinet have been prominent this week in announcements concerning Trade Unions, which are being re-established in the Russian zone of occupation, and the formation of the "Austrian Economic League" (*Wirtschaftsbund*). On the 10th June Vienna Radio gave news of the first issue of the "journal of the Trade Unions Association and Social Insurance Institutes" *Der Österreichische Arbeiter und Angestellte*. Ernst Fischer wrote the leader, and Böhm (Minister of Social Welfare), described as "Provisional Chairman" of the new Association, urged the need for a strong and united Trade Union movement. It was a great step forward, he said, that to-day all workers, irrespective of party, belonged to the Association—only Fascists were excluded. The law relating to workers' councils was again in force. Trade Union representatives were again to have a vote in all legislative bodies, labour exchanges, and social welfare institutions.

At a meeting of the "Austrian Economic League," the President, Raab (Minister of Public Works and Reconstruction), said that the most important prerequisite for reconstruction was transport. Negotiations abroad for the purchase of equipment must be begun immediately. The second prerequisite was the decision as to who should be permitted to enter economic life from the political point of view—this must be established by the competent State offices. The third urgent necessity was the rebuilding of the heavily-hit tenement buildings.

Heinl (Minister of Industry) said at the same meeting that as long as the present state of emergency lasted, Austria needed a comprehensive rationing system, the direction of production, and the supervision and control of prices, foreign currency and export policies. Everywhere to-day economy was State-directed. A somewhat different point of view was expressed by Dr. Ernst Robitschek, speaking from Vienna on the 5th. A member of the Christian Social Party, like Raab and Heinl, he described the *Wirtschaftsbund* as the "association of all independent workers" and said that it was of the opinion that State direction of economic life must be "reduced to the extent made necessary by the requirements of taxation and inspection." He expressed the hope that a well-organised tourist traffic organisation would put Austria in the first rank of States visited by foreigners.

On the 6th June, a broadcast from Station Austria (a Russian-controlled station), speaking of the "Julius Deutsch group of Social Democrats in New York," approved the bulletin issued by them, which contained praise of the news broadcast from Vienna and Graz, and criticism of the Anglo-American silence, broken only by Field-Marshal Alexander's proclamation to the Austrian people.

It was reported that on the 21st May, Gruber, head of the Innsbruck resistance, called Christian Social and Social Democrat representatives together in Salzburg to propose the establishment of the resistance movement as a united body "for relations with the Military Government." The leaders of the two parties declined this proposal, maintaining that their parties, with the Communists, already co-operated and consulted each other. It was said that two-thirds of the resistance members were Social Democrats of Christian Socials, who now wanted their parties for political expression. The resistance as such had therefore no useful post-war function. It was reported by Vienna radio on the 7th June that Gruber had been appointed Landeshauptmann of the Tyrol (which is in the United States zone).

Yugoslav accusations that the British and Americans are supporting a "Nazi" Government in Carinthia are completely unfounded. It appears that a Provincial Government of Carinthia was formed, with the tacit consent of surrendered Nazi and Reichswehr groups, to take over the administration from Gauleiter Rainer, who was forced to resign on the 7th May. On the 8th May British troops entered Klagenfurt, and the Provincial Government at once offered its services to A.M.G. Certain Nazi officials were removed, and the "government" was officially told on the 28th May that it was not recognised by the Allies though on 5th June the formation of a "consultative committee" was announced. All the members were vetted and approved by A.M.G. Some members of the Provincial Government were included, others were dropped and some well-known anti-Nazis were included. The Yugoslav allegation that the local "liberation committee" was arrested is untrue. A committee consisting of Yugoslav military personnel, with two Yugoslav civilians, had been elected. This was dissolved by A.M.G. on the 25th May. There is no evidence of victimisation of the Slovene minority. A split in the ranks of the Communist Party in Carinthia is reported, one section supporting Yugoslav claims, the other opposing them.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

Among the matters discussed on the 3rd and 4th June at the meetings which His Majesty's Ambassador, Mr. Nichols, had with President Beneš and Dr. Clementis, Acting Foreign Minister, was the Czechoslovak claim to the Glatz (Kladsko) salient. In a note addressed to the Governments of the United Kingdom, United States, U.S.S.R., France and Poland, Czechoslovakia announced its intention of occupying the whole of the Glatz district. The claim is based on its 200-year ownership by the Bohemian Crown, prior to its seizure by Prussia in 1742. Dr. Clementis asserted also that it has geographical affinities; in actual fact, it consists of a mountain-fringed basin with its highest rim towards Bohemia, drained through a narrow gap by the River Neisse into Lower Silesia, to which German province it is attached. Passes connect the region with Bohemia, and there are—or were until the Nazis came to power at least—remnants of the Czech-speaking minorities. The Czechoslovak action is prompted by the appointment of a Polish administrator (M. Piaskowski) for Lower Silesia, which is within the Soviet-occupied zone. Posters, it was stated, had appeared in Glatz itself, claiming it to be immemorial Slavonic territory torn from Poland. Having so far received no satisfaction over the Těšín (Teschen) area of Silesia, the Czechs did not wish to be forestalled over this claim, while yet recognising the fact that a final settlement would be made by the Peace Conference. His Majesty's Government in acknowledging the note points out that for the time being the supreme authority is of course the Allied Control Commission in Germany.

President Beneš expressed himself strongly over his resolve to maintain an open and independent Czechoslovakia. It is his fervent wish to preserve a balance in foreign relations between the east and the west. He said that he had been amazed by the warmth of his reception everywhere, and by the respect and trust shown for his authority, which had never been greater. Similarly, members of the late London Government had also been well received, and the reputation of the Czechoslovak fighting units from the west, which are to form cadres in the formation of an entire army unit, stands particularly high. The more battle-scarred Russian forces, very popular to begin with, had become less so, and this was expected to reflect upon the election campaign (Beneš hopes the voting will take place before December) which the Communists are pursuing with much vigour. Difficulties with the Russian forces were attributed to the complications of the command (elements of three armies are involved) and to the character of some of the troops, particularly those of Marshal Malinovsky's command. Discipline had at first been poor; there were instances of looting, raping and so forth, and other signs of long campaigning and social backwardness; punishment had been extreme, and conditions considerably improved. The President told the British Chargé d'Affaires on the 7th June, and M. Zorin confirmed to Mr. Nichols later, that Marshal Malinovsky's men, and Roumanian forces associated with the Red army, would be immediately withdrawn from Czechoslovakia. Radio Praha announced too that the Red army under General Eremenko were being withdrawn from Olomouc in North Moravia. The withdrawal of all Allied forces from the country is indeed one of the paramount desires of the population.

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The President confirmed reports that the Czechs and Slovaks were filled with hatred for the German and Hungarian peoples. The population was restless, and pressing for an early solution of the minority problem. It had been expected that the minority problem would solve itself, by the people retreating before the Red army, but the rapid advance from the west had prevented this. In a very powerful speech on the 10th June before a gathering in commemoration of the Lidice massacre (attended by the Diplomatic Corps) Dr. Beneš once more laid responsibility for Nazi criminality upon the German nation as a whole and upon the Sudeten Germans in particular; a solution of the minorities problem was essential to avoid a repetition of the betrayal of 1938. Steps are in fact already being taken in the Border Regions by the various agricultural and trade union bodies appointed by the Government to carry out the confiscation of property and to settle Czechs and Slovaks there. The Slovak authorities have ordered the expulsion of all Hungarians who settled in Nové Zámký after the Vienna Award of November 1938 and the Czech authorities are negotiating for the expulsion of about 150,000 Reich Germans.

During recent weeks, U.N.R.R.A. supplies shipped from the United States via Constanza have been received by the appropriate departments in Bohemia and Slovakia. The Czechoslovak Minister of Food, M. Majer, announced on the 4th June that 18,000 tons of goods, mostly agricultural and medical, had been received so far, but that it would be necessary to increase this amount enormously, and that other ports besides Constanza would be needed to handle it.

POLAND.

The clearing of the air in the relations of the Big Three Powers at San Francisco has extended to the problem of the Moscow consultations; and invitations have now been issued by the Allied Commission to three Poles in London, to five in Poland, and to certain members of the Warsaw Administration, to consult with the Commission in Moscow on the formation of the projected New Provisional Government on the basis of the Crimea decisions.

From London MM. Mikolajczyk and Stanczyk will represent the Sikorski tradition; while another delegate may be invited to represent the "pro-Lublin" elements outside Poland. From Poland the veteran ex-Premier and Peasant leader, Wincenty Witos, has been invited, with two eminent Professors, Kutrzeba and Krzyzanowski; M. Zulawski, perhaps the best known Socialist leader; and M. Kolodzieiski, an organiser of the Co-operative Movement. The Warsaw Administration is expected to send MM. Bierut, Osobka-Morawski, and M. Gomolka. The consultations will thus include the best known leaders of the Peasant Party and the Workers' Party; and some of the best known Socialists, Co-operators and leaders of the intelligentsia.

The opening of consultations will mark the first step in the carrying out of the Yalta agreement.

After a rapid tour of Poland, Dr. Hewlett Johnson, the Dean of Canterbury, and Mr. D'Eye, organiser of the Workers' Educational Association for Kent, have given it as their impression that the Warsaw Administration has established itself on a solid basis, particularly through land reform and the army. The desire and need for relations with the English-speaking Powers were generally evident.

Complaints continue to be made from Poland that officers of the Polish forces in Western Europe are dissuading or preventing Polish "displaced persons" from returning to Poland. The "Lublin" Polish Press Association announced on the 8th May that the "Allied Occupation Command" in Germany had consented to the direct repatriation of Poles in Germany to Poland, and that delegates were going from Warsaw to organise repatriation. The same press association's representative in London, Dr. Jagodzinski, obtained much publicity through his arrest on the 8th June by the City of London Police, after he had been posted as a deserter by the Polish authorities under the statutory procedure of the Allied Forces Act. The Polish authorities seem to have had no intention of making a martyr and to have decided spontaneously to release him at once.

SOVIET UNION.

All the Moscow papers on the 6th June published the declaration on the defeat of Germany and the assumption of supreme authority over Germany by the Governments of the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, the United States and

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France. The Soviet press also published, for the first time, a map distinguishing the Soviet zone of occupation from the area to be occupied by British, American and French troops. A note was added to the effect that "it is obvious that at present part of the Soviet occupation zone in Germany is still occupied by British and American troops." Commenting on the declaration, *Izvestiya* said: "These documents will go down in history as the first big step towards the political and military consolidation of the great victory. They testify to the victorious Powers' unity and co-ordination of action, to their determination to use a firm hand to neutralise Germany as a hotbed of aggression and disturbances in Europe and the world." *Krasnaya Zvezda* on the 9th June, whilst welcoming the declaration, noted that several organs of the British and American press had been reserved and perhaps intentionally ambiguous in their comments on its significance. "This reflects the uncertainty regarding the policy of the ruling circles of these countries on the German problem in connexion with the present alignment of internal political forces, and also, undoubtedly, the intensive pressure of the most reactionary elements, not only in America but also in Britain." It is clear that the evolution of British and American policy is being watched with an anxious eye in Moscow.

Tass on the 4th June issued a denial of a statement attributed to Senator Brewster, to the effect that German specialists, lawyers and business men were being liquidated in the Soviet-occupied areas of Germany. Such allegations were scandalous fabrications, *Tass* declared.

"The return of the spectres" to France in the shape of former politicians was viewed with alarm by Major Izakov in *Pravda* (4th June). German fascism in its death throes had played a mean trick on France by returning Pétain, who, even in his capacity as defendant, would provide a rallying point for reaction. More dangerous however was the resurrection of such political corpses as Daladier, Reynaud, Sarraut and Delbos, whom Reuter was actually tipping for high posts in the French Government. These men had brought about the fall of France, and they now yield place to men of the resistance movement; if the latter lacked "parliamentary manners" so much the better for them. It is interesting that M. Herriot was not mentioned.

The departure of the Normandie squadron from Moscow is proceeding in a warm atmosphere of Franco-Soviet cordiality. Several of the pilots have received decorations on the occasion, and General Petit, head of the French Military Mission in the U.S.S.R., has been awarded the Order of the Red Banner.

Sporadic attacks on the Vatican in the Soviet press have been growing in number during the past fortnight, and have now culminated in a vigorous criticism of the Pope's recent address to the College of Cardinals in an English broadcast from Moscow (9th June). Surprise was expressed that the Vatican should allege that it had boldly lifted its voice against Nazi crimes throughout Hitler's régime, while all the world knew that any Vatican action in the pre-war period was merely devoted to allaying fears of the Nazi danger, and to protecting Hitler and Mussolini. The speaker went on to contend that the attitude of the Vatican during the war derived logically from its pre-war benevolence to Nazism and Fascism, and contrasted the Pope's message of congratulation to Hitler on the latter's escape from assassination with his silence over the revelations of the concentration camps and over the bombing of London. The Pope was further accused of attempting to provoke disagreement among the United Nations by insinuations against the Soviet Union in his speech. The report of the Pope's recent benediction of General Franco was also singled out as an example of Papal predilection for the remnants of Fascism, while considerable publicity was given to the story that 50 soldiers of the Blue Division had recently arrived in Rome where they were receiving sanctuary in the Spanish Embassy to the Vatican. These reports incidentally were denied the next day by that Embassy.

The régime of General Franco has come under increasing fire in recent weeks, in particular for its harbouring of Laval and Degrelle "and other war criminals." M. Ehrenburg, writing in *Moscow News*, in an article subsequently broadcast in Spanish, urged the definite overthrow of the present régime in Spain. "To leave Franco in power amounts to preserving the focus of infection."

Indignation with the Argentine's "pro-Fascist policy" and with "her military ruling clique" is expressed almost daily by the Soviet press and wireless. In a *Tass* communiqué from San Francisco, *Izvestiya's* special correspondent sneered at "the quandary of the optimists who predicted the Argentine's transformation and reappearance with a virginal, pure and new democratic face" following the invitation to the San Francisco Conference. Another Moscow broadcast spoke of the "vicious censorship, wholesale arrest of

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democrats, overflowing prisons and deportations to distant parts of the country" which prevailed in the Argentine. No opportunity is lost of criticising the short-sightedness of the original invitations asking Argentina to participate in the Chapultepec and San Francisco Conferences in the hope of her regeneration, and it has been alleged that the Falange has sent several hundreds of Nazi war criminals "as missionaries, travellers or business men" to Latin America, mainly to the Argentine.

The recent Kuomintang Congress and the Kuomintang leadership in general were sharply criticised by Professor Krainov in a long article in *Izvestiya*. The undemocratic composition of the Congress and the nomination of party bureaucrats and Government officials was stressed, while the old charges against the Chinese military leaders "more concerned with liquidating partisans . . . . than fighting the Japanese" were reiterated. The Kuomintang leadership was indicted for repudiating "a policy of national unity by declining Communist and democratic proposals for a coalition democratic Government." All progressive forces in China and abroad, alleged *Izvestiya*, support the Communist proposals. The terms of this article suggest that the Soviets will take a firm line in the forthcoming discussions in Moscow with Mr. Soong, and do not augur an easy course for his mission.

Analysing the attitude of the Great Powers to problems of "colonies, dependent countries and international trusteeship," M. Leontev (*Pravda*) emphasised the swing over of the United States from its original standpoint to the British point of view. The part played by the Soviet Union in upholding the right of nations to self-determination and complete national independence was strongly stressed. The necessity for a radical solution of the colonial problem was illustrated by the Syrian crisis, which was represented as a colonial dispute between France and Great Britain "reeking of oil" (see under "Middle East").

The Soviet trade union journal, *The War and the Working Class*, which has appeared since June 1943 under this title, will appear henceforth as *New Times*. In an editorial recapitulating the policy of the journal since its inception it was stated that all "actions, views and concepts inimical to the cause of mutual understanding among the Allies" had been denounced. The responsibility of the working class in the forthcoming peace-making period to rout the forces of international reaction and fascism was stressed, as was the need for unity and solidarity of the working class and its trades union organisations. Finally, it was alleged that the Soviet Union was the only country in which there were no public circles opposed to international co-operation based on the just principle of complete mutual respect for legitimate rights and vital interests. In the future *New Times* will work on behalf of lasting peace and friendly co-operation among the freedom-loving nations and will resolutely combat everything that tends to undermine this co-operation."

See also under "Czechoslovakia."

SCANDINAVIA.

King Haakon arrived in Norway on the 7th June, an anniversary with associations both sad and proud in the Norwegian mind, since it was not only the date of the King's departure from his country in 1940, but also that of the resolution of the Storting claiming independence from the Union with the Swedish Crown in 1905. He enjoyed a most enthusiastic reception.

In a press interview published on the 6th June, M. Nygaardsvold announced that his Government would submit its resignation at the first council held after the King's return. This took place on the 12th June, when the Government was asked to continue in office pending the formation of an interim Government on a coalition basis, to serve until the next elections, which have now been fixed for the 8th October. Chief Justice Paal Berg, leader of the Home Front, is considered a probable choice for Premier, if he will accept office.

It has been decided to recall the old Storting on the 14th June, in spite of the objections entertained in some quarters to this procedure. Political opinion in Norway has been insistent on this step, mainly upon constitutional grounds. The Conservative Party, at a meeting held on the 26th May, unanimously recommended the summoning of the Storting, and the Liberal Executive followed suit on the 31st May, while the Communists are long known to have advocated this procedure, in spite of their lack of parliamentary strength. The functions of the old Parliament will probably be limited to the ratification of emergency decrees promulgated during the war.

General Thorne, the Supreme Commander of the Allied Military forces in Norway, announced on the 7th June the transfer of complete responsibility for civil administration to the Norwegian King and his Government. This, with certain reservations designed to cover military requirements, is stated to mark the conclusion of the "military period" of reconstruction.

The shipping of food-stuffs from Denmark to other countries has been delayed by a strike on the part of the seamen. The Danish Government is energetically endeavouring to mediate a settlement, since the supplies are badly needed and delay might cause waste of agricultural produce.

General Lindemann, who was at first permitted to act as a medium for the transmission of Allied orders for the withdrawal of German forces in Denmark, was arrested at his headquarters on the 4th June, after complaints in the Soviet press, and these headquarters were taken over by British troops on the 6th June. Other important Germans recently arrested are von Best and SS Police Chief Pancke, the latter of whom was found hiding in Flensborg.

On the 5th June, Denmark received an official invitation to join the San Francisco Conference. The vote in favour of this course on the executive committee was unanimous. The principal Danish representative will be M. Kaufmann.

The Soviet press has recently been generally critical of Sweden, and in particular of the anti-Russian line taken in certain organs of the Swedish press. Some tension has been occasioned between the two countries by a report to the Riksdag regarding the storming and looting of the Swedish legation in Budapest by Russian troops in the middle of May. A female member of the legation staff is alleged to have been violated and a safe broken open and rifled. This contained a large amount of money deposited there by Jewish refugees.

On the 2nd June the Swedish Government announced legislation intended to procure the control and return of property stolen by the Germans and lodged in Sweden. A panel of lawyers has been appointed to consider claims for restitution.

Speaking on the 5th June, Professor Ohlin, Swedish Minister of Trade, advocated a plan of common citizenship for all Scandinavians which would enable citizens of all the Northern countries to work wherever they might wish within the Scandinavian area.

It was announced on the 3rd June that agreements reached by the Ministry of Supply with Finnish producers for the purchase of timber and wood pulp in Finland had been ratified by the Finnish Government. *Helsingin Sanomat*, the 5th June, welcomed this development in a leading article, pointing out that the Soviet Union could not require Finland's principal exports—timber and paper—to the full extent of her productive capacity, and that England had always been the principal customer for these products.

Dr. Ryti, ex-President of Finland, was reported on the 8th June to have resigned his position as chairman of the Bank of Finland. His removal from this post has been under discussion for a considerable time.

LOW COUNTRIES.

Recent Dutch statements give further information about the problem of reconstruction in the Netherlands. A distinguished engineer states that "with the aid of America the Island of Walcheren and the Polder of Wieringermeer could be dried before the year is out. All the other inundations will be past history within a few weeks. But we cannot say yet, of course, how much damage has been done to the soil." The same authority calculates that, owing to the flooding, the Netherlands have lost for the time being the produce of 250,000 acres of arable land. But there are other urgent tasks to be tackled besides draining; over 1,500,000 land mines are estimated to have been laid by the Germans in the Provinces of North and South Holland; fortunately most of them are on the beaches and the dunes, not in the fields. Again, public utilities in the Western Netherlands can work only to a very limited extent, until coal can be brought by barge from the Limburg mines. But it is not expected that the Maas will be navigable until the 20th August.

According to Professor de Vries, conditions of life in the Netherlands will not, at the best, become normal before five years have elapsed. Moreover, the prosperity of the Netherlands will in any case, largely depend upon conditions in the German hinterland. Professor de Vries holds that the Netherlands, which

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have a surplus agricultural population and a great need to increase agricultural output, should annex an area of German soil as large as that of the three or four Northern Dutch Provinces and capable of taking a population of about two million.

On the 6th M. van Acker returned to Brussels from Salzburg, where he had been received by King Leopold. On the 7th M. van Acker stated at a Press Conference that while the King's health had improved, he was not yet able to return to Belgium, but that he would shortly take a decision. M. van Acker added that he had given the King a detailed account of the political situation in Belgium.

The Belgian Press continues to publish polemical articles about King Leopold. No new arguments of importance have been put forward, but there is general agreement that the present state of uncertainty cannot continue much longer. The Socialist Congress (see last *Summary*) has expressed its agreement with the line taken by the Party Executive. The Standing Committee of the Liberal Party has voted a resolution to the effect that it is not for Parliament to seek to influence the King's decision whether or not to resume the exercise of his regal functions, but that public opinion is divided on the subject, and that it is to be hoped that the King's decision will be such as to ensure the maintenance of tranquillity and the regular functioning of Parliamentary Government. The Committee added that they were opposed to Liberal participation in the Government, unless these questions were unequivocally settled.

FRANCE.

The Levant crisis has called forth further French statements during the week. On the 5th June, the day on which the Prime Minister made his statement in the House of Commons and said that the British proposal for a tripartite conference still held good (see last *Summary*), the French Council of Ministers met and issued a communiqué endorsing General de Gaulle's suggestion for a Five-Power conference and saying that they were proposing that "within the framework of international co-operation and with the assistance of the States concerned" all the problems of the Near and Middle East should be submitted to a conference of Five Great Powers. (For the American reaction to this proposal see "United States.")

On the following day a long and ironical statement was issued by the French Press Agency expressing disappointment with Mr. Churchill's explanations. It commented on the absence of any reference to the Lyttelton–De Gaulle agreement of July 1941 and to Great Britain's recognition of France's right to maintain order in the Levant, "an engagement which, to say the least of it, has been and is being violated by the British *coup de force*." It also said that the Prime Minister had made no mention of General de Gaulle's reply to his message of the 5th May last, in which the General expressly asked him to cancel the despatch of a whole new British division from Palestine: "It was in fact clear that this large reinforcement of British forces in Syria showed a premeditated intention to intervene and thus let disorderly elements understand that they could attack the French with impunity." The manner of British intervention on the 31st May was again criticised and regret was expressed that Britain's behaviour should "take on the character of an abuse of force towards a momentarily weakened ally." This statement was followed on the 7th June by a press conference given by General Oliva Roget in Paris and on the 9th by one given by General Beynet in Beirut. General Oliva Roget dealt with the military aspect of the crisis and General Beynet with his abortive negotiations with the Syrian and Lebanese Governments.

The presentation of General Oliva Roget's press conference and of the latest news from the Levant by the French press has been generally unfriendly. It is evident that opinion has hardened against Great Britain since General de Gaulle's press conference of the 2nd June and that British measures to maintain order, such as the imposition of a censorship and of a curfew and the supersession of the Office of Wheat Distribution, have been represented in such a way as to strengthen the belief that our main object is to supplant the French. General de Gaulle himself made a further somewhat embittered allusion to the crisis in a speech at Alençon on the 10th June in which he said that insufficient consideration had perhaps been given to "the fact that if France is at present in a somewhat difficult position, this will not always be the case, and that to humiliate her to-day may not prove to be a very good investment, as the peace now taking shape . . . . will not be brought about, whatever anyone may think,

without France's collaboration." On the same day, at Lagnieu M. Herriot made a moving appeal to his countrymen to remain true to their old friendship with Great Britain. It remains to be seen whether this will have any effect in improving the atmosphere. It is, however, a significant and welcome fact that M. Herriot, who has greater prestige than any of the other deported statesmen of the Third Republic, not excluding M. Blum, should have gone out of his way to pay such a glowing tribute to Great Britain and to place such stress on the importance of Anglo-French relations in his first notable speech since his return from captivity.

A good deal of concern at the delay in the delimitation of zones of occupation in Germany and at Britain's alleged intransigence in refusing to France control of the left bank of the Rhine as far as Cologne has been reflected in recent comments of the French press and wireless.

In home affairs one of the questions which is causing the most discussion is whether the forthcoming general election should be for a Constituent Assembly or for a Senate and a Chamber. Both the Confederal Bureau of the C.G.T. and the Executive Committee of the M.L.N. have passed resolutions in favour of a Constituent Assembly and the weight of opinion seems to be on their side.

Anxiety is increasing over France's economic situation and the rising tide of Press complaints of the Government's failure to cope with the problems involved is causing official circles to become increasingly critical of the Allied combined supply and shipping control. Coal is still the vital factor and M. Lacoste, the Minister of Production, recently took advantage of the presence in Paris of Lord Hyndley and Dr. Potter, Chairmen of the London and Washington Coal Committees, to summon a meeting at which he described the full gravity of the coal position. Discussions are still going on at a high level on the replacement of coal supplied by the French to the Allied armies whose needs for May are, however, being met by the French as a result of the allocation to them of 20,000 tons of Saar coke and 50,000 tons of Ruhr coal (see *Summary* No. 293). The food situation is also a source of alarm, and as a result of impending shortages of meat and sugar and the appalling situation in North Africa, where drought has caused a disastrous failure in the crops, the French seem determined to use every means in their power to get favourable consideration for their imports programme.

Ferdonnet, the French "Haw-Haw," who used to broadcast from Stuttgart, has been arrested by the First French Army at Tuttlingen.

All daily papers are allowed to appear in full size, instead of on a single half-sheet, on two days a week as from the 12th June.

(See also under "Soviet Union," "Spain" and "Middle East.")

SWITZERLAND.

Since the cessation of hostilities in Europe, Switzerland has been concerned with the problem of re-establishing relations with other countries, more especially with her neighbours. The view is widely held by the Swiss people that, as far as cultural relations are concerned, Switzerland's first action must be to cleanse her own house of the Fifth Column, whether Swiss or foreign. Accordingly, the expulsion of Nazis and their sympathisers proceeds apace. By the 8th June, 294 Germans had been expelled, for reasons ranging from espionage, militant activities inimical to Switzerland, and membership of organisations notorious for violence, such as the S.S. and the Gestapo. The holding of any political opinion was not alone considered sufficient grounds for expulsion.

The repatriation of refugees and internees has been proceeding more or less smoothly since the middle of May, with the notable exception of the Italians, whose departure is delayed owing to the closing of the Italian-Swiss frontier by the Allies.

At the end of May the Federal Council decided to abolish censorship of Swiss papers in regard to political questions. At first, foreign papers, agencies and films remained under control, largely with a view to stopping any influx of propaganda. From the 1st June, however, this censorship was also removed, the supervision of foreign political propaganda material coming under the control of the Federal Attorney and the Customs and Postal Authorities. Press censorship has never been popular in Switzerland, and was accepted only as an unavoidable wartime measure.

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Demobilisation of the armed forces continues. In addition, the Home Guard and the A.R.P. organisations have been disbanded, and territorial military courts will be dissolved in the near future. General Guisan, Commander-in-Chief of the Swiss Army, has asked to be relieved of his command as from the 20th August.

On the 3rd June, at a meeting at Berne, the executive of the Swiss Labour Party reached a decision to demand the renunciation of neutrality by Switzerland, in order that she might participate in the preservation of a lasting peace as a full member of the World Security Organisation. A radical change was also demanded in domestic and foreign policy, to facilitate the restoration of normal diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R.

SPAIN.

There have been many reports that Laval has decided to give himself up and return to France to face his trial. Those reports would appear to be confirmed but denials emanating from Paris have also been published and the situation is consequently obscure.

His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires in Madrid, together with the United States Ambassador, has communicated to the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs the terms of the Berlin declaration and requested the handing over of all German official and semi-official buildings in Spain. This has been immediately complied with. There remains, however, the problem of German official personnel, probably 1,000 persons in all. If these are to be prevented from going to ground, it appears to be desirable that they should be removed as soon as possible either to Germany or elsewhere, where direct Anglo-American control may be exercised.

ITALY.

An agreement has, at last, been signed by Marshal Tito, by which Field-Marshal Sir Harold Alexander will control Pola, the anchorages off the west coast of Istria, Trieste and the lines of communication to Allied forces in Austria via Monfalcone, Gorizia and the Isonzo Valley. All Yugoslav troops will be withdrawn from this area except for a small token force (see under "Yugoslavia"). Signor De Gasperi, the Italian Foreign Minister, commenting on the agreement, criticises it in that the whole of the area up to the 1939 Italian frontier line will not be occupied by Allied forces and that many Italian subjects will therefore remain under Yugoslav administration. It is quite natural for Signor De Gasperi to be anxious for Italian nationals in this area in present circumstances, but the Italian Foreign Minister does not, perhaps, appreciate the difficulties which had to be overcome in order to reach this agreement, nor does he appear to have taken into account the fact that Trieste, the city with the largest Italian population, will be administered by A.M.G., not to mention Pola, Monfalcone and Gorizia.

Signor De Gasperi has since explained that he was far from wishing to give the impression that the Italian Government was not deeply grateful for what had been done. Signor De Gasperi said he was constantly being attacked for not doing enough in defence of the interests of Italian subjects and that since he was not in touch with the situation *vis-à-vis* Marshal Tito he had merely written to express the fears which members of the various parties were publicly expressing.

No agreement has yet been reached as to the formation of a new Italian Cabinet. Signor Bonomi had agreed to carry on for a few days longer while the argument continued, but resigned on the 12th June without a decision being reached regarding who is to be President of the Council. The Christian Democrats have proposed that Signor De Gasperi, their leader, should be President, and that Signor Nenni, the Socialist Party leader, should be Vice-President. This the Socialist Party has refused. But besides the Presidency of the Council there is also the question who is to have the Ministry of the Interior. This Ministry appoints the Prefects and controls the Carabinieri and Police. Signor Nenni, backed up by Signor Togliatti, put forward a claim to this Ministry during Signor Bonomi's last Government, but Signor Bonomi refused to allow a Ministry, with such potentialities in internal affairs, to pass into the hands of such a firebrand as Signor Nenni. It is possibly true that Signor Nenni's bite is not so bad as his bark, but he has barked enough to make moderates of nearly all the parties very distrustful of him personally. A solution may be found by putting forward another Socialist candidate for the Presidency with a more

peaceful background. The deadlock in Rome appears, however, to have worried the C.L.N. of the North and they are sending representatives to the capital in an endeavour to help reach a solution. The C.L.N. of the North have in no way, as yet, subordinated themselves to the Committee in Rome. They appear to be waiting and summing up the leaders and their parties in the South before committing themselves to complete collaboration.

It is now reported that Signor Feruccio Parri has been invited by all six parties to become President of the Council. Signor Parri belongs to the Action Party and was one of the chief organisers of Partisan resistance in North Italy. When General Cadorna was made Commander-in-chief of the whole Partisan movement Signor, or "Generale" Parri, as he was called, became his second in command.

VATICAN.

The main Soviet charge against the Vatican (see under "Soviet Union") continues to be that the Pope condemns communism but fostered fascism and nazism before the war, ignored their excesses during the war and now pleads for mercy on their defeated adherents. The attacks quote his silence when V-bombs fell on London. Certainly the Pope said nothing officially, judging, as he let His Majesty's Minister know, that direct protests made things worse; the *Osservatore Romano* was moved to refer to the "lies Moscow put out through honest misunderstanding or of evil intent." For his part, the Pope has continued what might almost be called his apology for papal policy. On the 2nd June he explained the policy towards Germany. On the 10th June, speaking to the youth section of Italian Catholic Action, he explained his own direct action when Rome was threatened. "No narrow or personal feeling stirred us to intervene with such vigour for Rome's safety." The common father of all, "from Thames to Volga," "when we set Rome as the centre of our thoughts, we worked and strove for the entire world."

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

In Hungary, various friendly or civil utterances from the U.S.S.R. have been interpreted optimistically and their importance stressed; and both the Foreign Minister, Gyöngyössy, and the Communist Party have repeated that Hungary's first duty is to win the full confidence of the U.S.S.R. M. Groza's advances (see below, under "Roumania") have had an extraordinarily favourable reception. Hungary seems reconciled to the loss of historic Translyvania (although not necessarily to the restoration of the Trianon frontier) and to accept with genuine enthusiasm M. Groza's concessions to the Magyars of Transylvania. The Press has urged Gyöngyössy to respond with something definite, and Gyöngyössy, in his official reply, said that Hungary indeed seized Roumania's proferred hand and hoped when the time came to give it a true Magyar squeeze; but in a later statement he repeated his usual thesis that Hungary was not yet free to make her own foreign policy. He was, however, in favour of close co-operation between the Danubian States, beginning in the economic field, where, if customs frontiers were not abolished, they should at least become unimportant.

There is, however, very serious uneasiness in the entire country, the Communists not excepted, about Czechoslovak proposals to expel Magyars from Southern Slovakia. There have been many discreet but perfectly obvious protesting references to these proposals.

In internal politics an event of the first importance was M. Rákosi's speech at the annual Conference of the Communist Party, held at Whitsun. The country had clearly been awaiting this event with much disquiet, perhaps anticipating a proclamation of a proletariat dictatorship. Instead, M. Rákosi told his hearers that their successes had been due to their collaboration with other parties. They must continue to work especially closely with the Social Democrats, but also with the National Peasants and Smallholders. He roundly condemned local excesses and "Left-wing sectarianism," in which the chief offenders were survivors from 1919, who had failed to learn how much things had altered since; and, invoking the precedent of Lenin's New Economic Policy, said that the Party would propose a large Government loan to private capitalist industry to get the country going again economically. A large and general *detente* in the internal political situation followed this speech, which was hailed by the other parties in the Independence Front as exceptionally moderate, courageous and statesmanlike, and as

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offering a wider basis of democratic co-operation, which they in their turn could accept.

Among its immediate consequences were, firstly, the issue of the loan in question, secondly, the replacement of the Minister of Industry, Takócs, by Bán, and thirdly, the announcement that the franchise bill for the elections to the Constituent Assembly would shortly be brought forward and the elections themselves probably held in the autumn. Further, the vacant places in the Provisional Assembly (for the relatively Conservative Transdanubia) would be filled. From their side the Smallholders have indicated a wish to continue in the present coalition with the "working class parties" after the elections, even though they obviously anticipate that these will bring a swing to the Right. They have been discouraging to other parties such as the "Christian People's Party," who probably hope, after the elections, to join the Smallholders in a coalition with the "working-class parties" in opposition.

Prices have again been rising sharply, and there are indications that the previous relatively conservative fiduciary policy has been abandoned and that almost unchecked inflation is on the way.

Roumania.

More than ordinary interest attaches to Dr. Groza's efforts to establish more friendly relations between his country and Hungary. Dr. Groza is himself a Transylvanian, and although this latest move would not be made if there were any chance of Russian disapproval, it is quite possible that it was not dictated by Moscow, but that the idea originated with Dr. Groza himself. In a statement to the press he speaks of complete collaboration in the near future between Roumania and Hungary. He goes further than this and envisages a defensive union of Roumania with Hungary, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, with Turkey participating. The proposed union is designed to meet the threats of any country with imperialistic aims, a statement which on the face of it is somewhat surprising, unquestionably praiseworthy as the sentiment is. As a first step, the Prime Minister proposes a customs union with Hungary. The Hungarian Foreign Minister has expressed approval of the plan. (For the Hungarian reaction to the Roumanian advances see also the Hungarian *Summary*.)

Amongst the plans for repatriating former residents in Bessarabia who are claimed as Russian subjects, is one for removing to Russia the members of the religious sect known as Lipovani, who are settled in the Tulcea district. About 17,000 would be affected. They are Russian in origin and came from the country round about the mouth of the Don, on account of religious persecution. Others of the sect are to be found in Bessarabia and scattered throughout Eastern Roumania. The total number in Roumania is about 57,000. Those removed are to be supplied with a small sum of money by the Roumanian Government and will be settled in the neighbourhood of the Sea of Azov, whence they originally came.

After the *coup d'État* of last August, Constanța was one of the first places where the imposition of a Communist régime was attempted. There have been complaints of arbitrary administration, especially of the levying of irregular taxation. The foreign consulates were amongst those who voiced this complaint. There was an atmosphere of tension and anxiety amongst the people. Since last January, after the withdrawal of part of the Russian garrison, the atmosphere has improved, but the economic position remains bad. Certain incidents tends to show what is likely to happen if the present régime becomes permanently established. Obligatory work on Soviet lines has been decreed. Any who fail to obtain work for themselves are liable to be conscripted in the interest of the community. Then by way of obliging people to join the workers' unions, certain articles, such as tobacco, matches and salt, are reserved for the unions and those outside cannot obtain them. Arrests have been made amongst school teachers, who are accused of teaching contrary to the views of the party in power.

Yugoslavia.

When Tito at last returned to Belgrade on the 7th June, the military agreement on zones of occupation in Venezia Giulia was quickly accepted; and it was signed at 0900 hours on the 9th.

It places an area including Trieste and the railways and roads leading thence, via Gorizia and Caporetto, to Austria, as well as Pola and such points on the west coast of Istria as he may deem necessary, under the command of Field-Marshal

Alexander. Yugoslav forces in this area are to be limited to not more than 2,000 regular troops, who will be maintained by the Allied services and restricted to a locality selected by Field-Marshal Alexander. A Yugoslav mission may be attached to the headquarters of the Eighth Army. The Allied Military Government will make use of any existing Yugoslav civil administration which appears to be working satisfactorily; but they may change the civil authorities as they think fit. Yugoslav regular forces were to be withdrawn from the area by 0800 hours (G.M.T.) on the 12th June. Irregular forces in the area are at Field-Marshal Alexander's direction either to hand in their arms and disband or to withdraw. The Yugoslav Government are to return all residents in the area whom they have arrested or deported, except those who were Yugoslav nationals in 1939, and restore property confiscated or removed. The Agreement in no way prejudices the ultimate disposal of any part of Venezia Giulia.

At the same time identical Yugoslav Notes were presented to the British and United States Ambassadors. They chiefly asserted that Yugoslavia was making great sacrifices for the sake of Allied co-operation, but added that there had been no confiscations or deportations and only "Fascists" or "war criminals" had been arrested. The British and United States Governments published the Agreement on the 9th; to the chagrin of the Yugoslav Government, who only issued a short communiqué stating that an Agreement had been reached.

Thus, if they surrender the "plums" of Trieste, Gorizia, Monfalcone and Pola, the Yugoslavs remain in factual possession of Fiume and the greater part of Venezia Giulia. His Majesty's Government had asked the Yugoslav Government if it is true that they have called up Italian nationals and tampered with civil and land registers.

At Celje, on the 3rd, Tito said of Carinthia: "We have been obliged to retreat temporarily. Carinthia is ours and we shall struggle for it." And at the ratification of the Soviet-Yugoslav Treaty, on the 10th, he complained of the attitude of some of our Allies, saying: "Such injustices are forgotten with difficulty."

Addressing a deputation of Croatian Catholic clergy Tito expressed his dislike of the international character of the Catholic Church. Like all dictators, he wishes to see religion nationalised. He spoke of creating "a great community of southern Slavs . . . . firmly linked with all other Slavs," and advised the Catholic clergy to adjust themselves to the position of a minority.

Five of Pavelitch's Croat Ministers have been sentenced by Court-Martial and executed.

Radio Belgrade attributed a big fire and explosion at Ljubljana railway station to elements opposed to the régime.

In the conversion effected at the end of April holders of the withdrawn currencies received only up to 5,000 new dinars (about £25) (see *Summary* No. 290, p. 16). The balances of accounts are now being paid, but subject to deductions, the scale of which varies ominously "according to the amount concerned and the bearer's profession." This form of capital levy is well calculated to destroy the possibility of opposition to the Government.

Movements of troops into Macedonia, and of E.L.A.S.-ites from over the Greek frontier, continued during May.

Greece.

The press of the 5th June carried a long statement by M. Varvaressos on his economic programme. By means of State control, he said, he hoped to reduce the price level and the cost of living, to distribute imported supplies speedily and equitably, to stabilise prices to producers at a fair level, to increase agricultural and industrial production, to restore communications, and to stabilise currency and balance the budget by taxing those who had maintained or increased their incomes during the occupation. As regards currency, the existing stabilisation law would be repealed, the drachma being stabilised at 2,000 to the pound sterling, and 500 to the dollar; the Bank of Greece would buy gold sovereigns at the international rate, *i.e.*, 4,000 drachmæ. Persons who had exchanged remittances from abroad at 600 drachmæ to the pound and 150 to the dollar would be given additional payment of 600 to the pound and 150 to the dollar. Owners of small deposits wiped out by inflation would be compensated out of taxation on inflationary profits. Extraordinary taxation would be imposed immediately on those who had a disproportionately large purchasing power; the whole fiscal system would be overhauled and improved. There would be increases ranging from 50 to 83 per cent. on the rate of wages for various classes of workers; new salary scales would be announced for civil servants. The prices

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of U.N.R.R.A. supplies would be substantially lowered and distribution of clothing already imported would be organised as soon as possible. The first price controls would be applied to soap, vegetables, macaroni, cheese, meat, oil, and salt.

In the Athens press, except that of the extreme Left, the statement was favourably received; in Salonica the Right-wing papers approved M. Varvaressos's measures, at the same time suggesting that he might have gone further, while the first reaction of the Left press was to accuse the Government of making the people pay.

Papers of the extreme Left fulminated against the lightness of the sentences passed on the Puppet Ministers (see last *Summary*) and pointed out that, though M. Tsouderos had issued a warning from Cairo that persons who continued as members of the Security Battalions would be regarded as traitors, the Court had taken no account of the fact that certain of the accused had been instrumental in organising these Battalions. The Liberal Press expressed its disappointment at the leniency of the Court in rather milder terms. The Right-wing papers, apparently somewhat embarrassed, were sparing of comment, but they went so far as to admit that public opinion was not fully satisfied.

Bulgaria.

There have been no further developments regarding Dr. G. M. Dimitrov's persecution, except that his wife has now been arrested on a charge of having aided and abetted his escape. It is to be feared that she may be subjected by the Militia to the usual process of torture. The strongest possible representations have been made by the British and American authorities.

The trouble which has been brewing below the surface for some weeks past inside the Social-Democrat Party (see *Summary* No. 291) came to a head on the 31st May, when M. Neykov, Minister of Trade and Industry and leader of the near-Communist faction within the party, publicly dissociated himself from M. Cheshmedzhiev, the other Social-Democrat in the Cabinet, and asserted that the Party Congress "irresponsibly" called by the latter for the 10th June would not take place until some time later on. No doubt he wishes the purge of the party organisation to be completed first. According to one unconfirmed report M. Cheshmedzhiev then tendered his resignation from the Cabinet. (He has in any case been superseded as director of the Social-Democrat newspaper.) Meanwhile at least three out of the four Ministers belonging to the Agrarian Party are likewise reported to have sent in their resignations; and one of these, M. Bumbarov (Public Works), found himself expelled from his party Union on the 1st June for his alleged activity in support of Dr. Dimitrov.

On the 6th June it was announced that the Council of Ministers had passed a National Assembly Elections Bill, giving the vote to all Bulgarian subjects of both sexes aged 19 and upwards. Candidates for the Assembly must be 23. The proportional electoral system and the secret ballot are being introduced. However, it remains to be seen how these beneficent institutions will be worked

Another announcement states that from the 1st June onwards all workers will be entirely supplied with food, clothes and personal requirements generally by two State-run organisations. This decision will put the bulk of small tradesmen out of retail business altogether, and cannot fail to have important social repercussions.

Turkey.

The Grand National Assembly on the 4th June approved the prolongation for another six months of the state of emergency which obtains in European Turkey and on the Asiatic side of the Straits. This seems to be an indication of Turkish anxieties. Although the Turkish Foreign Minister was reported to have seen M. Molotov soon after their arrival in San Francisco, no progress seems to have been made towards the conclusion of a new Soviet-Turkish treaty. Reported demands by Armenians for the annexation to Soviet Russia of the old Armenian provinces of Turkey ,and by Kurds for the creation of an autonomous Kurdistan are perhaps not unconnected with the Soviet technique for softening up the Turks prior to negotiation. The Turkish authorities, however, have been giving a little rein to Sertel, who is inclined to adopt the Soviet point of view in his paper, *Tan*. While all the rest of the Turkish press applauded British intervention in the Levant conflict, he attributed it to imperialist motives. Discussing the British election he spoke of the inertia of the Conservatives and of Labour's opposition to an anti-Soviet Western *bloc*.

The important land reform bill mentioned last week appears to have been passed without substantial, if any, amendment. During the budget debate the

solitary Armenian Deputy suggested that foreign capital should be encouraged to come into the country to help its development. This idea was taken up by several newspapers, and it remains to be seen whether the authorities have learnt the lesson that foreign capital must be treated decently.

ERRATUM.

Summary 296, page 17, line 2, *read* Raif Karadeniz.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

While the situation in the Levant States is outwardly returning to normal, there is an undercurrent of grave anxiety throughout the whole country. There are certainly many difficulties ahead. Although French troops have been removed under our escort from the principal towns of Syria, and, for their own safety, French civilians likewise, the French may well try later on to reassert their former position by sending them back. Further, they have by no means given up their intention to seek to obtain a treaty giving them a privileged status.

Any attempt to return French forces to the towns would be strongly resisted by the Syrians, and would give rise to further disorders. Indeed, the Syrians are not content with the measures already taken. They are now talking of the withdrawal of all French troops from Syrian territory, and continue to demand the handing over to them of the *Troupes Spéciales*. They will henceforth, moreover, refuse to acquiesce in French participation in Allied security measures and will insist on French representation being placed on a normal diplomatic footing. As for the proposed treaty, it will be impossible to induce them to negotiate with the French at all unless the latter abandon all appearance of coercion. They are not in the mood at present even to consider negotiating, and will never do so on the basis of granting a special position to France. What the Syrians want now is to make a clean sweep of all French authority in their country, and to be completely independent in fact as well as in name.

In the Lebanon, where the situation is more complex, owing to the large Christian population and to the closer ties with France, the Government authorities are determined to align their policy with that of Syria. And, while there are in the Lebanon, especially among the Maronites, some who are still friendly to France, all the Moslems and many among the Christian communities are now bitterly opposed to her, and any attempt to solve the problem by differentiating between the two States as regards their future relations with France could only lead to trouble. The situation is further complicated in the Lebanon by the influx of French troops evacuated from Syria, and in both States by the fact that the French and local authorities are now not even on speaking terms.

The next step is, as the Prime Minister said in his statement in the House of Commons on the 5th June, to bring about a conference between the Governments of Great Britain, the United States and France. The suggestion put forward by General de Gaulle to hold a five-Power conference, to include Russia and China, would, as Mr. Churchill said, cause much delay and require very careful consideration on many grounds. The Levant Governments, not unnaturally from their point of view, wish to take part themselves in the proposed conference, as may also the Arab League, though in the event of Levant participation the League might not press its claim. But it is clearly of great importance to reach as quickly as possible a settlement of the most urgent outstanding questions between France and the Levant States, and the more the number of delegates is extended, the longer the discussions are likely to last. Nor can we accept with equanimity General de Gaulle's further proposal that the talks should cover other Middle Eastern States. We have no wish at this juncture to be dragged into controversies with other Powers over the future of the Middle East as a whole. For these reasons His Majesty's Government would prefer to confine the conference to the three Great Powers concerned, and to limit the discussions to a settlement of the Levant question. With this view the United States Government concurs.

News of the British intervention in the Levant States has been received with satisfaction by the Emperor of Ethiopia, who expressed to His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires his pleasure at our action as an illustration of the way in which the rights of smaller nations could be protected. Our intervention has been no less warmly welcomed, for more selfish reasons, by the Nationalist party in Morocco,

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who claim to see in it the beginning of the eviction of France by Great Britain and the United States from Morocco, Tunis and Algeria.

The week in Egypt has been dominated by the crisis in the Levant and by the meeting of the Arab League Council, which opened in Cairo on the 4th June. Both King Farouk in a message to the Council, and the Egyptian Prime Minister, Nokrashi Pasha, in his inaugural speech, expressed their strong condemnation of recent French action in Syria. The delegates of Syria, the Lebanon, Iraq, Transjordan and Saudi Arabia all voiced their grave dissatisfaction over French behaviour, and their gratitude to Great Britain for having intervened. The Council also passed a resolution that the Arab League should be represented at the proposed Great Power conference, but no action on the resolution has been taken by the Council as yet.

After the meeting of the Council on the 7th June Abdul Rahman Azzam Bey, Secretary-General of the Arab League, issued a communiqué to the press stating that, in view of recent action by the French in Syria and the Lebanon, the Council demanded "the immediate withdrawal of all French forces which are in the territories of the two republics." The Council also considered that the *Troupes Spéciales* with their arms, equipment, munitions, &c., should be handed over intact to the local Governments. The communiqué went on to state that the Council had decided "to take all necessary measures in accordance with article 6 of the Covenant of the Arab League to counter French aggression," and to emphasise the identity of the aims of the League and of the two Arab republics, "which are the safeguarding of their independence and their sovereignty, as well as the withdrawal of foreign troops from their territories."

The Egyptian press warmly approves our action, and has equally commended the attitude of the United States and of Russia. Certain sections of the press indicate that now that the question is under discussion by the Council of the Arab League, imperialist ambitions in the Middle East from any quarter must be strongly opposed.

So far as concerns Iraq, British intervention in the Levant was taken just in time to prevent what was rapidly becoming a serious situation. On the 31st May, for instance, in the Iraqi Chamber of Deputies, many speakers called for armed intervention, and the Minister for Defence assured the House (though quite incorrectly) that the Iraqi army was fully trained and "ready to act when necessary." Fortunately, during the debate, the Prime Minister showed patience and sagacity, and calmed the House by assuring them that His Majesty's Government were doing their best to find a solution to the problem. After hearing the news of our intervention, deputations from the Senate and Chamber expressed to His Majesty's Ambassador their appreciation of the measures taken by His Majesty's Government, and urged that the French should now leave the Levant States altogether.

(See also under "France," "United States" and "Soviet Union.")

A new Prime Minister for Persia has been chosen to succeed Ibrahim Hakimi, who resigned on the 3rd June. He is Sadr al Ashraf, who was Minister of Justice in two former Cabinets. But his previous career as Mullah is against him, and he is already being fiercely attacked by the Tudeh press. It appears that he has been preferred to Hakimi as being more willing to accept suggestions for nominees to certain key positions in the Cabinet.

In reply to a question in the House of Commons on the 6th June regarding the evacuation of Allied forces from Persia, Mr. Law said that the tripartite treaty provided for the withdrawal of all troops from Persia six months after the end of the Japanese war. In view of the Persian request and our desire to meet Persia's wishes as far as possible, His Majesty's Government were in consultation with the United States and the Soviet Governments in this matter. Mr. Law added, in reply to a further question, that it was the intention of His Majesty's Government in all circumstances to safeguard our Imperial interests in South Persia and the Persian Gulf.

THE FAR EAST.

On the 9th June an Extraordinary Session of the Japanese Diet convened in Tokyo and was formally opened by the Emperor. The Premier, followed by the Ministers of War and of the Navy, spoke on the situation which confronted Japan. Suzuki declared that the demand for unconditional surrender, which, if it were yielded to, would mean slavery for Japan and for all East Asia, had

stiffened Japan's resolve to fight on. He mentioned the contributions of "Manchukuo" and of Japan's other East Asiatic allies and said that Japan eagerly desired to promote friendly relations with neutral Powers. He recalled his visit to San Francisco in 1918, when he had told an American audience that there was absolutely no reason for war between Japan and the United States and that, if it did come, there would be an endless struggle in which both would suffer. That war had in fact come was a matter of the utmost regret; nevertheless, Japan had no alternative but to continue the struggle. Suzuki expressed his conviction that internal conditions in the United States and developments in the international situation were good reasons for Japan to go on fighting for victory.

General Anami said that it must be frankly admitted that the general military situation in East Asia was unfavourable to Japan. Heavier air raids, followed by an attempt at invasion, had to be expected. But, said Anami, since Guadalcanal, the Japanese forces, scattered in distant islands, had been compelled to bear the brunt of concentrated attacks and could not be reinforced. This state of affairs would be largely reversed in the event of an attack on Japan itself, since the main strength of the army could be employed for the first time since the outbreak of war. He said that the Special Attack Corps were steadily improving in skill; they, together with Japan's air forces in general, would assail the invasion forces while they were still at sea and the army would hurl itself upon those who succeeded in effecting a landing.

Admiral Yonai said that the situation on Okinawa was unfavourable; although the naval air, surface and undersea units had inflicted "enormous damage" upon the enemy fleet, they had not been able completely to destroy it or to gain control of the air. But he declared that it was an axiom of war that victory went to those who fought best in the last five minutes.

Domei (9th June) said that the chief business before the Diet was the consideration of the Extraordinary War Measures Bill, which would transfer to the Government practically all the rights and powers of the Diet, and would enable the Government to issue orders relating to all branches of the war effort; such orders would override all existing laws. Before the Diet session met, negotiations had taken place between the Government and leading members of the Diet; in these discussions an important rôle had been played by the Dai Nippon Seijikai. The general consequences of the Bill would be similar to the bringing into force of the Emergency Imperial Power referred to in Article 31 of the Constitution.

Article 31 of the Constitution of 1889 is included in the Chapter on Rights and Duties of Subjects and reads: "The provisions contained in the present Chapter shall not affect the exercise of the powers appertaining to the Emperor, in times of war or in cases of a national emergency." These powers are nowhere defined in the Constitution; they are in fact extra-constitutional, and, as Suzuki told the Diet, could be brought into effect without reference to it. But, he said, the Government did not wish to take such action; it preferred to retain parliamentary functions as much as possible under the circumstances. Therefore, instead of simply advising the Emperor to exercise his emergency powers, it had framed the Extraordinary War Measures Bill for Diet sanction. Suzuki pointed out that Article 4 of this Bill provided for a Committee, to be composed exclusively of those connected with Parliament, which would advise the Government on the exercise of its powers under the Act. The War Minister said that, under the proposed Act, administration would be carried on by the political departments of the Government and not by the military ones; this was where it differed from martial law, which the army did not want to invoke except where it became absolutely necessary. Some Diet members wanted to know how the proposed Act would differ from the existing General Mobilisation Act. The Minister of Justice explained that the latter Act presupposed the existence of a central Government with effective authority over the whole country; the new Act provided for an emergency in which the central authority might find it impossible to function, in which case the regional authorities would need full powers to act in their various areas.

Despite these official explanations there were prolonged and heated debates in the Lower House upon the Extraordinary War Measures Bill; the Diet session, originally scheduled for two days only, had to be twice prolonged by a day and the Bill did not get through the Committee stage in the Lower House without amendments, although these are stated to have been of a minor character (*Domei*, 11th June).

The Extraordinary War Measures Bill should be considered in conjunction with the establishment, on the 10th June, of Regional Superintendents-General.

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These are the present chairmen of the eight regional councils, who thus become superintendents-general for their respective regions, with greatly-increased administrative powers. This is part of the general policy of administrative dencentralisation, which is being put into effect in Japan to cope with the heavy air attacks and with threatened invasion.

On the 8th June the Chinese Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs declared that no effort would be spared to foster Chinese-Soviet friendship; that relations between the Chinese and Soviet delegations at San Francisco had been very satisfactory, and that Molotov had expressed his "great gratification" at the co-operative spirit of the Chinese delegation. Mr. K. C. Wu also said that, with the signature of the new treaty between China and the Netherlands, China had completed the task of getting rid of the unequal treaties.

At a recent Press conference in Washington Mr. Grew denied that any secret arrangement about Korea had been concluded at Yalta and he declared that the decisions in respect of Korea reached at the Cairo Conference still held good. He further said that the Korean Provisional Government in Chungking could not be invited to San Francisco because it had no footing in Korea and was insufficiently representative of her people. It was the policy of the United States Government to take no action which might impede a liberated Korean people from freely choosing the kind of Government it desired.

(For recent Soviet press attacks on the Kuomintang see under "Soviet Union.")

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The accumulating signs of unilateral action by the Soviet Union and the impression left by the Press of a general deterioration of inter-Allied relationships had engendered a mood of baffled despair in the United States. The excellent news, however, that Marshal Stalin had agreed to a solution of the veto issue at San Francisco, and the general report that Mr. Hopkins's series of talks in Moscow had been markedly successful and that there was again hope of a Polish Government along the lines of the Yalta agreement, have led to a wave of hope and good cheer, after a week of tension and uncertainty. The settlement of the veto deadlock was hailed as a victory for President Truman and Mr. Hopkins and, though to a lesser extent, tributes have also been paid to Marshal Stalin and Mr. Stettinius.

"For what the Russians lose" according to the *New York Times*, "in falling into line with the general sentiment at San Francisco, they gain in immediate and practical goodwill, by this demonstration of their willingness to break the deadlock and hold the Conference together." Strong evidence of the steeply declining confidence in the Soviet Union, indeed, had earlier been apparent in a public opinion poll, which found 45 per cent. optimistic about Russia's intentions and 38 per cent. mistrustful, as compared with 55 per cent. optimistic and 31 per cent. mistrustful during the Post-Yalta phase in March of this year.

It is significant, however, that depressed though the Americans have been about international relationships, there has been no recrudesence of isolationism. Even ex-Governor Landon has declared that America must "seize the balance of power," and the definition of America's rôle as that of "mediator," given by Mr. Stettinius, has been warmly welcomed. Part of this success, is undoubtedly due to President Truman's earnest endeavours to promote national unity and to perpetuate the "era of good feeling." In this respect, his interview with Ex-President Hoover and his invitation to Governors Landon and Dewey have been enthusiastically applauded in large sections of the press.

Discussion of the situation in the Levant continues to follow the lines indicated in last week's *Summary*. His Majesty's Government's intervention has so far met with general approval, and there is no doubt that the French action is considered to have been both violent and foolish. But there is also noticeable a strong undercurrent of suspicion in certain quarters that the British have been unduly rough, and that their motives are not entirely disinterested. This is particularly marked in the Left-Wing Press. President Truman, when asked by the Press if he would favour a big Five meeting to settle the dispute replied that he would *not*. In amplifying this view, Mr. Truman stated that he thought the near eastern situation could be worked out without a big Five meeting. As to the meeting of the big Three, that would be held to discuss world affairs, he said that he hoped that it would take place within the next forty days.

The President stated that approval by Congress of the Bretton Woods Monetary Agreement would be a step "of paramount importance in the establishment of a sound economic foundation for lasting peace . . . . a pattern for American participation in international economic and security co-operation"; and his call for "full bi-partisan support" was followed by the passage of the agreement by an overwhelming majority in the House of Representatives (345 to 18 votes). Mr. Raymond Swing, expressing his elation at this result, maintains that the result cannot fail to impress America's Allies as "graphic evidence that the United States will accept its post-war responsibility." But it is still a little early for jubilation. The measure now goes to the Senate where Republicans are expected to open a vigorous battle.

That certain of the Republicans, despite Governor Dewey's appeal, have not yet abandoned the tenets of economic nationalism can be deduced from the decision of the Senate Finance Committee, by ten votes to nine, to recommend the extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, only after striking out of the Doughton Bill the provisions which would allow the President to reduce tariff duties by as much as 50 per cent. below existing rates. A mere extension of the Act under these conditions is of little avail, as most of the powers to reduce the tariff have already been exercised. The Republicans voted as a *bloc* against these further provisions, supported by three Democrats, Senators Walsh (Massachusetts), Gerry (Rhode Island) and Johnson (Colorado). Surprisingly, Senator La Follette (Progressive, Wisconsin) supported the Administration. However, Senator Walter George (Democrat, Georgia), Chairman of the Committee, has announced that he will seek to restore this provision when the Act is debated on the floor of the Senate, or if not then, in the subsequent conference between the two Houses. Supporters of the Administration's policy are thought to be stronger in the Senate than in the Committee and Governor Dewey has done his best to give an internationalist lead to those Republicans who still show a tendency to return to economic isolationism.

In a notable speech, indeed, Mr. Dewey, as titular head of the Republican Party, has expressed himself in favour not only of the acceptance of the Bretton Woods monetary plan, but of the repeal of the Johnson Act, which forbids loans to nations in default on their 1914–18 War Debts, and of the cancellation of these debts and the speedy settlement of Lend Lease obligations. He has also advocated the extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act and has suggested that the United States should convene an international economic conference to bring about general tariff reductions. "We are entitled to ask in return," he said, "that our partners shall fully live up to the other part of their obligations by eliminating barriers to commerce, and by promoting the betterment of world-wide economic and social relations, as well as the cause of the freedom of the individual for which this war is being fought." And he added, "all of the work being done at San Francisco will mean tragically little if economic conflict is to divide the nations."

Despite representations to the President by the Labour Unions (The American Federation of Labour and the Congress of Industrial Organisations, both of which are probably at the peak of their influence), there is to be no immediate relaxation of wage control, and the Little Steel formula limiting wage increases to 15 per cent. over January 1941 levels is to stand, pending a thorough study of wages and commodity prices. This was announced by President Truman in turning down the request from Mr. Willian Green that basic wages should be increased up to 20 per cent. above the present levels to compensate for loss of overtime payments following reconversion and to create "adequate buying power." Mr. Green and Mr. Philip Murray, Presidents of the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. respectively, told the President that statistics showed that from January 1941 to April 1945 retail prices had risen by 29·6 per cent., while according to Mr. Green, wages had only risen by 19·7 per cent. Labour leaders, however, are said to be not discouraged, since on the same day officials of the United Automobile Workers' Union (C.I.O.) had an interview with the Chairman of the War Labour Board, from which, it is reported, they obtained the impression that within a month some way would be found to compensate the workers for their loss of earnings following reductions in the work week and in overtime payments. Meanwhile, Mr. Paul McNutt, War Man-Power Commissioner, warned returning Servicemen not to expect too much in the Labour market.

Ambassador Edwin Pauley, the President's personal representative on the Allied Reparations Commission, has now arrived in Moscow. In a press conference at Paris, he advocated that the Allies should confiscate Germany's heavy "war potential" industries. "What we can't move we must destroy."

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He warned the Allies that they must avoid the fatal error made after the last war, when they helped the Germans to build up heavy industries and machine tool plants so that they could make reparation payments.

(See also under " Far East ".)

LATIN AMERICA.

On the 4th June, the second anniversary of the establishment of military government in Argentina, the President addressed a long statement to the nation describing the work done in the various spheres of public affairs during this period. General Farrell again gave no indication of a date for elections, but he concluded with a hint (referring to the " last days of my public life ") that he might be ready to hand over the Presidency. However, the whole speech was ambiguous, and this may be simply another example of Argentina *viveza*.

The Argentine Supreme War Council has imposed sentences of up to six months' detention, with or without dishonourable discharge, on General Espíndola and other officers implicated in the " conspiracy of the 27th April " (see *Summary* No. 291). The Government's emphasis on the heinousness of the offence is in sharp contrast with the lightness of the sentences passed; this suggests the weak position of the régime *vis-à-vis* the armed forces. The Governmment have also lifted the suspensions imposed on newspapers and printers, and promised that in future suspensions shall only be imposed by decree for reasons of public order. It was explaind that the Government's previous guarantee of full liberty for the Press had been subject to security measures which " had unmasked a vast conspiracy against the interests of the country." Meanwhile, no charges have been brought against the civilians who were arrested, and though many prominent figures have been released, it appears that the prisons are still well-appointed.

On the 6th June the Chilean Senate refused to confirm the appointment of the proposed new Ambassador to Argentina, apparently until the Chilean Foreign Minister should return from San Francisco. This is a marked departure from the normal course of Chilean policy towards Argentina. President Rîos has accepted an invitation from President Truman to visit the United States in October.

On the 5th June President Vargas signed a decree declaring a state of war between Brazil and Japan. He explained that this had been done in order to display Brazil's solidarity with the democracies. It is not impossible, however, that two other questions are in the President's mind—Brazil's prestige in the world and her internal situation.

UNITED NATIONS.

The San Francisco Conference welcomed with relief the announcement that an interview between M. Stalin and Mr. Hopkins, the United States special envoy to Moscow, had resulted in agreement of the four sponsoring Powers on the " veto issue " (described in last week's *Summary*). The Great Powers now agree in recommending that no member of the Security Council shall be able alone to prevent consideration or discussion of a dispute or situation brought to that body's attention by any State, whether a member of the Organisation or not. Dr. Evatt, of Australia, supported by some of the smaller States, is still unwilling to give up the attempt to raise the veto from formal investigation and recommendations for the peaceful settlement of disputes; but it does not seem likely that this final difficulty will seriously hold up progress on this part of the Charter.

The Committee dealing with arrangements for the enforcement of decisions by the Security Council has adopted an important amendment, proposed by Canada, that before calling on a State to provide armed forces in an emergency the Security Council should invite that State to participate in the decisions of the Council concerning the employment of these forces.

The discussions on trusteeship for dependent territories are nearing completion. Recent debates have centred round the provision that, pending the conclusion of trusteeship arrangements, nothing in the Charter shall alter the rights of any State or any peoples in any territory or the terms of existing international instruments (such as League of Nations Mandates). The Arab States have shown particular concern that nothing should prejudice the position of the Arabs in Palestine as provided for in the League Covenant.

There has been some discussion on a proposal, eventually rejected by the Committee concerned, to empower the Assembly to recommend revision of treaties. The British delegation held that such unqualified powers would be dangerous; but that the Assembly's power to recommend peaceful measures for the adjustment of any dispute, regardless of its origin, would cover the case of treaties whose provisions were impairing friendly relations.

It was noted (in *Summary* No. 291) that the statements of Mr. Stettinius and Mr. Eden, at the opening session, that the Charter would be open to subsequent revision might reconcile the smaller States to points in it which they did not like. An agreed four-Power amendment, submitted early in the Conference, provides that a Conference of the United Nations for the purpose of reviewing the Charter may be held at a date and place to be fixed by a three-quarters vote of the Assembly with the concurrence of the Security Council (the Council decision requiring seven affirmative votes but not necessarily unanimity among the permanent members); amendments decided upon by a two-thirds vote at such a Conference would, however, be subject to ratification by all the Great Powers and a majority of the other members of the Organisation. The small Powers welcome this provision for review of the Charter, but some of them dislike the opportunity given to the Great Powers to block amendments at the second stage; and some wish that the Conference should be held after a fixed period of years, or that the decision to hold it should be taken by an unqualified majority of the Assembly. There may, on the other hand, be a danger that enthusiasm in the cause of revision might cast doubt upon the stability of the new Organisation; and the fear has been expressed that, if the process of amendment were made too easy, this might enable isolationist forces in the United States or the U.S.S.R. to reduce or even withdraw the co-operation of their countries after a period of years.

Denmark has accepted an invitation to join the Conference, and her request to adhere to the United Nations Declaration is being granted. This raises the number of States represented at the Conference to fifty.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 298

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
20TH JUNE, 1945.

Copy No. 141

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

THE first reshuffle of Allied troops in and out of the zones of Germany to be finally occupied by each of the four Great Powers has now begun. Units of a British corps were stated on the 12th June to be moving into the northern half of the Rhine province to take over areas occupied by the American XVth Army before the German surrender. Their movement was accompanied by the news that Field-Marshal Montgomery would take over the military administration of a region containing what is left of the heavy industries of the Ruhr valley, with the partially destroyed iron and steel plants of Essen, Duisburg, Wuppertal and Solingen, as well as the Regierungsbezirke of Düsseldorf, Cologne and Aachen. On the 14th, United States troops in the Chemnitz area were reported to have withdrawn to the western bank of the Mulde, a tributary of the Elbe, from 800 square kilometres of territory, which would be entered by the Russians. In the north the British military authorities were at the same time said to be taking steps to prevent an exodus westwards of German civilians from Schwerin, the provincial capital of Mecklenburg, after it had become known there that the whole of Mecklenburg would be occupied by the Red Army.

A clearer picture of the relationship between the executive branches of Allied Military Government and the German administrative units which are being revived under native leadership has begun to emerge in the past two weeks. Military Government detachments have been established at several levels to correspond to the pre-1933 German administrative units: a "P" Detachment controls the military Government of a province and corresponds to the German Oberpräsident; and an "RB" Detachment is set up at each of the subordinate Regierungsbezirke to control the work of the German Regierungspräsidenten. Local Military Government Detachments are distributed through the province, each usually covering a number of municipalities, although the major towns have Military Government Detachments of their own. Each Military Government

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Detachment from the provincial down to the municipal level is staffed with specialist officers to correspond to the food, labour and other public departments of the German administration. Some regional economic offices set up by the Nazis, as for instance the Landeswirtschaftsämter and the Landesbauernschaften, have been re-established, but others, like the Gau Economic Chambers, which were co-ordinated with the Party Gaus, have been abolished. The main disadvantage of the present arrangement is seen by Allied officers on the spot in its failure to provide for the gradual restoration of some form of self-government and for the re-education of the German people to a sense of responsibility. All native officials appointed so far are, from the Oberpräsident down to the village Bürgermeister, answerable only to Military Government and cannot be called to account by their local German communities. In some towns, however, notably at Arnsberg, a general " consultative committee " of responsible citizens drawn from the various anti-Nazi groups, has been successfully constituted to advise the Bürgermeister and, along with a number of specialised sub-committees, to serve as a link between the administration and the population on everyday matters like food and billeting.

Military Government's experiment with the appointment of a native administration in Bavaria (see this *Summary* No. 296) has been criticised in the Allied press on the grounds that the new German Prime Minister, Dr. Friedrich Schaeffer, is being asked to work with a Minister of the Interior, August Fischer, who served at a high level in the Bavarian Ministry of Education of the Nazis and who was only dismissed from Hitler's service in December 1941. The new Bavarian Minister of Economics, Dr. Karl Lange, has likewise been assailed as an abettor of National Socialism in his previous capacity as general manager of the Loewenbrau breweries and chairman of the Bavarian Brewers' Association. Minor officials who bullied their fellow-Bavarians throughout the twelve years of the Hitler régime are alleged to be still bullying them under Military Government, while landowners who by their loyalty to the Nazis received better equipment and fertilisers than their neighbours are said to be receiving preferential treatment from the Allied authorities because they have meanwhile become the more efficient farmers. " Werewolf " activities are reported to have become bolder in some parts of Bavaria, and Nazi slogans and typewritten proclamations have appeared in places near Munich. Against these and other such allegations, however, must be recorded the fact that Military Government has published over the Munich radio on the 12th June a number of unambiguous measures to purge the local administration of any last vestiges of National Socialism. Under these, all employees of the Munich municipality who had joined the Nazi Party or its affiliated organisations before the 30th January, 1933, are to be dismissed at once, as are all members of the S.S. and holders of Party distinctions like the Blutorden, irrespective of their date of joining.

Among a number of native officials whose appointment would appear so far to have been cordially approved in all quarters is the new Oberpräsident of the relatively large and populous Rhine province, Dr. Johannes Fuchs. Now 70 years of age, Dr. Fuchs has been a life-long adherent of the Catholic Centre Party and, as he himself has just confessed, a sworn enemy of the local big business men who made a fortune out of being Nazis. He held the post of Oberpräsident, to which he has now returned, from 1922 until the accession of Hitler to power in 1933, with a brief break in 1923, when he served in Stresemann's Cabinet as Reich Minister for the Occupied Areas (of Germany). Anti-Fascist committees and works councils have for some time existed in a number of communities in his province. In the industrial town of Solingen, representatives of these works councils have been given temporary authorisation to act as collective bargaining agents with local employers and permission to hold a series of meetings of their fellow-craftsmen. Some 120 miles to the south of Dr. Fuchs's province, the French authorities are just staging their first rehearsal of German democratic government at Constance. Here a new town council, consisting of two representatives of the Centre Party, one Democrat, one Social Democrat and one Communist, has been set up to help the local French military commander with the government of the municipality.

At least 4¼ million Germans are now stated to be receiving copies of the Allied-controlled German newspapers published in the 12th Army Group area, and up to 2 million more are expected to do so by the end of this month. At the moment, the newspapers are only published weekly, with special editions to cover important events like the meeting of the four supreme Control Officers in Berlin. Methods of distributing even the same newspaper are, however, still by no means uniform. The *Münchner Zeitung*, for example, is handed out free of charge

by the Bürgermeister on the basis of one copy to five German residents in the outlying districts of Bavaria, whereas in Munich itself it is sold by regular newsvendors at 20 pfennig a copy. A substantial section of the German population still has no access to the press or wireless (the use of the latter being denied them in many places because the electric current is still cut off), and it is therefore not surprising that rumours have been found to circulate freely where firm information has been scarce and that evidence of an organised whispering campaign to the detriment of the Allies has been detected. Underground Nazi newspapers are reported to have made their appearance in districts along the Swiss frontier, bearing the names of two former official dailies in Baden, the *Bodensee Rundschau* and the *Führer*. Correspondents at 12th Army Group headquarters also state that a Nazi radio transmitter has been heard operating in the Weissenburg area, north of Augsburg.

The repatriation of the 3,300,000 displaced Allied nationals who are still in former Reich territory remains one of the major problems with which the Military Government authorities have to deal. A daily exchange of former prisoners of war and civilians liberated by the Red Army and the Western Allies, in accordance with the S.H.A.E.F.–U.S.S.R. agreement signed at Leipzig on the 22nd May, has now been in operation for just over three weeks and has already provided for the transfer of large numbers of Russians by the 6th, 12th and 21st Army Groups. U.N.R.R.A. is stated to be at work in 230 camps in western Germany, registering and medically examining men and women from all Allied countries for repatriation. In some cases there have been unavoidable delays, food shortages and recalcitrance on the part of the persons to be moved. The French Minister for Prisoners has been able to promise, however, that there would be none of his compatriots left in Germany after six weeks (there were some 1,200,000 to be repatriated), with the exception of Military Government personnel and men too ill to be moved. Radio Bratislava has announced the return home of 2,000 Czechs from Dachau, and the Netherlands Repatriation Bureau has stated that 120,000 Dutch nationals have already been brought back by road, rail or air. At the moment, the 600,000 Poles estimated to be left in Germany present the greatest difficulty of all. There is little evidence as yet that a high proportion of these are inclined to react favourably to the demands of the Lublin authorities that they return home at once, and many, especially from eastern Poland, are said to be eager to remain abroad. Radio Lublin itself has suggested that the 20,000 Poles in Berlin would be given every facility by the Russian Commandant to stay there.

A drastic measure of reorganisation in the Berlin banking system was announced by the head of the Financial Department of the Municipal Government, Dr. Liepert, on the 11th June. Only one bank, the Berliner Stadtbank, Dr. Liepert stated, would be permitted to function from now on, and this would absorb the former Reichsbank. Suburban branches of the Reichsbank would become branches of the Stadtbank, as would the old municipal banks and savings banks. All remaining banks were to hand over their current balances to the Stadtbank, and no withdrawals could be made even from the Stadtbank, except for work of reconstruction and the payment of wages. The issue of land reform has also been raised by the Russian-controlled publicity services, and the Berlin radio has depicted the present happy life of simple peasants on large estates where the Nazi owners have fled. A new Russian-controlled daily paper, the *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, stressed on the 15th June the desire of its sponsors for a " popular front " of all renascent German political parties with an appeal by the German Communist party for a " *bloc* of anti-Fascist organisations, Communist, Social Democratic, Centre and others." All classes of the community were stated on the 11th June to be eligible for the new Berlin police force, and ex-officers with clean records could find employment training others for its criminal branch. The new Police Chief himself, Colonel Markgraf, who is described as " comparatively young," is presumably a recruit from the German officer-class.

Ribbentrop, Hitler's Foreign Minister and the last leading Nazi to remain unaccounted for, was captured at Hamburg by members of the British Field Security Police on the 14th June. He had in his possession letters addressed to Mr. Churchill, Mr. Eden and Field-Marshal Montgomery, as well as the usual small amount of poison, and he told his captors that he had intended to remain hidden until British opinion had " quietened down." Apparently he had been in Hamburg under the name of Reise since the 20th April. The former Gauleiter of Saxony, Martin Mutschmann, is also stated to have been apprehended by the

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Russians. Friedrich Flick, the leading Nazi industrialist who perhaps prospered more than anyone else from his early support of Hitler, was reported on the 18th June to be in American hands. Altogether, some 16,000 potential Nazi criminals are said to have been rounded up by the United States Security Service, which is now detaining all members of the Gestapo and S.S. from the rank of Scharführer (Sergeant) upwards.

AUSTRIA.

At the meeting arranged between the heads of the Allied Missions and the Russians in Vienna on the 11th June, General Zheltov deputised for Marshal Tolbukhin, who was ill. He had insufficient authority, so that little was achieved, except that the Russians were given a general idea of our needs. They seemed anxious for a quick decision on the zoning arrangements, and genuinely surprised to hear that the Allies might want more than one airfield. There seems little chance that the Russians will withdraw their opposition to the British and American claim that the Gau of Vienna should be considered as the zone of international occupation, but it was thought that there was a good chance of obtaining a good airfield, preferably one for each occupying Power, and adequate accommodation and training facilities in the surrounding country, if this claim was given up. It was expected that the three Missions would leave Vienna for Klangenfurt on the 13th June.

The Carinthian Consultative Committee of 12, which has advisory powers only, held its first meeting on the 9th June. Its head is Hans Piesch, well-known as a former mayor of Villach, and a firm anti-Nazi. It contains a Slovene member and is said to be giving special attention to the views of the Slovene minority. Petek, the leader of the Slovene minority, has been given a special pass to travel from his home to Klagenfurt at any time, and the senior military government officer of Carinthia has personally invited Petek to see him on Slovene minority matters when he wishes, or alternatively to make any complaint he wishes to the local military government officer. No complaints have yet been made. It is proposed to invite correspondents to go to Carinthia to see matters for themselves, and to hold a press conference at which allegations in *Pravda* and the Yugoslav press can be dealt with. The Soviet-controlled Berlin radio, on the 14th, speaking of the building up of self-government in Austria, mentioned the "provincial committee in Carinthia in which all anti-Fascist parties are represented" with apparent approval.

The *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* of the 7th June reported good relations between the Austrians and the American forces, who recently paraded before General Patch in Innsbruck. Relations between the Military Government and the Provisional Provincial Government of the Tirol were developing favourably. As reported by Vienna radio on the 7th June, this Government is headed by Karl Gruber (independent), a prominent resistance leader, and consists of leaders of the Christian Social (four members), Social Democrat (two), and Communist (one) Parties in the Tirol. This article also mentioned that among the numerous Nazis arrested were Gauleiter Hofer and Dr. Primbs, Hofer's right-hand man and Kreisleiter at Innsbruck.

From the French-occupied zone of the Vorarlberg an A.F.P. correspondent reported that a Committee had been set up by the French authorities, with Ulrich Ilg, former Under-Secretary for Agriculture in the Dollfuss Government, at its head. A Zürich report of the 8th June said that the French were really treating Vorarlberg as a liberated country, and the only complaint heard was that the occupation forces were not proceeding energetically enough against former Nazis. The food situation was bad.

Dr. Renner and members of his Cabinet spoke at the inauguration of the short-wave station of Radio Vienna, which was made a political occasion. In his speech Renner spoke of the rising of the Austrian people at the approach of the Red Army, and asked all States to acknowledge the independence of Austria, and to "admit her to the community that the victorious Powers have undertaken to establish." Renner stressed that all political parties, except the Fascists, had joined together "in every district and every province, and finally in the State," in the creation of a new Austria. They had set up a Government in which all parties and all classes were proportionately represented; the Government had the unlimited confidence of all the people. The generous support of the Red Army would always be gratefully remembered. But "the military Power that first occupied Vienna and the most important part of our State has

never linked its support with conditions, has never exercised any undue influence on our decisions, has never and nowhere simply appointed authorities." He looked to the time when the military occupation would no longer be necessary, and Austria would regain her full freedom. Secretary of State Schaerf then spoke for the Socialist Party, Riedl for the People's (Christian Social) Party, and Koplenig for the Communists. Koplenig sent "greetings to all true Austrians from Lake Neusiedl to Lake Constance, from the March to the mountains of Carinthia and Tirol."

Details of the law passed on the 9th May by the Provisional Government in Vienna, outlawing the Nazi Party, indicate that all Austrian members of the Nazi Party between July 1933 and April 1945 must register, even if their membership was only temporary. Registration lists giving name, function, &c., will be published, and a committee of seven, with a professional judge presiding, will investigate claims for the addition or removal of names. The committee is under the jurisdiction of the Minister of the Interior. Pre-1938 members of the Party are guilty of treason and subject to 5 to 10 years' hard labour, and longer terms of imprisonment are prescribed for those holding special office and distinctions, or who indulged in particular brutality. Comprehensive measures are described for the removal from office of people with Nazi affiliations and penalties against them. All cases tried under this law will appear before the "People's Court," in which normal criminal court procedure will be followed, but from which no appeal will be allowed.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

During the past week, the minorities question has made front page news in Czechoslovakia. Mr. Nichols had discussions with Dr. Clementis, Acting Foreign Minister, and the latter made a press statement on the subject on the 13th June. Dr. Clementis said that the bulk of the Germans would have to go, as only a few of them had been proved loyal to the Republic. The Hungarians were in much the same position, although the Government recognised the difference between the old and the new régimes in Hungary. Only those who settled in Slovakia after the 1938 Award, and the active Fascist sympathisers, had so far been expelled—this action was based on the Armistice concluded in Moscow on the 20th January under the terms of which Hungary undertook to recall all those sent in by the Horthy régime after the Award. Mr. Nichols pointed out that the recall applied only to soldiers and officials (Article 2 of the Armistice terms).

Although waiting for the final decisions of the Peace Conference, the Government is proceeding with the military and civil occupation of the border regions. Two big rallies were organised over the week-end, one at Most, a mining town in N. Bohemia, the other at Náměstí-nad-Hanné in Moravia. At Most, the minorities policy was justified and explained by the Ministers of the Interior, Justice and Industry. M. Nosek (Interior) announced that the law on State citizenship, which will protect only the actively loyal members of the minorities, will soon be published. The Náměstí meeting was called to mark the taking-over of land confiscated from the minorities and traitors.

The property of former German agricultural co-operatives had been taken over by Czech co-operatives and German factories by national administrators appointed through the Ministry of Industry. German social insurance institutions at Reichenberg, Aussig and Karlsbad have been placed under the Trade Unions Council. There is some criticism of the type of settler in the border regions, as for example by the Czech paper published in Karlsbad (*Karlový Vary*), which complains about "the grabbing of directorships." The Youth Organisation journal has also made a plea for the careful selection of national administrators. Prague Radio on the 18th denied a statement attributed to *Reuter* that there was something approaching an internal crisis over the minorities programme, or that the government was taking unilateral action over frontier rectification.

In speeches at Plzeň and Tabor on the 15th and 16th, Dr. Beneš referred to the new measures of socialisation affecting heavy industry, to the political reorganisation taking place, to the minorities policy and to the desire of his country to remain sincere friends of the "Big Three." A further step in political reorganisation was announced on the 16th, when the text of the agreement between the three socialist parties was made public. These three parties, the Social Democrat, the Communist and Socialist National, now form what is called the National *Bloc*. While retaining their individual party organisations, they have agreed to follow a joint policy on all matters of public life. This is a move hinted

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at already and leaves the voters at the coming general elections with a clear cut decision between the Left-Wing and the Catholic Centre Party.

POLAND.

The Moscow Consultations concerning the setting up of a Provisional Government in Warsaw that would be recognised by the three Great Powers, as provided for in the Yalta Agreement, were resumed on the 15th March in a friendly atmosphere. As Mr. Law informed the House of Commons on the 13th June, invitations were sent by the Commission of Three in Moscow to an agreed list of Polish leaders from within Poland and from abroad. One member of each group, namely, M. Witos from Poland and M. Zakowski from London, having dropped out, the former owing to grave ill-health, the Commission is considering the invitation of M. Wladyslaw Kiernik, Vice-President of the Peasant Party in Poland, to take M. Witos's place; and has invited M. Kolodzej, secretary of the pro-"Lublin" Polish Seamen's Union in Great Britain, to replace M. Zakowski.

M. Mikolajczyk, who, in M. Vitos's absence, is the chief political figure, apart from the "Lublin" government, in the conversations, arrived on the afternoon of the 16th June; and the same evening M. Molotov gave a reception on behalf of the Commission at which all the Polish groups met. They met together again, but without the Commission, on the 17th and 18th. It is understood that the Commissioners are anxious that as great as possible a measure of agreement should be reached between the three groups of Poles before the Commission is brought into the discussion. So far it is believed that the results in this respect are satisfactory.

The trial of the sixteen arrested Poles opened in Moscow on the 18th June in the presence of members of the Diplomatic Corps and of a large body of reporters and film photographers. The arrests, as M. Molotov stated in San Francisco on the 4th May, were made on a charge of "diversionary activities against the Red army." *Tass*, at the same time, specified charges of "sabotage" and "maintaining illegal radio transmitters" "in the rear of the Red army." The Polish Government in London had early information of the disappearance of the arrested persons, which took place on the 27th March; and in the course of May issued statements of their names and functions and of the circumstances leading up to the arrests (see *Summary* Nos. 292, 294 and 295). The 16th accused person, whose name was not previously known in London, is M. Zwierzynski, stated to be Vice-President of the Underground Council of National Unity and chairman of the National Democratic Party.

The proceedings of the 18th June consisted of the statement by the Prosecution and the calling of witnesses and statements by many of the accused persons. The case for the prosecution was that (1) General Okulicki and the three Polish Government Delegates Jankowski, Bien and Jasiukowicz acted as organisers and leaders of Polish illegal organisations in Poland, Lithuania, Western Ukraine and Western White Russia after the liberation of these territories; (2) that, acting on instructions from the Polish Government in London, they misinformed the Soviet Command as to the dissolution of the "Home army" actually preserving its headquarters and officers' cadres, and on that basis created a new secret military-political organisation with the purpose of carrying on subversive work in the rear of the Red army and of preparing an act of war in a *bloc* with Germany against the U.S.S.R.; (3) that they directed acts of terrorism against the Red army; (4) and concealed and used radio sets for subversive activity against it. (5) General Okulicki is further accused of organising spying behind the Red army lines. (6) The remaining twelve persons are accused of taking part in such subversive activity on Polish territory in the rear of the Red army, and of being aware of the failure of the Underground leaders to carry out the Soviet Command's orders as to radio sets, arms, &c.

It is reported that fifteen out of the sixteen accused persons have pleaded "guilty" to some or all of the charges made against them, notably in regard to the maintenance of the skeleton organisations of the Underground State and the Home army; to the use of wireless receivers and transmitters; and to the retention of stocks of arms. Individuals have admitted the occurrence of attacks on Red army personnel, and stated that it was anticipated that the secret organisation known as N.I.E. (*i.e.*, Niepodleglosc or Independence) would continue even after the formation of the New Provisional Government, and might be used against the U.S.S.R., possibly in an eventual coalition, which might include Germany.

The trial continues.

SOVIET UNION.

On the 12th June *Tass* published an official denial of a statement attributed to the *News Chronicle* to the effect that complete American evacuation of that portion of the Soviet zone of Germany still occupied by American troops was held up by shortage of Russian troops to replace them. *Tass* was authorised to state "that there will be no delay in the occupation by Soviet troops of the area from which the Allied forces are to be withdrawn."

On the 18th June the death was announced of Colonel-General Berzarin, Soviet Commandant of Berlin and Commander of the Fifth Army. He was stated to have died as the result of a motor-cycle accident.

The arrest of Dr. Jagodzinski, representative of Polpress in London, and his detention for a day "in the kingdom of the bludgeon and the whip" at Inverkeithing formed the subject of a scathing article in *Pravda* (13th June). "Around Inverkeithing is Scotland where British law and British customs rule; in Inverkeithing, behind barbed wire entanglements, cut off from the whole democratic world, is a corner of the old Fascist Poland." The incident was made the occasion for a renewed attack on the whole Polish Government in London, and a criticism by implication of the British Government for tolerating it. "Invite a pig to the table and it will put its feet on it."

The trial of the 16 arrested Poles opened on the 18th June, after the arrival in Moscow of the delegation of three from the London Poles. It is being reported in great detail in the Soviet press, but so far no general comment has been received (for details of the trial see under "Poland").

Switzerland has again come under the lash during the past week, particularly in connexion with the alleged harbouring of war criminals. M. Yermashev in an English commentary broadcast from Moscow (12th June) maintained that the Swiss had rendered the Hitlerite régime valuable service throughout the war, not only economically, but also in the political sphere. Not only were they receiving escaping Fascists from Germany and elsewhere, but a large Fascist group was arising in Switzerland itself. *Tass* (16th June) revived the charge of maltreatment of Soviet internees in Switzerland (see *Summary* No. 290) of whom there were stated to be some 9,000. The Swiss authorities were alleged not only to be obstructing the repatriation of these Soviet citizens, but to have placed many of them in unbearable conditions. In view of the above facts, *Tass* stated, the Soviet Government had instructed its organs to discontinue the despatch to Switzerland of all Swiss citizens at the disposal of the Soviet repatriation organs. These Swiss citizens, liberated by the Red Army, would not be sent home until precise information had been received that the authorities in Switzerland had taken effective measures to improve the conditions of Soviet citizens and to hasten their repatriation to the U.S.S.R.

The Soviet press has been devoting increasing attention to the Japanese war. Allied reports are published regularly in the Moscow dailies; the international review in the current number of *Bolshevik* commented on the Australian landings in Borneo and noted Japanese alarm about the course of the war. Colonel Tolchenov (an outstanding Soviet military critic) had a long review of the Pacific war in *Krasnaya Zvezda* of the 15th June, in which he stressed the deterioration of the Japanese position even before the fall of Germany, and pointed out that the total defeat of Germany cannot but influence Pacific operations. "Notes of concern are heard more and more frequently through the loud blare of Japanese propaganda's official optimism," declared Colonel Tolchenov. His final opinion was that Japan itself must be invaded: the Ryukyu Islands (of which the largest is Okinawa) are too small and the Philippines too far away for this purpose and only China can provide a suitable springboard for the final invasion of Japan.

The third anniversary of the Mutual Aid Agreement between the U.S.S.R. and the United States provided the occasion for a cordial exchange of messages between Marshal Stalin and President Truman, and M. Molotov and Mr. Stettinius. Both the messages from the Soviet leaders laid great stress on the important contribution of American aid to the victory of the Red Army, and expressed the conviction that the friendly ties between the two countries would develop successfully in the future. This friendly atmosphere has not precluded a continuance of curiously indiscriminating attacks in the Soviet press on American "reactionaries"; *Izvestiya* (17th June) dealt a particularly spirited blow at the "American advocates of fascism," but stated that they were only the mouthpieces of a small minority.

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The Soviet press has, however, continued to register concern about America's ability to enjoy full employment in the post-war period, an anxiety rather obviously arising from the desire to ensure large-scale trade with the United States as soon as may be. M. Alexandrov in *Trud* described post-war difficulties in the United States and reconversion problems. One of the United States' acutest problems, he said, is the provision of work for the people, and reports from industrial centres show the inadequacy of the palliatives now being applied. He alleged, moreover, that the press was predicting unemployment and an inevitable fall in purchasing power, and asserted that the problem could not be solved internally but only by international collaboration and especially by trade with the U.S.S.R. The same moral was pointed by M. Zhukov in an article in *Izvestiya* from San Francisco. M. Zhukov described the Californian racial medley leading to race tension among the workers in times of unemployment and the superficially happy *bourgeoisie* "haunted by the nightmare of economic depression when war jobs cease."

The reports of election speeches and comment on the forthcoming election in Great Britain continue in the Soviet press. *Pravda's* international review recently noted the growing acerbity and mutual recriminations among the different parties, with each party claiming a monopoly to represent the will and interests of the whole nation. Internal questions were stated to overshadow foreign problems on which the party programmes agreed. The Conservative "bogey" describing the prompt introduction of Socialism as the immediate strangulation of private enterprise was described as "crude electoral strategy," as the Labour programme, according to *Pravda*, "naturally leaves English capital untouched." A survey of election prospects in *Bolshevik* indicated equal chances for victory between Labour with its progressive popular programme and the Conservatives, favoured by the old system of voting and unlimited financial means.

The 220th anniversary of the All-Union Academy of Sciences is being celebrated at a special Jubilee Session in Moscow from the 15th–18th June, attended by distinguished scientists from many foreign countries. The Soviet press and wireless have greeted this anniversary with a spate of congratulatory articles emphasising the special prestige enjoyed by science in the Soviet Union and the achievements of Soviet science since the revolution. Special articles on Soviet physics, astronomy, aviation, &c., in the chief Moscow dailies marked the opening of the Jubilee Session. Following its amalgamation with the Communist Academy in 1936, the All-Union Academy of Sciences is now the focal point for all branches of scientific research in the U.S.S.R. A new building facing the Park of Culture and Rest in Moscow was designed in 1940 by Academician Shchusev, to house this many-sided body; war interrupted the construction of the building which it is now anticipated will be completed in 1948.

Krasnaya Zvezda has attacked the Istanbul correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor* for "libellously asserting that the intelligentsia is being destroyed *en masse* in Balkan countries." The correspondent was alleged to have been in touch with "dubious sources . . . anxious to discredit the democratic Governments in Bulgaria, Roumania and Yugoslavia." The same article also attacked Turkey for its attempts to divide the Great Powers. Turkish flirtation with "reactionary Greek forces" was declared suspect because it aimed at sabotaging a democratic solution of Balkan problems. Finally, Turkey's boast of having a well-equipped army ready to co-operate with Greece in the Eastern Mediterranean was compared with the much larger armed forces existing in Europe and able "to tip the political scales much more definitely."

SCANDINAVIA.

There has been an unexpected hitch in the formation of a new Norwegian Government, after it was authoritatively reported, on the 14th June, that Chief Justice Paal Berg had undertaken to form it. It was expected that at least one representative of the Communist Party would be included in it, and among those expected to be members were M. Gunnar Jahn, Minister of Finance in 1934–35, and Director of the Central Statistical Bureau, M. Einar Gerhardsen, chairman of the Labour Party and Mayor of Oslo since liberation, and General Ruge, who commanded the Norwegian forces during the period of war in Norway.

On the 18th June, however, a sensation was caused when it was announced that M. Berg had been unable to form a Government. It is understood that the crisis was brought about by the opposition of the Conservatives, led by M. Hambro, to the inclusion of M. Trygve Lie and M. Oscar Torp, which was

advocated by the Labour party in the interests of continuity. M. Berg is reported to have recommended the King to apply to M. Fredrik Monsen, leader of the parliamentary group of the Labour party.

The Storting met on the 14th June. The Speaker, M. Hambro, in addressing it, stated that since December 1941 Norway had been at war with Japan, but it is anticipated that this will be given more formal recognition by the Storting itself. The Storting has officially published an account of its proceedings on the 9th April. Telegrams of greeting were sent to the United States Congress, the British Parliament and the Soviet Supreme Council.

The Danish Rigsdag, on the 15th June, set up a commission to investigate the responsibility of Ministers and other officials for the events of the 9th April, 1940. A special commission is also foreshadowed, to try civil servants charged with acting against the national interest during the occupation.

The Central Board of the Danish Social Democratic Party met on the 10th June and decided to set up a special party tribunal to examine cases of misbehaviour on the part of Social Democrat members during the occupation. It advocated the amalgamation, if found possible, of the Social Democrat and Communist parties.

The alliance between the Finnish Democratic League, the Social Democrats and the Agrarians is already showing some signs of instability. It is understood that a Cabinet crisis was narrowly averted in connexion with a proposal for large increases in the wages of industrial workers, which was eventually passed by the Finnish Diet. A considerable number of the Agrarians held the view that these increases gave an undue advantage to industrial as compared with agricultural workers.

Further signs of dissension are brought out in an article in *Arbetarbladet* for the 11th June, disputing a statement by M. Pohjanmaa, editor of *Suomen Sosialidemokraatti*, to the effect that the Social Democratic Party was now completely united. *Arbetarbladet*, representing the so-called opposition within the ranks of the party, contends that this body continues to object to the Right-wing section which was responsible for the war, and in particular to certain personal appointments made under the auspices of the party. The organ of the secessionists who joined the Democratic League—*Vapaa Pohjola*, has also protested strongly against M. Pohjanmaa's assertion.

In connexion with the Swedish metal workers' strike, which has been in progress for some time, a request was received from Finland that some special work should be allowed in the production of ball-bearings to enable Finland to fulfil her obligations to the Soviet Union. The request was refused on the 14th June, but, during their recent stay in Stockholm, M. Leino, Finnish Minister for the Interior, and his wife Mme. Kuusinen, made further representations as to the necessity for this dispensation, to members of the Swedish Communist Party, and a final decision does not yet appear to have been reached.

It was reported by the Stockholm correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* on the 17th June that the Swedish Coalition Government was about to be dissolved in favour of a purely Social Democrat Cabinet. This report appears, however, to be premature: other accounts speak of the continuance of negotiations between the Premier, M. Hansson, and other party leaders in the Coalition, and M. Hansson is known to be constitutionally addicted to compromise. Speaking on the 17th June M. Bramstorp, Minister for Agriculture, said that he considered a continuance of the Coalition essential until the situation, especially abroad, had been further clarified.

Lecturing on the 14th June the Swedish Minister in Paris, M. Boheman, stated that Hitler had intended to attack Sweden in 1942, but that the plan was frustrated by preparations made in consequence of a disclosure by the German resistance movement. M. Günther, the Foreign Minister, has confirmed this statement in an interview with *Morgon-Tidningen*.

LOW COUNTRIES.

On the 14th M. van Acker flew to Salzburg in order to have an audience of King Leopold. He returned on the following day and was received by the Regent. On the 16th the Cabinet met and subsequently this statement was issued to the press: "The Prime Minister told the Cabinet that it was the King's intention to return soon to Belgium. The Government will not take the responsibility for the political developments which would inevitably result in the country as soon as the King returns. In these circumstances, the Government has offered its resignation to the Regent, with the additional declaration that it would be im-

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possible for the Government to administer current affairs as from the moment when the King returns to Belgium, in view of the fact that current affairs would necessarily include the maintenance of public order, and political responsibility for words which the King might utter after his return. The Government therefore insists most strongly that the King should form a Government before his return to Belgium."

Radio Brussels also broadcast on the 16th a report of an interview with an unnamed Liberal Minister, who said that he and his Liberal colleagues were in entire agreement with M. van. Acker's point of view. He added that he thought it would be possible for the King to form a Government before his return. If, however, His Majesty were to follow precedent, he would have to consult the Presidents of the Chambers and political leaders. In conclusion he stated that the Liberals would not participate in such a Government.

The President of the Senate, in an interview published on the 17th said that, though he did not wish to make any political comment he desired to stress the gravity of the situation. He hoped that Belgians would remain level-headed and put the national interest before everything.

M. du Bus de Warnaffe, the Catholic Minister of Justice, also granted an interview, in which he said that the Government must ensure the maintenance of order until the King had formed another Government; there must be continuity in the exercise of power, and it was a primary duty of the Government to maintain order. A resigning Government must not engage in political acts; it must remain united, yet it must ensure the maintenance of order.

M. van Acker himself broadcast on the 18th and said "The Government decided that its strict duty was to inform the King, exhaustively and definitely about the different currents of public opinion, leaving it to His Majesty to take the decision he deemed most in keeping with the country's interests. The Government's decision was taken by all its members unanimously, as was also that of offering its resignation to the Prince Regent, of ensuring the transaction of ordinary business until the eventual return of the King, and of maintaining public order. Pending the King's final decision the Government appeals for calm and discipline. It wishes to state that it will be guided only by concern for the country's higher interests and by its resolve to maintain national unity."

In view of the fact that the King's abdication is now demanded by the great majority of the Liberals as well as by the Socialists and the Communists, it is hard to see how a Government could be formed that would command the confidence of Parliament. There are also other signs that the desire for abdication is growing. It is of interest to note that the *Soir*, a non-Party Brussels daily of good standing and large circulation, has now come out in favour of abdication. The advocates of abdication, however, are all at pains to point out that they desire the maintenance of the dynasty.

His Majesty's Government have throughout the controversy taken the line that the question of King Leopold was one to be settled by Belgium alone and have avoided any action that might give colour to suggestions that they wished to influence the course of events. In this connexion it should be noted that M. van Acker issued the following statement on the 15th: "A (Belgian) morning paper stated that Allied military authorities have refused to allow documents from the King's Household in Brussels specially prepared for him to reach him and that they have also refused to allow him to broadcast a message. This is contrary to the truth. Since the liberation of the King, the Allied authorities have placed at his and the Government's disposal all necessary means for full, free and quick communications. They have never opposed any trip of personalities called to Salzburg nor any transmission of documents; on the contrary, they have facilitated all such transmissions. As for the radio message, no one in official Allied or Belgian circles has ever heard of it."

FRANCE.

The visits of General Eisenhower and the Sultan of Morocco and the celebration of the anniversary of the 18th June, 1940, provided Paris with plenty of pageantry during the past week as an offset to the persistently unsatisfactory food situation.

On the 14th June General de Gaulle presented General Eisenhower with the "Croix de la Libération" at the Arc de Triomphe and later with the Sword of the First Consul. The Allied Commander-in-Chief was also received at the Hôtel de Ville and entertained to a luncheon, which General de Gaulle treated as a Franco-American rather than an Allied occasion.

On the 15th June the Sultan of Morocco, who had arrived at Cherbourg in the destroyer *La Gloire*, was met by General de Gaulle in person and received with all the pomp required to emphasise that France was welcoming an important representative of Islam. The Sultan is subsequently to visit Moroccan troops in Germany.

The highlight on the 18th June came when, on the Place de la Concorde following the parade down the Champs-Elysées, General de Gaulle, flanked by the Sultan, decorated various Frenchmen associated with his early stand with the "plaque" of Grand Officier of the Legion of Honour or the Cross of Liberation. It was very much a French ceremony; and the original plan for using the occasion to confer French decorations on Allied soldiers was dropped. That evening, however, the American Ambassador made a broadcast from Paris to the United States to mark "the fifth anniversary of the historic declaration made from London by de Gaulle."

The present lack of cordiality felt towards us in French official quarters is, indeed, quite evident and continues to find expression in press and wireless comment on the Levant crisis and far outweighs the criticism voiced even in some Resistance organs of the French Government's policy of prestige.

In the course of a statement in the House of Commons on the 14th June, Mr. Churchill reiterated that "the British have no ambitions or desires for aggrandisement in Syria" and "no idea of trying to supplant our French friends there." As for French influence, we should support it, "but only in counsel. It is not for us to secure the establishment of the influence any more than it is for us to pull it down." When a satisfactory treaty between France and the Syrians and Lebanese had been arrived at we would withdraw our troops. He was very glad to hear that M. Herriot was said to be coming to London on behalf of General de Gaulle. The last point was immediately answered by a semi-official A.F.P. communiqué, issued in Paris, which appeared in the French press of the 15th: M. Herriot had not been entrusted with any mission by General de Gaulle and had himself declared that afternoon that there was no question of his going to London in the near future.

The debate on the Levant in the Consultative Assembly was opened on the 15th June by M. Bidault, who read texts which showed (he claimed) that the powers granted to Britain by the de Gaulle-Lyttelton agreement were of a purely military nature and that France's special rights and her duty to maintain order within the territories had been recognised. France herself though a sovereign State had never raised the demand that troop movements in Allied territory in time of war should be subject to the previous authorisation of the authorities in the territory. French soldiers had been attacked in the Levant and had defended themselves. England was overstepping her rights and her intervention had not only involved the evacuation of French troops under painful circumstances: nuns who had been tending lepers for three-quarters of a century had been driven away. The French had no intention of giving up their position in the Middle East. France had proposed a Five-Power Conference—she did not fear to carry the question before ony international jurisdiction whatever. Let an impartial examination be made.

Mme. Viénot recalled her late husband's rôle in securing the 1936 treaties, and while speaking as a determined adherent of an Anglo-French alliance and criticising French mistakes, attacked the activities of General Spears, who had advised the Syrians not to negotiate with the French. M. Schumann referred to a letter from a British officer, dated the 3rd June, which he claimed, constituted a veritable indictment of a certain British line of policy. M. Gorse recalling his intervention of three months before (see *Summary* No. 286) recognised that France's position was compromised, but was critical of British military and economic control in the Near East, and declared that France ought to help the Arab League in a programme of internationalisation. M. Bonte took the Communist line of attacking General Beynet a former member of the Wiesbaden Armistice Commission, thus provoking an interruption by General de Gaulle, who made the point that half the men who fought at Bir Hakeim had served under General Dentz in Syria. The general note of the debate was one of sorrow rather than of anger, and any reference to the importance of Anglo-French friendship was received with cheers.

On the 16th June Mr. Duff Cooper handed to M. Bidault the long-awaited answer of His Majesty's Government to the French proposal for a Five-Power Conference. This states that we share the United States view (already intimated to the French on the 8th June): by bringing in other issues the Levant solution would

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be delayed, and we see no point in the participation of other Powers with no close associations in or knowledge of the Middle East. We propose Anglo-French-United States talks in London with which Syria and Lebanon should be associated. It was hoped that General de Gaulle might attend, as well as M. Bidault. M. Bidault immediately expressed the view that he could not persuade General de Gaulle to authorise conversations in London at the present time, but he thought if we agreed to hold them in Paris it could be arranged. He at the same time expressed himself frankly over General de Gaulle's irritability, criticised his Bir Hakeim reference as tactless, and showed concern at what the General might say when he spoke at the conclusion of the debate on the 19th.

The political manœuvring of parties and Resistance groups in preparation for the general elections to be held in the autumn illustrates the uneasy relations between the Communist and Socialist parties. The former is campaigning for complete fusion with the latter and issued on the 12th June a proposed constitution for a united workers' party to be discussed with the Socialists, the underlying assumption of the Communists being that if unity was achieved the entire Resistance movement would naturally come within the orbit of the new party. At present the Resistance movement is divided between those who are willing to co-operate with the Communists and those who incline more towards the Socialists. Thus the directing committee of the *Mouvement de Libération Nationale* (M.L.N.) decided at a recent meeting by a majority vote to propose a federation with *Libération Nord*, the *Organisation Civile et Militaire* (recently linked in the *Union Travailliste*) and *Ceux de la Résistance*, and to seek agreement on a permanent common policy with the Socialist and *Jeune République* (Left Catholic) parties. The dissenting minority of the M.L.N., however, led by M. d'Astier de la Vigerie, turned to the Communist-backed *Front National*, which is renewing its earlier attempts to unite the Resistance movement under Communist leadership. Attempts to constitute a Left-Centre part based on the Socialists and the Left Catholics are, however, likely to continue to founder on the anti-clerical issue which the Communists have sought to bring to a head. Moreover, while the Socialist Party is not willing for fusion with the Communist Party, the working alliance between the two, in spite of constant pin-pricks on either side, is being steadily strengthened by their joint dissatisfaction with the Government's internal and external policy.

(See also under "Spain," "Italy" and "Middle East.")

SPAIN.

In an interview on the 16th June General Franco declared to a representative of the British United Press: "The Falange wields no political power in Spain and takes no political decisions, because all political power and decisions depend absolutely on the Government. There are some members of my Government who happen to be members of the Falange Party, just as they might happen to be anything else, but, first and last, they are my Cabinet Ministers." General Franco further denied that Spain had been allied in any way with Germany and Italy, and asserted that he had immediately dismissed those members of the Falange who had tried, when Germany seemed to be winning the war, to identify Spain with the Axis Powers. With regard to a restoration of the Monarchy, General Franco stated: "We have already decided upon the creation of a Council of State, which, whenever the necessity arises, would decide the problem of succession as regards the Spanish throne. The Council of State would join to the hereditary principle the traditional Spanish prerogative of demanding from the hereditary prince definite guarantees and the necessary prerequisites of fitness to ascend the Spanish throne."

The first part of General Franco's remarks is in striking contrast to declarations he made in a speech less than a month ago at Valladolid, when, resplendent in Falangist uniform, he reminded 70,000 hearers that Valladolid was the birthplace of a movement in which the blood of the army and the Falange was spilt together in forging a unity which embraced all Spaniards. General Franco has been informed, of course, that the Falange forms a barrier to the development of friendly relations between the British and American Governments and his own; and, according to reliable information, he did at one period heed the voice of reason so far as to prepare a decree dissolving the Falange. This intention, it would appear, was communicated by General Muñoz Grandes, the former Commander of the Blue Division and head of the Generalísimo's Military Household, to the Party leaders. They at once took the bull by the horns and threatened to go down fighting. The army could certainly have had little doubt of its ability to deal with the Party in the event of violence, but the fear of

bloodshed is a very real nightmare in Spain to-day, and the Falange's blackmail seems to have been sufficiently realistic for their purpose. Hence General Franco's perhaps more than usually double-tongued declarations. Meanwhile, lest there be any error about the Falange's attitude, an anti-Allied riot occurred in Barcelona on the 15th June, when, according to press reports, about 100 Falangists paraded to attend a requiem mass for Hitler and Mussolini. On finding that permission for the mass had been withheld, they tried to wreck two cinemas where Allied newsreels and a film of the war in the Pacific were being displayed. Spanish explanations have been offered.

The remainder of General Franco's declarations require little comment. His remarks about Germany suggest that he still believes that, if he calls black white sufficiently often, we may be induced to believe that it is at least a dirty grey. Happily, the acquisition of the German Naval archives by the Allied Governments will make abundantly clear the length to which the Spaniards were prepared to go in providing facilities for our late enemies.

Meanwhile, the so-called "Chambéry incident" has come to complicate the already strained atmosphere of Franco-Spanish relations (see *Summary* No. 296). On the 15th June a trainload of some 470 Spanish nationals, described as diplomatic officials, workers and residents in Germany, were being repatriated via Switzerland and France, when they were set upon by a large mob at Chambéry, and a number of the party were beaten and otherwise misused. The train eventually returned to Switzerland. According to the Spanish version of the story the journey had been agreed to after lengthy negotiations between the Spanish and French Governments, and the passenger-list had been submitted and approved by the French Government, some ten persons having been eliminated on the grounds that they "might have had some connexion with the Blue Division." According to a semi-official French version, precautions were taken to keep secret the date of the departure and the route of the train (in addition to the prohibition on members of the Blue Division), but a Swiss paper, *Voix Ouvrière*, revealed the date and made allegations that the repatriates were in fact ex-members of the Blue Division. This was said to have been reproduced in a Grenoble newspaper, and it has been reported that pamphlets were distributed in Chambéry calling for a demonstration against the Spaniards. The Spanish version maintains that the French guard of 50 soldiers did nothing to protect the passengers, and that 61 of these were severely injured; 100 less severely and 20 were missing. The French appear to admit that 67 Spaniards were hurt. French reports have attributed the affair to the instigation of "pro-Nazi collaborators."

The Spanish authorities have presented the incident as a proof of the stability of conditions in Spain in contrast wth the chaos alleged to reign in France. M. Bernard Hardion, the present French representative in Madrid, has a task which is not to be envied.

ITALY.

The deadlock regarding the formation of a new Italian Government has, at last, apparently ended. Signor Ferruccio Parri has succeeded in persuading the six parties to co-operate with him and he has visited the Quirinal, where the Lieutenant of the Realm charged him to form a new Government. The choice of a Minister of the Interior was one of the chief difficulties but this has now been solved by Signor Parri retaining it himself as well as the Presidency of the Council. It is reported that Signor Nenni, the Socialist leader, and Signor Brosio, leader of the Liberal Party, will be joint Vice-Presidents. Signor Nenni's principal task will be to prepare for the elections of a Constituent Assembly. There is also a report that Signor Togliatti, the Communist Party leader, is to be Minister of Justice. This appointment may be made in order to convince the North that the Government intends to speed up Epuration. Signor De Gasperi is said to be remaining at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Signor Ferruccio Parri was born in Genoa in 1890 but all his studies were done in Milan and he is more connected with that city than with any other. He became a professor of economics, but subsequently joined the staff of the *Corriere della Sera*. During the Fascist régime Signor Parri was imprisoned several times for his strongly anti-Fascist views. He was one of the anti-Fascists sent to the Lipari Islands, from whence, it is said, he helped Nitti to escape. He was again arrested in May 1943 but escaped to Switzerland, but returned secretly and became one of the most prominent partisan organisers and was known as "General Maurizio." Signor Parri is described as more of a philosopher and an idealist than a man of action, but he probably did more than anyone else to

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inspire the partisans with a sense of their mission and to get them to co-operate regardless of their political differences. Signor Parri has already told the six party leaders in Rome that he expects them to forget their diversity of opinion while working with him, since he considers that Italy is in the same state of emergency as during the war. Signor Parri has undoubtedly taken on a difficult task at a very difficult time. Whether he will be more successful than Signor Bonomi in making his Ministers collaborate, instead of indulging in Party polemics, remains to be seen. He is a much younger man than Signor Bonomi but, on the other hand, he has little or no political experience.

French troops, which have been occupying the Val d'Aosta, an area round Susa and Tenda and further south, along the Ligurian littoral as far as Imperia, are now being withdrawn to the French side of the frontier. They will be replaced by Anglo-American troops and A.M.G. will function in all the areas lately administered by the French.

THE VATICAN.

In the second part of his address to Catholic youth in Rome (see *Summary* No. 297, "Vatican," for the first part), the Pope pleaded for a definite faith to meet the mistaken but definite theories of to-day. He condemned compromise on the fundamentals of faith or of social life. "A believing Christian must hold firmly all revealed dogma and all the truths which derive from it, and therefore the fundamental principles on which rests the structure of every healthy social doctrine. Such fundamental principles oblige in conscience all Catholics, no one of whom may lawfully make compromise with systems, tendencies which contradict these same principles or against which the Church has set the faithful on their guard."

The papal Under-Secretary of State handed to the British and United States representatives the official archives of the German Embassy to the Vatican which the Vatican had asked the German Ambassador to surrender. It would seem, therefore, that the Vatican recognises the Allies as having assumed the government of Germany. At the same time Mgr. Montini hoped that in the future some new German government might accredit its representative to the Vatican, and that the Allies would not permanently turn the Embassy building (which is not in the Vatican City) from its traditional use.

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

Hungary has been gratified by more strikingly friendly speeches from the U.S.S.R., which is also reported to be considering the conclusion of a commercial agreement with her. Trade negotiations are also proceeding with Roumania, with which country the political rapprochement is also being pushed forward, blessed by approving comment from M. Fedorov. An exchange of visits of democratic youth organisations has provided occasion for similar demonstrations of friendship towards Yugoslavia. Only towards Czechoslovakia is the tone different: pronouncements by Czechoslovak statesmen on their proposed policy towards the Magyar minority have evoked open protest.

The lull in internal politics inaugurated by Rákosi's Whitsuntide speech continues. The election or nomination of the Transdanubian Deputies to the Provisional Assembly has been officially authorised; the convocation of the Provisional Assembly has been promised for a near date; and the first draft of the Franchise Bill for the Constituent Assembly has passed the committee stage. Further, energetic steps are being taken to create order among the police, against whose excesses and Communist zeal complaints had been particularly rife. The Communists are, indeed, already complaining that they have been too conciliatory: while they were devoting all their energies to material restoration, especially on the railways, the "reaction" has stolen marches on them in the political field. The National Peasants, too, complain of lack of revolutionary enthusiasm among the masses. Many more ex-deportees and internees, including some well-known figures, have returned to Hungary. The Jewish population of Budapest is now estimated by the Jews themselves at 180,000 against a peace-time figure of 201,000—a smaller decrease than that of the non-Jewish population. B. Imrédy, the Right-wing ex-Premier, has been discovered and interned by the United States army.

Four Hungarian *savants* have gone to Moscow to participate in the anniversary celebrations of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

Jozsef Grosz, Bishop of Csanad and acting Archbishop of Kalocsa, has been appointed *ad interim* Primate (see *Summary* No. 296).

There have been further increases in wages and taxes, but the upward movement of the cost of living figure has been halted, largely through the arrival from the country districts of more ample supplies of early summer produce.

Roumania.

The head of the Roumanian Press Department is reported to have announced to a gathering of journalists and editors of newspapers that *Reuter's* is a Fascist Agency. This remarkable report coincides with an official increase of pressure on the press. It appears that "agreements" with the Government have been made with certain of the papers which up to the present have been as independent as any newspaper can be in Roumania if it is to be allowed to appear at all. Those papers which accepted the situation were granted an increased quota of paper. A deputation of "democratic journalists," headed by the Socialist Minister Titel Petrescu, asked the Prime Minister to bring the censorship to an end now that the war was over. Dr. Grozea promised to convey their wishes to the Cabinet, but it is felt that there is little chance of the Communists who favour the censorship allowing it to come to an end. The independent paper *Universul*, which up to the present has carried on the front page the name of the director, appeared on the 3rd June with, in place of Dl Lugoşianu's name, the announcement, "published under the management of a committee of direction."

A communication from General Vinogradov makes it clear that almost all the Roumanian railway equipment is regarded by the Russians as spoils of war. The U.S.S.R. has consented to leave with Roumania 8,000 cars and 1,150 locomotives, instead of the 46,000 cars she previously possessed. It is not surprising that railway transport is difficult and much of the difficulty in getting the oilfields into proper working order is due to this. The diesel-engined trains from Bucarest to Braşov and to Constanţa have, however, begun to run again.

Carol, formerly King of Roumania, has received permission from the French Government to reside in Normandy and has been provided with the necessary visa.

Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslavia troops moved out of Trieste. They are reported to have taken furniture, tools, food and scientific equipment with them. On the 12th June Allied Military Government was established. The Yugoslav agency Tanyug on the 17th made many complaints: that the police had tried with a fire-hose to disperse 60,000 [*sic*] people demonstrating for Yugoslavia the previous day, that the military authorities had closed the Tanyug office and handed it over to Stefani [NOTE: The Stefani agency no longer exists], had put an end to the operations of the "People's Court," and had removed the officials of various Yugoslav organisations from their premises.

The first published commentary on the Agreement of the 9th June (see preceding *Summary*, p. 14) was an article in *Politika* on the 14th. The writer attacked the British and United States Governments and the utterances of Mr. Grew and Field-Marshal Alexander. He then described some of the terms of the Agreement; but omitted to mention Pola or the arrangement for the restoration of persons arrested and property removed, and falsely asserted that the Allies had promised to maintain the civil authorities installed during the Yugoslav occupation.

The two Chiefs of Staff met, to arrange matters arising out of the Agreement, at Allied 13th Corps H.Q., on the 13th. On the 17th Radio Belgrade announced that the talks had come to a standstill owing to differences over the civil administration in the Allied zone (about which a false account had been published in Belgrade, as mentioned above).

The Belgrade press continued to assert that a "Fascist" reign of terror existed in Carinthia under the Allied Military Government, which, among other things, allowed "foresters, who are mostly Hitlerites, to carry on."

On the 17th Tito, speaking at Mladenovac, paid a more exclusive tribute to the Soviet Union than he had previously done. "Thanks only to the invincible Soviet Union," he said, "did the sun of liberty dawn. . . . We have to thank our great Ally for our freedom to-day. . . . To discharge our debt we need do nothing else but live in most sincere friendship with this great Ally, the U.S.S.R. . . . Our destiny is linked with our Russian brothers and our Slav brothers. . . ." He mentioned no other Ally.

Much publicity was given to Yugoslav-Bulgarian fraternity and to the review of the Bulgarian First Army during its homeward journey through Belgrade.

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A leading article in *Borba* of the 16th showed alarm at the paralysis of trade. It protested that many of the new authorities showed no understanding of their duties and had not "grasped that trade cannot be set in motion merely by laws and decrees." It was evident that merchants had been turned or frightened out of business and that the Liberation Committees had been incompetent.

The Belgrade–Zagreb line has been repaired and the first train left Zagreb on the 15th.

In north-west Macedonia the Albanian rebellion (see *Summary* No. 291, p. 15) has been suppressed. The Belgrade press is conducting a campaign of protest against the alleged oppression of the Slavs in Greek Macedonia. Yugoslav opinion is represented as indignant. 7,000 refugees from Greece are said to be coming, via Bulgaria, to be settled in Yugoslav Macedonia. This press campaign, combined with troop movements towards the Greek frontier, looks ominous.

Greece.

The Greek Government is taking steps to see that law and order shall be maintained until after elections can be held. To this end 4,000 members of the National Guard are being temporarily transferred to the Gendarmerie, and some 3,000 trained gendarmes at present otherwise employed are being made available. It is hoped that by the beginning of September 4,000 more gendarmes will have been recruited and trained. Both Left and Right-wing elements appear to be well-disposed to the Gendarmerie, who have now been placed completely under the control of the Minister of the Interior. Electoral lists are now in preparation, and should be completed and printed by about the middle of October. The Minister of the Interior now puts mid-November as the earliest possible date for an election. No decision has yet been taken on the method of voting (majority or proportional) or on whether a plebiscite should precede or follow the election.

Rizospastis has reported an interview given by M. Zachariadis to representatives of the Athens Press. Replying to questions M. Zachariadis expressed his surprise that he had not seen in the Press any claim to Cyprus, which was a Greek island. He was also surprised at not having seen any condemnation of those "foreign agitators" who were trying to create a movement for autonomy in Crete. (Commenting on this interview, *Ellinikon Aima* said "foreign agitators" must clearly refer to the British.) The fact that these anti-national efforts got no response from the people was no excuse for the Press not opposing them. As regards Northern Epirus, M. Zachariadis repeated what he had already said in his interview with *Embros* (see *Summary* No. 118), *i.e.*, that it was not in the interests of Greece to solve the problem by violent action. The northern frontier of Greece must be so drawn as to give the country security. A democratic Greece and a democratic Bulgaria could settle the question in twenty-four hours without any bloodshed. As for the claim, voiced by *Eleftheri Ellada*, to Eastern Thrace, M. Zachariadis said that, if the democratic world urged this claim, the Communist Party would, while maintaining its own reservations, bow to the opinion of the majority. In this connexion it may be mentioned that the Salonica Left-wing paper *Dimocratia* has also put forward a claim to Eastern Thrace, alleging that the district is Greek, that Turkey has never done anything to help Greece, and that the wrongs of the Lausanne Treaty might be righted by resettling the Greek refugees in Eastern Thrace.

Albania.

According to a recent account of conditions in Southern Albania, there is little genuine support of Enver Hoxha's régime there, although plenty of lip-service is paid to it. While the south was the chief scene of the Partisans' activities, it is also the more enlightened region thanks to the presence of numerous emigrants returned from America, and to the Orthodox Albanians being on the whole better educated than the rest of the population. There is much criticism of continued conscription, of the Government's incompetence to relieve starvation or to reconstruct, of the contrast offered by the good living and clothes of the authorities with the starvation and rags of most people, and of the tax on war profits, which may be justified in principle but is levied so arbitrarily as to kill business. Three hundred people are in Korça jail awaiting trial as so-called war criminals, which is in itself a disturbing factor. As against all this criticism, however, it is true that roads and bridges have mostly been put in good enough order to last, at any rate, till autumn, that labour and materials—even nails for example—for rebuilding hardly exist and that the

schools are open again, though many children are kept at home to replace the menfolk taken from the fields. Moreover, Korça, the principal southern town, was little damaged by the Germans, although most of the other towns and villages in the south were almost entirely destroyed.

A Soviet Military Mission has arrived at Tirana and been warmly welcomed by the authorities.

Bulgaria.

The break-up of the Government, which last week appeared to be imminent, has not yet occurred, and it seems after all to be the intention of the Communists to leave things as they are until at any rate after next month's meeting of the "Big Three." The process of fomenting discord within, as well as between, the other parties continues; but the façade of the "Fatherland Front" is allowed to remain. Thus, M. Petkov has been replaced by a pliable nonentity as secretary of the influential Agrarian Party Union, and M. Bumbarov actually expelled from its membership; yet both retain their places in the Cabinet. The date fixed for the elections is the 26th August.

The 14th June was the 22nd anniversary of the assassination of Alexander Stambuliski, founder and leader of the Agrarian League and the one outstanding political personality that Bulgaria has produced in recent times. It might have been thought by the country's present rulers inopportune to draw any special attention to this conspicuously independent figure, all the more so since it is upon the outlawed Dr. G. M. Dimitrov that his mantle has obviously fallen. However, strangely enough, the occasion was marked by official celebrations at his birth-place and at Sofia, and a special commemoration stamp bearing his portrait has been issued by the General Post Office. The peasants are evidently credited with surprisingly short memories.

M. Neykov, Minister of Commerce, has been busy warning profiteers and "speculators" that unless they take care they will soon find themselves declared defeatists and have their shops closed and their property confiscated. A special office has been set up by the Industrialists' Union at Sofia to deal with any complaints sent in.

At the bidding of the State the Bulgarian Clergy Congress, which ended its deliberations on the 10th June, tamely undertook to carry out a number of radical Church "reforms" which can hardly be acceptable to the country as a whole. The chief of these innovations are the establishment of a supreme central mixed Synod comprising clergy and laity in equal numbers; a similar mixed committee to administer each diocese; a drastic curtailment, in consequence, of the personal authority of the Bishops; and—perhaps most significantly of all—the restriction of the wearing of any ecclesiastical dress by the clergy to the celebration of the Liturgy in church.

Turkey.

The passing of the Land Reform Bill was celebrated on the 17th June as "Land Day," which is to be an annual festival. It appears that the translation of the proposals into law was largely due to President Inönü's personal intervention. The newspapers had for once been allowed to express themselves freely for or against the proposed measure, and in the Grand National Assembly it caused the most heated debates known for twenty years, taunts of Fascism and Communism being freely bandied about. Exasperated by these futile recriminations, President Inönü appears to have gone to the Assembly and insisted on the deputies—particularly the big landowners—putting country before self. But now, according to one expert foreign observer, it is doubtful whether the measure can be successfully put into force for lack of an accurate up-to-date land survey. This would seem to be an essential condition of land redistribution, but the last comprehensive Turkish survey is three hundred years old and the survey now in the making does not yet cover rural areas.

President Inönü's eagerness to push the Land Bill through and also the recent institution of a Labour Ministry are perhaps to be explained in part by a desire to meet the charge of reaction which Soviet propaganda has been directing against Turkish institutions. In the last few days Soviet propaganda has charged almost all the Turkish press with being reactionary and certain papers—which used undoubtedly to be in German pay—with being still the champions of Nazism. The Soviet Government seems to think this propaganda a useful prelude to negotiations. According to one report in the foreign press the U.S.S.R. is likely to demand *inter alia* the retrocession of Kars, Ardahan and Artvin which she herself restored to Turkey in 1921.

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THE MIDDLE EAST.

The last batch of about 200 French civilians was evacuated from Damascus on the 11th–12th June, but the Ninth Army Headquarters believe that the French Military Commander in Damascus has allowed a few families to stay at their own risk. The French civilians were evacuated in British army transport with their essential luggage. On their arrival at Beirut arrangements for them were made by the French military authorities. The situation still remains tense in Syria, and there have been several incidents. The atmosphere is not likely to clear until it becomes known that the conference, which His Majesty's Government has proposed to the French Government (see under " France ") between His Majesty's Government, the United States Government and the French Government, with the association of the Levant States, is in fact to be held. *Troupes Spéciales* are still endeavouring to desert. On the morning of the 8th June a company of the French Camel Corps at Dumair, near Damascus (men of the Ruwalla Anaza Bedouins), mutinied and killed their Commander and five out of seven other French officers, and four out of six French non-commissioned officers. Some of them went to Damascus in vehicles belonging to the company and offered their services to the Syrian President. The latter ordered them to be placed under supervision in gendarmerie headquarters, and at once informed the British Legation. The British military authorities sent out a column which succeeded in disarming the remaining mutineers without bloodshed—a task which was rendered considerably easier by Syrian co-operation.

The food position in the Levant has been giving cause for anxiety. On the 1st June there was only eight days' supply of grain in Damascus, and in Homs and Hama only enough grain to last until the end of June. In Aleppo there was even less grain. *L'Office des Céréales Panifiables* had ceased to function in Syria owing to hostility to the French, and the trouble was further aggravated by French conversion of O.C.P. transport to military purposes. Except for Latakia, the country would therefore have been without grain after the 30th June, and Damascus itself after the 8th June. At the same time no French personnel could be used in grain collection, not only because of danger to their lives, but also because no one would sell to them or to any organisation employing them. Finding ourselves confronted with a breakdown of existing grain-collecting arrangements, it was considered a matter of military necessity that arrangements should urgently be made to secure that there should be no interruption of food supplies to urban populations in the Levant States. The Minister Resident in the Middle East therefore asked the British Commander-in-chief to undertake provisional responsibility for grain collection as a part of military operations, as it is a major British interest, from the point of view of military security in the Middle East, that the population of the Levant States should be fed. The organisation set up for this purpose is known as MIRA. A temporary agreement to cover the activities of MIRA is being arranged between the Governments of Syria and the Lebanon, and the Commander-in-chief, British Forces in the Middle East. While appreciating that the collection and distribution of the cereal crop in the Levant States is of interest from the point of view of tranquillity and military security, we feel that British participation in any grain-collecting scheme should not involve us in any liability to purchase any part of the crop which might be surplus to local requirements. Our representatives therefore made it clear that His Majesty's Government could not accept such an obligation, and it was accordingly agreed that MIRA should limit its purchases to 250,000 tons, to which this year's crop would probably be limited, so that the question of purchasing the surplus should not arise. We have also been anxious to ensure that the purchase of the crop should be financed by the States themselves to the fullest extent of their capacity.

In Egypt public interest has been centred mainly on the meeting of the Council of the Arab League. The general opinion amongst Egyptians is that the present Syrian and Lebanese dispute with France constitutes the real test of the efficacy of the Arab League, whose meeting had adjourned pending further developments. The Secretary-General of the League issued a communiqué to the press in which he stated that the Council had studied the measures which its members should take individually and collectively to resist French aggression and to maintain the complete independence and sovereignty of Syria and the Lebanon. It had been decided by the Council that the Arab States should be informed of the recommendations decided upon by it, and that the present session was not to be considered as closed—but only postponed to a future date on the summons of the President of the League. It is clear that all the delegates were

determined that France should quit the Levant States. On the other hand, at a banquet given on the occasion of the suspension of the League session, the Secretary-General, Azzam Bey, made a comparatively mild speech ending with the words: " We are extending our hand to the whole world, including France herself, for collaboration on the basis of brotherhood and peace. France has been a faithful friend to the Arab nations for several generations past. We are convinced that she will not desist from her civilising mission, and from the path of world collaboration in the East as in the West."

The Egyptian Prime Minister has declared the restoration of public liberties " in such a way that martial laws would be restricted to their narrowest limits and not go beyond military matters, matters of supplies and matters affecting the property of nationals of enemy countries and countries formerly under enemy occupation." Censorship of the press, periodicals and other printed matter published in Egypt is terminated except in so far as strictly military matters are concerned. Public meetings are not subject to any restrictions other than the provisions of common law, and the authority responsible for military laws no longer has the right to issue an order for detention.

The Wafd party, who considered that they had forced the abolition of martial law and press censorship upon the Government by an interpellation in the Senate last month and by press agitation, are claiming (not without reason) to have scored a noteworthy success. They are following this up by affirming that the time has come to hold free elections under a neutral Cabinet. The Council of Ministers has issued a communiqué on the subject of the Ministerial Commission instituted by a decision of the Council of Ministers last October, to enquire into the integrity of Nahas Pasha's Cabinet. They have decided to refer the report of the Commission to the Chamber of Deputies. It does not, however, follow that action will go further than this, or than possibly a debate in the Chamber of Deputies.

M. Muhsin Sadr, the new Persian Prime Minister, has made considerable progress in his task of Cabinet-making. Five members of the last administration, including M. Sipahbudi, the Foreign Minister, have agreed to serve under him. Three posts, namely, those of Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, Minister of the Interior, and Minister without Portfolio, remain to be filled.

The Freedom Front Press continues to make violent attacks on M. Sadr, while certain of the more moderate papers express regret at the resignation of M. Hakimi and deplore the lack of stability in the Governments since August 1941. It seems improbable that a durable Cabinet will be formed during the lifetime of the present Majlis.

There is no lessening of the agitation in the Persian press for the withdrawal of Allied troops from the country.

THE FAR EAST.

On the 11th June the Japanese House of Representatives passed the Extraordinary War Measures Bill as amended by the House Committee. The chief amendment was to Article 4 of the Bill, which provides for an Extraordinary War Measures Committee. By the original draft of this Article the Government would have been obliged merely to report to the Committee the measures taken under the Act. After a stiff fight the Lower House amended the draft to read: " The Government should consult the Extraordinary War Measures Committee, but in case of emergency the Government may report to the Committee after the measures have been taken " (*Domei*, 12th June). As the Government will presumably be the judge of when an emergency exists it is doubtful if the Diet has gained very much. The other amendments accepted by the Government referred to changes in methods of taxation and to the powers of the newly-established regional Superintendents-General; their nature was not specified. The Bill was sent to the House of Peers, which passed it on the 12th June. The 87th Extraordinary Session of the Diet was formally closed on the 13th June.

From what has been made public of the debate on the Bill, it is clear that some members of the Diet feared that, under the pretext of the crisis in the war situation, an attempt was being made to do away with the Diet altogether. Masamichi Koyama, a member of the Lower House, said pretty plainly that the Bill violated the Constitution; he pointed out that, whereas under the Constitution emergency Imperial Ordinances had to be laid before the Diet at its next sitting (under Article VIII of the Constitution such Ordinances are

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invalidated if the Diet disapproves of them), under the new Bill the Government were empowered to issue ministerial orders which were not to be referred subsequently to the Diet. Baron Hogami made a similar criticism in the House of Peers. The Government's answer was that, under its first Article, the Act would be effective only for the duration of the war and that its scope was limited to measures for coping with an emergency situation,, in which it would not be possible to assemble the Diet and in which the new regional authorities would need full powers to act upon their own initiative.

Despite these official assurances and explanations the suspicion lingered that the new Act might be utilised to bring about a totalitarian régime. Toshio Shimada, Speaker of the House of Representatives, issued a statement immediately after the close of the Diet session in which he disagreed with those who asserted that the Diet was no longer needed because all its functions had been mandated to the Government, and he urged the Government to be very careful about the measures it took under the Act. Suzuki, on the 14th June, told the Press that the new Act authorised the Government to exercise emergency powers only within narrow constitutional limits. He revealed that one of the main reasons why the Government introduced the Bill instead of simply invoking Article 31 of the Constitution (see this *Summary* No. 297), was the fear that the latter step would play into the hands of the enemy whose propaganda was aimed at alienating the Japanese people from their military leaders.

The Diet also passed an Act legalising the People's Volunteer Corps, the organisation of which is proceeding in all districts. All males from 15 to 65 years of age and females aged 25 to 45 can serve (*Domei*, 12th June). When needed, they will be mustered primarily for work in the transport of supplies and the repair of roads and airfields, but some at least will, if occasion arises, be organised for guerrilla warfare and will be equipped with all available weapons, including heirloom swords and bamboo spears. They will not receive any pay and will have to provide their own food and clothing. Members of the Corps who do good service will be awarded the Order of the Golden Kite and those killed in action will be deified with the war dead at the Yasukuni Shrine; their dependants will be entitled to pensions from the State.

On the 14th June Admiral Suzuki gave Japanese correspondents his views on the war situation. He said that he did not consider that the Okinawa battle was a decisive one. The Americans had suffered heavy losses on Iwojima and Okinawa; if the Japanese went on displaying the same fighting spirit and, if their enemies were confronted with the prospect of an endless struggle, they would surely propose a truce. Suzuki said that he had given a pledge to carry on until his death and that he would not resign if Okinawa were lost. With regard to an invasion of Japan itself, the Premier declared that he was confident of victory if the people stood firm. He considered it impossible for the Americans to land a million men at one time and even an invasion with half that strength would take several months to disembark. The Japanese forces would have the advantages of short communications and greatly superior numbers. Suzuki declared that some people were worried; these pointed to what had happened on Luzon, or to the defeat of Germany. But, said the Premier, Japan differed from Luzon, while Japanese officers and men would all fight to the death, which the German Army had not done.

The *Mainichi* (14th June) alleged that the first stage of general civil war between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists had begun with the movement of Communist forces into south China to counter the advance of the Kuomintang troops in Kwangsi and Chekiang, in the wake of the Japanese withdrawal. The *Tokyo Shimbun* (15th June) asserted that the Soviet Union was exerting increased pressure upon Chungking in favour of the Chinese Communists and referred to a report that Russian military and economic experts had been sent to Yenan. This report originally came from *Domei* at Canton; it said that twenty-five Soviet experts had arrived at Yenan to train the Chinese Communist Army in technical matters. It pointed out that this was the first time that the U.S.S.R. had sent such advisers to the Yenan régime. The *Tass* agent in Tokyo sent this report to Moscow without comment on the 6th June.

Yenan Radio on the 13th June reported that the Seventh National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, which opened in Yenan on the 23rd April, had come to a successful close on the 11th June. The Congress had approved the report on the political situation made by Mao Tse-tung and had resolved that the recommendations he had made should be carried out. A summary of Mao's report appeared in *Amerasia* of the 18th May. He declared that the ruling clique of the Kuomintang was preparing for civil war against the Communists and that this clique hoped that the Allied commanders in China might play a

rôle similar to that of General Scobie in Greece. Mao denounced the Kuomintang's plans for a National People's Assembly as a "mockery of democracy," and he insisted upon the immediate replacement of the Kuomintang dictatorship by a coalition Government embracing all parties and groups and also non-party elements. This would be a provisional régime for the duration of the war; after victory was won, a really democratic National Assembly should be convened and this would select a regular democratic coalition Government. He intimated that the Communists would not resume negotiations unless the Kuomintang were willing to accept these terms.

Mao also proposed to the Communist Congress that a conference of "people's representatives" from all parts of liberated China should be called in Yenan to discuss measures for unifying the political activities in these areas, to give directives to the anti-Japanese democratic movement among the people in Kuomintang-controlled areas and to underground movements in Japanese-occupied regions, with the object of forming a coalition Government.

On matters of foreign policy Mao declared that China must improve her relations with the Soviet Union and stated that it would not be possible to reach a final settlement of Far Eastern questions without Soviet participation. He thanked the United States and Great Britain for the aid they had rendered in the common struggle against the Japanese, but he warned the American and British Governments that they would make a grave mistake if they aided "China's reactionary clique in opposing the democratic cause of the Chinese people."

Mao further declared that after the defeat and unconditional surrender of Japan a truly democratic régime should be established there. Korea should be given her independence and independence should also be granted to India, Burma, the Dutch East Indies and Indo-China. Siam should be treated "according to the proper measures for dealing with a Fascist turncoat."

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

President Truman's statement that the results of the Davies and Hopkins missions had "been completely satisfactory and gratifying" and his reminder that the Soviet Union had done some "very pleasant yielding" was greeted with profound relief throughout the United States. The press, ranging from Liberal to strongly Conservative, welcomed this news and took their cue from the President in assembling all the available evidence to prove that the Russians were "as anxious to preserve peace" as were the Americans. This is no time "to muddy the international waters," declared the President. "The all-important thing which confronts us is that the unity, mutual confidence and respect which resulted in the military victory should be continued to make a just and durable peace." The President also announced that a definite time and place had been set for the Big Three meeting. He would be accompanied by Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Byrnes, Admiral Leahy, Mr. Stettinius, the Chiefs of Staff and possibly Mr. Davies, if his health permitted. Later, Washington officials confirmed Mr. Atlee's disclosure that the meeting would take place "in the vicinity of Berlin." Some surprise and annoyance was expressed in the press at this apparent slip, which, according to Mr. David Lawrence, would endanger the lives of the participants. The *New York Herald Tribune*, however, termed the revelation "only a slight annoyance," and praised the choice of Berlin as "symbolically important" and of "practical utility" since it "satisfies Stalin's desires without impairing the prestige of the Western Allies."

It is perhaps largely due to the President himself that the good news this week has not led to exaggerated optimism. Instead the mood is one of restrained and sober satisfaction: partly attributable to obvious signs of improved inter-allied relationships as seen in the better atmosphere over Poland and Trieste and the joint meeting on the control of Germany. Many derive additional encouragement from the announcement that the Senate leaders will push for an early ratification of the United Nations Charter, and the possibility that Congress may have approved the Bretton Woods Agreement and the Reciprocal Trade Act in time for Mr. Truman to arrive at the Big Three meeting with "a trunk full of international bargaining power."

Interest in the question of compulsory military training has now revived as a result of the hearings on the May-Gurney Conscription Bill before the House Committee on Post-War Military Policy. General George Marshall, the Army Chief of Staff, in urging the recognition of the necessity for compulsory military training, told the Committee that such recognition would have a far-reaching

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effect in obtaining a satisfactory international agreement for the terms of peace. "A decision regarding the American Government's general military policy is a matter of urgent necessity at this time. To support our determination to maintain peace," he said, "the world must recognise our military power as realistic, and not as a remote potential." Mr. Grew, the Acting Secretary of State, supported this view, alleging that the scepticism of the Japanese as to the degree of military might behind United States' foreign policy was one of the factors most responsible for the attack on Pearl Harbour. Support for the view that compulsory military training is "a vital necessity" has also been given by Mr. Stimson, Secretary of War, Mr. Forrestal, Secretary of the Navy, Admiral Nimitz, Admiral King, General Eisenhower and General Bradley. Although the proposals in the May-Gurney Bill may ultimately be adopted, there is likely to be much opposition and much delay. Opposition to Labour and Educational circles is indeed strong. A recent poll disclosed that 47 per cent. of college Presidents are opposed to compulsory military training compared with 38 per cent. in favour.

General Bradley has been appointed, with universal acclaim, War Veterans' Administrator. The organisation which he is now to lead has recently been subjected to severe criticism and it is presumably hoped that he will introduce needed reforms.

The arrest by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (F.B.I.) of six persons, charged with the theft of secret documents from the Departments of State, War and Navy, has created great interest and there have been protests that the freedom of the press is in jeopardy. Three of the accused held confidential positions in the Federal Government and another, Philip Jaffé, one of the co-editors of *Amerasia*, a magazine dealing with Pacific affairs, is on the Council of America-Soviet Friendship Incorporated and is said to have made large contributions to the Communist cause in the United States. The Liberal and Left-wing papers avow that the State Department has started a Communist witch-hunt, reminiscent of the "Palmer prosecutions of President Harding's days." Others have alleged that Mr. Grew is attempting to stifle criticism of his Far-Eastern policy. In a statement to the press, however, Mr. Grew rebutted these charges and remarked "We heard somebody in the chicken coop and went to see who was there." He made it quite clear that the arrests were merely the beginning of an intensive drive to try to prevent the unauthorised leakage of confidential material and that this present case involved both the Navy and the State Departments.

The appropriation for the Office of War Information has been practically cut in half by the House of Representatives. Instead of 35 million dollars for the fiscal year beginning the 1st July which was requested, the House wants to give it only 17 million dollars. President Truman has told Congressional leaders that he was "very disturbed" over the action by the House and that it would be a mistake "to abolish some of its (the Office's) major functions while the war is still on." This is one of the issues that has recently led Mr. Arthur Krock to detect rifts in the existing "era of good feeling" between the President and Congress. Other emerging points of disagreement are the requests for expansion of the President's powers to reform the Executive machinery of government, the suggested rise in Congressional salaries and the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. But perhaps on no other issue to date has the President shown greater political courage than in his support for the Bill to establish a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission (F.E.P.C.). This Bill is designed primarily to safeguard the rights of negroes, and it is bitterly opposed by all Southern members of Congress, the vast majority of whom are, of course, Democrats.

The new proposals for India contained in the British White Paper have been received with deep satisfaction by the great majority of commentators. They prove the British to be sincere in their pledges to India and, to quote from the *New York Times*, "contradict charges that the Cripps offer was 'phoney,' and never intended as an honest attempt at settlement." The proposals are seen as an offer of virtual self-government and a step towards eventual independence. The general implication is that it would be foolish for the Indians to refuse to co-operate in this new offer. There have been occasional suggestions that the publication of the White Paper now is "shrewd electioneering," but as Mr. Raymond Swing pointed out, if this were so, then it was a matter for rejoicing, since it demonstrated that British public opinion favoured a more liberal policy towards India.

Mr. Justice Jackson's report on war criminals has been received with nation-wide praise. Mr. Walter Lippmann has described it as "perhaps the most impressive United States State paper of this war." From the extreme Left, as represented by the Communist *Daily Worker*, to the extreme Right, public

sentiment seems solidly behind the recommendations. The principle of swift trial for war criminals, and the proposal to hold military commanders, financiers and industrialists criminally responsible for aggressive wars, and to establish the process of retribution by international law, have been greeted as "epoch-making."

LATIN AMERICA.

In Argentina Colonel Perón's industrial policy has been attacked with some vigour by the Bolsa de Comercio, which, after a meeting on the 12th June, published a manifesto signed by over 300 industrial and commercial organisations (though not by the powerful Unión Industrial) and printed by the leading newspapers. The Bolsa condemns the manner in which Colonel Perón's Secretariat of Labour has intervened in social questions "under the pretext of fighting Communism, but with the aim of gaining for the Government a reputation for an advanced social policy." This is the more objectionable because it depends on the temporary will of one man. The immediate cause of this denunciation appears to be an order fixing ceiling prices retroactively at the level of last December.

In the political field, Dr. Honorio Pueyrredón, the leader of the Radical Party, has, according to broadcast reports, initiated negotiations for the resumption of party activities. The Government, meanwhile, has decided to release political prisoners "with certain reservations." On the 13th June the United States Ambassador told Press correspondents that the Press Director of the Ministry of the Interior had stated that the Argentine Government were irrevocably decided to ensure complete liberty of the Press and had asked that any difficulty in transmitting messages should at once be reported for investigation and the punishment of those responsible.

The Colombian Government have announced that they consider Colombia to have been at war with Japan since November 1943. They have also, in view of student demonstrations of a Falangist character (which were followed by counter-demonstrations), declared a state of siege in the area of Bogotá: public meetings have been forbidden and the press subjected to censorship. The situation appears to be quiet.

The result of the Peruvian presidential elections is not yet officially announced, but first estimates suggest that Sr. Bustamante y Rivero of the Democratic Front (centre and left) has won a distinct victory over General Ureta and his Right-wing National Union. At one time it seemed that General Ureta would have the full backing of Sr. Prado, but the endorsement of Sr. Bustamante's candidature by Marshal Benavides and other Conservatives, as well as by A.P.R.A., gave him a broad front of support which General Ureta could hardly hope to challenge. President Prado appears to have recognised this, and the election has apparently been allowed to run its course.

On the 9th June a group of Salvadorean officers presented an ultimatum to their President, who rejected it; on the following day two aircraft of the Salvadorean air force unsuccessfully tried to bomb the President's house. The first crashed, and the second, on being driven off, took refuge in Guatemala, relying obviously on the continued existence of the frontier. Indeed, the recent premature announcement of a union of the two countries seems to partake rather of the nature of an engagement than of a marriage, and an engagement which may well be broken off on grounds of incompatibility.

The Constituent Assembly of Panamá has elected Sr. Enrique A. Jiménez Provisional President. Sr. Jiménez has been a First Vice-President, and more recently Ambassador in Washington.

UNITED NATIONS.

At San Francisco the question of voting on the Security Council has at last got through the Committee stage. An Australian proposal to remove the Great Power veto from all recommendations for peaceful settlement was defeated by 20 votes to 10; and the solution agreed by the Great Powers was then passed by 30 votes to 2. But the fact that there were 15 abstentions on both these votes showed that many of the smaller Powers were unenthusiastic about the outcome.

The subject was again linked with demands that amendments to the Charter should not be subject to the veto and that a conference to revise the Charter should be held after an interval of ten years. On the first point the Committee

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concerned voted by a narrow margin that any amendment recommended by a two-thirds vote of such a conference should come into force when ratified by two-thirds of all the member States, but that these ratifications should include those of all the five Great Powers. The second proposal (to hold a conference after a ten-year period) was lost, also by a narrow margin. There were 28 votes for it and 17 against it, but the majority fell just short of the two-thirds required for a decision. Agreement was then reached on the Committee on a United States proposal that, if a Conference to review the Charter had not been held before the 10th annual Assembly of the Organisation, the question of holding it should go on the Agenda of the 10th Assembly, and it should be held if a simple majority of the Assembly and any seven members of the Security Council so agreed.

Another debated issue has been that of domestic jurisdiction. The Dumbarton Oaks proposals included a provision (VIII (A) 7) that the procedure for peaceful settlement of disputes by the Security Council should not apply to disputes concerning matters which by international law were solely within the domestic jurisdiction of the States concerned. An amendment submitted by the four sponsoring Powers proposed that this clause should be deleted from Chapter VIII; but that a new clause in Chapter II (Principles) should provide that nothing contained in the Charter should authorise the Organisation to interfere in matters which were essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the State concerned or should require the members to submit such matters to settlement under the Charter. The amendment added, however, that this principle should not prejudice the application of Chapter VIII, Section B. This addition would mean that even a dispute arising from matters within the domestic jurisdiction of a party, if it had not been settled between the parties and if it was deemed by the Security Council to constitute a threat to peace and security, should be dealt with by the Council, which would then be required to recommend any action necessary to keep the peace. The Australian delegation feared that the addition would encourage the Council to intervene in matters of domestic jurisdiction (such as the immigration laws based on the "White Australia" policy). They first proposed the omission of the addition; but, finding this could not be achieved, they went on to propose that the addition should be retained with the addition of the words "enforcement measures under" before "Chapter VIII, Section B." The latter proposal was passed by 31 votes to 3 in Committee. This decision may have repercussions later when the question of minority protection arises. This question will come up when the Organisation takes up the task of assisting in the realisation of human rights and basic freedoms, and when the transfer to it of the League's obligations under the existing Minority Treaties comes up for review.

Press and Parliament in the United Kingdom have recently been discussing the sponsoring Powers' amendment which proposed that the Secretary-General and his five deputies should be elected by the Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council for a period of three years, and that the Secretary-General should be re-eligible. This proposal was criticised on the grounds that the separate election of the deputies would impair the authority of the Secretary-General, and that their election (especially for such short terms and with no explicit provision for re-election) would discourage them from becoming loyal and efficient servants of the new Organisation, and would open the door for political bargaining. On the other side it was argued that frequent changes would enable more States to share in the permanent work of the Organisation and would ensure that its senior officials were not isolated from active contact with political affairs. The committee concerned has rejected any mention of the deputy secretaries-general in the Charter; and, unless the question is re-opened, these appointments will thus be left to be regulated by the Organisation itself.

The main outstanding point of difference concerns the powers of the Assembly. The proposal passed by the Committee concerned was that the Assembly should have powers to discuss any matter within the sphere of international relations. The Soviet delegate, however, has now proposed that these powers of discussion should be limited to matters affecting the maintenance of international peace and security, which was the formula proposed in the Dumbarton Oaks draft and supported in Committee by the Great Powers.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 299

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
27TH JUNE, 1945.

Copy No. 141

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

MORE details of the Allied plans for the administration of western Germany were given by Field-Marshal Montgomery in an informal interview with press correspondents at 21st Army Group headquarters on the 21st June. Members of the German General Staff, the Field-Marshal stated, would have to be isolated from each other to keep them from hatching new conspiracies, and men of the S.S. formations might be kept in prison camps for many years. Germany, he suggested, was not "down and out, but only on her knees," and the next three months would in his opinion be the testing period during which the German people would show whether they had any real desire to co-operate or not. Famine might occur in Germany this winter, but everything possible would be done to mitigate starvation. It was hoped to give every German in the British zone a ration of 2,000 calories daily. 1,500,000 tons of wheat or equivalent foodstuffs would have to be brought into the Ruhr to make up in part for the 4 million tons imported from the provinces of Germany now occupied by the Red Army. Miners in the Ruhr would receive sufficient rations (2,900 calories per day at present) to enable them to produce the coal required. The Ruhr valley already had 140 mines working, producing 40,000 tons daily—a target which would be raised to 100,000 tons daily by August and 200,000 tons daily by next spring. (Before the war, the Ruhr output was approximately 378,000 tons daily). At a press conference in Washington on the 18th, General Eisenhower pointed to the threat of starvation as one of the major problems in Germany to-day. He likewise insisted that members of the German General Staff must be segregated and their archives destroyed.

The seriousness of the food situation in the British and American zones was reflected in an announcement from the United States 12th Army Group headquarters on the 20th June that local food offices were compelled to reduce

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rations until the results of this season's hastily organised cultivation were available. The Archbishop of Munich, Cardinal Faulhaber, has instructed all his clergy to impress upon peasants from the pulpits the necessity of delivering even more food than has been asked of them. In Munich itself the situation is still rendered doubly difficult by the obligation of the city to supply in the first instance food for the 40,000 starved inmates of the Dachau and Allach concentration camps and for the displaced Allied nationals still encamped in the neighbourhood. Some persons, a spokesman of Military Government stated on the 23rd June, were receiving no more than 850 of the 2,000 calories fixed as their ration by the Allied authorities. A preliminary interchange of foodstuffs is shortly to take place between the main production and consumption areas in the West. Barley, oats, meat and cheese for the urban population of Frankfurt are to be acquired in Bavaria and grain supplies are eventually to be sent from the adjacent country districts of Hesse. Arrangements are being made for fish to be delivered inland from Hamburg, Wesermünde and Cuxhaven. United States Army vehicles are, according to the *Münchner Zeitung*, being made available for the distribution of foodstuffs in Bavaria and Württemberg. Captured German lorries are being used for the same purpose, and in Bavaria 12,000 horses of the German Wehrmacht have been handed over to the peasants.

Evidence that the work of reconstruction in the West is proceeding satisfactorily has been given by the Allied-controlled German press and radio in the past few days. Rehousing plans would seem to be well advanced in some localities and, according to the Frankfurt radio, nine blocks of flats are being erected for German civilians at Offenbach, where the efforts of Military Government to return all persons to useful work has reduced the number of unemployed to less than 400. Steps are stated to have been taken to re-establish the Frankfurt Office for Trunk Motor Roads (Reichsautobahnamt), the staff of which has already been sifted and instructed to proceed with plans for the repair of damaged highways and bridges. A recent issue of the *Neue Westfälische Zeitung* has published details of the reorganisation of the German railway network in Westphalia. Since the 9th June, the immediate responsibility for railway communications in that province has been placed in local German hands, and the Reichsbahndirektionen of Essen and Münster are already working again under general Allied supervision. Allied military traffic, of course, has priority, but German civilian goods may be sent over lines not required for this purpose. Military Government is providing material for repairs to permit the transportation of food and coal for the German population as well as to serve its own immediate needs. A German council of twelve is reported by the *Kölnischer Kurier* to be tackling food and transport problems in the Andernach region north-west of Coblentz. Here also, for the first time since 1933, farmers have just been able to choose by secret ballot a representative to voice their interests with the local Government.

The reopening of most primary schools by autumn is now being planned in all the zones. In Berlin it has been promised that school buildings would be available shortly, but the director of education in the new municipal government has made it clear that the shortage of suitable teachers may present great difficulties, now that the active Nazis have had to be removed. The new system of education, the director has added, would insist on the "direct participation of the children in the anti-Fascist movement" and vocational schools would first be required to minister to the needs of National Socialism's victims and from there they would learn to be of service to the rest of the community. One such vocational school in Charlottenburg has, according to Radio Moscow, already resumed instruction and all juveniles in the locality between the ages of 14 and 17 must attend it. Kindergartens are stated to have been reopened all over Berlin and to be regularly supplied with milk for the children. A new child welfare committee under the supervision of Military Government at Cologne is at present planning special children's centres (Kinderhorte) for all between the ages of 3 and 14. Welfare officials in Frankfurt are said to be looking after 2,000 children, for whom Military Government has released quantities of toys and clothing. The problems left by war, however, may be gauged by the experience of Munich, where all but two of the 75 school buildings have been either damaged or destroyed by Allied bombing. Hence many hundreds of thousands of German children of school age are meanwhile being left with no educational and little parental control, while others are at best employed on crude manual work on nearby farms or on the clearing of rubble from the damaged streets.

Religious life is now flourishing under its regained freedom in many parts of Germany as it has not done for many years. As the churches are the only

places where Germans are allowed to congregate as they please and hear the opinions of their own compatriots, it is not surprising that attendances at church services are large. With some 36,000 Catholic priests and Protestant pastors preaching simultaneously throughout the Reich, it is difficult for Military Government with its present resources to check up on what may be said. It has therefore been suggested that the German clergy be asked to assure the Allied authorities of their good intentions, just as their secular brethren in public office are having to do. The freedom from all restrictions enjoyed by the Catholic and Protestant Churches alike under the Russian administration in Berlin was particularly emphasised by the late Red Army Commandant, Colonel-General Berzarin, only just before his fatal accident on the 18th June.

A Pastoral Letter issued by the Archbishop of Freiburg, Mgr. Conrad Groeber, on the 31st May was published by the Vatican radio between the 21st and 25th June. In this Mgr. Groeber dwelt upon the persecution to which his Church had been subjected under the National Socialist régime, when the People's Court issued "a stream of mass-produced sentences" against its servants. He had made representations in vain, he stated, against the Nazi practice of euthanasia and had been appalled by the atrocities committed by his fellow-countrymen in the occupied territories. A National Socialist victory would, in his opinion, have destroyed the Christian faith in Germany for ever; the National Socialist war had cost the German people 6 million lives since 1939. The German people would now have to prove to the victors that a large proportion of the nation could not be held responsible for the crimes committed by their leaders (see also under "Vatican").

A decision that may prove significant in the development of German political life in the Russian zone was taken by the Social Democratic and Communist Parties on the 19th June, when they met to form a joint committee to iron out ideological differences and prepare the way for a united front with other anti-Fascist groups. This joint Social Democratic-Communist committee would, according to the Berlin *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, work towards "the construction of an anti-Fascist democratic parliamentary republic, avoiding the mistakes and weaknesses of the past and ensuring all democratic rights and liberties for the working nation." The formation of an Association of Free Trade Unions for Greater Berlin, which, like the new *entente* between the German Left-wing Parties had been expected since Marshal Zhukov gave German workers freedom to organise in his proclamation of the 10th June, was revealed by the Berlin radio on the 21st June. This association claimed two days later to comprise seventeen individual unions and "to incorporate all former shades of political opinion . . . . in a fighting unit to strive for the total destruction of Fascism and the creation of a new democratic statute for craftsmen and employees."

AUSTRIA.

At the Cabinet meeting of the Provisional Government held on the 21st June, Dr. Renner read a letter from the Landeshauptmann of Styria about the constitution of the Provisional Government of that province. It was announced that, acting on the proposal of the executive committees of the political parties of Styria, the Austrian Government, "in accordance with the provisional Constitution," had appointed Reinhold Machhold as head of the Government and Alois Dienstleder and Viktor Eber as his deputies. This would seem to confer the final official blessing on this provincial Government, whose origin and history have been somewhat obscure (See *Summaries* No. 293, p. 4, and No. 294, p. 3.)

On the 19th June "Station Austria" (the Russian-controlled station on Yugoslav soil, which gave its farewell broadcast on the 21st June) reported a procession of Viennese women from Favoriten to the Ministry of Justice, where they demanded the quick punishment of Nazi criminals. On the 21st, Vienna Radio broadcast an interview with the Chief Public Prosecutor. He said that nearly 1,000 National Socialists were being dealt with already. Three Public Prosecutors and six examining judges were conducting preliminary examinations. Each examining judge dealt with about twenty-five cases a day. When the investigation of a case was complete, it was sent before the "People's Courts." These courts apparently consist of two professional judges and two jurors provided by the three main political parties, who are making out lists of suitable jurors. The courts have power to pass sentence of at least ten years' hard labour, and up to twenty years in serious cases. They can also pass sentence

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of death. Another broadcast from Vienna on the same day said that "we are not after the simple Party members and hangers-on—for them the road back to Austria shall remain open."

Karl Seitz, the former Mayor of Vienna, who has been in a concentration camp, was given an official welcome outside the Town Hall on his return to Vienna. General Körner, the present Mayor of Vienna, has appointed Professor Fritz as Head of the Vienna Health Administration. He was a professor at Graz, and was dismissed by the Nazis in 1938.

The three most serious problems in Vienna to-day are housing, electricity, and food. Earlier optimistic reports on the improvement in conditions there have given place to more realistic accounts, and details of urgent measures which must be taken to deal with the situation. *Neues Österreich*, commenting on the recent census of premises in Vienna, said that this was only to ascertain all available residential and shop premises, to register all new-comers, and ensure that changes of residence made since the liberation of Austria were justified. All applications for residence are to be suspended for a month while the affairs of victims of the Nazis returning from the concentration camps are attended to. When the number of rooms available is known, people will have to fill in a form to establish their category, and will be allotted accommodation accordingly.

There are evidently frequent breaks in the city's electricity supply, upon which transport (the tramways are in limited operation once more), cooking, and light entirely depend now. There is no coal or coke, and therefore no gas. All electric appliances are to be registered at the power station, and all consumers are urged to economise to the utmost.

The greatest problem, however, is the food supply. A great deal of attention has been paid to agriculture during the past week. A Vienna broadcast on the 20th said that the Agricultural chamber for Lower Austria was active again, and had done much work. It had taken over 1,900 horses from the Red army in the Burgenland, and distributed them to farmers, and arranged the exchange of draught oxen and cows. The Red army had also released petrol and diesel oil for tractors. Red army lorries bring milk and vegetables, fruit and seeds to Vienna every morning—520 lorries are being used for this purpose in the eastern part of Lower Austria. A "Harvest Emergency Scheme" to get all available workers on to the land has been sponsored by the Renner Government. All unemployed and partly employed workers are being urged to work on the land this summer. In addition to their pay, a bonus of 20 kilog. of flour for men workers, and 12 kilog. for women would be paid "providing the flour is available from this year's harvest." Former Nazis are not excluded from the scheme, but they will be employed in controlled working parties, and will not be eligible for the bonus.

Buchinger, the Secretary of State for Agriculture, said in a speech on the 24th June that he had had no intention of becoming a member of the Government—his name had been announced when he knew nothing about it himself, and he had obeyed orders. He went on to explain the new system of control of agriculture which is to replace the elaborate Reich Food Estate. He knew only too well, he said, that no farmer liked State intervention, but this was an emergency, and the controls would only remain as long as was necessary to ensure fair distribution. Chambers of Agriculture would soon be in action in the various provinces, and these would set up district chambers, which would implement the Government's directives regarding production and marketing. There are to be five agricultural unions, for corn-growing; cattle-breeding; dairying and fat production; gardening, potato and vine-growing; and sugar cultivation.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

The growing likelihood of the advance of Polish sovereignty westwards to the Oder–Neisse line has brought the whole question of the northern Czechoslovak frontiers to a head. It has had two beneficial results at least; the Czechoslovak Government, in a statement on the 20th June to Mr. Nichols, the British Ambassador, has defined its attitude concerning the areas under dispute with Poland; and, at the invitation of the Soviet Government, Czech and Polish delegations are meeting in Moscow to attempt a settlement.

The Czechoslovak attitude was expressed as an intention to stand firm on the pre-Munich frontiers, particularly in the Těšín (Teschen) area. It was recognised that no decisions would be final until approved by the Peace

Conference. Concerning the Glatz Salient (see *Summary* No. 297), which it was announced would be occupied by Czechoslovak forces, Dr. Clementis said that Czechoslovakia would apply under the declaration of the 2nd June relating to military occupation by minor Powers—this was a question for the Allied Control Commission and not regarded as a Polish-Czech affair. It was proposed that Slovaks from the Crava and Spis districts, part of the Polish enclave of Zakopane, who had sent representatives to the Czechoslovak Government while still in Košice, should be exchanged for Poles in the Těšín area. There was no objection from the Czechoslovak side to the proposed Oder–Neisse line.

The Poles have, however, occupied at least part of the Těšín area, and Dr. Beneš reported to Mr. Nichols on the 22nd that the Polish Minister of Defence had made an anti-Czech speech in the town. There have been other signs of the friction existing here, as for example an incident near the important Czech railway junction of Bohumin, in disputed territory, from which the Czechs were forced to withdraw on the 14th, although apparently being allowed the use of the railway, which is an essential part of their transport system. Dr. Beneš disclosed that he had received a warning from the Soviet Commander-in-Chief in Silesia that the Poles might attack, and that he had taken the necessary military precautions. A dispatch from Sir A. Clark Kerr on the 17th June, describing the discussions between M. Mikolajczyk and M. Morawski, throws some light on this. M. Morawski made violent criticism of the Czechs, accused them of opposing the Oder–Neisse line and occupying Silesian territory which should go to Poland, and talked of using the Polish Armoured Division to drive them out.

The Czechoslovak Delegation to the Moscow discussions arrived on the 21st, and includes M. Fierlinger, the Premier, and Ministers Svoboda, Nejedly, Ripka and Procházka. Agreement seems likely provided the Poles do not insist on keeping that section of the Těšín area which they seized after Munich, and which is coal producing. The Czechs have pointed out that Poland will be considerably enriched in coal resources by their gains in Silesia without this. All the frontier lines now under discussion were originally fixed by the Council of Ambassadors in 1920, but agitation on the Polish side recommenced when Colonel Beck came into power.

The incorporation of Lusatia (see *Summary* No. 295) in Czechoslovakia, claimed by the National Committee of Lusatian Wends, has been the subject of rather vague propaganda in the press and radio, but not of definite Czechoslovak demands. The Polish press has countered these suggestions by references to the connexions between this Slavic minority group and Poland.

On the 21st, President Beneš signed the decree ordering the confiscation of land belonging to Germans, Hungarians and traitors. One of the first acts of turning over land so confiscated was performed by the Minister of Agriculture on the 24th, when he distributed to local peasants the estates of Rudolf Beran, Prime Minister under the Hacha régime, and the President of the now banned Agrarian Party.

POLAND.

The Moscow trial of the 16 Poles (see last *Summary*) ended on the 21st June with verdicts ranging from 4 months' to 10 years' "deprivation of liberty" on 12 of the accused, while 3 were acquitted and one was not tried owing to illness. The later part of the trial was made interesting by the fact that General Okulicki and the Government Delegate Jankowicz took on themselves respectively full responsibility for the continuance of the underground activity under the Russian military occupation including the maintenance of wireless communication, of secret military cadres, and of stocks of arms. It was expressly stated that the formation of the new military organisation after the disbandment of the Home Army early this year, had been kept secret from M. Mikolajczyk. The fact that attacks had been made on personnel of the Red Army and sabotage committed, was admitted by some of the accused. General Okulicki admitted these occurrences and took responsibility for them as supreme commander, but denied that he had ordered them and said he had done his best to stop them.

All but one of the accused persons pleaded guilty in a technical sense to the charge of participation in the underground machine, but most denied that they had any knowledge of its being directed against the U.S.S.R. or the Red Army; and General Okulicki in a spirited defence maintained that, though the charges

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were technically founded and the trial was fair, he was only doing his duty and was acting under orders from the London Polish Government or the Polish Commander-in-Chief.

The Consultations held last week in Moscow with a view to forming a new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity were concluded on the 22nd June. On the 23rd June it was announced that the representatives of the Provisional Government of the Polish Republic and the democratic leaders from Poland and from abroad, convinced that the national dignity and sovereignty of the Polish State demand that Polish affairs should be decided by the Poles themselves, reached full agreement on the question of the reorganisation of the Provisional Government of the Polish Republic. This agreement is expressed in the following unanimously adopted resolutions: (1) to invite M. Wincenty Witos from Poland, and M. Stanislaw Grabski from abroad, to join the Praesidium of the Krajowa Rada Narodowa; (2) to include in the Provisional Government of National Unity MM. Wladyslaw Kiernik and Czeslaw Wyciech from Poland, and MM. Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, Jan Stanczyk and Mieczyslaw Thugutt from abroad; (3) to publish the full composition of the Provisional Government of National Unity within the next few days in Warsaw.

Simultaneously it was decided to include in the activities of the State a number of Polish Democratic leaders hitherto resident abroad, including the chairman of the "Stronnictwo Pracy" (Labour Party), M. Popiel, and MM. Kolodziej and Zakowski.

From other sources it is understood that M. Mikolajczyk is to be a Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Agriculture and Land Reform; that M. Kiernik is to have the very important post of Minister of the Interior and M. Thugutt that of Posts and Telegraphs; that M. Wyciech, who organised secret education in the Polish "Underground" during the war, is to be Minister of Education; and that M. Stanczyk is to be Minister of Labour as he was in M. Mikolajczyk's Cabinet in London.

While the final composition of the new Government has yet to be announced it appears that M. Mikolajczyk's Peasant Party, which is held to represent over half the population of Poland, has an ex-premier and at least two other Ministers in the Cabinet. The fact that the Peasant Party represents the largest section of the electorate, and that it has preserved its unity better than any other party during the war, has no doubt contributed to this success.

It is not anticipated that there will be any great delay in the completion of the Provisional Government or in its giving the necessary pledge that "free and unfettered elections" will be held "as soon as possible." It appears likely that its recognition by the Great Powers would follow. The way would thus be opened for the solution of such pressing problems as the return of displaced persons and ex-prisoners of war to Poland, or their accommodation elsewhere; and the future of the Polish forces under British command.

SOVIET UNION.

The dinner at the Kremlin given on Midsummer Day for the Polish leaders assembled in Moscow passed off in an atmosphere of unusual cordiality. The Polish negotiators were joined for the occasion by Generals Rola-Zymierski, Voplawski and Spychalski from Warsaw. All the Poles present, of whom there were many, got an individual toast from M. Molotov, while M. Mikolajczyk received a personal one from Marshal Stalin, who called him "a good Polish patriot." The event of the evening was an important speech from Marshal Stalin which far transcended the usual level of after dinner pronouncements. Referring to the misunderstandings and mutual bloodshed between Russia and Poland in the past, he admitted that Russia, as the bigger country, had been at fault to an even greater degree than Poland. The only hope for improvement lay in a change of régime in both countries, so that new men could apply themselves to the task of improving relations and removing old suspicions. Such a change had already come in Russia since the revolution with the adoption of Lenin's policy; in Poland the way had been prepared for a change of heart by the sufferings of the country during the present war and the German occupation. Marshal Stalin then went on to allow that there were still men, even among those gathered that evening at table, who doubted the sincerity of Russian intentions towards Poland, but he felt no concern over this. These men should watch events carefully, and

in time they would discover that their present doubts were groundless. In closing, Marshal Stalin made a significant statement concerning Poland's future foreign relations. With the increase of territory in the west, Poland would become a great Power, and her position would be further strengthened by her treaty of alliance with the Soviet Union. No great Power, however, could be satisfied with having an alliance with only one country. Germany might rise again as she did after 1918, and Poland and Russia alone would be unable to resist a German attack; they needed alliances with the other Great Powers in the west and with the United States. The Soviet Union, therefore, would welcome the conclusion of treaties of alliance between Poland, Great Britain, France and the United States as well as with smaller countries such as Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. It was to this group of alliances that Marshal Stalin finally raised his glass. At the end of the party the Poles, led by General Rola Zymierski, burst into the Polish equivalent of "he's a jolly good fellow," which Marshal Stalin received with his usual impassivity.

M. Mikolajczyk afterwards expressed great pleasure at the speech and at Marshal Stalin's whole attitude.

The Twelfth Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. met on the 22nd June, the fourth anniversary of the German attack on the Soviet Union. The only item on the agenda was a Bill providing for the demobilisation of thirteen older age groups from the army in the field, this demobilisation to be completed by the end of 1945. The demobilised men are to receive a suit of clothes and footwear, and gratuities on the following scale: rank and file of all ordinary units—one year's pay for each year of service; rank and file of special units receiving higher pay—6 months' pay for each year of service; n.c.o.s—6 months' pay per year of service; officers—2 months' pay for 1 year, 3 months' for 2 years, 4 months' for 3 years and 5 months' for 4 years of service. Loans of 5,000 to 10,000 roubles are to be advanced to those whose homes have been destroyed by the Germans, and timber for repairs is to be made available free of charge. Employment is to be provided within one month for all demobilised persons, in positions not inferior to those which they held before joining the army. In introducing the Bill, which was adopted unanimously, Army-General Antonov revealed that during the war Soviet tank production had increased fifteen-fold, and that whereas at the beginning of the war "the enemy considerably outnumbered us in aircraft," at the end the air arm of the Red army was 5 times larger than in 1941. He emphasised that those who remained in the Red army must devote increased attention to military training and political education.

Two days later a victory parade was held in the Red Square. Marshal Zhukov reviewed the course of the war, from the days of 1941 when "not only our enemies but even many of our friends abroad believed that the Red army would not be able to withstand the powerful onslaught of the German war machine," to the final victory won "by the joint efforts of the three Great Powers." "The sources of our great victory," Marshal Zhukov declared, "are our socialist system, the wise leadership of the Bolshevik party, the correct policy of the Soviet Government, the moral and political unity of the people of our country, the gigantic strength of the Red army and the gallant labour of the Soviet people." Marshal Zhukov ended on the same note of caution as Army-General Antonov: "It does not become us Soviet people to grow self-conceited and complacent. We must in the future, too, strengthen the military and economic might of our country, constantly improve our fighting skill, study the rich experience of the war for the Fatherland, and develop our Soviet military science." During the course of the parade German banners were dragged in the dust through the Red Square, to the rolling of drums, whilst the announcer proclaimed: "This is the political execution of fascism."

Four new diplomatic appointments have been announced during the past week, all going to comparatively young men. M. Kuznetsov, who had been second secretary to the Allied Governments in London (in charge of Norwegian affairs), is to go as Ambassador to Oslo; the new Minister to Denmark, M. Plakhin, was consul in Sweden and later Counsellor to the Soviet Legation in Copenhagen before the rupture of relations in 1941. M. Valkov, now made Ambassador to the Netherlands, was in the Soviet Embassy to the Allied Governments in London as Minister 2nd class, and was decorated in 1944 with the Order of the Red Banner of Labour. M. Ziabkin, who has been appointed Minister to New Zealand, was formerly Soviet Consul-General in Pretoria.

For the Agreement between the U.S.S.R. and Hungary for delivery of goods under the armistice, see under "Hungary."

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SCANDINAVIA.

After the hitch in the formation of the new Norwegian Government to which reference was made in last week's *Summary*, the King called upon M. Einar Gerhardsen to assume the task of forming the Administration, and the complete list of the new Ministers was published on the 22nd June.

M. Hambro and the Conservatives appear to have achieved nothing by their opposition to the retention of MM. Lie and Torp: they may, indeed, have reduced the representation of their own Party in the Coalition. There are three Ministers described as Conservatives: two of these are Fylkesmenn, or County Governors, who have not hitherto taken a prominent share in Party politics. One of these, M. Gabrielsen, is specially charged with the tasks of reconstruction in the extreme north, for which his long connexion with Vardö and Vadsö should fit him. The other, M. Cappelen, a lawyer from Trondheim, is Minister of Justice. He was a substitute member of the Storting from 1925 to 1927, when he represented the Independent People's Party, which seems to have ceased to exist. The third Conservative, M. Egil Offenberg, is a business-man, who is entrusted with the Ministry of Supply. He has had previous experience of local government, but not of Parliament.

Lack of parliamentary experience is, indeed, a characteristic of the new Government which has been commented on in the press, but this is unlikely to prove a disadvantage in existing circumstances, when it is more important that the Home Front should be fully represented, as it undoubtedly is.

The Communists have two representatives, of whom perhaps the most interesting is Fru Kirsten Hansteen, widow of the adviser to the Trade Union Organisation who was shot by the Germans in September 1941. The statement that he was a Communist has been frequently denied and it hardly seems probable that his widow is very extreme in her political convictions. The other Communist post is that of the Ministry of Labour, held by M. Strand Johansen.

The Agrarian Party has one representative, M. Einar Frogner, who is suitably posted in the Ministry of Agriculture.

The Liberals are represented by M. Gunnar Jahn, one of the inner circle of the Home Front Leadership and before that a prominent member of the Administrative Council. He was Finance Minister, the post which he now resumes, in M. Mowinckel's Government of 1934–35, and has great experience in economic and financial matters.

Labour is strongly represented, firstly by the Premier M. Gerhardsen himself, who is very highly spoken of in Home Front circles and spent a long time during the war in German concentration camps, also by MM. Trygve Lie and Torp, who retain their former offices of Foreign Affairs and Defence. Besides these there are three others; M. Fostervoll, Minister of Education and a schoolmaster by profession, M. Evensen, deputy chairman of the T.U.C., and the journalist M. Sven Oftedal. The other two members of the Government seem to be without definite party affiliations; one of these, a clergyman, Pastor Bonnevie Svendsen, is expected to deal mainly with church affairs. On the whole, the Government appears extremely competent and well fitted for the tasks before it.

Considerable sensation has been aroused by the discovery of mass graves in Norway, containing the bodies of victims of the Gestapo. In particular, one of these has been found in the Forest of Trandum, near Gardermoen, in Romerike, between Lake Mjösen and Oslo. To meet Nazi rumours to the effect that the whole thing was British propaganda, a number of quislings have been compelled to visit the spot, including the leader himself, who was taken there in custody. His former Ministers Fuglesang, Lippestad and Stang were employed in the task of removing bodies for investigation in the Institute of Forensic Medicine. The grim facts have also been illustrated by numerous photographs in Norwegian press.

LOW COUNTRIES.

The new Dutch Cabinet has at last been appointed, and was sworn in on the 25th. Professor Schermerhorn (see *Summary* No. 296) is Prime Minister and M. Drees Minister of Social Affairs; three Ministers who served in the previous Cabinet retain their old posts, Dr. van Kleffens, Dr. Beel, and M. de Booy. The new Cabinet numbers sixteen; eleven of its members have been prominent in the resistance movements; only one of the Ministers, Mr. Drees, has been a member of the States General.

The Belgian crisis still continues. But certain noteworthy developments have occurred. The King has apparently decided that he cannot return to Belgium unless and until a new Government has been formed and is holding consultations with that end in view. He has seen the Presidents of the Chamber and Senate and also certain other persons. Meanwhile Prince Charles, at King Leopold's request, continues to act as Regent. According to the *Soir* M. van Acker doubts whether the King will be able to form a Government. It is certain that such a Government would not command a majority in the Chamber.

On the 19th the Catholic Deputies and Senators met and passed the following resolutions: " The Chamber and Senate Right Wing . . . . record that, following the news of the King's return the Government tendered its resignation to the Regent, to enable His Majesty to choose the Ministers who, according to the Constitution, will have to bear the responsibility for the King's words and actions; express disapproval of the text of the official statement announcing this resignation, which states that the resigning Government will transact current business, maintenance of order included, only until the King's return, and not, in accordance with convention and the principle of the continuity of the exercise of public power, until the new Government has been set up in the normal way; support the statement of the Catholic Ministers who always defended within the Government the King's constitutional rights and the necessity of maintaining order, whatever the Government responsible for the conduct of business; renew the expression of their unshakable loyalty to constitutional monarchy and to the dynasty, which are both the symbol and the main guarantees of national unity; certain that in so doing they are speaking for the great majority of Belgians, the Right lay before the King the assurance of their loyalty; they are ready to give him their support in a spirit of national concord for the country's reconstruction and the continuation of our public life in a spirit of attachment to our constitutional and Parliamentary institution; guided by the paramount interests of the State and the principles of democracy the Right are firmly opposed to all dictatorship, whether from above or from below and condemn all threats of violence, of political strikes, or intimidation, and of disorder from whatever quarter they may come; the Right hold it desirable that elections to all representative bodies should take place as soon as possible, and, therefore, that the electoral register should be revised with all speed and that laws should forthwith be passed to deprive unpatriotic persons of the vote and to grant women the right to vote on the same terms as men, so that the consultation of the electoral body, the supreme expression of the nation's sovereignty, from which all powers are derived, may be carried out with justice and dignity.

The language of this resolution, as certain papers did not fail to point out, is very guarded. There are, indeed, signs that Catholic support for King Leopold's return is weakening. On the other hand, the Parties opposed to the King's return are drawing closer together and are making preparations for close co-operation in that event. The trade unions, other than the Catholic trade unions, are threatening a general strike and there is a very real danger that the King's return would lead to serious disorders.

FRANCE.

The Levant controversy continues to dominate all other issues and Mr. Duff Cooper reports that Anglo-French relations are being subjected to considerable strain. The Consultative Assembly debate on the Levant (see last *Summary*) was concluded on the 19th June. Among the speakers, M. Pierre Cot was the most critical of the Government's policy. General de Gaulle read the text of a telegram which he sent to Mr. Churchill two days before the Allied entry into Syria in 1941, safeguarding French rights and interests. He referred to perpetual British interference which inevitably troubled French relations with the two States. He admitted that British policy was not wholly due to the desire to supplant France, but this was the object of the team of local Arab experts, whom the British used or disavowed as occasion served. Oil had also no doubt influenced British policy, though France's share was all she possessed. But Britain's anxiety about her position in other Arab States were certainly genuine, despite her varied and vast means of control in the area. Instead of adopting a common policy with France, as they had frequently proposed, Britain preferred to focus upon France the hostility of the Arabs. It remained to be

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seen whether this was good policy in the long run. Though order, he claimed, had been restored, there was a recrudescence of violence after British intervention. " Instead of repressing these crimes, the British authority proceeded to evacuate a great number of Frenchmen and Frenchwomen living in Syria. Under the fiction of the maintenance of order by the British, we were obliged to abandon schools, hospitals, a telephone system. . . ." France would not acquiesce in the action taken to her detriment in such conditions. To do so would be incompatible with her true strength now temporarily diminshed, with the interests of the Levant States themselves and with world peace. There was only one justice and one real international morality. (Here came his only warm applause.) If Britain had, now or later, any proposals to make to France she should do so; but France would not accept any arbitration but that of the " international concert." Franco-British friendship had been deeply wounded, but not by France. They wished to see it survive but intended that it should be respected in the person of France.

This not very optimistic reference to Anglo-French relations did not reflect the warm feeling of friendship for this country which was expressed throughout the debate, even by those most critical of our policy. This feeling was reflected in the resolution proposed by M. Auriol, president of the Foreign Affairs Committee, and passed unanimously. The Assembly expressed sympathy for all the victims of " the recent tragic events "; affirmed the friendship of Republican France for the Arab world and her will to adapt her policy in the Near East to the principles of the rights of man; adopted as its aim General Catroux's declaration of the States' independence; took note of Mr. Churchill's undertakings of the 13th June, which it quoted in full; asked the Government to discuss, " in a spirit of confident friendship," any agreement or treaty with an independent and sovereign Syria and Lebanon and any British proposals based on the statement of the 13th June and to " multiply its efforts to work out a Franco-British Pact, which, with the Franco-Soviet Pact, will be one of the European bases for the collective construction of universal peace " (this clause was added on the proposal of M. Daniel Mayer, speaking for the Socialist group); lastly it approved the Government's action in having, in accordance with previous obligations to the League of Nations and with the texts and spirit of the San Francisco Conference, put the conflict on the international plane.

On the suggestion of General Paget and Mr. Shone, the Foreign Office on the 23rd June issued a statement for the purpose of putting British intervention in a clear light, owing to misunderstanding in the Levant States, France and other countries. The fundamental issue, it was stated, was not one of Anglo-French relations but that of the future relation between France and the Levant States. Instructions to General Paget were given with a view to the restoration and maintenance of order pending some solution through diplomatic action. Evacuation of French troops had been essential to prevent further clashes and of French civilians to save their lives. The civil authorities should now resume at the earliest moment as great a measure as possible of responsibility for maintaining law and order. For this the Levant Governments were primarily responsible and the world would judge them by the way in which they executed their responsibility. The intervention by British troops implied no intention to supplant the French; the British authorities did not intend to prejudice in any way the final solution of the situation in the Levant States. If British forces had to intervene further, they would act impartially against anyone responsible for creating disturbances.

This statement, though not intended as a response to the important and liberally-worded resolution of the Consultative Assembly, has in the event, according to the correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, " increased our reputation for hypocrisy " in France. The officially inspired reply, issued by the A.F.P. on the same day, said that authoritative French circles saw in the statement confirmation of their opinion regarding the character of British intervention, since it involved an implicit admission that His Majesty's Government had broken the Lyttelton–de Gaulle agreement signed on the 23rd July, 1941 and intended to continue to do so. The enforced evacuations showed that British forces had failed to ensure order, as was indeed proved by numerous incidents involving the death of several Frenchmen. His Majesty's Government was now handing over the duty of maintaining order to the very people who had provoked the troubles and in so doing were taking an initiative which had no juridical basis. Britain had no right except that of the stronger to deprive French authority of its powers and transfer them to any other authority. Finally, the sentence envisaging further troubles was interpreted

in Paris as pointing to British advance preparations to take over further control. This statement did not, it seems, receive much more publicity from the French press than did the statements it answered.

French opinion, which was disposed, as in the Consultative Assembly debate, to emphasise that although the French case might be juridically sound it had been badly handled and that the conclusion of an Anglo-French alliance was above all things needful, has now been further disturbed by uncensored articles in *Combat* by M. Kauffmann who has returned from Beirut. He wildly accuses Britain of having prepared the intervention in Syria four months in advance; makes serious charges against British censorship in Beirut and Egypt; and prepares French opinion for British intervention in the Lebanon.

In the meantime a French effort to have the dispute submitted to a committee of three disinterested Powers set up under the (not yet existing) machinery of the new international organisation has also failed. Mr. Stettinius felt unable to accept the aide-mémoire on the subject which M. Paul-Boncour presented to him at San Francisco on the 24th June, and proposed that the matter should be broached through the State Department and the Foreign Office. No formal reply has yet been received to the British proposal for a conference in London (see last *Summary*) and there are signs that the French are trying to reopen direct negotiations with the Levant States.

M. Léon Jouhaux, general secretary of the C.G.T., stated at a press conference in New York on the 20th June that prompt economic help was essential for the political and social stabilisation of France. The new Minister of Food, M. Pineau, has promised measures to improve home production and distribution, knowing the effect which energetic action in France will have on foreign opinion, but he doubts whether internal measures will, in fact, bring much relief. The increased amount of shipping space allocated to France for June has, however, been very helpful.

The " instruction " of the case against Marshal Pétain has been pursuing its course since it began shortly after his return to France and many important witnesses have already been interrogated, including MM. Reynaud and General Gamelin. The lines of the Pétain defence have also been indicated and they will include reference to a supposed agreement between Vichy and London—which the Prime Minister disposed of in answer to a P.Q. on the 12th June, the Prime Minister's alleged " permission " to conclude an armistice in June 1940 and an alleged telegram of congratulation to the Marshal on that event from the French Communist Party. General de Gaulle, for his part, has allowed to be published (*France-Soir*, 19th June) an interview he gave last year in London throwing light on his rôle in the same events. In the meantime, it is announced that Pétain's trial, which was to have taken place on the 5th July, has been postponed. But the High Court is to judge Laval in his absence, and the trial is to begin before the 15th August.

Déat was sentenced to death in his absence on the 19th June.

(See also under " Spain " and " Middle East.")

SWITZERLAND.

The question of the expulsion of undesirable elements from Switzerland was debated in the National Council during the week. Some speakers were of the opinion that the Authorities had not acted with sufficient celerity; others, while agreeing that rigorous action was necessary, insisted that human rights must be respected, that no deportation should be ordered on denunciation alone, but only if guilt were clearly proved, and that Switzerland must abide by the principle of legality and must not borrow the methods of the nations which had just gone down in defeat. The head of the Federal Department of Justice and Police stated that, since the dissolution of the NSDAP, the Federal Council had deported 296 persons and the Cantons 255, while a further 780 cases were under consideration. In the course of the debate, it was emphasised that even during the war spies and German and Italian agents had been expelled, but that the presence of others who were suspect had had to be tolerated to avoid the danger of reprisals against Swiss citizens in Germany and German-occupied territory.

On the subject of Dr. Köcher, the former German Minister to Switzerland, the head of the Department of Justice and Police stated that, although his case presented some features which could be variously interpreted, the Federal Council

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was of the opinion that he had, all things considered, tried to work in Switzerland's favour so far as such action was possible within the sphere of his official activities.

On the 18th and the 20th June respectively, the Federal Council and the National Council discussed the *Tass* charges of the 16th June (see *Summary* No. 298 under "Soviet Union") that the 9,000 Russians interned in Switzerland were being kept in deplorable conditions, that their departure was being obstructed by the Swiss Authorities, and that the Soviet Government had accordingly decided to discontinue the repatriation of Swiss citizens until precise information was available about these internees. M. Petitpierre, head of the Political Department, declared that no Soviet citizen was being detained, and that the fact that these internees had not yet departed was due to the difficulty of repatriating them through surrounding countries. In point of fact, Switzerland had already made numerous unsuccessful efforts to secure their repatriation, and was ready to negotiate at once either directly or through another Power with civil or military Soviet Authorities on the subject of mutual repatriation of Russian and Swiss citizens. As to the treatment accorded the Russian internees, their food was the same as that of other internees; their rations were higher than those of Swiss civilians; there had been no ill-treatment or persecution; camps were visited by Swiss authorities and by a special delegate of the Red Cross who spoke perfect Russian, requests and complaints being examined on the spot; internees were shown films, including Russian ones, and given opportunities to enjoy music, singing, dancing and theatrical performances; an education camp had been formed at Bad Rudswil last year, with Russian teachers and a Russian officer as director. The Federal Council would welcome an Allied Commission of Investigation, including representatives of the Soviet Union, to examine the conditions under which the Russians were interned.

On the 22nd June, the Federal Council dealt with problems arising out of the coal situation, which was said to be precarious. Imports from the United States and France were below expectations, and Switzerland would be obliged to draw on her timber resources, already heavily taxed during the war, to meet her minimum industrial and domestic requirements.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

A statement on the 18th June by the Regional Commissioner at Lyons has largely confirmed the official Spanish version of the unfortunate Chambéry incident (see *Summary* No. 298). The trainload of Spanish nationals which was attacked, it is agreed, did not include any stragglers from the Blue Division—who, by virtue of their serving in German uniforms, would automatically be treated by the French Government as prisoners of war. Moreover, according to the semi-official Agence France-Presse, the passengers had undergone examination by a special French Security Commission in Switzerland. The French account, somewhat lamely, lays the blame for the fury of the mob on "certain elements compromised in the policy of collaboration."

An official expression of regret by the French Government will scarcely be sufficient, however, to allay the popular excitement, and Franco-Spanish relations are likely to remain in a sorry state. The only actual incident reported so far is the desecration of a monument to the French dead of the war of 1914–18 outside the French consulate at San Sebastian. But trade is already being affected. The Spanish authorities are at present busy explaining that the sudden closing of the French frontier on the 21st June, and suspension of all export permits for food and clothing, were purely economic measures necessitated by the exhaustion of the Spanish pesetas credit on the basis of which France was being supplied.

Meanwhile Pierre Laval continues to prove a very slippery customer. His communication to the Spanish Foreign Minister offering to surrender to French justice (see *Summary* No. 296) was very soon overtaken by another letter in which, according to the *Basler National Zeitung*, he threatened, if arraigned before the High Court of Justice, to come out with the whole story of General Franco's relations with Marshal Pétain. The official version is that he is now seeking to make conditions with regard to the court before which he is prepared to stand his trial.

A resolution barring Franco Spain from membership of the United Nations was presented by the delegate of Mexico at a meeting of Commission I of the San Francisco Conference on the 19th June and was adopted with acclamation for inclusion in the proceedings. (It was a pendant to the declaration introduced

by Greece earlier in the day, which had the explicit approval of the Big Five, formally denying to the Axis nations membership of the new organisation.) The principle in question was the exclusion of States "whose régimes have been established with the help of enemy military forces," but Señor Quintanilla (formerly Mexican Ambassador in Moscow) made it perfectly clear that General Franco was the target. Such statements as "the Spanish Republic was one of the first victims of international Fascism" and "Republican Spain was our first fighting ally" were warmly applauded. The resolution was seconded by M. Paul Boncour, the head of the French delegation, and supporting speeches were made by the delegates of the United States, Chili, Guatemala, Uruguay, Belgium, Australia, White Russia and the Ukraine: after eight long weeks with their noses to the grindstone members evidently felt they were entitled to their little ideological fling. This "Exclusion Bill" is perhaps especially significant as a gesture made on behalf of the democratic world which even the Falangists cannot decry as a machination of the Soviet Union. In tones of injured innocence the Spanish Foreign Minister has hastily rejected the base calumny, calling to witness the Non-Intervention Committee! On the following day, ironically enough, the Generalissimo was inaugurating a new and powerful radio transmission beamed to the American continent; he made no attempt to explain away this body-blow.

Such testimony of world public opinion, bearing out what His Majesty's Government and the United States Government have repeatedly told Franco and his Foreign Minister, is scarcely likely to have any direct repercussions. What the Declaration does represent, however, undoubtedly, is a success for the lobbying activities of the Spanish Committee of Liberation (J.E.L.M.), the four executive members of which thus made the journey from Mexico City to San Francisco to good purpose. Incidentally they circulated to all delegations a well-written and well-produced statement of Franco's relations with Hitler and Mussolini, from which the speakers freely drew, and held two successful press conferences. Dr. Negrín also turned up at San Francisco on his way to Mexico City, but stayed only a short while, and the attempt by Jose-Antonio Aguirre, President of the one-time Basque Autonomous Government, to mediate between the two groups of expatriate Spaniards was, apparently, a fiasco.

By way of a farewell gesture His Majesty's Ambassador in Lisbon revived last week the annual embassy banquet in honour of President Carmona. Speaking in Portuguese he said he was glad to testify that, within the limits imposed by her neutrality, Portugal had maintained the mutual understanding between the two countries and, throughout these years of turmoil, had never forgotten her considerable commitments to her ancient ally. General Carmona replied in similar felicitous terms. The appointment of Sir Owen St. Clair O'Malley, our envoy accredited to the Polish Government in exile, to succeed Sir Ronald Campbell as His Majesty's Ambassador in Lisbon was announced in London on Monday.

ITALY.

The formation of the following Cabinet was officially announced in Rome on the 20th June :—

President of the Council and Minister of the Interior: Ferruccio Parri (Action).
Vice-president: Manlio Brosio (Liberal).
Vice-president: Pietro Nenni (Socialist).
Foreign Affairs: Alcide De Gasperi (Christian Democrat).
Justice: Palmiro Togliatti (Communist).
Finance: Mauro Scoccimarro (Communist).
Treasury: Marcello Soleri (Liberal).
War: Stefano Jacini (Christian Democrat).
Navy: Admiral Raffaele De Courten (no Party).
Air: Mario Cevelotto (Labour Democrat).
Education: Vincenzo Arangio-Ruiz (Liberal).
Public Works: Giuseppe Romita (Socialist).
Agriculture: Fausto Gullo (Communist).
Transport: Ugo Lamalfa (Action).
Posts and Telegraphs: Mario Scelba (Christian Democrat).
Industry and Commerce: Giovanni Gronchi (Christian Democrat).

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Reconstruction: Meuccio Ruini (Labour Democrat).
Food: Enrico Mole (Labour Democrat).
Labour and Social Welfare: Gaetano Barbareschi (Socialist).
Post War Relief: Emilio Lussu (Action).

A short sketch of Signor Parri's career was given in last week's *Summary*. Of the new Ministers, Conte Jacini is a northerner and was Deputy in Como. During the Fascist régime he was in exile in Switzerland. On his return he was made president of the first section of the Purge Commission. Signor Cevelotto was Minister for Posts and Telegraphs in the second Bonomi Cabinet. Signor Romita was Minister for Public Works in the first Bonomi Cabinet and came to London with Signor Nenni for the International Labour Conference last March. Signor Lamalfa is a leading man on the right wing of the Action Party. He is said to be a brilliant politician. Signor Scelba was said to be one of the leaders of the Christian Democrat Party in the North. Later he became Vice-Secretary of the party in Rome. Signor Mole was Under-Secretary for the Interior in the second Bonomi Cabinet. Little is known of Signor Barbareschi except that he was a worker who had to give up his job in 1930 owing to Fascist persecution. Signor Lussu is well known not only for his violent anti-Fascism, but for his book "Enter Mussolini." He is a Sardinian and was a Deputy for the Island. He was sent to the Lipari Islands but escaped and sought refuge in France. He was one of the leaders of the left wing of the Action Party and is a convinced republican, but he has been accused in the past of advocating Sardinian separatism.

Owing to the size of the Cabinet Signor Parri has decided to form an inner Cabinet consisting of himself, the two Vice-Presidents and the remaining party leaders. This inner Cabinet has already met and has drawn up a statement of its policy. In an interview with the press, Nenni, Socialist Party leader, said that the first task of the new Government at home was to proceed as speedily as possible with the formation of the Constituent Assembly. In order to discuss how the Constituent Assembly is to be elected, the Consultative Assembly is to be summoned and this will consist of between 200 and 400 members. Municipal elections are to be held as soon as possible and the C.L.N.s are to continue as consultative bodies. The whole system of epuration is to be overhauled and speeded up. Signor Parri has also broadcast to the nation explaining the task that faces the Italian people to raise themselves once more to the status of a Great Power. Every citizen must show that he realises his responsibility, for only in this way will the world see that Italy is capable of governing herself. Signor Parri finished by saying that unless Italy can build up a new organic structure and gain a sense of moral seriousness the fruits of her liberation would be lost.

THE VATICAN.

Announced days ahead, the Vatican broadcast to Germany the text of Archbishop Conrad Groeber of Freiburg's Pastoral of the 31st May. Four whole transmissions were devoted to reading it. The Pastoral gives, with German directness, and not a little humour, as witness a reference to "brown coats now miraculously bleached," all that has been best in recent papal thought on the war, Germans, Nazism, and religious and political freedom. (For the political aspect see under "Germany.") A remarkable passage tells how common defence of Christianity has smoothed out denominational conflicts, and continues: "this opposition of camps has also its advantages, as experience shows. Negative and positive poles not only give us light, they also dominate our intellectual heritage; for dispassionate discussions clarify, broaden and deepen the outlook. Though they seem to harass, they really help to consolidate and keep us alert and vigorous." The Pastoral is of supreme importance from both religious and political points of view; for it offers, to those who have the skill to handle it, a key to the future of Europe.

In a recent audience he gave to Sir D'Arcy Osborne, the Pope seemed depressed about the future. The Nazi danger was gone; but Russia's isolation of large parts of East and South-East Europe, with their millions of Catholics, and Moscow's continued false charges against himself and the Church, revived all his old fears of bolshevism. He was pessimistic about Italy and France, regretted the departure of Mr. Harold Macmillan, whose understanding of Italy had greatly impressed him, and obviously pinned his hopes for the salvation of Europe on the British Prime Minister, whose "wise statesmanship" he praised.

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

The agreement was signed between Russia and Hungary on the 15th June, making detailed provisions for the fulfilment of that Article in the Armistice Terms which requires Hungary to make deliveries to Russia to the value of 200 million United States dollars between January 1945 and January 1951. The deliveries are to be in machinery, ships, grain, cattle and other specified commodities, and delivery dates are laid down in the agreement. The values are taken at the 1938 price level in United States dollars, increased by 15 per cent. for industrial equipment and 10 per cent. for other articles.

The protests in the Hungarian press against the measures of expropriation and expulsion, present and proposed, initiated by the Czechoslovak Government against the Magyar minority in Slovakia are increasing in number and vigour, and are now being voiced by all Hungarian political parties.

The inaugural meeting of the Hungarian Society for Cultural Relations with the U.S.S.R. was reported fully in the press of the 20th June. Professor Szentgyörgyi was elected President, and among other officers were prominent politicians and *savants*.

The electoral campaign by the mandates of Transdanubia to the Provisional Assembly has now begun. The elections themselves are announced for the coming week, and the convocation of the Assembly for the beginning of July. For purposes of speed, the electoral law for the Constituent Assembly will, after it has been agreed by the political parties, be issued as a *loi décret*. J. Révai (Communist) has been appointed to fill the position on the Supreme National Council vacated by E. Gerö, when he took up the portfolio of Trade and Communications.

Four new Secretaries of State in the Ministry of Reconstruction consist of one Communist, one Social Democrat, one Smallholder and one National Peasant. G. Kállai, the Communist journalist and Secretary of the Budapest National Committee, was one of six new Secretaries of State in the Ministry of the Interior.

The censorship of the press exercised by a Russian officer on the Allied Control Commission is said to be reasonably fair and liberal, and aims at preventing the publication of any news which might show dissension between the three Great Powers. While no newspaper has as yet been punished by the censor, the Communist organ *Szabad Nép* and the Social Democrat paper *Népszava* have both been cautioned.

The latest published figures show the food prospects for the coming autumn and winter to be exceedingly bad; in fact, Hungary will probably be faced with complete or near-starvation. Previous estimates of areas sown are now revealed to have been dangerously over-optimistic. The areas sown this year, compared with the normal, are officially stated to be: wheat 46 per cent., rye 52 per cent., barley 84 per cent., potatoes and maize 130–135 per cent. A wheat harvest of 9·5 million quintals is expected, and a rye harvest of 3·5 million quintals, against a peace-time average (1929–39) of 23 million quintals wheat and 7·25 million quintals rye. When the necessary reserves for seed are deducted, 9·5 million quintals of bread-grains (wheat and rye) will remain to satisfy a normal consumption (taking the present population of Hungary at 8·55 millions) of 17·1 million quintals. A good maize harvest (30 million quintals) is expected, from which 3·5 million quintals can be taken to mix with the bread, but a higher proportion of maize would make the bread uneatable. There thus remains a deficit of 4·1 million quintals. On top of this, some of the harvest is earmarked for reparations. Moreover, bad as these figures are, the Minister of Supply has criticised them as being over-optimistic. He has announced that he makes the prospective deficit in bread-grains not 4·1 million quintals, but 6·4; and that the Minister of Agriculture had made it still bigger—10·7.

This is the position as regards bread-grains only. All other food-stuffs are very short, or non-existent. The consumption of meat is forbidden altogether; the few surviving cows can provide milk only for infants; for fats the population will depend on oil-seeds. Potatoes are expected to be plentiful and the fruit crop is good, but much of it cannot be moved owing to lack of transport.

Roumania.

There is a lull in Roumanian affairs which is felt to be the proverbial calm before another outbreak of political excitement. The present moment is opportune for taking stock of the situation during the period covered by the Government's

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tenure of office. At the beginning of March, after a carefully planned series of disturbances designed to discredit General Rădescu, Vyshinsky appeared in Bucarest and a new administration, representing, according to Russia, "the will of the whole people," but actually representing only a small minority, was imposed upon the country. Fourteen out of the eighteen members of the new Council of Ministers professed to be Communist. As always in Roumanian politics, things are not quite what they appear to be on the surface, and the communism of the Government is largely a matter of profession. Of the leading members three may be reckoned as convinced Communists; Pătrășcanu, the Minister of Justice, is a Communist intellectual and no bad advertisement for the creed he professes; Gheorghiu-Dej, the Minister of Communications, and Constantinescu-Iași, the Minister of Propaganda, are Communist hacks ready to obey without question their orders from Moscow. The Prime Minister, Groza, is a Transylvanian Nationalist, who began life rather on the Right and has drifted somewhat towards the Left. He may be credited with being entirely genuine in his zeal for agrarian reform and his desire for a *modus vivendi* with Hungary. If agrarian reform turns out once again to be a paying proposition for those in control of it, so much the better. Of the rest, one is a renegade Iron Guardist, and the others, including Tătărescu, are time-servers pure and simple, but neither particularly pure or simple. The Government has shown itself ready to carry out the terms of the Armistice up to a point, and to simplify the process of riveting upon the country Soviet control, for example, in organising the Citizen Guard, which can easily become a local variant of the N.K.V.D. Recently there appears to have been a growing realisation on the part of Russia of the real character of this troupe of marionettes, and dissatisfaction that they show increasing signs of slowness in reacting to the pulling of strings. There have been rumours of further change, but these are connected with the course of events "on a higher level."

The British Political Representative, who was on his way back to Bucarest after having been home for consultation, was held up at Bari while the installation of the new Government was being effected. Both he and other members of the Control Commission had begun by trying to work in an entirely friendly spirit with their Soviet colleague and by giving the Soviet authorities credit for an intention to play fair. But it became increasingly difficult to maintain such an attitude in the face of the Soviet practice of taking action without either consulting or informing the British and Americans of their intentions.

By the end of May it became clear that definite and well-considered action in conjunction with America was desirable. The objectives of Great Britain and the United States are (*a*) to establish independent governments in Roumania and the other Eastern European countries, in harmony with the Crimea decisions, (*b*) to protect our interests in those countries, and (*c*) to improve the position of our representatives. To this end the United States Government have suggested the reorganisation of the Control Commission so as to secure equal representation and status for all three of the Allied Powers, the Commission in future to act on instructions from all three Governments and to have a Soviet chairman. This was in line with her plans for other ex-satellite countries.

The next move was made by Russia. Stalin approached the other Allies with regard to the exchange of diplomatic relations with Roumania and other ex-satellite countries, a proposal which is still under consideration here. Simultaneously the United States Government have revived previous suggestions for consultations designed to broaden the Governments now in power in Roumania, Bulgaria and Hungary. Meanwhile the improvement which had taken place over carrying out the terms of the armistice showed distinct signs of slackening by the middle of June, and while there is much criticism of individual ministers there seems little prospect of Russia agreeing to a more representative Government. In fact Pavlov, the Soviet Political Representative, has said recently that Russia cannot risk a government in Roumania which she cannot control.

Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslavs' struggle to undermine Allied Military Government in north-western Venezia Giulia takes many forms. Their failure to concentrate the Yugoslav troops in the area, as agreed on the 15th June, caused General Morgan to send a sharp protest to the Yugoslav military delegation on the 19th. The Belgrade press and radio pour out accusations that A.M.G. is restoring Fascists to office and reviving Fascist institutions; they represent the Italian population as devoted to Yugoslavia; and they accuse the Allied Powers of a breach of the Agreement of the 9th June, which they falsely represent as obliging A.M.G.

to maintain the civil authorities set up during the Yugoslav occupation. Other methods have included Communist demonstrations, a dock strike, the maintenance of the armed "People's Guard" and of numerous Yugoslav military in civilian clothing. Tito himself, addressing a meeting of women, said that there was a tendency towards the re-establishment of the former Italian administration and that it was justifiable to oppose this with protests, mutinies and other merciless means. On the 20th the two military delegations signed an agreement, which, however, left unsettled the question of the civil authorities. On the 24th Radio Belgrade announced that the Yugoslav troops had been ordered to withdraw from the Allied zone (which, according to the Agreement of the 9th June, they should have done by 0800 hours on the 12th). A.M.G. has ordered the disbandment of all Italian and Slovene police organisations in Trieste and the substitution of Allied troops. On the 23rd Tito proclaimed Yugoslav Military Government in the Yugoslav zone, together with the maintenance of the civil authorities set up under Yugoslav patronage.

The Yugoslav Government have denied that they have called up Italian nationals or tampered with the registers in their area of occupation (see *Summary* No. 297, p. 15, para. 3), though stating that there has been some recruitment of "volunteers."

The flood of accusations about the persecution of Slavs in Greek Macedonia has swollen. On the 22nd June it included two important articles. One, by Čučkov, the Minister for Macedonia, said that the Slavs have deep cultural roots in this area, even in Salonica itself, that many Greek settlers have immigrated, and that, if the right of the Macedonian people to unification be long delayed, there will be no hope of peace in the Balkans. The other article argues that the region has been predominantly Slav from early times and that the Greek population is largely artificial. [*Note:* No corroboration of the existence of this persecution has been received from other quarters, and an official denial of it has appeared in the Greek press.]

Tanyug announces that A.V.N.O.J. will meet in July and will be broadened by "to allow for the greatest possible participation of all democratic, anti-Fascist political groups." Although most of the political groups are said to have made suggestions, the adjectives used in the announcement will permit of the careful hand-picking of new members.

Greece.

It has now been confirmed that the notorious ELAS leader, Aris Velouchiotis, who had refused to recognise the Varkiza Agreement, has been killed somewhere in the Pindus region, where his band is believed to have been surrounded by National Guards and Gendarmerie; reports differ as to whether Aris was shot or committed suicide; in any case, his head was cut off and displayed on a stake in Trikkala. Nearly all the press acclaimed his death, though *Eleftheri Ellada* represented him as a martyr; *Rizospastis* was unable to take this line, as the Communists had disavowed Aris a few days previously, so it contented itself with citing his achievements as a guerrilla leader during the Occupation.

According to Radio Athens, *Rizospastis* has published an article alleging that Greek troops are concentrated on the Albanian frontier preparatory to invading Northern Epirus. The Government has officially denied the allegations, and has stated that there are not more than six battalions (about 2,500 men) in the whole of the relevant area of northern Greece, including the Ionian Islands. It was further stated that, while Greece was making every effort to persuade the Allies to help the Greek elements in Northern Epirus, neither the Greek Government nor the Greek army, which implicitly obeyed the Government, had ever thought of carrying out a *coup d'état* which would disturb the peace of the Balkans. Meantime the Public Prosecutor is instituting criminal proceedings against M. Zachariadis and *Rizospastis*.

The Government's economic and financial programme seems to be inspiring public confidence. In Athens prices have fallen slightly, and there has been no important rise in the price of gold. A decree has been passed which declares certain acts to be contrary to the public interest and, as such, punishable by a term of imprisonment during which the State will control the business concerned; such acts are closing of industries and shops "to create reaction against Government measures," refusing to sell essential commodities, and selling or renting above the controlled rates. New taxation has been announced as from the 1st July, payable monthly for nine months. This taxation falls on the industrial and

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professional classes, who are to pay six, ten or fifteen times the present rent of their premises. Tax-payers are not expected to be able to meet this extraordinary taxation out of their current earnings, and are expected to sell stock. Increased rates of pay, ranging from 20 per cent. to 57 per cent. on the May salaries, have been announced for Civil Servants, and judges' salaries are raised by 54 per cent. to 82 per cent. on the May rates.

Albania.

Enver Hoxha's Government continues to demand Allied recognition, but it cannot be said to represent Albanians in general who, being mostly Moslems, are not predisposed to Communism. The F.N.Ç. contains, it is true, non-Communists, but it is run by Communists and it keeps itself in power by force of arms. It has at its disposal an army of some 60,000—an overwhelming force in so small a population—and also security brigades and an efficient spy system. Opinion is allowed no freedom of expression, even non-Communist members of the Government are watched, and there is no organised opposition. Nevertheless opposition, if unorganised, is latent, and it is plain that the F.N.Ç.'s continuance in power depends largely on its hold over the army, which in turn depends very much on whether the F.N.Ç. can provide food for the troops and their families. Recently the F.N.Ç. have had difficulty in feeding them and have been able to pay the officers only and not the men. The harvest now beginning, however, should ease these economic and financial difficulties. Meantime the authorities talk of holding elections, but they make no secret of their idea of excluding all non-Communists from participation and obtaining by this simple process ostensible popular endorsement of the one-party system. This would hardly carry conviction in Britain or the United States.

Bulgaria.

The text of the newly-enacted Bulgarian Franchise Bill has now reached this country. The elections are to be carried out in a single day (this is to be the 26th August). Any ten electors may put up a candidate, but people of known "Fascist" (that is, in practice, anti-Communist) views are ineligible. The final decision as to who has been elected will rest with the Provincial Courts; and any candidate who after being duly returned ventures to turn his coat will be *ipso facto* unseated. There remain two highly significant clauses: One lays it down that no member of a party included in the "Patriotic Front" list may present himself for election independently. This is designed to prevent any comparatively decent man—like Petkov, Bumbarov or Pavlov (from among the Agrarians) or Cheshmedzhiev (Social Democrat)—if once dismissed from the existing Government, as is more than likely, from ever returning to public life under the present dispensation. And finally, it is laid down that civilians are banned from holding political meetings in barrack areas: which, of course, means that electioneering in the army is to be left entirely in the hands of the Poltical Commissars, or "Assistant Commanders," as they are called in Bulgaria.

In this last connexion it is of some interest to note that General Kozovski, who was made Deputy Commander-in-chief last November, has just been appointed "Chief of Political Administration in the Army," with the title of Deputy Minister, while General Marinov, hitherto Commander-in-chief, has himself been relegated to the post of Chief Inspector of the Forces. General Kozovski is a Russian-trained Communist who fought in the International Brigade in Spain under the assumed name of Petrov.

Following strong British and American representations, Dr. G. M. Dimitrov's wife has been released and has been granted permission to live quietly in the country.

Turkey.

An atmosphere of mistrust—hardly conducive to the successful negotiation of a treaty of friendship—continues to pervade Russo-Turkish relations. From one side the Turkish Press and from the other Moscow Radio are carrying on a long-distance bombardment—discreet on the part of Turkey, ungracious on the part of her neighbour. Thus *Tanin* attributed to the Soviet Government a desire to make of the Straits an advanced offensive-defensive line for Russia. That, it declared, was tantamount to handing the Straits over to her, and it would involve Turkey's independence and the vital interests of other Powers. Moscow Radio at the same time continued its attacks on prominent Turkish publicists,

whom it accused of reaction, pro-Nazism and attempts to promote discord between the Allies. Allied unity, however, had put an end to the old policy of the balance of power, upon which these reactionaries continued to rely. Moscow Radio also stated that a society of pro-Fascist Yugoslav reactionaries had been set up in Turkey under the presidency of Tsvetković, who had signed the pact with Hitler in 1941. General Zinković, it declared, was a member of it.

General satisfaction was expressed in Turkey at the improved prospects of the San Francisco Conference; although the semi-official *Ulus* declared, on the question of the veto, that the smaller nations had been given the choice of two evils: to accept the formula or abandon the hope of an international security organisation altogether.

It is reported from Angora that the establishment of a new party, to be known as the Democratic Party, is being considered. Dr. Rüştü Aras, the former Foreign Minister and Ambassador to London, is mentioned as one of the probable leaders of the new party. The Republican People's Party would, it is stated, welcome the creation of an official opposition. The proposed party would apparently be distinct from the existing Opposition wing of the Republican People's Party.

It was reported from Istanbul that the Turkish Government had decided to return to France the ten ships of small tonnage which were taken over early in the war.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

The position regarding the *Troupes Spéciales* in the Levant is daily becoming more serious, as desertions increase, and is adding considerably to the difficulties of the situation. The British Minister and the British Commander-in-Chief have been impressing on the Syrian Government that they must not encourage desertions, and we have recently conveyed a new message from General Paget to them insisting that further strict orders should be issued forbidding any encouragement to desert. This the Syrian Minister for Foreign Affairs has promised to do. He has pointed out, however, that the present position was both dangerous and absurd. While the Syrian Government would not encourage desertion, they could not prevent it, nor could they regard as criminals men who felt their duty lay in supporting their own country rather than France, and who in their own eyes were displaying patriotism. He said that the number of deserters was increasing every day. At present they were coming over in dozens, but soon it would be in hundreds, and the presence of a force of armed bands in the country was a danger to Syrians, British and French. The Government would feel bound to take on, therefore, all who deserted though they might not all be desirable. He held that the longer the French delayed in disbanding the *Troupes Spéciales* the greater was the danger, and that an immediate solution was essential.

The greater part of Syria is now virtually in a state of revolt against the French. The south-east corner is about the only part of the country where anti-French feeling has not been intense so far While our forces are doing their utmost to protect French officers and others, it is unfortunately true that many Frenchmen seem unable to realise the danger to them and disregard the orders issued for their own safety by the British military authorities. A case in point ended in a tragic incident at Idlib on the 17th June, involving the death of two French officers, a matter which has now been investigated by British officers. A French Field officer was supposed to accompany a large convoy of British and French vehicles leaving Aleppo on that day. Instead, however, he went on ahead of the convoy without notifying any British officer. Having arrived at Idlib he ignored advice from a Syrian officer of the *Troupes Spéciales* not to go into the headquarters of the Kaimakam, owing to danger of attack by the crowd, but, accompanied by a French lieutenant, insisted on going there. The Kaimakam himself shouted to the two officers to stop them, but was unsuccessful. He posted gendarmes outside his office and kept the crowd back for a time. Eventually the crowd burst into the office and attacked and killed both French officers. As mentioned in last week's *Summary*, the atmosphere is not likely to clear until it becomes known that a conference, which His Majesty's Government has proposed, is in fact to be held. The venue and composition of it are under consideration. (See under "France.")

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The French have asked us that the operation of O.C.P. (Office des Céréales Panifiables) should be maintained anywhere in the Levant States where disorders have not made its functioning impossible. Unfortunately it has been found impossible to secure its functioning. Moreover, out of the 250,000 tons of cereals estimated as the total crop from the Levant for 1945, the Lebanon is not likely to produce more than 10,000 tons. The burden of financing practically all purchases would, therefore, be transferred to the Syrians and would prove in all probability too much for their financial resources.

Agreement has now been reached between all parties for the setting up of the cereals commission to be known as the M.I.R.A. Commission. It will have a Syrian president, probably the Minister for Foreign Affairs or the Minister of Supplies, and representatives of the Lebanese Governments, of M.I.R.A. itself and of the 9th Army Headquarters as members. It was agreed that the function of the Commission would be to advise the General Officer Commanding the 9th Army on all matters concerning operations of M.I.R.A., and it would expedite current matters as was done by the O.C.P. Commission. The two Governments have also agreed to the setting up of a committee to be known as the *Comité de Gestion de l'actif et du passif de l'O.C.P.*, the function of which will be to collect all debts due to O.C.P., to pay its liabilities and to draw up a balance-sheet at 31st May, 1945. It will have French, British, Syrian and Lebanese members.

The Syrian and Lebanese Governments have issued a joint *communiqué*, dated 21st June, 1945, at Damascus, following upon the Arab League meeting in Cairo and a meeting of the two Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers at Damascus. In it the two Governments announce that they have agreed to follow a joint policy the aims of which are :—(i) to put into operation the decisions taken by the Arab League Council; (ii) to dismiss all French employees in the service of the two Governments; (iii) to work for the withdrawal of all French troops from Syrian and Lebanese territory and to demand the handing over of the *Troupes Spéciales* to the two Governments. They took the opportunity to declare their determination not to grant a privileged or special position to any Power, and to pursue their policy of independence with resolution and vigour for the maintenance of their sovereignty. According to the Syrian Minister for Foreign Affairs, he hoped to be allowed to proceed gradually and not summarily to dismiss the French officials at once, but his Cabinet were having great difficulty as there was some violent opposition to the retention of French officials even for a time.

Ibn Saud has been playing a mediating rôle behind the scenes of the Arab League meeting. He has telegraphed to the President of Syria, to leading politicians of the Levant and to the Syrian Bedouin chieftains, urging them not to let the Bedouin take any part against the French. He similarly, through his representative, advised the Council of the Arab League, while it was meeting in Cairo, not to make foolish resolutions which they would not be able to implement, or to do anything which would lead to a misunderstanding with His Majesty's Government.

The Egyptian Government's promptitude in relaxing press censorship in Egypt has been hailed with approval on all sides, but an immediate outburst of political polemics has led to a general lowering of the tone of the press. There has been widespread speculation among the public as to the text of the unpublished resolutions concerning Syria and Lebanon of the Arab League Council. As a corollary to the suggested discussions regarding Syria and Lebanon in London, treaty revision remains very much to the fore in the public mind. Egypt, with her predominant position in the Arab League, it is argued, should be at least as independent as the Levant States. Articles by members of the Egyptian press delegation, who have been visiting London, figure prominently in the local press and have done much to enlighten the Egyptian public on the situation in Great Britain.

There has been a reaction among the more broad-minded Egyptians against the violent allegations and counter-allegations of the abuse of power made by Egyptian parliamentarians against each other. They deplore this exhibition of personal spite by their leaders, but Nokrashi Pasha has so far been unwilling or powerless to check this domestic strife. Anti-French feeling has been kept alive by reports now leaking out of excessively drastic repression of recent disorder in Algeria.

M. Sadr, the new Persian Prime Minister, took the members of his Cabinet to the Majlis for the first time on the 21st June. First reports indicate that M. Sadr's Government is no more popular with the Majlis than that of his predecessor, M. Hakimi.

The Persian Government has been awaiting replies from the Governments of Great Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States regarding the withdrawal of Allied troops from Persia; in the meanwhile, the press agitation for the evacuation of the country continues. It is noteworthy that the Tudeh section of the press is silent on the subject.

THE FAR EAST.

On the 20th June the Extraordinary War Measures Act was approved at a plenary session of the Japanese Privy Council convened at the Imperial Palace in the presence of the Emperor. The Act came into force on the 23rd June and applies to Korea and Formosa as well as to Japan proper. Members of the Tokyo Cabinet, the Regional Superintendents-General and the Governors-General of Korea and Formosa are empowered to apply the provisions of the Act, which cover all matters relating to business organisations, the employment of labour, supply of materials, property rights, wages and prices, and general movements of the population. Suzuki on the 22nd June told his colleagues in the Cabinet that they now had powers to carry out, speedily and resolutely, all measures deemed necessary, for the Act had freed both officials and the nation as a whole from red tape, and no officials could in future evade their duties and responsibilities on the pretext that legal formalities prevented them from taking prompt action. However, on the same day Tokyo Radio stressed the difference between the Extraordinary War Measures Act and an invocation of the Imperial Supreme Authority. The new Act must confine itself to the sphere of law, whereas the Imperial prerogative overrode all laws. Personal government by the Emperor, based on the traditions and sentiments of the Japanese nation, was more deeply rooted than government by law, and it was probable that, if a more serious emergency arose, the Imperial Supreme Authority would be invoked.

Now that Japanese resistance on Okinawa has virtually ended, the Tokyo Government are warning their people that an invasion of Kyushu may be imminent. The Superintendent-General of that region, while in Tokyo on the 19th June, declared that the construction of various defence works had been almost completed and that the people of Kyushu were ready to meet the invader. Other anti-invasion measures in Japan generally include the establishment of two new Army Regional Commands in Shikoku and Chugoku and of regional naval offices to deal with questions of defence, materials and labour, in so far as these affect naval activities. The new offices will be under the authority of the naval defence headquarters in each region and will work in close accord with the Army Regional Commands and the Regional Superintendents-General. The Volunteer Military Service Act came into force on the 23rd June, together with Army and Navy regulations for the organisation of the People's Volunteer Corps. The Tokyo P.V.C. was completely organised by the 22nd June; its first task will be the clearing of rubble and the reconstitution of transport facilities in the stricken capital. A manual setting out the duties of the P.V.C. has been published jointly by the Army and the Navy; the manual emphasises the maintenance of transport and supply facilities and also refers to the protection of important war establishments against "enemy schemes or disturbances which may be created by subversive elements" as well as to assistance to the police in the maintenance of peace and order. This need not be taken to mean that the authorities fear serious uprisings. The manual also states that the P.V.C. is organised to place the entire nation under the personal command of the Emperor as are the armed forces of the fighting services; this does not imply that the Emperor is going to command in the field in the event of an invasion.

The Tokyo broadcast in English of the 25th June quoted some remarks by Aiichiro Fujiyama on the relations between Big Business interests and the Army. Fujiyama is primarily a sugar magnate, he is president of the Dai Nippon Sugar Manufacturing Company and chairman of the Japan Sugar Producers' Association, but he has also large interests in a number of other concerns in Japan, Korea, Formosa and Manchuria, and is described as one of the Japanese Empire's outstanding financiers. He declared that Japanese Big Business was not in the least interested in anything short of a total Japanese victory and, notwithstanding enemy wishful thinking, business interests and the military were working together. But he was also quoted as saying that without the concerted co-operation of Japan's Big Business the Japanese war machine could hardly expect to last long; this remark can be taken as meaning that Big Business is doing its duty in the general Japanese war effort, but it may also be a warning to the military not to interfere overmuch with Big Business or to start any general

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policy of expropriation under the powers granted by the Extraordinary War Measures Act. It is reminiscent of the Roman general's message: "Cæsar may be sure of my loyalty as long as I retain my command." Fujiyama's interests are primarily, though not exclusively, in the Japanese overseas empire and, in view of the Cairo Declaration, he stands to lose them. But most of the Zaibatsu also have extensive interests outside Japan proper; this is a point of difference between them and the Court group who are more specially concerned with the maintenance of the Imperial authority within Japan.

The Japanese are still fighting a rearguard action in Liuchow, although the Chinese claim to have reached its southern suburbs, and also that another of their advancing columns has pushed down the Kweichow-Kwangsi railway to a point six miles north-west of Liuchow. Chungking puts the strength of the Japanese force in Liuchow at between 1,000 and 2,000 and says that it is holding out to ensure an organised withdrawal through Kweilin to Hengyang. North of Wenchow, in Chekiang, the Chinese have reached Hwangyen, on the Wenchow–Ningpo road. They now hold some 200 miles of the Fukien–Chekiang coast, but this is partly covered from invasion by Formosa, while the Japanese are still holding an island at the mouth of the Min River below Foochow. The Chungking military spokesman on the 22nd June said that the Japanese appeared to have largely completed their redeployment of troops in China and there was now much less movement by road and rail. The Japanese garrisons in Amoy and Swatow had been reduced to 2,000 or 3,000 men and some 5,000 had been withdrawn from Hainan Island. The Japanese were strengthening their field defences to the north of the Yellow River. The spokesman further said that transport difficulties were hampering the Chinese forces in Kwangsi, that very little fighting had occurred and that all Chinese military movements could be regarded as the prelude to a general counter-offensive. On the 20th June General Wedemeyer announced that new Tactical Headquarters for the American troops in China would soon be established and would be under the command of Major-General Douglas Weart.

The *Yomiuri-Hochi* (23rd June) quoted a Canton report that twenty Chinese divisions under General Ku Chu-tung were deploying for battle in Kiangsi and Chekiang and that the 14th United States Air Force was re-establishing airfields in Fukien, Kiangsi and Kwangtung. The armies of Generals Hsueh Yueh and Yu Han-mou were also said to be on the move in northern Kwangtung. Japanese propagandists in China have been representing the "Americanisation" of the Chinese Army as fatal to Chungking's independence and at the same time decrying the value of the new forces, though they admit that there has been some improvement in the training of the troops and in the liaison between air and ground forces.

Reuter on the 24th June reported from Chungking that the decision of the Chinese Communist Party not to send representatives to the forthcoming meeting of the People's Political Council had widened the breach between them and the Government, which had offered them eight seats on the Council, including one for Mao Tze-tung himself. The Chinese Democratic League of eight minority parties was discussing whether or not to follow the Communists' example and boycott the P.P.C., which is due to meet on the 7th July.

On the 24th June six American Congressmen, led by Mr. Harry R. Sheppard, the Chairman of the Naval Sub-Committee of the House Appropriations Committee, arrived in Chungking. They were accompanied by a group of Naval personnel, including the Navy Fiscal Director. The purpose of the visit was not announced.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

In a special message to both Houses of Congress before leaving for his visit to the West Coast, President Truman recommended legislation to change the order of the Presidential succession. "The question is of great importance now," he said, "because there will be no elected Vice-President for almost four years." Under the existing law Mr. Truman would, in the event of his own death or inability to act, be succeeded by the Secretary of State (until Wednesday Mr. Stettinius) and thereafter by other members of the Cabinet successively in named order. In effect, therefore, it now lies within Mr. Truman's power to nominate his own successor. The President has, in consequence, suggested that it would be more democratic if the person to succeed him were an elective officer, and he has proposed that the Speaker of the House of Representatives (at present Mr. Rayburn) be first in order of succession, or, if this post were vacant, then

the President *pro tempore*—temporary, because normally the Vice-President presides over the Senate. Mr. Truman suggested the Speaker of the House because he is chosen by a method that "can most accurately be said to stem from the people themselves." The message also expressed the belief that no matter who succeeded to the Presidency after the deaths of the President and Vice-President, "he should serve no longer than until the next *Congressional* election (Congressional elections take place every two years) or until a special election called for the purpose of electing a new President and Vice-President."

This proposal was at first generally welcomed, particularly as it was maintained that "American tradition demands that the President be elected by the people." The House of Representatives, not unnaturally, supported Mr. Truman's suggestions, though the Senate, despite hearty recommendation by individual Senators, appeared to be considerably more cautious. There was agreement, however, that prompt action was desirable and that the President's suggestions were "well thought out" and were a "sound basis for discussion." As the days have gone by, however, while there is still agreement with the President's objectives, there has been mounting criticism of his specific proposals, especially in Liberal circles. It has been pointed out, for example, that the Speaker of the House might belong to the Opposition party, and Mr. Walter Lippmann, while urging Congress to adopt the proposal as "a stop-gap measure," has expressed the view that Mr. Truman's proposal "may not be the best one." He thinks the solution of the "permanent problem . . . will be found in deciding how to choose a new Vice-President" and suggests that Congress provide for the election of a Vice-President as soon as possible after the office of Vice-President becomes vacant. Other voices have reiterated this, and in view of the many doubts, action is now likely to be slow and difficult. It is significant that the House Judiciary Committee approved the President's proposals by a bare vote of one, ten votes to nine.

Good news followed Mr. Truman as he set out West to address the closing session of the Conference at San Francisco. By a vote of 47 to 33 the Senate rejected an amendment of its own Finance Committee which would have robbed the President of powers to make tariff cuts up to 50 per cent. of the rate prevailing on the 1st January, 1945. The Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, without any "crippling" amendments, was finally passed by the surprisingly large majority of 54 to 21 votes—"a truly by-partisan vote." Mr. Truman hailed this news as "gratifying," adding, "the revitalisation of this Act places the United States squarely behind the principles of international trade co-operation which must prevail in the interests of world peace and economic well-being. Trade co-operation must go hand in hand with monetary and financial co-operation. I am confident," stated the President, "that the Senate will also take favourable action on the Bretton Woods legislation." Mr. Grew, in an address to the students at the Foreign Service Education Foundation, stressed the immense political and economic power of the United States, but admitted that, "on the basis of our past record, our economic power is distrusted or even feared abroad." He believed, however, that the extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act was one proof of America's real intentions, as would be the acceptance of the Bretton Woods proposals, and he pledged that the United States would "pursue the path of economic co-operation through the organisation of the United Nations, whose Economic and Social Council promises to be one of the most hopeful contributions to the future well-being of nations."

There is now a tendency to assert that it behoves Great Britain, as Mr. Dewey hinted in his recent speech, to show her good faith by abandoning "her restrictive trade and monetary policies," following the fine lead given by the United States.

A new buoyancy, particularly in relation to international affairs, has been observable this week. In addition to the good news about the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, the announcement of an acceptable formula for the composition of the new Polish Government, and other evidences of Soviet willingness to compromise, Mr. Truman told the press that he was very happy that the San Francisco Conference had been a success. The press is actively supporting the President's desire for the early ratification of the Charter by the Senate, and it is significant that the emphasis now is on when rather than whether this will take place. The hope is expressed that the Senate ratification should precede the Big Three Meeting, in order to strengthen the President's hand. One Associated Press report maintained that there were less than a dozen potential votes in the Senate against the Charter, but several close observers doubt whether Senate ratification will be obtained before the Berlin meeting, and it is stated, though it is by no means certain, that the President will throw the fullest measure of his official weight behind the Charter by going before the Senate in person.

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Three of the crusading B²H² Senators (Carl Hatch, Democrat, New Mexico, Joseph Ball, Republican, Minnesota, and Harold Burton, Republican, Ohio), worried by the outbreak of strikes and the fear that war production for the Far East may suffer despite pleas by the Service chiefs, have proposed a Bill to modify the Wagner Labour Relations Act and to substitute narrower restrictions on both employers and employees. This new proposal would deprive organised Labour of some of the advantages which it has gained during the Roosevelt régime. It would abolish the National Labour Relations Board, replacing it with a new five-man agency; would ultimately abolish the War Labour Board and establish a new three-man tribunal to prevent unfair practices not only by management, as at present, but also by Unions as well; and would outlaw the "closed shop," except under special conditions. The Act would apply only to employment affecting interstate commerce and not to the local handling or distribution of goods. Local labour disputes would be left to the States, thus narrowing the field in which the Wagner Act now operates. Finally, disputes arising in industries which would result in severe hardships to the public (public utilities, coal, milk, &c.) would be made subject to compulsory arbitration.

Naturally the three most powerful Labour organisations (the A.F. of L., C.I.O., and United Mine Workers) have bitterly denounced this new Bill, and have described it as "a Bill to enslave labour" and "a strait-jacket for labour." While it is unlikely that these exact proposals will become law, it seems certain that steps will be taken to secure industrial peace at home, particularly during the reconversion period. This will be one of the first problems facing Mr. Schwellenbach when he succeeds Miss Perkins as Secretary of Labour on the 1st July.

General Eisenhower has been welcomed with enthusiasm, not only as a great general but as "the great example of American democracy," entitled, as the President himself said, "to anything he wants." "It is doubtful," as one paper said, "if any legislative body heard from a professional soldier an address as masterly and inspiring," as his address to Congress. He is acclaimed everywhere and his talents as "a diplomat," his "statesmanship," his "grasp of international issues," and his ability to cement Allied friendship are extolled in glowing and unstinted phrases. General Eisenhower has undoubtedly become a national hero and a popular idol. (See also under "France.")

LATIN AMERICA.

The manifesto which was published by Argentine commercial and industrial interests and directed against Colonel Perón (see last week's *Summary*) has now been answered by a Vice-Presidential communiqué. This explains the friction and opposition brought about by the "creation of a new social and economic system" as a natural phenomenon in the free play of democratic institutions. The Argentine Government, it is asserted, is attempting to create a democracy of the centre in which neither capital nor labour would sway decisions. Those who had signed the manifesto represented an economic oligarchy which in the past had led to a dictatorship of capital in Argentina. The measures taken by the Government were justified by the contrast between wealth and poverty existing in the country. The minimum needs for a workman and family with three children were now 200 pesos; either this must be the minimum wage (which spelt inflation), or prices must come down so that a wage of 160 pesos would suffice. It is apparently in pursuance of this policy of deflation that the Government is preparing, according to broadcast reports, to reduce the current budget by 200 million pesos.

Meanwhile the Argentine and Rosario Rural Societies (representing farming and stock-raising interests) have issued a declaration of solidarity with the authors of the first manifesto, blaming the Government for the two-month-old meat-factory strike, which, they maintain, has led to a drop of 130,000 tons in meat exports in the first quarter of 1945 compared with the same period of 1944. The Unión Industrial has also now published a short statement approving the principles of the manifesto, though recording dissent on various points.

General Pedro Cavalcanti, president of the Brazilian Military Requisitioning Commission, has stated, in an interview, that Brazil would not at once join actively in the war against Japan, since the adaptation of her forces for amphibious warfare would involve a considerable period of training.

In Colombia President López is reported to have issued a statement attributing responsibility for all recently discovered disturbances, including the Pasto revolt, to the machinations of the Conservative leader, Dr. Laureano Gómez.

In the Dominican Republic, the efforts of General Trujillo to create a controlled "opposition" have led to the arrest of many of those who were unwise enough to come forward. General Trujillo is now faced with the most serious opposition he has known, though this does not mean that he is seriously inconvenienced. The atmosphere of *malaise* appears to extend to Haiti.

UNITED NATIONS.

President Truman addressed the final session of the San Francisco Conference on the 26th June, and it now remains for the member States to ratify the Charter.

The work of setting up the new Organisation is to be carried on by a Preparatory Commission which held its first meeting on the 27th June in San Francisco but which will have its seat in London. In will include representatives of all member States. Documents will be prepared for it and its powers between its sessions will be exercised by an Executive Committee in permanent session in London. The Executive Committee includes representatives of the fourteen States represented on the Conference Executive Committee.

An outstanding point settled during the past week concerned the Assembly (see last week's *Summary*.) It is now laid down that the Assembly shall have the right to discuss any matter within the scope of the Charter or relating to the powers and functions of any organs of the Charter and (except as regards matters which are being dealt with by the Security Council) to make recommendations to members or to the Security Council or to both on any such matters.

It was also agreed to insert in the Charter a provision for the expulsion of members (as well as for their suspension). It was decided not to mention in the Charter the right of withdrawal from membership though it was made clear in the records of the Conference that withdrawal for good and sufficient reasons would not be prevented. The French delegate observed that it was unwise to mention divorce on one's wedding day.

It is now possible to sum up the main results of the Conference.

All the essentials of the Dumbarton Oaks plan have been preserved. The intention of that plan was primarily to improve on the League arrangements for the maintenance of peace and security by setting up machinery which could operate more rapidly and more effectively than the League machinery. The new machinery was held to require, for its full operation, the unanimity of the Great Powers. Even before the Conference many small Powers had indicated that they would try to have the weight given to the Great Powers by the Dumbarton Oaks plan counterbalanced in three ways: (*a*) by limiting the scope of the "Great Power veto," (*b*) by increasing the powers of the Assembly, (*c*) by having the Charter revised after a fixed term of years. On none of these points were they completely successful, but on each they achieved some concession. The "Great Power veto" is not to prevent the discussion by the Security Council of any dispute; the powers of the Assembly have been widened (see above); and revision of the Charter is to be considered at latest after ten years.

Moreover, the principle (basic to the Dumbarton Oaks plan) of relating power within the Organisation to responsibility on its behalf has been extended in the interest of smaller Powers in two ways. Firstly, in electing members to the Security Council, the Assembly is to pay regard primarily to the contribution of members to the maintenance of peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organisation. Secondly, any State required to supply armed forces for enforcement action but not represented on the Security Council is to participate in the Council discussions on the use of such forces.

The purposes of the Economic and Social Council have been widened. It is to promote higher standards of living, full employment, conditions of social and economic progress and the observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

A statute for a new World Court has been drafted. It follows the Statute of the Hague Court in most respects (including the absence of compulsory jurisdiction).

Finally there is a chapter on trusteeship for dependent territories. Its creation was perhaps the outstanding achievement of the Conference. For Dumbarton Oaks had provided no basis for this work; preliminary drafting, criticism, amendment, discussion, and final agreement had all to be achieved on the spot. Moreover, the first section of this new chapter breaks new ground by laying down principles for the administration of all dependent territories. The variety of national views on this subject and the even greater variety of conditions

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Three of the crusading B²H² Senators (Carl Hatch, Democrat, New Mexico, Joseph Ball, Republican, Minnesota, and Harold Burton, Republican, Ohio), worried by the outbreak of strikes and the fear that war production for the Far East may suffer despite pleas by the Service chiefs, have proposed a Bill to modify the Wagner Labour Relations Act and to substitute narrower restrictions on both employers and employees. This new proposal would deprive organised Labour of some of the advantages which it has gained during the Roosevelt régime. It would abolish the National Labour Relations Board, replacing it with a new five-man agency; would ultimately abolish the War Labour Board and establish a new three-man tribunal to prevent unfair practices not only by management, as at present, but also by Unions as well; and would outlaw the "closed shop," except under special conditions. The Act would apply only to employment affecting interstate commerce and not to the local handling or distribution of goods. Local labour disputes would be left to the States, thus narrowing the field in which the Wagner Act now operates. Finally, disputes arising in industries which would result in severe hardships to the public (public utilities, coal, milk, &c.) would be made subject to compulsory arbitration.

Naturally the three most powerful Labour organisations (the A.F. of L., C.I.O., and United Mine Workers) have bitterly denounced this new Bill, and have described it as "a Bill to enslave labour" and "a strait-jacket for labour." While it is unlikely that these exact proposals will become law, it seems certain that steps will be taken to secure industrial peace at home, particularly during the reconversion period. This will be one of the first problems facing Mr. Schwellenbach when he succeeds Miss Perkins as Secretary of Labour on the 1st July.

General Eisenhower has been welcomed with enthusiasm, not only as a great general but as "the great example of American democracy," entitled, as the President himself said, "to anything he wants." "It is doubtful," as one paper said, "if any legislative body heard from a professional soldier an address as masterly and inspiring," as his address to Congress. He is acclaimed everywhere and his talents as "a diplomat," his "statesmanship," his "grasp of international issues," and his ability to cement Allied friendship are extolled in glowing and unstinted phrases. General Eisenhower has undoubtedly become a national hero and a popular idol. (See also under "France.")

LATIN AMERICA.

The manifesto which was published by Argentine commercial and industrial interests and directed against Colonel Perón (see last week's *Summary*) has now been answered by a Vice-Presidential communiqué. This explains the friction and opposition brought about by the "creation of a new social and economic system" as a natural phenomenon in the free play of democratic institutions. The Argentine Government, it is asserted, is attempting to create a democracy of the centre in which neither capital nor labour would sway decisions. Those who had signed the manifesto represented an economic oligarchy which in the past had led to a dictatorship of capital in Argentina. The measures taken by the Government were justified by the contrast between wealth and poverty existing in the country. The minimum needs for a workman and family with three children were now 200 pesos; either this must be the minimum wage (which spelt inflation), or prices must come down so that a wage of 160 pesos would suffice. It is apparently in pursuance of this policy of deflation that the Government is preparing, according to broadcast reports, to reduce the current budget by 200 million pesos.

Meanwhile the Argentine and Rosario Rural Societies (representing farming and stock-raising interests) have issued a declaration of solidarity with the authors of the first manifesto, blaming the Government for the two-month-old meat-factory strike, which, they maintain, has led to a drop of 130,000 tons in meat exports in the first quarter of 1945 compared with the same period of 1944. The Unión Industrial has also now published a short statement approving the principles of the manifesto, though recording dissent on various points.

General Pedro Cavalcanti, president of the Brazilian Military Requisitioning Commission, has stated, in an interview, that Brazil would not at once join actively in the war against Japan, since the adaptation of her forces for amphibious warfare would involve a considerable period of training.

In Colombia President López is reported to have issued a statement attributing responsibility for all recently discovered disturbances, including the Pasto revolt, to the machinations of the Conservative leader, Dr. Laureano Gómez.

In the Dominican Republic, the efforts of General Trujillo to create a controlled "opposition" have led to the arrest of many of those who were unwise enough to come forward. General Trujillo is now faced with the most serious opposition he has known, though this does not mean that he is seriously inconvenienced. The atmosphere of *malaise* appears to extend to Haiti.

UNITED NATIONS.

President Truman addressed the final session of the San Francisco Conference on the 26th June, and it now remains for the member States to ratify the Charter.

The work of setting up the new Organisation is to be carried on by a Preparatory Commission which held its first meeting on the 27th June in San Francisco but which will have its seat in London. In will include representatives of all member States. Documents will be prepared for it and its powers between its sessions will be exercised by an Executive Committee in permanent session in London. The Executive Committee includes representatives of the fourteen States represented on the Conference Executive Committee.

An outstanding point settled during the past week concerned the Assembly (see last week's *Summary*.) It is now laid down that the Assembly shall have the right to discuss any matter within the scope of the Charter or relating to the powers and functions of any organs of the Charter and (except as regards matters which are being dealt with by the Security Council) to make recommendations to members or to the Security Council or to both on any such matters.

It was also agreed to insert in the Charter a provision for the expulsion of members (as well as for their suspension). It was decided not to mention in the Charter the right of withdrawal from membership though it was made clear in the records of the Conference that withdrawal for good and sufficient reasons would not be prevented. The French delegate observed that it was unwise to mention divorce on one's wedding day.

It is now possible to sum up the main results of the Conference.

All the essentials of the Dumbarton Oaks plan have been preserved. The intention of that plan was primarily to improve on the League arrangements for the maintenance of peace and security by setting up machinery which could operate more rapidly and more effectively than the League machinery. The new machinery was held to require, for its full operation, the unanimity of the Great Powers. Even before the Conference many small Powers had indicated that they would try to have the weight given to the Great Powers by the Dumbarton Oaks plan counterbalanced in three ways: (*a*) by limiting the scope of the "Great Power veto," (*b*) by increasing the powers of the Assembly, (*c*) by having the Charter revised after a fixed term of years. On none of these points were they completely successful, but on each they achieved some concession. The "Great Power veto" is not to prevent the discussion by the Security Council of any dispute; the powers of the Assembly have been widened (see above); and revision of the Charter is to be considered at latest after ten years.

Moreover, the principle (basic to the Dumbarton Oaks plan) of relating power within the Organisation to responsibility on its behalf has been extended in the interest of smaller Powers in two ways. Firstly, in electing members to the Security Council, the Assembly is to pay regard primarily to the contribution of members to the maintenance of peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organisation. Secondly, any State required to supply armed forces for enforcement action but not represented on the Security Council is to participate in the Council discussions on the use of such forces.

The purposes of the Economic and Social Council have been widened. It is to promote higher standards of living, full employment, conditions of social and economic progress and the observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

A statute for a new World Court has been drafted. It follows the Statute of the Hague Court in most respects (including the absence of compulsory jurisdiction).

Finally there is a chapter on trusteeship for dependent territories. Its creation was perhaps the outstanding achievement of the Conference. For Dumbarton Oaks had provided no basis for this work; preliminary drafting, criticism, amendment, discussion, and final agreement had all to be achieved on the spot. Moreover, the first section of this new chapter breaks new ground by laying down principles for the administration of all dependent territories. The variety of national views on this subject and the even greater variety of conditions

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in dependent territories themselves made agreement difficult, and the United Kingdom delegation took a leading part in providing the basis for it. Under this section members undertake not only to respect the principles laid down in it, but also to send to the Organisation regular reports on the economic, social and educational conditions in those of their dependent territories which are not brought under special trusteeship arrangements. This section, indeed, is likely to take its place as a Magna Charta in the development of the idea of empire. The second section of the new chapter provides for special trusteeship arrangements for dependent territories in three categories: (*a*) those taken from enemy States as a result of the present war; (*b*) those now under League of Nations Mandates; (*c*) those which the States responsible for their administration may voluntarily bring under trusteeship arrangements. The arrangements define the obligations of the administering States and the supervisory powers of the Organisation. Both the obligations and the powers in question resemble those under the League Mandate system, though a right of inspection by the new Organisation is also now included. The arrangements allows a distinction between strategic and other areas. For the former, the supervisory organ is the Security Council, for the latter a special Trusteeship Council, consisting of equal numbers of representatives of States administering and States not administering trusteeship territories, and including representatives of the five Great Powers.

Differences during the Conference (both inside and outside its walls) have reinforced the recognition that the success or failure of the Charter (like the "successes" and the "failure" of the League of Nations) will depend more on the will to co-operate between the Powers themselves (and particularly the Great Powers) than on the wording of any such document. Nevertheless, the provision of machinery which is likely to be accepted by the great majority of States (including, this time, all the Great Powers) is in itself a genuine contribution to the prospects of co-operation between them.

[*Note.*—The attitude taken at the Conference towards the Spanish Government is dealt with above under "Spain and Portugal."]

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 300

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
4TH JULY, 1945.

Copy No. 141

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

AT 11 a.m. on the 1st July Red Army troops took over from the Western Allies the occupation of Magdeburg and at the same time began in the North to enter an area 40 miles long and 27 miles wide covering the towns of Wismar, Schwerin, Ludwigslust and Hagenow, which had previously been garrisoned by the British. This further reshuffle of Allied troops followed an agreement that British and United States forces should begin on the 1st July to withdraw to their final occupation zones from the positions in which hostilities had left them. Men of the British Seventh Armoured Division passed through Magdeburg on the 1st July as the first of a number of advance parties now proceeding to occupy the British zone of Berlin. The first unit of the Division, a Squadron of the 11th Hussars, entered the German capital on the afternoon of the 4th July. A Four-Power Agreement on the final sectors to be taken over in Berlin has still to be concluded, but both His Majesty's Government and the United States Government have intimated their desire that French troops should, along with the British and American, be present in the German capital from the first. The French Provisional Government has therefore been invited to send a token force to Berlin with the British and American garrisons, with whom it will be accommodated until a fourfold division of the city has been agreed upon.

A disturbing picture of how authority is apt to break down and lawlessness to flourish in areas where the troops of one Allied nation are moving out and those of another are moving in, and of how gangs of displaced persons have, in some places, exploited the interregnum to terrorise the German population, has been given by a Military Government official at Herford in Westphalia. During a period of six weeks, this official stated, there had been in his sector of the British zone alone 100 murders, 60 cases of rape, 200 cases of robbery with violence, 150 thefts and slaughter of cattle and about 1,000 cases of looting by Allied

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nationals waiting for repatriation. In addition eight German policemen, acting under Military Government instructions, had been murdered. Neither in these areas, where British, American and Russian troops are at present on the move, nor elsewhere in the Reich, are German police allowed to take Allied civilian suspects into custody. In any case, the German police remain for the most part unarmed, except where their reorganisation under Military Government control has been satisfactorily completed. To deal with native law-breakers whose offences do not warrant the interference of the Allied military police, a new Schutzpolizei has been constituted from the non-Nazi members of the former German force, and to this have been added such remnants of the old Kriminalpolizei as are felt to be reliable.

Some delay is expected to be caused in the reconstruction of German peacetime industry in the British and American zones by the demand for some 25 million tons of German coal by the end of next year to overcome the fuel famine in the liberated Allied territories. The export of this German coal to the Allied territories should, it is felt, take precedence over the needs of both German civilians and German factories. In addition to the 140 coal mines recently referred to by Field-Marshal Montgomery as already working in the Ruhr, eight are stated to have restarted in the Saar and four more are due to resume their activity this week. 15,000 miners are at present employed in the Saar area, but there is said to be work for twice as many more, along with 10,000 new apprentices.

Where coal is not imperative for the work of reconstruction, the return to normality is still proceeding at a satisfactory pace. A postal system for the German public began to operate throughout the Ruhr and Westphalia on the 1st July. Postcards may be sent by anyone within this area, but letters are reserved for business purposes. The destroyed harbour area of Hamburg is being repaired with every priority by local German labour under the supervision of the British Navy, and the first Allied ships are stated to have already docked there. The German Co-operative Wholesale Society at Hamburg has been reconstituted and a number of its old directors who had been in retirement since 1933 have been reinstated. On the 27th June, however, the British press reported that the recently revived Socialist Free Trade Union—a major German workers' organisation before 1933—had been temporarily dissolved at Hamburg because Military Government could not approve of some members' efforts to turn it into an active political body. The Union is said to be free to start again, if it undertakes to keep out of politics and make no attempt to collective bargaining.

An official declaration on the agricultural and food situation over the Hamburg radio on the 27th June stated that the existing regional and district farmers' organisations (Landesbauernschaften and Kreisbauernschaften) would remain in control in the British zone, as would the various trade associations (Wirtschaftsverbände). Travel restrictions for agricultural workers and food distributors would be lifted as far as possible. All available tractors had already been returned to farmers and plans for supplying fuel had been completed. German sea fishing would be restarted as soon as crews and boats were available and mines had been swept. 1,000 unemployed Düsseldorf workers were reported on the 26th June to have been dispersed to local farms. Two days later, the *Neue Westfälische Zeitung* appealed to all craftsmen in Westphalia who had lost their livelihood through bombing to turn to agriculture and find a new life on the land. Unemployed armaments workers from as far away as Upper Silesia are now stated to be working on the farms of Hesse. The promise of extra rations for heavy workers and hospital patients during the next rationing period was held out by the new head of the Bavarian provincial food office, Staatsrat Ernst Ratterhuber, in a broadcast of the 1st July. Nevertheless, Rattenhuber warned his listeners that Bavarian food would have to be exported to other territories under United States administration and that, in any case, it would only be possible to pull through the coming winter "if the Lord grants a good harvest."

More than usual publicity has been given during the past few days by the Russian-controlled news agencies to the activities of the German Communist Party in Berlin. The programme of the party, as registered with the Soviet authorities, was published in *Pravda* on the 25th June. This admitted that the German people bore partial responsibility for the misdeeds of their leaders and put forward the party's demands for a *bloc* of all anti-Fascists to help them mend their ways. The establishment of a German Soviet system, it was nevertheless conceded, would be out of keeping with present conditions in the Reich. On the 30th, the Berlin radio broadcast a long speech by Walter Ulbricht of the

Central Executive Committee of the German Communist Party, enlarging still further upon the need for a united front of German democratic organisations. Good relations, Ulbricht stated, would have to be established between the Communists and the Social Democrats "throughout the Reich, from Frankfurt-on-the-Oder to the Ruhr and from Mecklenburg to Württemberg" (that is, not merely in the Russian zone, where an agreement between the two parties is already in operation, but in the British and American zones as well). The new plans of the party for the nationalisation of the land, he added, should be put into effect as soon as possible "and the princes, Junkers and large estate-holders should be expropriated." Ulbricht, who would thus seem to be emerging as the principal spokesman of the reconstituted German Communist movement, was head of the party's political bureau and a member of the Reichstag before 1933. During the war he has been a frequent broadcaster from Moscow and a prominent member of the Free German Committee of General von Seydlitz. Ten of his sixteen colleagues on the new Central Committee of the German Communist Party are likewise leading representatives of that Moscow organisation.

Genuine efforts are apparently being made to give members of other anti-Nazi groups in Berlin the chance of organising and expressing themselves. Social Democrats and trade-union officials have been permitted to speak on the Berlin radio and to voice their views in the local press. A third and entirely new political party, the Christian Democratic Union of Germany (Christlich-Demokratische Union Deutschlands) came to life on the 29th June with an appeal in the *Berliner Zeitung* by 34 lay members of the Protestant and Catholic Churches. These included the former Centre Party Minister of Finance, Dr. Andreas Hermes, the former Centre Party leader in the West, Jakob Kaiser, the former (Protestant) Regierungspräsident of Kassel and economist, Dr. Ferdinand Friedensburg, and representatives of the families of von Arnim and Yorck von Wartenburg. Dr. Friedensburg also came into the public eye on the 27th June as one of the principal sponsors of a new "Cultural Association for Germany's Democratic Revival" (Kulturbund der Demokratischen Erneuerung Deutschlands). With him re-emerged a former Rector of the University of Berlin, Professor Eduard Spranger, who expressed guarded approval of National Socialism in 1933 and publicly stated at that time that he had for years been "harassed by the Left," and the veteran actor Paul Wegener. The Association pledged itself to work for a "complete change of heart and moral renascence" among the German people and to rally all scholars and artists for this purpose.

AUSTRIA.

In the American-occupied zone, a Provisional Provincial Government has been appointed in Salzburg, headed by Adolf Schemel, a Christian Socialist. Of the other members one is a Social Democrat, one Christian Social, one Communist and one of no party. This is the last of the regional administrations to be appointed in the United States zone. There were already organisations in Innsbruck and in Upper Austria. Over 100 of the most eminent Nazi personalities of Salzburg are reported to be employed in clearing the ruins.

From Carinthia, a news item broadcast by the Klagenfurt radio on the 26th quoted "a member of the Allied Control Commission for Austria" as saying that non-fraternisation would soon be relaxed, and expressing the hope that "Austria would soon be restored by a freely-elected government." The first newspaper in the British zone is published daily in Klagenfurt—the *Kärntner Nachrichten*. The *Osterreichischer Kurier* has begun to appear in Salzburg, while from the Russian zone comes news of the *Neue Steierische Zeitung*.

Radio Vorarlberg has relayed broadcasts from Radio Luxembourg and Paris since the French occupation. It now broadcasts mainly material of local origin, with the exception of the German transmission from Paris for Austria, which is relayed daily. On the 25th June this transmission included a talk, strongly advocating support for Dr. Renner's Provisional Government.

From Vienna on the 30th June came the news that during the evening of the 29th "further severe damage was caused to the grid system, and the district centre and transformer were damaged." It was said that the transformer would not be in working order for months, and it appears that this unexplained disaster has seriously affected the already limited supply in Vienna. Teaching at all Vienna secondary schools is to be resumed in the first week of July.

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It would seem that the population of the British and American-occupied zones takes little interest in anything except day-to-day problems. The same is believed to be true for the Russian zone, although propaganda broadcasts convey the impression of ceaseless political activity. The opening announcement of the "Russian Hour," broadcast from Vienna on the 28th June, criticised "the people in Vienna who switch off their wireless when they are to hear something about Russian affairs."

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

The talks held in Moscow between the Polish and Czechoslovak delegations, while serving the purpose of bringing territorial claims into the open, have not resulted in any agreement between the two countries. The Czechoslovak Ministers expressed uncertainty about the Russian attitude, an uncertainty echoed, too, by the Czech representatives in London. M. Fierlinger, however, said after the failure of the negotiations that he was satisfied with the official Soviet viewpoint, which recognises the pre-Munich frontiers and refers any frontier rectifications to the Peace Conference. According to M. Fierlinger and Dr. Ripka, the Polish delegates showed little knowledge of the localities involved, and behaved with unusual lack of courtesy; the Poles were claiming the Teschen area which they occupied after Munich, considered the Glatz (Kladsko) salient as included within the western Neisse frontier, and refused to negotiate over the Czech claim to the smaller Leobschütz–Ratibor salient lying between Glatz and Moravská Ostrava. The Poles describe the Czechoslovak delegates as stubborn, but the latter seem confident that the justness and moderation of their claims can now wait for the approval of the final peace settlement.

The Czechoslovak delegation to Moscow was there also to discuss Soviet-Czechoslovak relations with M. Vyshinski. One definite outcome was the agreement to transfer Carpatho-Ukraine to the Soviet Ukraine, which was regarded as a foregone conclusion by the Czechs. Since its liberation by the Red Army, the Czechoslovak Government has had no real authority in Carpatho-Ukraine, but has borne the expense of providing the administration, food-stuffs, &c., and has wanted to withdraw altogether. (See under "Soviet Union" and "Hungary.") Interest from the Czechoslovak point of view now centres in the transfer of Czechs and Slovaks from the transferred territory, and Russians and Ukrainians from Slovakia, all of whom have the right to opt for Soviet or Czechoslovak citizenship up to the 1st January, 1946; and in the frontier demarcation to be carried out by a Commission set up under the agreement with equal Czechoslovak and Soviet representation.

The other questions discussed with M. Vyshinski dealt mainly with the removal of German minorities and with military affairs. Dr. Ripka explained that his Government was anxious to reach an early agreement on the orderly transfer of Germans, both of Reich and Sudeten origin. Mr. Nichols, in a dispatch from Prague on the 25th, described the all-pervading and almost pathological character of this problem in the Republic, which applies to a less acute degree to the Magyar minorities. Dr. Beneš and the Foreign Under-Secretary have been informed by Mr. Nichols that it is on the agenda of the "Big Three" meeting. The agreement between Czechoslovakia and U.S.S.R. concerning war booty had worked badly, and an attempt was made by the Czechoslovak delegation to improve its working. The dwindling popularity of the Red Army, particularly in Slovakia, which had suffered from both the Soviet and German occupations, and the failure of the Soviet authorities to implement their pledge in providing equipment for the new Czechoslovak Army, together with anxiety over the frontier dispute and the loss of Carpatho-Ukraine, have all combined to produce a growing feeling of disillusionment.

In Slovakia, the two official parties (Democratic and Communist) associated in the National Front issued a proclamation on the 1st July, following the lines of the programme of the central Government concerning minorities and the purge of undesirable elements in the national life, and expressing complete agreement on all problems. Interesting references were to religion—"all citizens of whatever religion may have equal rights and equal status, but it is expected that churches . . . will not foster Fascist inclinations or become instruments of political agitation"—and private property—"they will protect that of peasants, workers, tradesmen, shopkeepers, craftsmen, owners of small and medium-sized enterprises, and officials."

The death of Hacha, the aged ex-President of the Protectorate, took place after an illness in Prague on the 27th June.

POLAND.

On the 27th June, five days after the agreement between the three Polish groups in Moscow, reported in the last *Summary*, the delegates had all reached Warsaw, and the complete list of the "new" Provisional Government was announced on the following day. It consisted of six members each of the Peasant, Socialist and Workers' parties, with one of the Democratic party and two "non-party" men. M. Thugutt has declined the invitation to join the Government; it is to be expected that a substitute will be found in his (*i.e.*, the Peasant) party.

On the 26th June, before leaving Moscow, M. Mikolajczyk said at a press conference: "The present agreement ensures the opportunity for millions of Poles to return home and participate in building up their country." On the same occasion M. Gomulka, one of the Vice-Premiers, said the new Government would rely for support on four main parties, i.e., the Peasants, Workers and Socialists and the Democratic party. There was, he added, a plan for the Democratic party to reach agreement with the "Labour" party; M. Mikolajczyk added that the "Labour" party in London had resolved to support him in helping to form the new Government. Its chairman, M. Popiel, a former member of the Sikorski and Mikolajczyk Governments, is expected to go to Warsaw from London this week. Professor S. Grabski, a former National Democrat, who was Minister of Education in the early twenties, and acted as President of the Polish National Council in London until M. Mikolajczyk's resignation, flew on the 30th June to Warsaw, where he is now a member of the "Presidium" of the National Homeland Council. M. Wojcicki, the former secretary of the National Council in London, accompanied him.

Professor Grabski and M. Mikolajczyk and M. Stanczyk addressed an open-air meeting in the Theatre Square in Warsaw on the 1st July. "We have," said M. Mikolajczyk, "proclaimed our loyal collaboration within the ranks of the Government of National Unity. . . . I believe that, through this collaboration, we shall be able to get back to Poland the largest possible number of Poles abroad. For I want to tell you that there is not a single Polish soldier in Western Europe who, whatever his ideas while the fighting lasted, would not to-day deserve, when his moral fibre is being undermined, to return to you, to his family, to his children, to his nearest and dearest to join with you in working for a better future."

Professor Kot, who was M. Mikolajczyk's Minister of Information, has an article in *Jutro Polski* of the 1st July welcoming the new Provisional Government. Writing as a leader of the Peasant Party, he says: "Whatever may be our opinions as to what is lacking in the Moscow agreement, we declare publicly and solemnly that we regard it as the salvation of Poland. . . . We recognise the Government authorities which have thus been created in Poland as legal and national, and we shall demand of every Pole that he fulfil his duties as a citizen towards them."

The London Polish Government handed a statement to all the Governments of the United Nations except the U.S.S.R. on the 26th June, declaring that "the so-called Polish Provisional Government of National Unity is illegal," that the Poles called to Moscow for consultations "had no right to speak on behalf of the Polish people"; and that the London Government "will hand over its authority solely to a Government formed on free Polish soil which reflects the will of the people as expressed in free elections." On the 29th June President Raczkiewicz issued an address to the Polish nation, in the course of which he said: "The laws of the Republic have laid on me the duty, when peace has been concluded, of handing over the office of President of the Republic to the successor who shall be chosen by the Nation in democratic elections free of all constraint and menace. I shall so act as soon as the Nation is in a position to carry out such elections."

The Polish Military Headquarters in London have made a declaration, published in the press on the 2nd July, stating that the position of the Polish forces in Western Europe, "which total roughly a quarter of a million men and women, remains unchanged. . . . There is no question of troops not getting their pay."

It was announced in the Paris press on the 30th June that the French Government had recognised the new Provisional Government, and it is reported that M. Garreau, who is already in Warsaw, will be the new French Ambassador. It is reported that the Swedish Government has also accorded recognition and

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will give M. Eng, who is in Warsaw for negotiations concerning coal, the status of diplomatic representative there.

For the position of the Polish refugees in Persia see below under "Middle East."

SOVIET UNION.

On the 26th June Marshal Stalin was awarded (for the second time) the Order of Victory "for exceptional services in the organisation of all armed forces of the Soviet Union and for skilful leadership of these forces in the great Fatherland war, which ended in complete victory over Hitlerite Germany." On the same day the title of Hero of the Soviet Union was conferred on him, together with the Order of Lenin and the Gold Star Medal. On the following day "the highest military rank of Generalissimo of the Soviet Union" was also conferred upon "the Supreme Commander-in-chief of all armed forces of the U.S.S.R., Josef Vissarionovich Stalin." This rank had been established by a decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet on the 26th June. The honour was particularly fitting in that the only holder of this title before Generalissimo Stalin was Suvorov, the great Russian Commander in the French Revolutionary wars.

The incorporation of Carpatho–Ukraine in the Ukrainian S.S.R., which, from various indications had appeared probable since the beginning of this year (see *Summary* No. 267), was finally settled in a Treaty between the U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia, signed in Moscow on the 29th June. The Treaty provided that Carpatho–Ukraine, "on the basis of friendly agreement of both the High Contracting Parties" should be "reunited in accordance with the desire manifested by its population . . . . with its ancient mother country the Ukraine" and included in the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. The Treaty had appended an important Protocol, which provided for a reciprocal right of option of citizenship. Up to the 1st January, 1946, persons of Ukrainian or Russian nationality residing on Czechoslovak territory (in districts of Slovakia) could opt for Soviet citizenship, and persons of Slovak or Czech nationality having permanent residence in Carpatho–Ukraine could opt for Czechoslovak citizenship. The option would only become valid with the consent of the Soviet or Czech authorities in each case. Optants were to be allowed to take with them all their movable property, free of duty, and would receive compensation for their real property. Czechs and Slovaks, who were compelled to leave Carpatho–Ukraine owing to enemy occupation, would also receive compensation. A Demarcation Commission was to be appointed to draw up the frontier line on the spot and a Commission for Liquidation to deal with the legal and financial questions arising from citizenship options. The Treaty was signed on behalf of the U.S.S.R. by M. Molotov in the presence of Generalissimo Stalin, and by MM. Fierlinger and Clementis on behalf of Czechoslovakia. M. Fierlinger, in his speech after the signing, maintained that the Treaty was proof of the fact that "given correct mutual understanding of just interests, there could be no issues between two countries which could not be settled in a friendly spirit and in mutual confidence." He referred to Carpatho–Ukraine as having been "temporarily wrested from her ancient mother country the Ukraine" when it became part of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1919, and said that the majority of the Czechs and Slovaks had regarded their possession of the area as "a temporary trusteeship." M. Molotov, in his speech, indulged in a diatribe against the Hungarian oppressors who had torn Carpatho-Ukraine away from its mother country at the end of the 9th century and had been trying in vain to suppress its national culture ever since. The new Treaty he regarded as a gesture from the President and Government of the Czechoslovak Republic towards meeting the desire of the inhabitants of Carpatho–Ukraine for union with their brothers, which had been manifested at the First Congress of People's Committees held in Mukacevo on the 26th November, 1944. The present Treaty was of great significance as uniting, for the first time in history, all the Ukrainian peoples in a single State.

The history of the connexion of the territory with the Ukraine would appear to be that after the Hungarian conquest at the end of the 9th century it was more or less permanently cut off politically from the rest of the Ukrainian family with the exception of some episodes at the time of the Galician–Volhynian Princedom in the 13th and 14th centuries. Some cultural contacts there had always been, and when Galicia also became part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy relations became closer. With the break-up of the Monarchy these

contacts bore fruit and on the 18th October, 1918, Carpatho–Ukraine declared itself part of the short-lived West Ukrainian Democratic Republic, which in January 1919 proclaimed its union with the Great Ukraine. There seems to have been a strong pro-Russian rather than pro-Ukrainian feeling in the territory, whose dialect is very close to Russian; in any case there is evidence both from the territory itself and from Carpatho–Ukrainian organisations in America of a genuine desire among a considerable section of the population to join the U.S.S.R.

There has been no reference in the Soviet press or wireless to the demands which it is understood have been submitted by the Soviet Government to Turkey (see under "Turkey"). On the other hand, the Soviet war of nerves and the sustained press hostility to Turkey continue. Some exceptionally bitter jibes at Turkey and "the notorious Turkish journalist Yalchin," "this filthy specimen of humanity," appeared in the Soviet press last week. A Moscow broadcast in Turkish alleged that although Yalchin never made a literary name for himself, he used his pen with great success "not only for Turkish money but also for British pounds." Yalchin was attacked as the leader of the anti-Soviet, pro-Fascist group in Turkey and the spokesman of all the Hitlerite remnants in Greece and Turkey. Soviet *amour propre* has obviously been offended by what is described as Yalchin's "distrust of Soviet Russia" "ignorance of Russia's love of peace and recognition of small nations' rights and independence" and avowed "suspicion of political motives behind the Russian Orthodox Patriarch's visit to the Near East."

The Council of the Armenian Church, convoked to elect a Catholicos of all the Armenians and to adopt a constitution of the Armenian Church, opened in the Echmiadzin Theological Academy (near Erivan) on the 16th June. Delegations from bishoprics of the Armenian Church in the Soviet Union, Syria, the Lebanon, Jerusalem, France, Great Britain, Bulgaria, the United States, Turkey (headed by the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople) and from all the other Armenian communities throughout the world were present with the exception of those in South America, whose transport was delayed. The Deputy Catholicos, Archbishop Gevork Cheorekchian, was elected Catholicos by 110 out of 111 votes cast and assumed the name of Gevork VI. The ceremony was attended by M. Polyansky, Chairman of the Council for matters connected with religious denominations, representing the Soviet Government, and by M. Ovanesyan, People's Commissar of the Armenian S.S.R. for the Armenian Church. The Soviet delegation was stated to include collective farmers, scientists, engineers, and various State employees; no names of ecclesiastics appeared in the list. Of the foreign delegates some were laymen, including business men and manufacturers, and most were visiting Soviet Armenia for the first time. Interviewed after his election the new Patriarch dwelt on the necessity to reunite the Armenian people now scattered over four continents in the Armenian State and on the Armenian Church Constitution now being drafted with the object of uniting more closely the congregations of the Armenian Church throughout the world. Questioned about the part which the Armenian Church would play in helping to organise a durable peace, the Catholicos paid tribute to the active participation of most Christian Churches, "the Russian Orthodox, Anglican and Armenian, particularly, in the common struggle." "One Christian Church," he concluded, "did not join our common blessed cause, and what is more it supported the Nazi enemies of the Lord." The Dean of Canterbury, Dr. Hewlett Johnson, who was present at the enthronement ceremony, allowed himself to be the mouthpiece for the first statement on Soviet soil regarding the delicate question of the return to Armenia of the regions annexed by Turkey in 1920. At a Press Conference in Erivan he is reported to have stated: "The declaration of the National Council of the Armenians of America is perfectly right and justified . . . . the victorious Powers after the First World War said that justice demanded the restoration of these regions to their rightful owners." What the Dean did not mention (and perhaps did not know) was that the Kars-Ardagan territory ceded to Turkey by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was placed under Armenian control in 1919 by the British Military Occupation Authorities in Trans-Caucasia but was retroceded to Turkey by the Armenian Soviet Republic in October 1921 by the Treaty of Kars endorsing the agreement reached between Moscow and Mustapha Kemel in March of the same year.

An impressive group of Soviet and foreign diplomats and officials met Mr. T. V. Soong on his arrival at Moscow airport on the 30th June. His speech there was reported verbatim, without comment, by Moscow wireless. On the same day, Mr. Soong was received by Generalissimo Stalin, M. Molotov and the Soviet

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Ambassador to China also being present at this interview. Dr. Soong attended a performance of the "Nut-Cracker Suite" at the "Bolshoy Theatre" the following night accompanied by M. Molotov and his wife, and a group of high-ranking Soviet officials including MM. Vyshinsky and Lozovsky and the Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Trade, M. Kaganovich. The party was loudly cheered by the audience. Soviet press criticism of China and Chinese affairs seems to have abated. (See also under "Far East.")

Leading articles in *Izvestiya* and *Pravda* on the 22nd June warmly welcomed the signing of the United Nations' Charter. *Izvestiya* observed that the final solution was perhaps not ideal but the best possible, and a great improvement on the League of Nations. "The feeling of their responsibility before the nations of the world helped to strengthen the unanimity of the Great Powers, and this unanimity is the main principle and the main guarantee of the competence of the new organisation." The powers conferred upon the Big Five "are least of all privileges and most of all obligations." Both *Izvestiya* and *Pravda* emphasised the readiness of the U.S.S.R. to stand by the cause of peace and security.

SCANDINAVIA.

The agitation on the subject of Finnish "war criminals," which has for some time been carried on in the organs of the Left, seems now to be coming to a head. On the 29th June, Mme. Hertta Kuusinen, chairman of the Democratic League, handed in an interpellation to the speaker of the Diet, signed by herself, twelve other members of the League, three Social Democrats and ten members of the Swedish party. It was later announced that fifty-five members of the Diet had signed the interpellation. This document complains that Fascists and pro-Germans still occupy leading posts in public and private service, and asks for a political purge; in particular it contemplates the extension of the term "war guilt" to include the question of entering into the war on the side of Germany, which, as will be remembered, was definitely excluded in the opinion obtained by M. Paasikivi from the leading Finnish jurist, ex-President Ståhlberg, in January. The ground for this view was that the declaration and prosecution of war are definitely authorised by the Finnish Constitution. It is expected that a debate in full session will now take place in the Diet before its adjournment on the 6th July. There is reason to believe that the demand for a more vigorous prosecution of "war criminals" has the support and encouragement of the Soviet authorities.

On the 29th June it was publicly announced that both M. Ryti and M. Rangell had at last resigned from the Board of the Bank of Finland.

The demolition of fortifications on the Aaland Islands is nearly completed, with a view to the demilitarisation of these islands.

M. Hansson, the Swedish Prime Minister, has now announced that the present Coalition Government will resign at the end of July. In the official communiqué it is explained that the Coalition was formed to deal with the war situation and that, in the opinion of the party leaders, grounds no longer exist for its continuance. M. Hansson himself is believed to have desired that it should continue. It is anticipated that the next Government will consist almost exclusively of Social Democrats.

On the 28th June, the new Norwegian Premier, M. Gerhardsen, outlined the Government programme before the Storting. As this was a programme agreed between all the political parties it was entirely non-controversial, and the Premier's statement was unanimously approved. In regard to foreign policy, the programme adheres to the lines laid down by the previous government and advocates an active part in the efforts of the United Nations to safeguard and defend peace.

The proposal of the juridical committee to retain the death sentence in Norway was passed by the Odelsting on the 30th June, and will no doubt be approved by the whole Storting.

The 30th June was made the occasion of special celebrations in honour of the Allies in Norway. Contingents, each of 500 men, representing the British, American and Russian forces, paraded and marched through Oslo, which was decorated with expressions of gratitude in various languages. They were then addressed by King Haakon, who declared that close and sincere co-operation with the Great Allied Powers was a main objective of the Norwegian Government. The celebrations continued throughout the day, and further speeches were made by M. Trygve Lie, Admiral Cornelius, General Riiser-Larsen and others. Air-Marshal Harris, General Omar Bradley and Marshal Falaleev arrived in Norway

to represent the respective armed forces of their three countries. There were celebrations in many other parts of the country as well as the capital.

The inaugural meeting of a Norwegian Soviet Society was held on the 29th June. The meeting was attended by Prime Minister Gerhardsen.

A correspondent of N.T.B. at Arjeplog in Sweden, east of Mo in Rana, reports that refugees are still arriving who have escaped from German camps in that region of Norway. They allege that the Germans are still arrogant and that executions are still taking place in the camps. They state that conditions must remain intolerable so long as the Germans are still armed and in charge of the camps.

The Danes, and their Government, seem in danger of incurring some criticism, even in their own country, on the ground that they seem too exclusively preoccupied with a narrow self-satisfaction. In an outspoken article early in June M. Terkelsen, the well-known journalist, alleges that Denmark is in danger of losing much of the goodwill which it acquired with the Allies during the occupation, and in a later article he claims that, in all the controversy aroused by this pronouncement, this assertion stands uncontradicted. The activities of former Freedom Fighters in preferring charges without adequate grounds, and the lack of political capacity displayed by leading figures of the Resistance movement who have been included in the Government, are further subjects of criticism which have been raised in more than one quarter. On the other hand, there have also been criticisms from the Resistance movement of the slowness with which the purge is proceeding. The Government, however, continues to maintain a united front and appears to command general confidence.

THE LOW COUNTRIES.

The reception of the new Dutch Cabinet in the Dutch press has been favourable, if reserved. The principal criticism is that its members may have insufficient political experience. Generally, the magnitude of the new Cabinet's task is fully realised, and it is felt that it must be judged only on its achievements.

The Queen and Professor Schermerhorn broadcast to the nation on the 27th June. The Queen, introducing the new Government, stressed the immediate necessity for action. "The future demands a democratic policy carried out with determination." The Prime Minister, in a sixty-minute speech, outlined the programme of his national Cabinet. Its two primary tasks were, he said, the reconstruction of Holland itself, and the prosecution of the war against Japan and the liberation of Indonesia. Other important points in the programme included statements that the annexation of certain territories from Germany was favoured, but must be fully discussed later, that the States General, the Provincial States and the Municipal Councils will be re-established as soon as is expedient, and that investigations into the desirability of State control in such institutions as the mines will be made. The Prime Minister stressed that only by the co-operative efforts of the whole nation could Holland's immense problems be overcome.

The Belgian crisis continues with another week of visits to Salzburg, mainly of Party leaders in the Senate and Chamber, of leading jurists, and of the ex-Ministers, Deveze, van Zeeland, and Pholien. General Ganshof van der Meersch appears to have been unable to form a Government. Apart from a short-lived miners' strike at Charleroi and a number of meetings calling for abdication and resolving to strike if the King returns, the country as a whole remains quiet. The Catholic Right-wing and Flemish opinion alone continue to support, although with certain evident misgivings, the return of the King.

On the 22nd June, the King made a statement to the President of the Chamber M. van Cauwelaert, and to the President of the Senate, M. Gillon. He said that, since his health was now sufficiently restored, his first concern was to resume contact with Parliament. He acknowledged the greetings of the Senate and Chamber. He affirmed that his actions during and after the German aggression in 1940 were performed in good faith for the salvation of the country and that his differences with his Ministers were differences of opinion and not of common feeling. He congratulated the Presidents of the Chambers on the re-establishment of Belgian institutions and constitutional liberties.

The publication of this message did not have the pacifying effect that was evidently intended, and only the Right Wing and Catholic and Flemish press accepted it as a basis for further discussion. The Liberal and Socialist parties both passed resolutions condemning the statement and demanding abdication on

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the grounds that the message was "tardy and of doubtful sincerity," that in itself it was an unconstitutional act, since it was not countersigned by a responsible Minister, and that it confirmed the accusations already made against the King, on account of his conduct in 1940, that his conception of power was personal and unconstitutional.

In the meantime further compromising stories of the relations of the King and his entourage with the Nazis continue to be published, the main theme still being the evidence for the King's intention to have Belgium included in the New Order. Publicity and criticism are also given to the apologia of his friend and political adviser, the former leader of the Socialist party, M. de Man, published from his exile in Switzerland.

It is possible that the King intends to postpone the final decision until after the Belgian election, which, if it is to be based on the new register, cannot take place for many months. To continue the present tension and political unrest is obviously not in the interests of the country as a whole, and there are already signs of general impatience. Moreover, such a situation inevitably redoubles the many difficulties of the present Government. If this deferment is the King's intention, it is probable that M. van Acker will be compelled to try to force a decision in the next few days. (See also under "Spain.")

FRANCE.

General de Gaulle has made a brief tour of Central France accompanied by the Sultan of Morocco.

According to an inspired press comment on the meeting of the Council of Ministers held on the 29th June the French Government will submit to the Allies a plan for military organisation in Germany. The French view is that the concentration of military Government in Berlin would lack flexibility and place dangerous emphasis on Germany's political unity. A Secretariat-General for German Affairs is to be set up in Paris attached to the Presidency of the Council.

In home affairs political interest is still centred on the constitutional question (see *Summary* No. 297). General de Gaulle, who has held a series of consultations with leaders of all shades of opinion, has promised to announce the Government's proposals before the 14th July. He is now believed to have decided in favour of a temporary return to the Constitution of 1875, with the election of two Chambers. Although all the main parties except the Radicals and the Right have publicly declared their support for a single Constituent Assembly, there are signs that opposition to the scheme supposed to be favoured by the General is weakening.

It was announced on the 26th June that M. Eugène Thomas, Deputy for the Nord, and recently returned from Buchenwald, will replace M. Augustin Laurent, who has had to resign for reasons of health, as Minister of Posts and Telegraphs. Since both are Socialists the party balance in the Government is not affected.

The divergent efforts of the *Mouvement de Libération Nationale* and of the *Front National* to unite the Resistance movement under Socialist and Communist ægis respectively (see *Summary* No. 298), have resulted in the formation of the *Union Démocratique et Socialiste de la Résistance*, to which the movements M.L.N., *Libération-Nord*, *Organisation Civile et Militaire* and *Libérer et Fédérer* have now adhered, and of the *Comité d'Initiative du Mouvement Unifié de la Renaissance*, sponsored by the *Front National*.

The 10th Communist Party Congress, the first to be held since 1937 and the first in which Communist Ministers have sat on the platform, took part in Paris from the 26th to 30th June. M. Thorez, in a speech which lasted five hours, claimed that the party now had over 900,000 members. He defined the party's attitude in the fields of foreign affairs, economic policy and political organisation, hoped for the continued maintenance in power of a Government of national unity and said that the party would accept "the obligations of national unity." The three main aims should be a speed-up in national reconstruction and production; the election of a sovereign Constituent Assembly; and the formation with the Socialists of a single French Workers' party. This last point was the subject of the speech by M. Duclos, who put forward proposals, unanimously adopted by the Congress, for submission to the Socialist Party Executive. The latter is referring them to the Socialist Party Congress to be held in August.

M. Pleven, in a broadcast speech of the 26th June announced the success of the banknote exchange operation (see *Summary* No. 296). About 50 milliard francs, over 10 per cent. of the circulation, had accrued to the Treasury, and

through a great increase in the sums deposited in banks and savings banks the note circulation had fallen to less than 400 milliard francs against 586 milliards on the 17th May and 650 milliards before the issue of the Liberation loan. The operation had also provided essential information for the census of wealth on which the new capital levy, adopted by the Cabinet on the 29th June, will be based.

M. Tixier, the Minister of the Interior, broadcast from Algiers on the 29th June after his brief tour of enquiry into the disorders which occurred in the Constantine region early in May (see *Summary* No. 293). He admitted that the incidents had been serious. The area affected corresponded to about three French Departments and had a population of about 1 million French Moslems, but not more than 50,000 were involved in the disorders. Most of the leaders and chief participants belonged to the movement of the *Amis du Manifeste* and to local sections of the illegal *Parti Populaire Algérien* and it was evident, he said, that their attacks had been systematically aimed at the French authorities. Eighty-eight people had been killed and fifty wounded. With the aid of the military order had rapidly been re-established and the victims of "unavoidable repressive measures" were far fewer than had been suggested by certain foreign reports. The civil authorities put the total number of Moslem victims at between 1,200 and 1,500 and the military authorities had counted about 500 dead in their sectors. 2,400 people had been arrested: some of them had already been released; by the 26th June 231 sentences, including 28 death sentences, had been passed. The Minister assured his hearers that French policy remained unchanged; the Government were absolutely determined to maintain French sovereignty in Algeria and to protect all French settlers; at the same time they were fully resolved to carry out the ordinance of the 7th March, 1944, to extend French citizenship to the categories of Moslems mentioned in the ordinance, and to introduce all the political measures which it proposed. The plans for economic and social reforms approved in October 1944 would also be pursued. The fulfilment of the Government's policy would, however, necessitate far-reaching administrative reforms.

Joseph Darnand, the notorious chief of the Vichy Militia, is reported to have been arrested in N. Italy near the Swiss frontier. Georges Claude, the well-known physicist, has been sentenced to life imprisonment. (See also "Poland," "Middle East" and "Far East.")

SWITZERLAND.

In spite of the statement made by M. Petitpierre concerning the treatment of Russian internees in Switzerland (see *Summary* No. 299), fresh criticisms appeared on the 24th June in *Pravda*, which incidentally considered M. Petitpierre's rebuttal of the Soviet accusations "arrogant." On the 26th, however, it was stated in a Moscow broadcast that the Soviet Government had agreed to Swiss suggestions that a Commission, including Russian representatives, should investigate the conditions under which the Russian internees were living. The Soviet Government, through its Ambassador in France, had asked the French Government to inform the Swiss authorities of its agreement.

Discussions were held at Berne between the Federal authorities and Allied military representatives concerning the repatriation of Allied subjects who had escaped to Switzerland, but who, because of transport difficulties, had been unable to return home. It dealt also with the transit through Switzerland of freed Allied prisoners of war and civilian internees.

It is announced that, from the middle of July, American soldiers will visit Switzerland for a week's leave. According to some reports, about 250,000 will have visited the country by next spring.

According to a Red Cross announcement, the repatriation of Italian refugees interned in Switzerland began on the 28th June. The total number to be dealt with is around 40,000.

On the 28th June, twenty-eight lorries with trailers left Basle for Norway, carrying food, medicaments and shoes. They are accompanied by a delegate of the Swiss Relief Fund, and will travel via Magdeburg, Hamburg, Flensburg and Sweden. The transport was made possible by the co-operation of the Allied militiary authorities.

The new Chinese Minister to Switzerland—Mr. Lone Liang—presented his credentials to the President, Herr von Steiger, on the 26th June.

The Federal Council has decided to reopen the Swiss Consulate in Amsterdam.

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SPAIN.

The *Official Gazette* of the 29th June published a decree of the Ministry of Justice abolishing the special tribunal for political offences, which was the instrument of the iniquitous Law of Political Responsibilities abrogated with due solemnity last April (see *Summary* No. 290). As was explained at the time, the Tribunal is being replaced by a Commission of "politically reliable" citizens, whose task will be to deal with outstanding cases and to keep a watch on political prisoners already liberated. The Tribunal for the Suppression of Freemasonry and Communism presumably lingers on.

This is welcome evidence that, on paper at any rate, the Franco régime is continuing along the road of respectability. And now the text of the much-vaunted Bill of Rights (see *Summaries* Nos. 289 and 290) is available. It is a document of some importance which compares favourably with its analogues in other Western European countries, inasmuch as it combines with the customary definition of the rights and duties of the individual a clear statement of the corresponding obligations of the State—and, what is more, constitutes an up-to-date charter of social security commitments.

The Preamble lays down the "guiding principle" of respect for the dignity, integrity and liberty of man. Article 6 declares that the State will protect "the profession and practice of the Catholic religion" and that "nobody will be persecuted for his religious beliefs, but external ceremonies or manifestations other than those of the State religion will not be permitted." The Constitution of 1876 said much the same thing. If the experience of Protestant Communities under the Restoration, however, is any guide, this rules out effectually any cult but the Roman Catholic: in present circumstances interpretation of such a precept is scarcely likely to be liberal. Article 10 provides for "the right of Spaniards to take part in public functions of a representative character, through the family, the municipality and the syndicate": that is the nearest Franco's "organic democracy" will ever get to representative Government. Freedom of expression is proclaimed in Article 12—subject to the caveat that the fundamental principles of the State may not be attacked—and laws for the regulation of the exercise of this right are promised. Finally, Article 19 furnishes the "habeas corpus" guarantee, stipulating that within three days every detained person will be set at liberty or handed over to the competent judicial authority. It need hardly be said that provision is made (Article 35) for suspension of all or part of these rights by decree-law in an emergency.

The Cortes, which meets in the middle of this month, will doubtless give its approval to the Bill; but, unless the Falange be first suppressed, there is not a hope of the "fuero" being put effectively into force. Most Spaniards, at any rate, will remain highly sceptical of the present Government's democratic pretensions. Certainly the attitude of the Spanish press is as arrogant and disingenuous as ever. Editors are faithfully carrying out the recent directive from the Falange-controlled Vice-Secretariat of Popular Education to the effect that Germany's case should be presented in the best possible light. Hostility to the Soviet Union is still the *leitmotif*, and no opportunity of making mischief in the relations of the Allies is neglected. This baleful policy has at length provoked a reaction from the British and American press offices in Madrid, whose special Embassy bulletins last week carried an outspoken editorial article rebuking those Spaniards who "under the guise of 'news' are continuing abroad the work of Dr. Goebbels."

His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires in Madrid has been instructed to support the representations of his Belgian colleague for the expulsion to France of the Rexist leader, Léon Degrelle. The case is not identical with that of Laval, since Degrelle is not "wanted" by the authorities in France; but, of course, his removal from Spain will merely shift the responsibility for his disposal to the French, who have already Pierre Laval on their hands.

ERRATUM.

See *Summary* No. 299, page 13, line 25, for J.E.L.M. read J.E.L.N.

ITALY.

The British Ambassador, Sir Noel Charles, paid a visit on the 19th June to Signor Parri to congratulate him on the formation of the new Government. During this visit Signor Parri made several points, which he desired to be transmitted to His Majesty's Government. Signor Parri first said that he wished to

work in complete friendship and frankness with His Majesty's Government and that he wished to express his thanks for what had already been done for his country. Signor Parri went on to stress Italy's urgent need for material help and the chief need was coal—without coal there was bound to be unemployment and consequently unrest. Sir Noel Charles urged Signor Parri to press on the development of the Sardinian coal mines because the Allies were bound to be more sympathetic to Italy's call for help if they saw that the whole nation was doing its utmost to help itself. The British Ambassador, however, again pointed out that the question of transport and supply was an extremely difficult one. Signor Parri said that he realised this but that even if Italy did her utmost, she would be unable to extricate herself from the economic crisis in which she found herself without help from the Allies. Signor Parri explained his country's intense desire to raise herself from her position of inferiority and regain, at least to some extent, her former position.

Signor Parri has delivered the signed obligations of the Italian Government regarding the Armistice and the "Institutional" question to the Chief Commissioner of the Allied Commission.

The Socialist Party paper *Avanti*, commenting on the new Government, says that it is in reality a Government of the C.L.N., since Signor Parri was such an important figure on the Committee and will, in consequence, be strongly anti-Fascist. *Avanti* is also pleased because the importance of the Constituent Assembly is emphasised. *Unità*, the Communist Party paper, however, takes up the cudgels on behalf of Signor Nenni and expresses regret that his candidature for the Presidency of the Council was passed over and also that the Government was not more completely reconstructed. *Unità*, however, expresses great satisfaction at the strength of the Socialist-Communist bond and at the consequent power both these parties will wield in the present Government. *Italia Libera*, the Action Party paper, rather surprisingly, reminds the nation of the excellent work done by Signor Bonomi and says that history will appreciate the work done by his Administration more than his present critics.

General de Gaulle, in an interview with a correspondent of the small Rome paper *La Capitale*, said that, although he was against Fascism, he was not in any way anti-Italian. The withdrawal of French troops from the Val d'Aosta was proof of his friendship. General de Gaulle expressed a wish for a close collaboration between the two countries and stressed his and the French people's love of Italy, bound by tradition and so many memories. The General finished by stating that Trieste was ethnically and historically Italian and should remain Italian. Signor Scoccimarro has been sent to Bari province to try and obtain the disarmament of certain lawless bands which have been terrorising the district. The Communist Minister of Finance has probably been sent as local Communists are behind these disorders. Police reinforcements have been despatched and order is now said to have been restored.

THE VATICAN.

A Papal Mission, under Monsignor Walter Carroll of the Secretariat of State and Father Gilligan of the American National Catholic Welfare Conference, has been sent to German concentration camps. Food, clothing and medical and ecclesiastical necessities were given by the Pope, the Bishops of North Italy, the Italian Red Cross and the Vatican-Italian agency for handling the vast American gifts to Papal charity. Monsignor Carroll reports how three main centres had been set up at Munich, Ulm and Linz. Camps near Linz still hold 200,000 persons. Special attention is paid to the growing number of those for whom political exclusiveness at home makes repatriation unwise. Amongst these Monsignor Carroll mentions the 8,000 Poles, including 450 priests, in a camp north of Munich, and many dwellers in the Balkans. The Mission has already brought to Italy all the Albanians and some of the Greeks from Dachau. Besides working on problems of repatriation, it collects news for anxious relatives. Wherever it goes, it is greeted with enthusiasm.

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

The Hungarian Communist and Socialist Press has welcomed the agreement transferring Ruthenia to the U.S.S.R. on the following grounds: (1) the extension of the U.S.S.R. across the Carpathians will strengthen "democracy" in the Danube basin; (2) the existence of a common frontier between the U.S.S.R.

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and Hungary will strengthen "democracy" in Hungary; (3) the decision accords with the principle of national self-determination; (4) the U.S.S.R. will treat the Magyar minority in Ruthenia better than Czechoslovakia would.

Gyöngyössy has again expressed the hope that friendship and co-operation should prevail between the Danubian peoples. Hungary's present relations were good with all her neighbours except Czechoslovakia.

The Press reports that Marshal Voroshilov has endorsed Hungary's request for the extradition of Szálasi and his leading supporters, for trial in Hungary as war criminals.

In internal politics, Miklós has surveyed the situation, emphasising that the Government is firmly democratic, but stands on the basis of private property. The vacant seats for Transdanubia in the Provisional Assembly have now been filled by 51 Smallholders, 33 Social Democrats, 33 Communists, 21 Trade Unionists, 20 National Peasants and 3 Democrats. These figures, for a very Conservative area, again grossly over-represent the Left, although slightly strengthening the proportion of the Smallholders in the Assembly. The Democrats have protested. The Assembly will probably be convoked in mid-July and it is now stated that it will have to enact the Franchise Law for the Constituent Assembly. The parties are now discussing the draft of this Bill. The franchise will be wide, but will exclude "Fascists." It is still undecided whether any parties beyond the five at present approved will be allowed to present candidates.

The Governmental Decree on the future position of the "Swabians" (German minority in Hungary) has now appeared. Traitors are to lose their property; the remainder are to be dispersed throughout Hungary. It is still hoped to arrange eventually by international agreement for the expatriation to Germany of the unpatriotic elements.

The Soviet authorities have released as from 1st July all the factories and businesses which they had requisitioned. They have also granted a further "loan" (by releasing Hungarian stocks previously requisitioned by them) of 18,000 tons of bread grains, 1,400 tons of meat and quantities of sugar, salt, barley and oil, with 250 lorries and other materials including window-glass. These stocks, destined for the population of Budapest, have already begun to arrive. They came in the nick of time as reserves were practically exhausted, and the Budapest authorities were able at once to raise the ration from the starvation level of 100 gr. bread daily to the following figures: heavy workers, 500 gr.; other manual workers, 350 gr.; other public employees, 250 gr.; children, 250 gr.; other persons 200 gr. The more favoured categories get also a small meat, sugar and salt ration. Persons able to perform useful work but not doing so get no rations.

The Budapest National Committee has sent an appeal to all other National Committees to join in an intensified struggle against reaction. If the appeal failed to produce results "they would have to resort to stronger measures."

Roumania.

The Roumanian papers announce that the Roumanian army which has been fighting on the Western Front will be brought back home by the end of the month. The army will be demobilised at the frontier and the men sent to their homes by special trains. They will thus in the shortest possible time be available for industrial and agricultural work. In conjunction with this, however, a less reassuring piece of news is that the army of Marshal Tolbukhin, numbering over 1 million men is to be quartered in Roumania on its way home. The Soviet authorities decline to make any statement as to the length of stay of this force. It is to be quartered in the principal industrial and agricultural districts of the country, and of course, the support of it is to fall on Roumania under a characteristic reading of one of the clauses of the Armistice. Many public buildings in a number of provincial towns have been cleared in order to provide billets. At the same time the Soviet Air Force has been strengthened by the despatch of planes to Roumania from Russia. The Minister for War has been sent to Moscow to request information as to Russia's ultimate intentions.

The Phœnix Oil and Transport Company propose a moratorium on the preference dividend of the Unirea Company, the principal British oil company of Roumania. The Company's installations have suffered from bombing (the whole of the offices at one refinery have been destroyed except one corner), and the reparation demands will prevent there being any great quantity of products

available for export for some time to come. Meanwhile the company is getting to work as best it can. Some of the English staff have returned to Roumania. All the staff of Saxon origin, with the exception of two, have been deported. Work is held up by the shortage of transport and of tyres. The Roumanian workers had got rather out of hand, but are improving under the supervision of the British staff.

There are two characteristically Roumanian items of news. A.R.L.U.S. (the Roumanian Association for Strengthening the Bonds with the Soviet Union) was founded in November 1944. Since then it has been well boosted by the press and radio. It transpires that expenditure at the rate of £2,000 a month in English money has been made, of which no account is forthcoming. This is a mere flea-bite according to the Roumanian standard for the administration of public funds, but it is no doubt only a beginning. Given a little rope, A.R.L.U.S. will prove a worthy—or unworthy—rival of Consiliul de Patronaj. It is now reported that all officers of the Roumanian army have been instructed to become members.

The other item is the announcement of the setting up of a commission to work under the Cabinet to control the application of the Land Reform. This looks as if the Government did not feel too certain about the probable length of its tenure of office—and opportunity.

Yugoslavia.

The Belgrade press and radio have continued and intensified their attacks on Allied Military Government in Venezia Giulia. One of their accusations is that the Allies are treating the area as occupied enemy territory (which is precisely what it is). They persist in maintaining that the Slovene-Communist committees imposed during the Yugoslav occupation of the Allied zone represent the wishes of the inhabitants and even that they are the legal organs of local government. They represent the local population as being bitterly anti-Allied and as cheering Russian officers whenever seen. Radio Belgrade made the curious announcement that three tugs are being built for the Yugoslav navy at Trieste. If this is true, it is a faithful imitation of the Nazi practice of using the resources of occupied enemy territory. The report has not been confirmed from Allied sources.

The considerable and determined underground organisation left behind by the Yugoslavs brought off a strike of dockyard and tramway workers on the 25th June. This organisation is reported to extend west of the Isonzo, far into Friuli, and to be working for Communist control of the towns, with a view to a declaration of autonomy and ultimate adhesion to Yugoslavia.

The campaign of abuse of A.M.G. in Carinthia also continues. A communiqué issued by His Majesty's Embassy in Belgrade on the 21st, refuting the allegations of the persecution of Slovenes, was published in *Politika* on the 28th, with a reply reaffirming the allegations.

The third campaign, that about Greek persecution of Macedonian Slavs, was also intensified. Tanyug quoted *Elefteria*, E.A.M.'s Macedonian paper, as writing: "The present terror puts in the shade both the years of Turkish slavery and the occupation." A trustworthy report stated that the area of the hitherto alleged terror was, in fact, little disturbed, and that the area which caused anxiety was the Florina–Kastoria district. On the 27th the Belgrade press and radio began to describe the horrors of an alleged persecution in the Kastoria area.

The conversion of currencies into new Yugoslav dinars has been applied to Croatia. As elsewhere, cash is only being paid up to 5,000 new dinars (about £25). Balances are to be paid within three months, but will presumably be subject, as elsewhere, to deductions (see *Summary* No. 297 p. 15). This capital levy has prevented persons in Serbia from living on the sale of their furniture and effects, since they could find no buyers.

An interesting sentence is that of death passed on a professor of theology of Dubrovnik, the Rev. D. Barac, for "giving false accounts of conditions in Yugoslavia to an Allied nation." The publication of such a sentence is calculated to make it more than ever difficult for non-Yugoslavs to obtain information about Yugoslavia.

Greece.

Trades Union negotiations, which have been in progress since the Citrine Agreement of the 29th January, came to a successful conclusion on the 27th June with the signature of an agreement for the reconstitution of the Provisional

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On the 30th June M. Varvaressos issued orders for the application of the new Economic programme in the provinces. To ensure speed and uniformity, forty local economic committees have been set up in the main provincial centres. These committees, on which U.N.R.R.A. and British representation has been requested, are composed of the local judge, chief of police, bank manager and senior educational official, and their functions include: the control of manufacture, production and distribution; the enforcement of controlled prices; assistance in tax collection; the prevention of hoarding; road maintenance and other essential public works; and the submission of reports to the capital. The first payment of tax is due by the 10th July. Prices have already fallen appreciably, but there is considerable discontent among civil servants, since the increased salary rates (see *Summary* No. 299) have been accompanied by drastic measures for the suspension or demotion of persons appointed during the occupation. An abortive civil service strike was staged in Athens on the 28th June.

Usually reliable sources indicate considerable difference of views among the leaders of the Communist party as to the extent of the territorial claims to be put forward under their new foreign policy (see *Summary* No. 298). M. Zachariadis, who is busy reasserting his position as party leader, now supports the return to Greece of Cyprus and the Dodecanese without a plebiscite, but advocates a plebiscite in Northern Epirus. He puts forward no specific claims against Bulgaria. His critics within the party, while supporting the claim to Cyprus and the Dodecanese, demand the return of Northern Epirus on similar terms and an immediate readjustment of frontiers with Bulgaria. In this they are undoubtedly more representative of popular feeling.

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Turkey.

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The Turkish Government has kept the British Government fully informed of the Russian démarche. The Turks have also suggested that M. Hasan Saka, the Turkish Foreign Minister, who is on his way home from San Francisco, should stop in London to confer with the British Government; and this has been agreed.

The Turkish public has not been officially informed of the details of the Russian proposals, nor has the press been given any indication of the Government's attitude. This reticence has been criticised in the press, which has taken up the firmest possible stand against the grant of any concessions to Russia which would involve the sovereignty, integrity or independence of Turkey. As for the Montreux Convention, the press insisted that it could only be revised by a conference of its signatories. *Tanin* was especially bitter: M. Yalchin declared that the seeds of a third world war had been sown, and that Turkey would be in the front line. *Tan* was more conciliatory. M. Sertel stated that Britain and Russia were determined to work together; but that if the danger of a conflict should arise, Turkey might play the rôle of conciliator. She should not identify herself with one Power and turn her back on the other; she should become the ally of both.

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saying that Count Ostrorog was returning at once with an offer of the transfer of half the *Troupes Spéciales* now and the rest as soon as the question of their arms and equipment had been decided. The Lebanese Minister for Foreign Affairs understood from the Lebanese representative in Paris that Count Ostrorog's instructions included "wide proposals, with the transfer of the *Troupes Spéciales*." Later the Lebanese Minister for Foreign Affairs said that Ostrorog had informed him that General Beynet would telegraph at once to Paris recommending the immediate transfer of the *Troupes Spéciales*, although he himself has explained to our Minister that the recommendation would be telegraphed "for consideration." Other points would have to be left for subsequent discussion. He spoke in addition of a guarantee to withdraw French troops simultaneously with the British forces, and of the transfer to the States of all the remaining *intérêts communs* as a means of improving the atmosphere.

The Lebanese and Syrians on their side desire that the French *Délégation Générale* should be turned into a normal diplomatic mission. To this Count Ostrorog had merely replied that he would give the matter consideration. Undoubtedly the most urgent matter for action is that of the *Troupes Spéciales*. If there were a pronouncement now on this subject the Syrians and Lebanese would have more faith in the French, and a *détente* might result which would help towards the eventual discussion of other outstanding matters. It is clear that neither Government will agree to linking the question of the *Troupes Spéciales* with other matters, and that there is still a danger of fresh explosions unless French proposals to the States are in fact wide, definite and expeditious, or conversations are started between the three Western Powers and the Levant Governments.

The Syrian President has expressed his gratitude to us for British intervention, and has said that he fully appreciates the difficulties arising out of the situation for us. On the other hand, he made it clear that there was no weakening of Syrian determination to maintain their position and requirements (see last week's *Summary*).

Owing to the increasing number of cases not yet dealt with in the Syrian Mixed Courts, the Syrian legal authorities have been considering the abolition of the Mixed Courts; but it is hoped, and we have advised, that, in making provision for the uninterrupted administration of justice, any arrangements made should be purely temporary and entirely without prejudice to some future settlement.

We are endeavouring to obtain the services of some of the United States officials in the Middle East to help in the work of M.I.R.A. in agreement with the Levant States.

In Persia the position of the Poles there is now a matter for consideration. So long as British troops are in Persia there is no danger of Poles being deported *en masse* against their will, but after British troops have left, the Persian Government would almost certainly not have the courage to resist a Soviet-supported demand for deportation. When a census was taken last April, by a Polish delegation under a reasonable chief, nearly all the Poles in Persia declared freely that they wished to "return to Poland," *i.e.*, to Poland within her new frontiers, governed by an independent Government. It is too early to state their reaction to recent events, but so far as Anglo-Soviet relations are concerned, it seems desirable that the Poles should leave Persia, as they would be a potential source of friction and of incidents.

Virulent attacks on the Government and upon the majority of the members of the Persian Majlis continue to be made in the Tudeh and associated newspapers, which demand the resignation of the Government. Journals of independent views also continue to attack the Majlis majority; each side accusing the other of acting unconstitutionally and paving the way to dictatorship. Public opinion in general is still mainly preoccupied with the Persian Cabinet crisis, and shows some nervousness about the delay in the evacuation of foreign troops.

THE FAR EAST.

On the 26th June the Japanese Government admitted the loss of Okinawa in a statement which asserted that the Japanese garrison had, by its stubborn defence, inflicted "a serious moral setback" upon the Americans, and had caused great uneasiness in the United States. But an invasion of Japan would certainly be attempted," and "this sacred land" must not be left to the enemy's mercy "and never must the foreigner tread on it." Rear-Admiral Kurihara, Vice-Chief of the Press Section of Imperial Headquarters, said that the loss of Okinawa was a bitter blow, but the most important fact was that an extra three months had been gained in which full preparations to meet an invasion of Japan

proper had been made. He alleged that the Americans had lost 80,000 men in the land operations and 17,000 at sea.

The *Yomiuri-Hochi* (26th June) said that the islands of Amami Oshima and Kikaigashima would be the next to be attacked. The paper listed the air bases on Okinawa now in American hands as being at Kita, Naka, Oroku, Ono, Konaha, Kimbu and Iyejima, and said that the Americans had some 500 aircraft there. But it declared that these airfields would not be sufficient to accommodate the air force needed to cover an invasion of Japan; moreover Okinawa possessed only three small harbours, Naha, Unten and Matai and these would not hold a great number of ships. Therefore the Americans would probably resort to "stepping-stone tactics" to secure more air bases and better harbours.

The possibility that such bases and harbours might be found on the China coast has been engaging the attention of the Japanese Press and radio. A Tokyo broadcast of the 26th June said that, if the Americans did land in China, it would be interesting to see whether they chose the Chungking-controlled or the Yenan-controlled areas. (The Chinese Communists are not established on any part of the China coast, but they have forces in the vicinity of Shanghai, and of the Shantung ports.) The Tokyo broadcast declared that Yenan stood for a united group of Chinese, whereas there was disorder and anarchy in the Chungking zone. Therefore, if the Americans landed in the latter they would have to set up a military administration in the areas they occupied, and it was implied that this would be unwelcome to Chungking.

The *Asahi* (28th June) said that the air raids on Japanese secondary cities were intended to reduce Japan's fighting strength and also as a nerve war to weaken Japanese morale. It added, significantly enough, that psychological warfare could cause havoc with a nation the moment it began to lose confidence in victory. Suzuki, in a broadcast of the 26th June, warned that air raids would increase in fury, and urged all Japanese to stand firm and do their utmost. The continued exhortations of this nature would suggest that Japanese civilian morale is not too good and that the authorities are nervous. The food situation in the cities has for some time been serious, partly owing to transportation difficulties which will certainly be enhanced by the air raids. Tokyo Radio (27th June) said that the Government were trying to get the evacuees on to the land and had set up a special body in the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce to handle this problem. On the 27th June three of the directors of the Dai Nippon Seijikai called on Suzuki, Abe (the Home Minister), and Ishiguro (the Minister of Agriculture) and suggested measures, including the formation of an agricultural volunteer corps, to improve the food situation. *Domei* (27th June) said that an increase in salt production, for both food and industrial purposes, had become urgent, and a special ministerial body, headed by Juichi Tsushima, had been established for this purpose.

The special Advisory Committee provided for in the Extraordinary War Measures Act was organised on the 29th June. It is composed of twelve members of the House of Peers and twelve from the Lower House. It held its first meeting on the 30th June, when Tsuneo Kanemitsu, Speaker of the Lower House, was elected its Chairman and Prince Ieyasu Tokugawa, President of the House of Peers, its Deputy Chairman.

The *Nippon Times* (26th June) said that the task of the San Francisco Conference had somehow been finished, but that the process had left the "ineffaceable impression that the United Nations are actually far from being united." It prophesied the failure of the World Organisation on the ground that there was no agreement on basic principles, but only on procedure. The *Asahi* (28th June) declared that the Charter was simply an Anglo-American instrument to oppress the vanquished nations, isolate the Soviet Union and prevent the independence of colonial peoples. The *Yomiuri-Hochi* (29th June) declared that a grim political battle would have to be fought, especially between the United States and the U.S.S.R., before a new balance of power was established. This struggle might transform or jeopardise the World Organisation.

On the 25th June in Chungking Dr. T. V. Soong was formally inducted as President of the Executive Yuan, and Dr. Wong Wen-hao as Vice-President. Dr. Hsu Taolin became Director of the Political Affairs Department of the Executive Yuan and Dr. Chiang Mon-lin its Secretary-General. On the 30th June T. V. Soong arrived in Moscow; among his entourage were Mr. Victor Hoo, the Administrative Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Admiral Shen Hung-lieh, and Chiang Ching-kuo, the son of the Generalissimo. M. Petrov, the Russian Ambassador to China, also arrived in Moscow at the same time. On the day of their arrival T. V. Soong and Victor Hoo were received by Stalin. Molotov,

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Petrov, and the Chinese Ambassador to the U.S.S.R., Fu Ping-Chang, were also present. The Chungking Press has laid stress upon the great importance of T. V. Soong's mission to Moscow, and expresses hope for Sino-Soviet military co-operation against Japan, but makes no reference to the various delicate issues pending between China and the Soviet Union.

Yenan Radio (1st July) said that on the 2nd June the People's Political Council had sent a telegram to Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai, asking them to renew the conversations with the Government. They replied on the 18th June that the Government had rejected all demands for a coalition Government, but that, if the People's Political Council could get the Kuomintang authorities to reconsider their attitude, the Communists would be glad to confer with them. The Communists would also welcome the arrival in Yenan of members of the P.P.C.; six of whom left for Yenan on the 1st July. The Communists are thus standing firm on their demand for an immediate coalition Government; it remains to be seen what effect the Moscow talks will have upon this situation.

The Chinese Government on the 26th June announced that General Hsueh Yueh had been replaced as Governor of Hunan by General Wu Chi-wei. It was not stated whether Hsueh Yueh had received another appointment. His former fame as the defender of Changsha had been somewhat eclipsed by his recent defeats and he was reported to be one of the group of generals who were lending support to the demand for a coalition Government; this may have been the cause of his removal. His successor is a Kwangtung man, who was formerly deputy commander-in-chief for Upper Yangtse River Defence.

Chinese forces advancing from Kwangsi have crossed the Indo-China border, but on the 2nd July Chungking reported that Japanese reinforcements had come up and had recaptured one of the border towns. Meanwhile, the Japanese are endeavouring to win support among the native peoples of Indo-China. They announced on the 27th June that most of the functions of the Government-General, including finance, are to be shared out among the Annamese Empire, the Kingdom of Cambodia and the Kingdom of Luang Prabang. Administration in Tongking is to be handed over to Annam. The Japanese have also released 178 Annamese who had been imprisoned by the French for political activities, and have replaced *Domei* in Indo-China by a new agency, called Agence de la Presse de l'Indochine. *Domei* took over from the former French news agency, following the Japanese *coup d'état* of the 9th March last. Volunteer armies of natives, who the Japanese hope will co-operate with the Japanese forces there in the event of an Allied invasion, are being organised in Annam, Cambodia and Luang Prabang. Annam is now to be called Viet Nam and is to have a national flag with a yellow background and three crimson parallel stripes running horizontally, the middle one being broken in the centre.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The resignation of Mr. Stettinius as Secretary of State has occasioned no surprise. Rumours that he would resign have been circulating ever since Mr. Roosevelt's death, and have continued to gain currency, particularly on account of the question of the Presidential succession. But Mr. Stettinius's appointment as the United States member of the Security Council and Chairman of the American delegation in the General Assembly of the United Nations, when that organisation is established, has been applauded by papers of all shades of opinion. In view of his "distinguished" record at San Francisco, several papers have pointed out that he is singularly fitted for the task of promoting the Charter in the Senate. President Truman has emphasised the importance of Mr. Stettinius's new post. There is much praise of the President for his "timing" and handling of the change. Mr. Churchill has sent a message of congratulation to Mr. Stettinius recalling his great help to this country as Lend-Lease Administrator.

The nomination of Mr. James F. Byrnes as Mr. Stettinius's successor also occasioned little surprise, and has been enthusiastically welcomed by the press and endorsed unanimously by the Senate. The *Washington Post* and other papers are now urging Mr. Byrnes to conduct an overhaul and a radical expansion of the State Department. Mr. Byrnes, who is 66, has risen, like the President himself, from humble beginnings. He became successively a Representative and then a Senator, a Justice of the Supreme Court, and, in more recent years, Director of Economic Stabilisation and later Director of War Mobilisation, during which time he earned the popular title of "Assistant President." He has been a strong and consistent supporter of Mr. Roosevelt's foreign policy and perhaps the most influential and effective advocate of Lend-Lease. Pending further action

by Congress, he now becomes not only Secretary of State, but also next in the succession to the Presidency. His wide and long experience, his popularity with Congress, and his reputation as a conciliator who never loses sight of his objectives, make his selection extremely popular with all but certain sections of the Labour movement, who regard him as too Right of centre for their liking. Mr. Byrnes will accompany Mr. Truman to Berlin. After the Yalta meeting, which he had attended, Mr. Byrnes retired a few days before the late President's death, but he immediately returned to Washington to assist his friend, the new President, and to put at his disposal his knowledge of affairs, particularly concerning decisions taken at Yalta.

The House of Representatives have passed, and sent to the Senate, the measure which would put the Speaker of the House next in line for the Presidency after the Vice-President. Before passing the Bill, the House eliminated the President's suggestion for a special election whenever there is a double vacancy in the Presidency and Vice-Presidency more than 90 days before a regular off-year Congressional election. The Bill now goes to the Senate but that body's attitude is likely to be more cautious.

The dominant topic in the United States, however, has naturally been the historic signing of the United Nations Charter at San Francisco. Broadly speaking, all sections of the press have hailed the Charter with sober satisfaction. There is general agreement that the delegates to the Conference have done a "workmanlike" job and that the Charter, although not "a final or a perfect instrument" as the President himself stated, is "a distinctly worthwhile achievement and the beginning of the road to world peace," to quote the *New York Times*. A large group of commentators, predominantly Liberal, have described the Economic and Social Council as itself "more than justifying the entire conference."

The Charter is seen as a combination of Wilsonian idealism and Rooseveltian realism; and the press and radio have greeted it as an improvement over Dumbarton Oaks and as evidence that the United States and Soviet Russia have abandoned isolationism. Support for the prompt ratification of the Charter is truly bi-partisan. Mr. Dewey, the titular head of the Republican Party, has called for swift ratification, expresses his belief that no reservations are necessary, and maintains that there is a clear mandate from the American people. Mr. J. F. Dulles has called the Charter "a great human document," going, he said, "far beyond expectations." High praise also has been given to Senator Vandenberg's "masterful" speech on the World Charter, the more significant in view of his former position as a "most able isolationist." Senator Vandenberg declared that the Senate must accept the Charter or cheat the world of "its only collective chance" for peace. He himself would support the Charter "with all the resources at my command" and he predicted that "world chaos is the only alternative."

On the 28th June Senator Connally, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, addressed the Senate in favour of immediate ratification declaring that "the eyes of the entire world are centred on what we do here . . . : May the United States Senate proceed to ratification immediately"; and on Monday, the 2nd July, President Truman himself appeared before the Senate. He recalled that Congress had already approved resolutions (the Connally resolution in the Senate, and the Fulbright resolution in the House) calling for an international organisation for the maintenance of peace and security. "The choice before the Senate" declared the President, "is clear. It was a choice not between this Charter and something else but between this Charter and no Charter at all." The Charter was "the product of many hands and many influences. This is not a static treaty: it can be improved—and as the years go by it will be—just as our own Constitution has been improved . . . . This Charter points down the only road to enduring peace"; and, amid warm applause, the President urged its swift ratification.

Before going to the Senate, President Truman held a meeting with Congressional leaders. Afterwards, Senator Barkley, majority leader in the Senate, said he told the President "It's in the bag. I can't think of more than six Senators who will object to it." Hearings before the Foreign Relations Committee, to which the public will be admitted, are to begin on the 9th July and are expected to last a fortnight, and a further two weeks will probably be needed to allow Senators to air their views on the floor of the House. Demands for early ratification are voiced in all quarters, and the last Gallup Poll estimates that of those expressing an opinion 90 per cent. are in favour. Even such Isolationists as Senator Burton K. Wheeler have declared they will not lead any opposition, and Mr. Ernest Lindley, who is usually well informed, expresses the view that

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" ratification is as nearly certain as anything can be in the world of politics." The general view is that " the United States, having taken the lead in promoting the League, now should set an example for the rest of the nations by ratifying the Charter without delay."

It is reported that in Washington Mr. Gromyko, the Soviet Ambassador, told the press that it would be a good idea if the United States and Soviet Russia ratified the Charter at the same time.

The House of Representatives passed by 255 to 96 votes the Bill to extend stabilisation and price controls for a further year under the Office of Price Administration (O.P.A.). Mr. Truman has signed this Bill and has drawn attention to the fact that it has now been passed " without being weakened by amendments. This gave the country " re-assurance that the fight against inflation will be carried on during the difficult years that lie ahead. We will have need for stabilisation not only in fighting the war but also in solving the problems of reconversion, which are already confronting us."

LATIN AMERICA.

The situation in Argentina is again tense. The manifestoes issued by commercial and agricultural interests against Colonel Perón have now been challenged by a series of declarations published on behalf of a considerable number of trade unions both in the capital and in the provinces. These declarations attribute purely selfish motives to the employers' manifestoes, praise the Government's social policy and particularly the work of the Secretariat of Labour, and point to the excess profits now earned by the large companies. To what extent these declarations represent any genuine opinion in favour of Colonel Perón, it is difficult to judge. It is reported on reliable authority that the Vice-President recently interviewed 70 labour leaders, mentioned that the industrialists had been asking him to " calm the workers " and adverted to the large profits that were being made by Argentine capitalists, after which his assistant warned the labour leaders of a possible general lock-out (said to have been contemplated by the employers who subscribed to the original manifesto) and suggested that they should be ready to take over their factories in case of need.

It thus appears that Colonel Perón has given up the position of " centre democracy " which he announced the intention of holding, on finding it exposed to strong cross-fire from Left and Right. The sharp-shooting of the employers has driven him to embrace the workers, and he seems to have no qualms about embroiling his countrymen in a characteristic attempt to bolster up the existing régime.

Meanwhile, he is quick to suppress opposition within the Government. Investigations of alleged corruption in the Secretariat of Industry and Commerce have led to the resignation of General Checchi, who, it is rumoured, had political ambitions of his own. Incidentally, General Checchi was in charge of meat negotiations, in which further delays now seem likely. The Government has also been doing its best to convince the public that there are no political prisoners (except such as " would be in prison in any free and civilised country for their crimes against society "), and has declared that certain prisons are open for inspection. It is further announced that control of German firms is to be tightened : the Minister for Foreign Affairs prepared a statement in which it was asserted that 124 German firms were under effective control, but the United States Ambassador pointed out that Colonel Perón had admitted that control had been ineffective. The message has now appeared with the emphasis transferred from the Government's achievements to its aspirations.

In Brazil, President Vargas has signed a drastic " anti-trust " decree which would apparently give him power to expropriate without appeal any undertaking considered to operate " harmfully to the public interest." This piece of legislation, which might serve equally to disarm opposition propaganda or to displace foreign enterprises, has raised a storm of protest, and its application is now reported to have been postponed until August.

The Ecuadorean Ministry for Foreign Affairs has announced the establishment of diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. The Panamanian Constituent Assembly has unanimously recommended to the Government a similar measure and also the suspension of relations with the Government of General Franco.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 301

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
11TH JULY, 1945.

Copy No. 141

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

ALTHOUGH the joint military occupation of Berlin by British and American, as well as Russian, forces began over a week ago, difficulty in providing food and fuel for the inhabitants of their zones of the capital has delayed the application of British and American military government. At a meeting held on the 10th July, at which Marshal Zhukov met Generals Sir Ronald Weeks and Lucius Clay, representing the other two members of the Allied Control Council, Field-Marshal Montgomery and General Eisenhower, agreement was reached that supplies for Berlin should be drawn from all the three occupied zones of Germany. As a result of this agreement it may be expected that the British and American zones of Berlin will now be taken over by the occupying forces from the Russians, in whose hands it has so far remained.

The disparity between the political freedom permitted to the German people by the Russian and that permitted by the Western Allies may present a problem requiring classification before inter-Allied control of Berlin can operate smoothly. Three major political parties—the Communists, Social Democrats and the Christian Democratic Union—are already fully developed in the Russian zone, although, like all others, they have been forbidden to organise in the British and American zones. These political parties, it has now been officially suggested, might continue their activities in the British zone of the German capital until British Military Government begins to function. The future of political parties in Berlin as a whole will then become a subject for discussion by the Executive Military Council composed of the Allied commanders in the area.

Meanwhile, relatively little publicity is being given by the Russian-controlled news agencies on the spot to the presence of British, American and French troops in Berlin. In an evening news bulletin of the 6th July—two days after the formal entry of the Western Allies into the capital—the Berlin radio

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announced very briefly that "in accordance with the agreements between the Allies concerning the division of Berlin into a number of occupation zones, British and American troops have occupied their allotted sectors." On the following day it described the United States Independence Day celebrations and the hoisting of the British flag on the Victory Column of 1870–71, but offered no comment. The local press likewise ignored the arrival of our troops at the time, although the *Berliner Zeitung* and the *Deutsche Volkszeitung* both carried an official account of the occupation by the Red army of the areas in northern and central Germany which we had just handed over to the Russians. (See last week's *Summary*.)

On the 4th July, it was announced that the Russian military authorities had responded to the "request of democratic organisations and various other bodies" and set up a German provincial administration ("Provinzialverwaltung") for Brandenburg and regional administrations ("Landesverwaltungen") for Mecklenburg and Saxony. The provincial administration of Brandenburg is to have its seat at Potsdam; the regional administrations of Mecklenburg and Saxony at Schwerin and Dresden respectively. The "President" of Brandenburg is to be Dr. Steinhoff, a Social Democrat, who held a similar post in East Prussia before 1933. The heads of the Regional administrations in Mecklenburg and Saxony are likewise Social Democrats. Three of the Vice-Presidents of Brandenburg are former members of the Moscow Free German Committee, but only one is an official of the Communist Party. Commenting on the formation of these native administrations in the heart of the Russian zone, the Berlin radio on the 4th July emphasised that they were composed of representatives of all anti-Fascist groups and stated that "the formation of the provincial and regional administrations once again proves that our people have the opportunity for democratic self-administration within the framework of present conditions and the general directives and control of the occupying authorities." It added that the new bodies would have to take energetic steps to restore German economic life and, above all, to ensure the food supply. No reference has so far been made by the Russian authorities in Berlin to the setting up of similar native administrations in any German territory east of the Oder-Neisse line which, along with the port of Stettin, is at present being claimed and, it appears, organised and occupied by the Poles.

From the publicity which they have received in the past two weeks, the Social Democrats would seem to be the most active and vociferous political party in the Russian zone at the moment. Their programme is also without doubt the most radical. In a manifesto posted up on hoardings throughout Berlin, they demand the nationalisation of the banks, primary industries and public utilities, the reconstruction of economic life with the aid of trade unions and the redistribution of the big estates for the benefit of the community. It may, of course, be that the politically better tutored Communists are encouraging their Social Democratic comrades, with whom they in any case have a close working agreement, to test and prepare both German opinion and Allied Military Government for more advanced demands than they themselves have so far ventured to make. Of the 16 signatories of the Social Democratic manifesto, it has only been possible so far to identify five, and these have in the past all been so insignificant that they could stay in Germany after 1933 without serious recriminations from the Nazis. Yet they are at the moment coming more to the fore than many of the returning Communist *émigrés*, who since 1933 have enjoyed prominent positions in the inner councils of Moscow. Their first Social Democratic daily paper, *Das Volk*, appeared on the streets of Berlin on the 7th July and was given considerable advertisement by the Berlin radio. The extension of the "united front" between the Social Democrats and Communists beyond the Berlin area to outlying towns like Meissen in Saxony and Cottbus in Brandenburg was hailed with considerable satisfaction in a Berlin broadcast of the 6th July.

The possibility of Bavaria being handed over entirely to its native German government for administrative purposes, with only major problems of security being left to Allied military control, was reported on the 3rd July to have been mooted by the local United States Army Governor, who is stated to have referred to the 1st November as the date by which such a change might be expected to take place. At the same time, the German Prime Minister of Bavaria, Dr. Friedrich Schaeffer, made known his desire to reconstitute the Bavarian People's Party to "free Bavaria from Prussian influence," and restore her to the dignity of an independent State. In an earlier pronouncement, Schaeffer had declared in favour of a "Catholic Conservative" administration in his province—a régime, however, which not all Germans in the South and West would appear to relish.

Popular demonstrations are, for example, reported from Cologne in the West against the allegedly "totalitarian" rule of the Catholic Oberbürgermeister, Dr. Konrad Adenauer, who has insinuated that some of his left-wing critics are Nazis in disguise. Nevertheless, both Dr. Schaeffer and Dr. Adenauer administer territories which are 70 per cent. Catholic, and there is no reason to believe that the Catholic viewpoint has been favoured in the selection of native officials for other provinces. The German head of the new province of Starkenburg (embracing most of the former Land Hessen) is in fact the political historian, Professor Ludwig Bergstraesser, a former representative of the Democratic Party in the Reichstag, who later joined the Social Democratic Party. The Munich radio is giving strong emphasis to the principle of complete religious equality by broadcasting regular Sunday services for all denominations, including such minor (German) sects as the Methodists, Baptists and "Old Catholics"—descendants of the small body of Catholics who refused to accept the "Infallibility" Decree in 1871.

An increase in the German miners' ration from 2,800 to 3,400 calories per day was promised for the British and American zones on the 6th July. On the same day it was announced from the United States 15th Army headquarters that ordinary German civilians' rations would be increased locally from 1,150 to 1,550 calories per day (Field-Marshal Montgomery had previously suggested that a maximum of 2,000 calories would be aimed at), but it was pointed out that it would depend entirely on the German people themselves to produce the food-stuffs to maintain this increase. Several trainloads of food are reported by the Allied press to have reached Essen from Antwerp as a special reserve in case the threatened famine becomes a reality in the coming months. Food is stated to be at the moment the chief preoccupation of the population of the Ruhr, where the bread ration received by normal consumers is less than one kilog. per week, as against 1·7 kilogs. before the end of hostilities. One strike has been reported from the Ruhr as a protest by workers against what are considered insufficient rations. In some districts of the West, preparations for gathering in what may after all prove in some places to be a good harvest are stated to be nearing completion. Under the "Operation Barleycorn" more than 270,000 of the required 300,000 agricultural workers have already been demobilised from the Wehrmacht, and the further release of 12,000 per day is being aimed at. Special talks for farmers, giving advice on harvesting and emphasising their responsibility to the rest of the community, are being given from the controlled radio stations in all the Allied zones. Farmers in the Russian zone are still being assured that they can sell all the remainder of their produce on the open market once their delivery quotas have been met, and disabled ex-servicemen and smallholders over the age of 60 who do not employ other labour are not subject to compulsory deliveries in any form. Large numbers of auxiliary rural guards (Feld-Hüter und Feld-Schützen) are being recruited to assist the regular country police to protect the harvest from pilferers in some parts of the West.

An announcement by the United States Regional Military Government Office over the Stuttgart radio on the 8th July stated that the American zone of occupation in Germany had now been fixed and that Stuttgart itself had passed under American control. Simultaneously, the First French Army authorities made it known that they were moving out of the Stuttgart area. For administrative purposes, the United States announcement stated, the newly-defined American zone would be divided into two districts: the eastern district included the State of Bavaria; and the western district the northern halves of Baden and Württemberg (bounded in the south by the Landkreis boundary running just south of the Karlsruhe–Ulm Autobahn), part of Land-Hessen and Kur-Hessen. The officials appointed by the French would continue to function under the supervision of the United States Military Government.

AUSTRIA.

Field-Marshal Alexander has issued orders, on receipt of instructions from the Combined Chiefs of Staff, for British Forces to move into the British zone in Austria, all movements to be co-ordinated with the local Soviet Commander. The latter, however, has not yet received his orders from the Soviet High Command, and refuses to move his troops out of our zone until he receives them.

In Vienna, the former Mayor Karl Seitz has been appointed President of the Socialist Party Executive, with Schaerf as Vice-President. Karl Renner

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has been relieved of his duties as a member of the Committee for the period during which he holds office as State Chancellor. (This withdrawal is in accordance with pre-1934 practice.) A noticeable feature of the announcements of new committees and organisations in the Russian zone, is the frequency with which the same names appear. A recent example is in the revival of the "League of the Rights of Man," announced by Vienna Radio on the 5th July. Familiar names appearing were those of Böhm, Fischer, Lugmayr, Schaerf (all members of the Provisional Government), and Matejka, a Vienna Town Councillor, and like the others, a member of numerous other committees.

Raab, one of the most active members of the Provisional Government, spoke in very optimistic tones, on the 6th July, of the speedy restoration of Austria's oil production. "We shall soon be able to meet all our demands, including the needs of the occupation troops, from home production, with a surplus of diesel and fuel oil, lubricating oil, and grease available for export." Reports from other sources, however, suggest that public feeling on Austria's economic situation is not so optimistic, and that many people fear that the Russians, through the confiscation of livestock and machinery, have destroyed the economic basis of life in Austria for many years. At a meeting of the Styrian Provisional Government on the 27th May, State Secretary Waldbrunner said that the Red Army's intention was to remove from Austrian industry everything built by German capital. According to one report, the only exemptions from confiscation are bakeries, breweries, power plants, gas works and a small refinery used for refining the oil from Zisterdorf. The Russians are said to have taken all but about 50 of the 6,000 machines from the Ostmark aeroplane motor works, and to have removed all bridging equipment (this is in contradiction of favourable reports by Vienna Radio on the progress of bridge repairs). Fiala, the deputy Chairman of the Austrian Trade Union Association, endeavoured to reassure "those timid souls who ask 'what will become of us?'" and said "we shall scrape together all our tools and materials and despite all adverse circumstances produce the necessary articles for consumption and exchange." Stalin and Tolbukhin are said to have recently ordered that the Austrian Government should be informed beforehand about the confiscation of machinery. Apparently the procedure hitherto was one of dictation.

In the field of agriculture, Austria's plight seems to be no less serious. A speaker from Vienna on the 8th, appealing for neighbouring farmers to help each other, admitted that "it will be said that distress is now so general that everyone is in need of help." From Klagenfurt it is reported that heavy rain and cool weather have considerably damaged the rye, wheat and green fodder crops. The food shortage is already acute. At the end of May, normal consumers in Graz were getting approximately one-third of the daily ration being granted in Carinthia at the same time (which was roughly equivalent to that in Bavaria, and itself contained less than half the number of calories needed for normal life). One favourable aspect seems to be that the problem of displaced persons in the British and American zone has been dealt with rapidly, and large numbers have already been evacuated by the military. Large numbers of political prisoners remain in camps at Mauthausen and elsewhere, who must be fed by the authorities.

The Provisional Government in Vienna passed on the 3rd July a law which provisionally reconstitutes the National Bank of Austria. It was explained that the restoration of an Austrian Central Bank could not be postponed until the Peace Conference. The major functions of the Reichsbank, which in 1938 incorporated the Austrian Bank, are to be transferred to this provisional National Bank. It will take over Reichsbank notes in circulation which have been declared legal tender in Austria, as well as all Reichsbank assets on Austrian territory. The Provisional Government also passed a law for the control of public and private credits needed for the reconstruction of Austrian economy. For this purpose it has set up a Credit Control Commission, which is to advise the Government which enterprises should receive credits from budget funds, or loans from State, provincial or local authorities The commission will work in collaboration with private banks and other representatives of economic interest groups. It is too early to assess what the relations will be between the National Bank and the Credit Control Commission and between the National Bank and the Reichsbank regarding the disentanglement of assets and liabilities. Moreover, it is not clear how effectively the volume of notes in circulation in Austria can be controlled, and to what extent the Provisional Government can give permission for the creation of new credits.

Agreement has been reached between the Four Powers on the demarcation of the zones of occupation, both of Austria as a whole and of Vienna. Details will be supplied in next week's *Summary*.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

The withdrawal and regrouping of Russian troops in Czechoslovakia is now in progress. The first intimation of this was given by President Beneš to General Harmon, commander of the United States zone, on the 29th June; the President suggested that a token withdrawal of some of the American forces was desirable. The Russian evacuation is to be carried out between the 5th and 15th July, on the orders of Stalin himself. It is not to be a complete withdrawal however; the remainder, apart from liaison officers in Prague, and H.Q.S. in transport centres to supervise Red Army communications, is to be concentrated along the northern frontier and the American demarcation line. It will comprise nine divisions, about 100,000 men, and will be placed, it has been hinted, largely between the Glatz salient and Karlový Vary (Karlsbad). Mr. Nichols reported from Prague on the 6th that the Czechoslovak Government had addressed a note to the United States Government requesting the withdrawal of American troops from Western Bohemia. A prior withdrawal by the Americans is desired only by the Communists and Premier Fierlinger apparently; ten higher officials of the Prague Foreign Office approached the American military attaché with the hope of preventing it. While such a step might simplify matters for the Czechoslovak Administration, it would be inconsistent with the policy of the Big Three and affect the prestige of the Western Powers, and leave the impression that the Prague Government was under pressure from Moscow. The views of His Majesty's Government have been communicated to Washington. It is understood that the United States Government, while ready to agree to a progressive reduction of their forces are not prepared to withdraw completely before the Russians do likewise.

In a note addressed to the British, American and Soviet Governments the Czechoslovak Government has clarified its attitude towards the German and Hungarian minorities. The note accepted the reaction of the Allies to the previous Czechoslovak memoranda, that the expulsion of the 2–2½ million Germans and 400,000 Hungarians must be carried out in agreement with the appropriate Allied bodies and according to an organised plan. Plans for transfer are being worked out in Prague. The number of Germans to be transferred, and the timings, are to be arranged with the Great Powers exercising control over the respective zones of Germany. The technical execution of the transfer is to be achieved by Czechoslovak co-ordinating missions attached to the headquarters of each particular zone. As regards the 400,000 Hungarians, the note refers to negotiations with the Allied Control Commission in Budapest on the basis of an exchange of population, as "345,000 Slovaks living in Hungary wish to go to Slovakia." This figure agrees in no way with the 104,819 Slovaks in the Hungarian census of 1930.

According to M. Fierlinger, Moscow would give its support to a plan of organised transfer which includes the movement from Southern Bohemia and Moravia of Germans of Austrian origin still possessing close family ties, and of Czechs and Slovaks from Vienna.

Further light has been thrown upon the cession of Carpatho-Ukraine in recent conversations between Mr. Nichols and the Czechoslovak Premier and Foreign Under-Secretary. In correspondence between Stalin and Beneš in January, any Soviet intention to undermine Czechoslovak integrity was disclaimed. It was agreed that the President should sound public opinion when he returned to Czechoslovakia. It is said that he found little interest in the matter, a state of mind applicable to the ordinary Czechoslovak citizen in Great Britain as well. American estimates of opinion among Ruthenians in the United States place a desire for union with the Soviet Ukraine as very widely felt.

In addition to the protocol, Molotov has addressed two letters to Fierlinger, the first concerned with the proportion of external debt to be taken over by the U.S.S.R., the second with the cession of Čop railway junction to the Soviet Ukraine, while leaving facilities for the use of the railway by Slovakia. At Čop, on the south-eastern corner of Slovakia, railways joining Poland with Hungary cross the main east–west trunk route.

Opinion in Czechoslovakia suggests that the speedy recovery of manufacturing industries will be assured if the Government plans for importing raw

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materials can be realised. As a result of the recent Moscow talks, Russia is to supply iron ore, cotton and naphtha; from Roumania and Bulgaria Czechoslovakia hopes to obtain by direct negotiation maize, wheat, oil, oil-seeds and tobacco. Dr. Ripka, Minister for Foreign Trade, is preparing to open trade missions in Moscow, London and Washington. According to the United States Commercial Attaché in Prague, the considerable Czechoslovak textile industry has suffered very little war damage, and could within a short time work at 90 per cent. of its pre-war capacity. The Škoda works has very large stocks of armaments, and at present can produce about 25 per cent. of its normal output; most of the bomb-damage, it is hoped, will be restored within six months—a matter of great interest to China, which has received considerable supplies of armaments from Škoda in the past. The coal shortage is, however, a serious economic handicap.

POLAND.

British and United States recognition of the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity was announced early on the 6th July. In informing M. Osobka-Morawski of this step the British Government recalled that the Crimea decisions on Poland (which the new Polish Provisional Government had stated they "recognised in their entirety") included a provision that the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity shall be pledged to the "holding of free and unfettered elections as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot, in which all democratic and anti-Nazi parties shall have the right to take part and put forward candidates." M. Bierut has stated to Reuter's correspondent, two or three days earlier, that "The Polish democratic camp has been consistent in calling for elections to the Sejm as soon as conditions are ripe. The National Unity Government entirely confirms this attitude, which coincides with the Crimea decisions on the Polish question. The election date depends on when the bulk of repatriates return home and will be determined by our Provisional Parliament, the National Homeland Council." It is of interest, in this connection that, according to a Polpress statement, the Partja Pracy (Christian Democratic Labour Party) is to be recognised and take part in the Provisional Government in conjunction with the Democratic Party. It is the Partja Pracy to which General Sikorski belonged. (M. Popiel, former member of the Mikolajczyk Cabinet and leader of this party, is now in Warsaw.)

Governments which have recognised the Provisional Government to date, besides Great Britain and the United States of America, are: the U.S.S.R., France, China, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Canada, Norway, Sweden and Denmark.

Simultaneously with British recognition of the new Provisional Government, the Foreign Office announced that the liquidation of the machinery in this country of the London Polish Government had been placed under the supervision of an Interim Treasury Committee for Polish Questions. Some services, including the London Polish Ministries of Information and Foreign Affairs, and the Polish Government broadcasts have been, or are being, wound up immediately. Others, including those concerned with Polish hospitals and students and with the assistance of refugees, will be carried on, for the present, under the direction of the committee. Both the civil service expenditure and that of the Polish armed forces under British command have been met out of British funds, and there is thus no question of a very large amount of Polish Government property in this country, apart from the Polish merchant marine. All relevant matters, in any case, including the vital questions relating to the continued existence of the Polish armed forces, the transfer of archives and the return to Poland of all those who wish to go back, will be discussed with qualified representatives of the Provisional Government. A "Commission" appointed by the Provisional Government to take charge of Polish official property in this country has already reached London. It includes M. Drozniak, of the National Bank in Poland, M. Drohojowski, ex-secretary of the London Polish Ministry of Information, and M. Kolodzejski, formerly Librarian of the Sejm, who was in Moscow for the recent consultations. M. Lukasiak, the former unofficial representative in London of the Lublin Committee, and M. Grosfeld, late Finance Minister in M. Mikolajczyk's Cabinet, have also been appointed members of the "Commission." They have already met with members of the Polish Peasant and Socialist Parties in London who are supporters of the Provisional Government. Official discussions with the British authorities have, however, not yet begun, pending clarification by the Polish

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Provisional Government of the "Commission's" functions and of the basis upon which the discussions are to proceed.

A Russo-Polish treaty providing for the opting of Polish or Soviet citizenship of persons affected by the Polish-Soviet frontier changes, &c., was signed in Moscow on the 6th July (see below under "Soviet Union").

It has been announced in Poland that all German residents in Polish Upper Silesia, including part, if not all, of Oppeln Silesia, must register their names, stating where they propose to migrate to in Germany. The transfer is to be completed by the end of 1945.

On the 7th July a trade agreement was concluded between the Polish Provisional Government and the U.S.S.R. (see below under "Soviet Union"). Agreements are also contemplated, or in some cases completed, with Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Italy, Roumania and Sweden.

SOVIET UNION.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. issued on the 7th July an Amnesty Decree to mark the victorious conclusion of the war. Under it: (1) persons were to be released entirely from punishment who had been sentenced to not more than three years' imprisonment, and others who were sentenced for arbitrary abandonment of work, as well as certain categories of members of the forces sentenced for various military and criminal offences; (2) those sentenced to more than three years were to have their remaining term halved, except in cases of counter-revolutionary crimes, theft of Socialist property, banditry, forgery, premeditated murder and robbery; (3) those recently sentenced to not more than one year were to be reprieved, as well as certain other categories of offenders sentenced under war-time regulations. (4) Cases not yet examined by the Courts dealing with crimes amnestied under (1) were to be stopped. In those under (2) dealing with crimes liable to a sentence of over three years the terms were to be shortened; (5) all administrative fines and penalties not yet exacted under war-time regulations were to be cancelled; (6) persons repeatedly sentenced for embezzlement, theft and hooliganism were to be excluded from the amnesty.

With the establishment of the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity it was evidently considered in Moscow that the mutual repatriation agreements signed on the 9th and the 22nd September, 1944, between the Governments of the Ukrainian, Byelorussian and Lithuanian Republics and the Polish Committee of National Liberation (see *Summaries* Nos. 259 and 260) needed confirmation. Accordingly a new Agreement was signed in Moscow on the 6th July between the Government of the U.S.S.R. and the new Polish Provisional Government, providing for the voluntary repatriation to Poland of persons of Polish and Jewish nationality living in the U.S.S.R. and having acquired Soviet citizenship since September 1939, and repatriation to the U.S.S.R. of Polish citizens of Russian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Ruthenian and Lithuanian nationality. Those who were already Soviet citizens and who, through serving in the Polish army in the U.S.S.R. had been allowed to opt for Polish nationality (according to the decrees of the 22nd June and the 14th July, 1944), were also to come under the scope of the new Agreement. The establishment of a mixed Polish-Soviet Commission to assist in resettlement was provided for in the Agreement.

The new Agreement was stated not to alter the provisions of the earlier Agreements referred to. The only noticeable difference is the fact that Jews were not mentioned in the September Agreements, and the distinction between Ukrainians and Ruthenians is also new, though it has been made in Soviet sources in other connexions. The permission to take 2 tons of movable property remains the same, but the sum of 1,000 zloty or 1,000 roubles which may be taken in cash was not mentioned in the former Agreements.

This Soviet Agreement with the new Polish Provisional Government was followed a day later by the signature of a Trade Treaty, including an Agreement on the reciprocal supply of goods. The new Treaty provides for the application by both parties of the most-favoured-nation clause in all reciprocal economic relations. Under the Agreement on supply of goods the total volume of exchange of goods between the U.S.S.R. and Poland is to amount during the second half of the current year to 120 million dollars, as against a total annual volume of 28 million dollars under the Polish-Soviet Trade Agreement of 1939. Poland is to supply the U.S.S.R. with 5 million tons of coal and coke, 67,000 tons of steel and iron, 5,000 tons of zinc, 70,000 tons of cement, 25,000 tons of calcinated soda,

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and also textiles produced from Soviet raw materials. In return the U.S.S.R. is to supply 250,000 tons of iron ore, 30,000 tons manganese, 25,000 tons cotton, 3,000 tons tobacco, 2,400 tons flax and 40,000 tons of apatites, cellulose, paper and other goods. This Agreement follows the Trade Agreements concluded earlier this year between the U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia, and the ex-satellites, Bulgaria, Roumania and Finland, though it is clearly on a larger scale. The Soviet-Polish Trade Agreement of February 1939 also embodied the most-favoured-nation clause; under it Poland was to sell to the U.S.S.R. coal, zinc, textiles, textile machinery and leathers, while the U.S.S.R. was to supply raw cotton, cotton waste, furs, tobacco, manganese, asbestos and graphite. This Agreement, which had hardly time to come into effect before the war, and the more far-reaching new Agreement which has replaced it, revive a trade which has a natural economic basis and which existed to a considerable extent before 1914.

The Soviet attitude on the Tangier question was stated in *Izvestiya* (4th July) with a clarity which might suggest that it was intended as a warning that the U.S.S.R. was determined to participate in every important international settlement. After recalling the strategic significance of Tangier, the article referred to Russia's having taken part in the Treaty of Moroccan Affairs of the 3rd June, 1880, and in the Algeciras Conference of 1906. That she was left out of the 1923 Convention was owing to the fact that the two main participants, Great Britain and France, did not recognise the Soviet Government *de jure*, "and for that reason permitted themselves not to consider its lawful interests." Later, when relations were established, the Soviet Government delivered notes through its representatives in London, Rome and Paris, reserving the right not to recognise the decisions of the Conference. *Izvestiya* considered it strange that the U.S.S.R. should not have been invited to the proposed new conference on Tangier to be held after the defeat of General Franco's patron Hitler, seeing that her "legitimate interests" were involved. Even the United States, which had not taken part in the establishment of the status of Tangier, had been asked to participate. "It is therefore natural that any discussion of the Tangier problem without the participation of the Soviet Union should not be recognised as rightful." (See also under "Spain.")

A renewed press attack on General Franco has synchronised with the Tangier controversy. *Pravda* (the 6th July) came out with a vigorous denunciation of his régime, which was nothing but "organised brigandage, terrorism, and brutal exploitation of the masses." The article concluded on the warning note that General Franco had been carried to power not only by German and Italian bayonets, but by international reactionaries in the form of "appeasers." The general was now banking on an armed clash between the U.S.S.R. and the Anglo-Saxon countries. In the interests of European peace and security an early end should be put to the Fascist hotbed in the Iberian Peninsula.

The Premier of the Mongolian People's Republic, Marshal Choibalsan, arrived in Moscow on the 5th July for one of his now periodical discussions with the Soviet Government His last visit was in January 1944 (see *Summary* No. 225) when he was received by Generalissimo Stalin. On this occasion, the generalissimo both received him and gave a dinner in his honour at the Kremlin on the 7th July, at which M. Molotov and many high-ranking officials were present. The Mongols present included M. Shirendyb, the Rector of the Mongolian University, Dr. Sambu, Minister of the Mongolian People's Republic in the U.S.S.R., and M. Idamzhab, the Secretary of the Legation of the Mongolian People's Republic in the U.S.S.R This visit does not seem to have been further noticed in the Soviet press, nor has any hint been given as to the object of the Soviet-Mongolian discussions. The fact that it coincides with that of the Chinese Delegation suggests (as has already been noted in the British press) that Sino-Mongolian relations may be under consideration in Moscow and the opportunity taken to express the Soviet attitude to problems of interest to all three countries.

The British election campaign received considerable comment in the Soviet press. On the 5th July *Krasny Flot* published an explanatory article stressing the political uncertainty prevailing in this particular election and asserting that the disagreement and strife between the Left-Wing parties only benefited the Conservatives. The article gave examples and statistics on three-cornered contests and asserted that these were some of the peculiar features of the election system in Britain. *Izvestiya's* International Observer also commented on the fog of political uncertainty enveloping the election, when no party could be certain of the outcome. *Reuter's* observer allowed for the contingency that at the last

moment some kind of accident would distract the electors from the real question and make them swing either Right or Left, and asserted that Churchill's letter to Attlee, published at the last moment before the election, was possibly to have been part of such an accident. It was also stated that the British press was equally uncertain of the election results, and that *The Times* predicted the probability of a coalition after indecisive returns.

It was announced on the 7th July that King Michael of Roumania had been decorated with the Order of Victory for his courageous act in breaking with Hitlerite Germany and forming an alliance with the United Nations at a moment when it was not yet clear that Germany would be defeated. This award of the highest Soviet military decoration to a sovereign is of some significance, particularly in view of the fact that, apart from General Eisenhower and Field-Marshal Montgomery, no other foreigners have received it, not even Marshal Tito. It may be taken in conjunction with a recent article in the Soviet press instancing Roumania as an example of the compatibility of monarchy and democracy. King Michael is also apparently to be presented with two Soviet aircraft in which to learn to fly.

SCANDINAVIA.

The Finnish Government's reply to the interpellation on the subject of war guilt handed in by Mme. Kuusinen and others (see *Summary* No. 300) was made on the 4th July by the Premier, M. Paasikivi. He expressed the general agreement of the Government with the signatories of the interpellation, even on the question of investigating the possibilities of criminality attaching to entry into the war and its prolongation. He urged, however, that a subsequent estimate of the expediency of steps taken in foreign policy did not ordinarily imply that those responsible were criminally culpable.

Among matters connected with Finnish war policy which might be the subject of judicial proceedings, he mentioned M. Ryti's agreement with Ribbentrop not to conclude a separate peace, which was made without previous consultation with the Diet, and the question whether joint military operations had been promised to Germany before her attack on the Soviet Union, a contingency which he described as "probable." On the other hand, he urged that criminal proceedings should be limited to a very few cases, where guilt seemed evident. He further favoured an investigation as to whether the advice tendered by friendly nations, that Finland should extricate herself from the war, had been sufficiently seriously considered.

Apart, however, from the question of criminal proceedings, M. Paasikivi urged that those responsible for the mistaken policy pursued, or for a pro-German orientation, not only in the Government and Civil Service but in the Universities and private business, should withdraw from their positions, preferably of their own accord, though he hinted that the Government reserved other means of producing the same result.

In the debate which ensued, the greatest sensation was caused by M. Leino, the Communist Minister of the Interior, who alleged the discovery of numerous arms dumps, which had been organised by high-ranking officers, in the General Headquarters of the defence forces. It has been questioned, however, by such papers as the moderate Progressive *Ilta Sanomat*, whether the implication of a reactionary conspiracy was justified, or whether the action was not merely an irresponsible step taken in connexion with the demobilisation. The resignation of the Commander-in-Chief, General Heinrichs, on the 30th June, in favour of General Lindquist, who is a prominent member of the Finno-British society, is generally ascribed to the discovery of these dumps, though this reason is officially repudiated.

On the 6th July the Metalworkers' strike in Sweden, the longest strike in Swedish industrial history, came to an end after a duration of five months. It directly affected at least 814 concerns and 123,000 workers, and it had widespread indirect repercussions, of which the effect on Finnish reparation payments to Russia has already been mentioned in *Summary* No. 298. It also caused a hold-up of ships in Göteborg harbour, since an attempt to secure coal for these from factories lying idle because of the dispute was frustrated by the strikers. Its length is alleged in some quarters to have been protracted by the policy of the Government in allowing strikers to accept employment as woodcutters in

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the forests. The Metalworkers' Union is under strong Communist influence. A preliminary agreement to terminate the dispute was reached as long ago as the 20th June, but the final settlement has been delayed until now. The Communist paper *Ny Dag*, as recently as the 25th June, was advocating a continued refusal on the part of the workers to come to terms.

Denmark has also been disturbed by industrial disputes. On the 25th June and again on the 2nd July a strike broke out at Burmeister and Wain's factory, and on the 4th the 5,000 workers in the shipyards marched to the Rigsdag to present a number of demands to the Government. These included the repeal of the Prohibition of Strikes Act, a forty-hour week, the resumption of the cost of living bonus agreed in 1939, the socialisation of factories, and the setting up of joint production committees. The demonstration assumed a dangerous character during the evening, and the police were deterred from attempts to clear the Town Hall Square by the threats of some armed demonstrators to open fire. On the morning of the 5th, however, work was temporarily resumed, but the strike began later in the day, and there were rumours that it would become general. There is also a strike in the milling industry and among apprentices in the Copenhagen bakeries, and it is clear that a state of considerable unrest prevails among workers in Denmark.

Denmark, Sweden and Norway have now all recognised the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity.

LOW COUNTRIES.

The dockers at Rotterdam resumed work on the 6th July. Their main demands were for a 25 per cent. wage increase, a 40-hour week, and for clothes and boots for the workers and their families. A new Left Wing Trades Union, the so-called "Unity Trades Union," seems to have been at the root of the strike, and although some 80 per cent. of the strikers are reported to have been willing to listen to reason, the remaining Communist element were obdurate and deaf to the first calls to return to work. The Prime Minister broadcast to the strikers on the 3rd July and in a very moderate speech urged them to abandon a course which could only be disastrous for the whole nation and to co-operate on a basis of mutual trust and consultation for the improvement of their own living conditions and those of the whole people. Although much of the effect of this broadcast was lost through shortage of wireless sets, it was later distributed in leaflet form. The strike, which began on the 30th June, had caused a serious situation with only 6 days of civilian food supplies in hand and 16 ships lying idle in the port, and failure to produce a solution might well have caused the Government's downfall.

The Netherlands People's Movement, of which the Prime Minister is Chairman, held its first public meeting on the 4th July at The Hague. Its aim was expounded as the "striving for the renewal of national life by economic, social, political and spiritual co-operation."

The Canadian Army handed over its responsibilities in Holland to the S.H.A.E.F. mission to the Netherlands on the 1st July.

The Belgian crisis is still unsolved. There is growing impatience in the Left Wing and Liberal press. The Catholic parties have reaffirmed their loyalty to the King. It has now become clear that the King does not wish to return to Belgium except with firm constitutional backing, but at the same time he is unwilling to abdicate until every possible alternative has been tried. The main subject of his consultations with eminent jurists is thought to have been his constitutional right to form a Government when he is absent from Belgium. The principal motive for the reported action of the King in commissioning M. van Zeeland to form a Government after the failure of General Ganshof van de Meersch (see *Summary* No. 300) may also well have been his desire to prove at a later date that all possible alternatives were tried before abdication. At the same time if the King's absence is to continue, the alternative to abdication can only be some form of suspension of the Royal functions, which will undoubtedly provoke further dissension in a country already overburdened with the problems of reconstruction.

After the King's consultations were concluded on the 3rd July a message was delivered on his behalf to the Regent and the Prime Minister by the Prosecutor-General, M. Cornil. On the 4th July the Prime Minister received in turn the Presidents of the Senate and the Chamber and the leaders of all political parties. The only obvious result of these meetings was a new resolution passed

by the Catholic Groups confirming their previous attitude and suggesting that a plebiscite to decide the question of the King's return for all Belgians over 21 should be held, and that the compiling of the new Electoral Register should be speeded up. These suggestions were greeted by the opposing parties as a flimsy attempt to gain time.

On the 7th July the Prime Minister himself went to Salzburg, presumably to try to force the King to make a decision, the deferment of which may cause serious strikes and dissensions in the country. Since the deferment of the decision until the General Elections is unconstitutional as well as detrimental to the welfare of the country as a whole, the only two alternatives would seem to be either abdication or a full parliamentary debate in which all the evidence against the King and his entourage would be made public. It remains to be seen whether the Royal party are prepared to risk the consequences of the second course, which might well endanger the dynasty.

FRANCE.

American Independence Day was celebrated with particular warmth in France. Mr. Caffery unveiled a tablet to the memory of President Roosevelt in the avenue called after him; and General de Gaulle made a broadcast in English.

The absence of France from the "Big Three" Conference has, however, resulted in the paradoxical situation that President Truman will probably not see General de Gaulle during his visit to Europe (so he stated in his press conference on the 6th July), but that General de Gaulle will visit Washington at his invitation in August when it is all over. President Truman did, indeed, in his letter to General de Gaulle stress his intention to ask for preferential treatment for France in deliveries of German coal (see below); but there does not appear to be any prospect of French participation in high-level discussions on this or other matters connected with Germany. Mr. Churchill's visit to France (where he arrived for a short holiday at Hendaye on the 7th July) is described as being of a purely private character. Meanwhile French troops have arrived in Berlin; they are reported to have given way to American forces of Occupation in Stuttgart (see *Summary* No. 291) and to have taken over from the Americans in the Tyrol.

Failing direct Anglo-French conversations on the Levant, the French have now made a belated bid to solve the local problems on the spot (see under "Middle East"). M. Bidault had already expressed the opinion that the question of whether France should have a permanent base in the Levant is one for settlement in the new World Organisation. Government circles are much disappointed at Britain's refusal of a 5-Power conference and France's failure to secure approval at San Francisco for arbitration in the Levant. The press campaign has, however, somewhat abated; but it has been strongly hinted in the press that the sudden Russian interest in the Mediterranean—exemplified by Russian demands on Turkey and the request to participate in the talks in Tangier (see below under "Tangier")—is a consequence of the absence of Anglo-French co-operation.

Feeling in favour of this remains strong; and the absence of direct talks is deplored. M. Reynaud recently came forward with the proposal for an Anglo-French economic *bloc*, which far from prejudicing would further the co-operation of both countries with the United States and Russia. On the 7th July M. Teitgen, whose good feeling towards us is generally recognised, spoke strongly to Mr. Holman in favour of an Anglo-French alliance, deeply deplored the difficulties over the Levant and pointed out the dangers involved if it was really our policy to eliminate France completely from the Middle East. It is at the same time reliably reported that former supporters of Vichy are gaining credit on the count that present British policy justifies Vichy warnings in the past, and that this propaganda if not checked may destroy the capital of goodwill on which we are still able to draw in France.

The Consultative Assembly debated the Government's economic policy on the 3rd, 4th and 5th July. Most of the speeches were concerned with the somewhat barren issue of nationalisation but M. Pleven, the Minister of Finance and National Economy, made a good survey of the situation. After pointing out that economic policy had hitherto been dominated by the needs of the Allied war effort, he outlined the Government's plans for supplying the civil population with

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minimum supplies of coal, food and clothing next winter. He declared that an equilibrium had now been established between prices and wages and that rather than raise them any further aid would now be given to farmers by the provision of equipment and tools and to workers by making available more food and other goods at the legal prices. The Minister said that the vital problem of coal could only be solved through imports from the Saar and the Ruhr and welcomed President Truman's decision on the coal of the Ruhr. He announced that 3,700,000 tons of goods had been imported since the import programme came into operation last March and that for the rest of this year imports of 1,400,000 to 1,800,000 tons of foodstuffs and animal feeding-stuffs and 200,000 tons of textile materials were expected. The Minister concluded with promises to implement the nationalisation programme for the practical reason that only through State action could the necessary capital investment be brought about. Among the resolutions voted by the Assembly at the end of the debate was one asking that the greater part of the Ruhr and Saar coal should be placed at the disposal of France.

After a meeting of 6 hours the Council of Ministers on the 9th July unanimously adopted a draft Bill concerning the election of a Constituent Assembly. On the 14th October a general election will be held. A referendum, held at the same time, will decide whether the Assembly elected will be a Constituent Assembly (which would also elect the President of the Provisional Government) or a Chamber of Deputies. If the latter is favoured, this will involve a return to the 1875 Constitution, and the subsequent election of a Senate by indirect suffrage; and Chamber and Senate together would then constitute the alternative Constituent Assembly. This Bill, on which the opinion of the Consultative Assembly will now be taken, represents a compromise between the proposal for a single Assembly and the direct return to the 1875 Constitution with its two Chambers, latterly favoured by General de Gaulle.

SWITZERLAND.

The question of Swiss neutrality and the problems arising from it have again been under discussion in both press and radio. A typical example is the discussion following suggestions that British soldiers not yet repatriated from Italy because of damage to Italian ports might travel by train across Switzerland. Unofficial spokesmen gave the opinion that Swiss neutrality could hardly be compromised if it were merely a question of soldiers going back home to be demobilised; but doubts were expressed as to the position if any of the troops were destined for transfer to the Far East battle areas. The question also arose whether such troops could carry arms and war materials; and it was recalled that, even in peacetime, Switzerland had been opposed to the passage of armed troops through her territory. Another delicate question is Switzerland's position in regard to the new World Organisation—*i.e.*, whether neutrality is compatible with membership or whether Switzerland might find herself faced with a choice between maintaining her tradition of neutrality or joining the new Organisation. Some fears have been expressed that for Switzerland to remain outside the Organisation might result in a dangerous isolation.

The French military authorities have asked for permission to fly non-stop over Swiss territory with unarmed military aircraft carrying sick prisoners of war and deportees from Germany to France. On their return journey the aircraft would be used for repatriating Russian prisoners of war. In view of the purpose of these flights, the Federal authorities have given their consent, and the flights will start at once.

On the 6th July the Federal Council reached the decision to recognise *de jure* the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity and to resume diplomatic relations with Poland.

The purge of National Socialist elements continues. In addition, the Canton of Ticino has ordered the expulsion of 25 Italian nationals, in some cases including their entire families.

Swiss Air and Air-France will resume the Zürich–Geneva–Paris service on the 16th July. There will be one flight daily in each direction, the companies operating on alternating days. Swiss Air is also reported to be considering the possibility of resuming traffic with Barcelona and London.

The resumption on the 7th July of railway traffic between Geneva and Paris was celebrated by an official ceremony when the train, decorated with the flags of both countries, arrived at Geneva.

A Yugoslav delegation has arrived at Berne to study the possibilities of the resumption of economic relations with Switzerland. On the 4th July economic discussions also began between Switzerland and Italy.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

The usual rumours of significant developments in Spain, on the occasion of the forthcoming meeting of the Cortes, are finding their way into the press. Whether we shall hear any more of General Franco's project for a "Council of the Realm" to prepare the way for a Monarchy remains to be seen. Meanwhile he has made another ceremonial speech at the reopening on the 2nd July of the Palace of the "Consejo de Estado," which had been badly damaged during the Civil War. The function of this body is to provide expert legal opinion on administrative decisions. Its powers were defined and elaborated by a law of the 25th November, 1944, since when, according to the President, Señor Raimundo Fernandez Cuesta, it has dealt with nearly 500 cases and settled some fifty appeals for redress. The Caudillo claimed that this Council of State, treated with scant respect by the men of the Republic, was now coming into its own and had become one of the essential institutions for the maintenance of order, good administration and justice under his beneficent régime.

Such assertions do not, of course, cut any ice with Spaniards when they read them interminably in their press. And nobody inside or outside Spain is really impressed by the various claims to normalisation of Spanish conditions, some of which were discussed in this *Summary* last week. There is nearly always a catch somewhere. For example, when the authorities recently freed the British and American Embassy bulletins from postal censorship and promised that there would be no interference with their circulation, they asked that in future—as a *quid pro quo*—these bulletins should not contain any criticism, direct or implied, of the Spanish régime. Actually, there is no difficulty in agreeing to this condition, since these bulletins have always left Spanish internal affairs severely alone. But the method of approach is characteristic.

The anniversary of the death in exile of Don Manoel, ex-King of Portugal, was commemorated on the Portuguese wireless, which has also paid warm tribute to ex-Queen Amelia on the occasion of her recent visit to the country. From the frontier Dona Amelia de Orleans e Braganza sent suitable telegrams of thanks and admiration to President Cormano and Dr. Salazar.

TANGIER.

British and American officials went to Paris at the beginning of last week for the tripartite conversations designed to work out the details of the provisional régime for Tangier to replace the Spanish administration. There was an early complication when the Government of the Soviet Union, which had been notified in a joint Anglo-French communication, made urgent representations in the three capitals asking for postponement to allow of Russian participation. This request is now under consideration. In the meantime, following an informal exchange of views, the talks have been suspended.

French concern for a restoration of the situation existing in fact and in law previous to the Spanish *coup de force* is understandable. His Majesty's Government contemplates some modification of the 1923 arrangement in order both to make the régime more truly international and to provide for United States participation, which would be in accordance with the present objectives of American foreign policy and hemispheric strategy. Russia, of course, like the United States, was a signatory of the Act of Algeciras, but neither the old Tsarist régime nor the U.S.S.R. ever evinced the slightest interest in Tangier; the Soviet Union, with the Central Powers, it may be remembered, were not invited to adhere to the Convention of 1923. *Izvestiya* now claims (see under "Soviet Russia"), that when the Statute was modified in 1928, the Soviet Government reserved the right not to recognise decisions taken without their participation and so informed the British, Italian and French Governments.

Although an exchange of correspondence in 1924 between France and the U.S.S.R. scarcely bears out this contention, the French Government now consider themselves obliged to support the inclusion of France's Russian ally in the ultimate settlement (see under "France"), and the United States will presumably raise no objection.

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And finally, Dr. Van Kleffens, on behalf of the Netherlands Government, has protested against "the growing habit of the great Powers of arranging matters in which the small Powers have proportionately equal interest without the active participation of the latter."

ITALY.

Signor Parri's Government has issued a statement of policy which was approved by the Council of Ministers on the 26th June. The statement begins by declaring that the Constituent Assembly and reconstruction are the main points of the Government's policy and that all technical preparations for the Constituent Assembly are to be immediately put in hand. The Government further undertakes to convoke the Constituent Assembly as soon as possible on the basis of universal, direct and secret suffrage. In order to be in direct contact with the country, the Government will reconstitute all local representative bodies, and with the object of creating a new and truly democratic spirit, the law and the liberty of the individual will be energetically upheld. The demands by various regions for a measure of autonomy are also to be sympathetically examined and the Committees of National Liberation are to continue as advisory bodies to the prefects and local authorities, while as regards labour and food problems the Government will rely on the co-operation of the representative bodies concerned. Epuration is to be simplified and brought to a conclusion as quickly as possible. As regards unemployment the Government is to take steps to stabilise the purchasing power of the lira in order to balance the cost of living as against wages and salaries, and conditions in Northern Italy are to be adjusted to those obtaining in the rest of the country. The statement, however, affirms that the Government's policy depends on Allied help and support. Italy wishes to offer loyal co-operation in the peaceful and democratic reconstruction of the world, but in return requests the end of the Armistice régime, the conclusion of peace and the transfer of North Italy to Italian administration.

The Italian Government expresses the hope that the question of the Italo-Yugoslav frontier may be settled in a friendly spirit, in collaboration with the Allies, by means of a direct agreement between Italy and Yugoslavia. The Government intends to suppress the creation of monopolies, to develop the control of factory management by the workers, and at the same time to encourage private enterprise to stimulate economic activity. The Co-operative movement is also to be encouraged. Finally, the Government declares its right to maintain law and order by suppressing all forms of illegality and by disarming all citizens. To this end the police will be reconstituted so as to ensure a respect of the law and the holding of free and honest elections for the Constituent Assembly and all other elections. To implement its policy the Government appeals for the active co-operation of all citizens.

With regard to the maintenance of law and order Signor De Gasperi, the Foreign Minister, has expressed his anxiety about the present outbreaks of lawlessness to Sir Noel Charles. Not only in Bari Province (as reported in last week's *Summary*) but also in the north, particularly in Emilia, bands of armed men have broken into gaols and murdered a number of persons awaiting trial and have committed individual murders throughout the countryside. These murders are taking place despite the fact that the Assize Courts are functioning with speed and efficiency. The trouble, said Signor De Gasperi, was that the Carabinieri were too few and badly equipped to cope with the situation. It is thought that these acts form part of a general plan to weaken the Government's authority and to intimidate any moderate elements.

The question has arisen as to whether Italians resident in that part of Venezia Giulia administered by A.M.G. may vote in the elections of the Constituent Assembly when they take place. The question is obviously a very difficult one.

THE VATICAN.

Moscow continues to think the Vatican politically important enough to accuse of "Fascist intrigues in Germany, Italy, Poland and above all Spain." *New Times* calls its post-war policy "black reaction." Meanwhile the Pope, speaking to members of the United States Naval Affairs Committee and to representatives of the United States Foreign War Veterans has repeated his distinction between true and sham democracy. Another Vatican counter to Moscow's

attacks was to hand to Sir D'Arcy Osborne copies of the German demand of the 29th August, 1941, for the right to raise political objections to ecclesiastical appointments in "the new territories of the Reich," and of the Vatican's firm rejection of the claim. Sir D'Arcy Osborne describes the documents as "an illustrative appendix to the Pope's exposition of the Vatican's relations with the Nazi régime in his Allocation of the 2nd June." (See *Summary* No. 296 under "Vatican.")

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Roumania.

The affairs of the National Liberal Party of Roumania have been prominent in the news of late. Dl Gh. Tătărescu, the Vice-Premier, was at one time the Secretary-General of the Party, and attempted to form a Left Wing of his own supporters. In view of his present position in the Government his activities have taken on a new lease of life. He is reported to have formed a plan for a new Radical-Socialist Party, with a press of its own. This is in accordance with the usual Roumanian practice. He is apparently anxious to increase the circulation and influence of his own paper *Drapelul*, and to secure the support also of *Jurnalul* and *Semnalul*. As the Government controls the supplies of newsprint, there is an obvious short cut to this desirable end. Incidentally, in the opinion of Dl Dinu Brătianu, Tătărescu is involved in a plot to get the ex-King Carol back, in spite of his recent professions of loyalty to and admiration for King Michael.

After a joint meeting on the 7th June of the executives of the Liberal and the National Peasant Parties, the National Liberal Party confirmed Brătianu in his leadership and expelled Tătărescu and some of his followers. Tătărescu then arranged a meeting of the dissident members of the party for the 1st July. This meeting was announced on the Bucarest Radio, which, of course, is Soviet controlled, as a "General Congress of the National Liberal Party." No newspaper or radio station was in a position to correct this misstatement. At the meeting, which was fully reported by press and radio, Tătărescu was elected chairman of the "National Liberal Party"! He made two speeches in which he made a bid for the support of the Right Wing. He expressed his devotion to the monarchy, stated emphatically that he was not a Communist, and not in favour of State ownership. He spoke against the abuses of capital, but declared that "the National Liberal Party is against the nationalisation or socialisation of all privately-owned property." The Moscow Radio in reporting the meeting abstained from quoting the salient points of Tătărescu's speech, but attacked the Liberal leaders in the now familiar form.

The Russian State has always been adept at making use of the Orthodox Church for political purposes. Since the election of a new Russian Patriarch, the Russian Church has shown considerable interest in the affairs of neighbouring Churches, particularly those in countries under Soviet rule. Delegations have paid visits of ceremony to various countries. The delegation to Roumania presented the Roumanian Patriarch with a message of "cordial greetings and with two demands. One of these was that the Roumanian Church should conform to the Russian calendar. In reply to this piece of impertinence the Patriarch Nicodim replied that the present calendar was adopted by a Synod presided over by the Œcumenical Patriarch at Constantinople. The reference to the Patriarch of Constantinople was a good point, as also was the thinly veiled reminder that the Roumanian Autocephalic Church did not owe obedience to the sister Church of Russia.

The other demand was that Russian priests from Bessarabia and Bukovina who have been detained in Roumania since the cession of the two provinces in 1940, should be "released from prison and returned to Russia." The fact is that when Russia took possession of the two provinces about 1,400 priests migrated to Roumania where they were well received. They are reckoned as Roumanian citizens by Roumania and as Soviet citizens by Russia. Employment in monasteries and parishes was found for these clergy and the Patriarch Nicodim replied to the Russian demand that he did not consider it his duty to force them to return to Russia.

The arrangements for the formation of a Russian-Roumanian Oil Company (see *Summary* for the 23rd May) which was to enjoy a specially privileged position, especially with regard to new concessions, are being hurried forward. In the opinion of experts the draft articles of association, if carried through,

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will mean the end of the British oil interests in Roumania and of British export trade in oilfield equipment. In connexion with this, the Soviet authorities are holding up and diverting to Russia supplies of certain products which were destined for export to Britain and which are needed for the purposes of the war with Japan.

The Russian Order of Victory has been conferred upon the King of Roumania. (See also under "Soviet Union.")

Yugoslavia.

The campaign of abuse of Allied Military Government in Venezia Giulia continues. The restoration of the Italian courts of law at Trieste, the reinstatement of the Professors of Trieste University and the Allied assumption of control over Trieste Radio Station were denounced. The Trieste National Liberation Committee's Public Prosecutor was said on the 3rd June to have called on all commissions, which had remained inactive owing to Allied intervention, at once to resume clearing out "Fascist" elements; and on the 7th *Politika* reported that "workers' patrols are looking for Fascists, resolved not to tolerate them in the city." There have been numerous interferences with the agreed Allied running rights between Trieste and Pola. Concerning the Yugoslav Government's denial of having mobilised Italian nationals (see *Summary* No. 299, page 17, paragraph 2), the Italian Government has stated that *Voce del popolo*, of Fiume (11th May), contained a summons to men of the 1900–27 classes for the Yugoslav Army. The Allied Commission for Italy has requested A.M.G. to furnish all possible information on persons deported by the Yugoslavs for whose return provision was made in the Agreement of the 9th June. That the Yugoslavs consider their zone not as occupied, but as annexed, was shown by a resolution of the Committee of the Titoist Croat Peasant Party, which stated that "Zara, Fiume and Istria have returned [*sic*] to Croatia."

The campaign about Carinthia has died down. A National Liberation Committee of Villach, composed of Communists, was formed by the Communist Party of Slovenia in January 1945. It came into the open in May, and was dissolved by A.M.G. in June, for contravention of orders. A National Committee of Slovenia (anti-Titoist) was formed in October 1944 to combat the Communists and work for an autonomous Slovenia within the restored Yugoslav kingdom. It came into the open on the 3rd May, issued an appeal to all Slovenes, and appointed an officer to command the Slovene conservative forces. A few days later the Committee and its troops were forced to flee over the mountains to the Allies in Carinthia.

The press campaign against Greece reached white heat. It included a speech by the Premier of Yugoslav Macedonia, and a passage in Tito's speech of the 7th July. After emphasising Yugoslavia's friendly relations with all the countries under Russian control, Tito said: "Unfortunately our relations with Greece are not very sound. . . . The Greek people again have the misfortune to be ruled by reactionaries. . . . A few days ago the Greek Minister of the Interior declared that not a single Greek or Slav from Greece had passed the frontier to seek refuge in Yugoslavia." [*Note:* What the Minister is reported to have said on the 3rd July was that he could categorically deny what had been published about persecution of Slavs in Greece and their flight.] Tito went on to say that Greek forces were "firing without any reason, from mortars and machine-guns, across our frontier in an effort to provoke us.

Although the Yugoslav authorities celebrated the anniversary of the *coup d'État* of the 27th March, 1941, and assumed the credit for that event, they also celebrated the 7th July as the date of the real beginning of resistance by the Partisans. It is now to be the Serbian national holiday. The Serbian Premier spoke, denouncing the enemies of the Yugoslav peoples, amongst whom he included "those who want to restore the King." Rankovitch represented the Partisan resistance as merely a continuation of pre-1941 class war. Kardelj, with greater respect for Serbian opinion, emphasised Serbia's stand on the 27th March. Finally, Tito's speech emphasised the "unbreakable alliance" with Russia and close relations with "other Slav brothers—Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Albania." He looked to the "progressive elements" in Britain and the United States to see that no difficulties, but only help, came from those Allies. In Yugoslavia, he said, parties would be allowed to function, if they asked. There would soon be elections, when all could "freely say 'Yes' or 'No'" (to what question he did not say). Meanwhile, the army must remain partly mobilised.

It is clear that the Tito–Shubashitch Agreement, on which the "Big Three" based their recognition of the present régime, has not been carried out. There is no free political activity, nor a free press. Under the arbitrary control of the secret police there is no freedom from fear.

A memorandum from an assembly of Serb Orthodox clergy, held on the 14th and 15th March, to the Œcumenical Patriarch, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Metropolitan of Greece and two Serb Bishops overseas, has been published in London. The signatories appeal for help against what they call the totalitarian system of the Communist party; they name thirty-five Orthodox priests killed by the Partisans; and they say that they adhere to General Mihailovitch's "Christian and democratic" movement.

Greece.

The major problems confronting the Greek Government remain the re-establishment of internal security and economic stabilisation. Their successful solution in the reasonably near future, on which depends the resumption of normal Greek political life and of less acrimonious relations with Greece's Balkan neighbours, would deprive extremist politicians and other disruptive elements of their most powerful weapon, the existence of widespread and well-founded popular discontent.

The re-establishment of law and order is dependent on the replacement of the National Guard by a reorganised police and gendarmerie. The National Guard has undoubtedly been guilty—though not to the extent claimed by the Left-wing press—both of excesses against members of E.A.M./K.K.E. and others merely suspected of Left-wing sympathies, and of handing over arms taken from E.L.A.S. to illegal Royalist organisations. They are, therefore, compromised not only in fact but also in the eyes of the public both at home and abroad. Their replacement by gendarmerie, with which considerable progress has been made since the establishment of a British Police Mission was agreed on the 12th May, will doubtless be accelerated by the arrival of Sir Charles Wickham, head of the mission, who left for Athens on the 11th July. He will have absolute control over the organisation and administration of both police and gendarmerie, though the final responsibility for their operational use rests with the Greek Government. By a law of the 19th June the gendarmerie was divorced from the army and placed completely under the Ministry of the Interior, and a new post was created, to which General Ananiadis was subsequently appointed, to co-ordinate the police and gendarmerie under that Ministry. The organisation and deployment of the full number of gendarmes, 20,000, required by the Greek Government is of major importance as a prerequisite to the holding of free and orderly elections.

There appears to be considerable opposition in many quarters to the new taxation (see *Summary* No. 299) imposed under the Government's economic and financial programme. It is reliably reported that the regional commercial unions have regrouped into a central professional and political union—the Panhellenic Union of Commercial Syndicates—to protect the interests of private enterprise. Athens and Piræus Tradesmen's Associations instructed members to close their shops on the 9th July as a protest against the tax. A number of Ministers with big business connexions, notably those who were transferred from one post to another at Varvaressos's request before he took office, are believed to be covertly hostile. Strong opposition is also displayed, for political reasons, by the extremists of both Left and Right, who hope to profit by the economic chaos which would ensue if the Government were forced to abandon their programme. The Government, however, shows no signs of weakening and Athens prices have remained steady.

The question of Northern Epirus continues to be given the maximum publicity and the Government is clearly under considerable pressure from the public to take some definite step. Lists of Albanian atrocities against the Greek population have now been officially communicated to His Majesty's Government by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, with the comment that they form part of a methodical plan of extermination dating back to 1913. It has been publicly announced that a ten-page Memorandum on the Northern Epirus question, which may be assumed to set out in detail the Greek territorial claims against Albania, has been prepared for submission to the Governments of Great Britain, United States and U.S.S.R. A general claim was advanced by M. Zakynthinos, the Under-Secretary of State for Information, in a broadcast speech on the 3rd July, but it seems clear that the public will not long be satisfied without a more

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specific statement by the Government of Greece's territorial claims against her neighbours.

Albania.

The news that the Kosovo region, together with the frontier district of North-West Macedonia, is now definitely a part of Yugoslavia again—after being handed over by the Axis to Albania—is evidently beginning to become widely known in spite of the F.N.C.'s reticence on the subject. The fact that the F.N.C. agreed to give back this important area, with its largely Albanian population, certainly shows how thoroughly Enver Hoxha is dominated by Marshal Tito and must have alienated all Nationalist elements, particularly in the north of the country still further. Besides this, Enver Hoxha's insolvency only enables him to pay the officers, as opposed to the men, in his own army, so that there is bound also to be a good deal of dissatisfaction amongst the Partisans themselves.

Bishop Kotoko, of Argyrocastro, a Greek propagandist of Albanian nationality, has been dismissed from his see and branded by the Metropolitan as a traitor. The Bishop of Koritza is to take his place.

Enver Hoxha having refused to allow any members of Military Liaison to remain in Albania as members of U.N.R.R.A., or to permit more than fifteen persons in all to carry out the work, it has been decided to withdraw all U.N.R.R.A. and Military Liaison personnel at once. U.N.R.R.A. have written to Hoxha, and if he decides to adopt a sensible attitude, an agreement may yet be signed.

Bulgaria.

The Patriotic Front has not broken up yet, but one by one those individual members of the Cabinet who show any reluctance to toe the Communist line are being eliminated. On the 5th July M. Bumbarov, Minister of Public Works, was forced to resign, and his place was taken by a more amenable Agrarian called M. Dragnev, who was one of the founders of the Bulgarian Co-operative Movement and has been under Communist influence for many years. His first act on taking over the Ministry was to summon all the available members of the staff and tell them that he proposed to enquire how far the purge of Fascist elements among them had been carried out and that if necessary he would complete it.

The Minister most likely to qualify next for dismissal is another Agrarian, M. Nikola Petkov, the sure sign being that—like M. Bumbarov five weeks earlier—he was expelled from his Party Union on the 7th July. The present Agrarian Party Executive is only too ready to carry out Communist instructions faithfully; and what those instructions are can be seen very clearly from a perusal of the Fatherland Front Committee's Election Appeal, which, after expatiating upon the secrecy of the ballot and the perfect freedom of the electorate, naïvely adds: "The enemies of the people must not be allowed to vote."

Under a new order issued by the Ministry of the Interior an amnesty has been granted to all criminals who sought sanctuary in the Bulgarian army and are now victoriously returning home from active service.

Dr. Dimitrov's very dissimilar Moscow namesake, of Reichstag fire fame, has been awarded the Order of Lenin by the Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Turkey.

The British Ambassador in Moscow has informed the Soviet Government that in the view of the British Government the territorial claims of the U.S.S.R. on Turkey should be considered in the light of general World Organisation, and that the demand for bases affects the multilateral Montreux Convention. The Soviet Government was also reminded that it had agreed at Yalta to consult Britain and the United States before approaching the Turkish Government on matters affecting that convention. Also that Marshal Stalin had promised to take no action affecting the independence and integrity of Turkey and to adopt a reassuring attitude to the Turkish Government.

The United States Government, which had previously been consulted on the question, preferred not to join with Britain in making these representations, but approves of them.

The attitude of the Turkish press is firm and uncompromising. Russia was accused of using the words "democracy" and "anti-fascism" as a cloak for imperialism. The Soviet proposals were described as "senseless and improper," and the Government was called upon to reject them without discussion. There

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is no doubt that the Government can count on public support in resisting the Soviet claims.

M. Cevat Açikalin, Secretary-General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, broadcast a message to the United States on the Fourth of July. He spoke of the affection and admiration of the Turkish people for the people of America, and added that the two nations were alike in their attitude towards life and political morality. The harbouring of aspirations and ambitions which involved the integrity and independence of another country was regarded by both nations as a crime.

Some amendments to the Constitution, in the direction of greater democratisation, and modifications of the Press Law were debated at a meeting of the Parliamentary Group of the Republican People's Party. There appears to be some dissatisfaction among a few of the Deputies with the constitutional position of the President, who is at the same time head of the State and leader of the only political party; for under his rule the formation of an Opposition might lead to a conflict in which the President would be involved.

The proposed amendments were rejected on the grounds that the question should, more properly, have been brought before a full party congress. The proposed modification in the Press Law centred on the article which empowers the Government to suspend a newspaper, without according any right of appeal. It was recommended that the power to suspend should be transferred to the Courts.

The Government made a small concession to the movement for greater electoral freedom by refraining from putting forward any official candidates at six by-elections which were recently held. They relied on the party loyalty of the secondary electors (each of whom represents 400 primary electors). The results of the elections justified their confidence.

The Anatolian Agency has been authorised to state that the report that Turkey has demanded the incorporation within her frontiers of the district of Aleppo is without foundation.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

The tension in the Levant States has been but slightly eased by the unilateral statement issued by the French Government on the 8th July regarding the transfer to the local Governments of the *Troupes Spéciales*. This statement declares that the *Troupes Spéciales* are to be "transferred to the Syrian and Lebanese Governments in accordance with arrangements which will be defined within 45 days." In the discussions between Count Ostrorog and the representatives of the Lebanese Government (who also acted on behalf of the Syrian Government, as the latter refused to meet Count Ostrorog direct), on the wording of the text of the declaration, His Majesty's Minister, though keeping well in the background, played a most helpful part, and it is largely due to his good offices that agreement on the text was reached. Thus, at long last, the French have come to a decision on a matter on which the Levant Governments have been pressing them for a very long time. Had this essential step been taken earlier, much trouble might have been avoided.

The fact remains, however, that any bargaining value which the *Troupes Spéciales* may have possessed at one time has disappeared through the procrastination of the French, who have now had to give something for nothing. That the Levant States are prepared to accept the declaration does not mean that there has necessarily been any marked improvement in their relations with the French, which still remain strained. The troubles that occurred in Latakia on the 5th July, and in Aleppo on the 9th July, show how tense the atmosphere still is, and there is certainly little ground for optimism. It is, moreover, fairly certain that the States will sooner or later make further demands, such as the withdrawal of all French troops and the transfer of the remaining "common interests."

The Treaty seems as far off as ever. In a recent conversation with the President of Syria, His Majesty's Minister tried to convince Shukri Quwatli that the declaration on the *Troupes Spéciales* represented a real effort on the part of the French to improve the atmosphere for the discussion of other matters. The President, however, affected to regard the wording of the declaration with indifference, and once again said that he would "cut off his hand" rather than sign a treaty with France. The President's intransigent attitude is a reflection of the profound mistrust engendered in the minds of the Syrian people by French policy for many years past, coupled with bitter hatred caused by recent events in Syria. If there is less hatred in the Lebanon, the mistrust is as deep as in Syria, except among the relatively small pro-French party.

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There is more than ever urgent need for a conference between the French and the other interested parties to reach a settlement of the issues still outstanding in the Levant. But the French seem to be reluctant to agree to a tripartite conference in which the United States would participate with ourselves, and it is doubtful whether we can do any more at the moment to gain their acquiescence. (See also under "France.")

No enthusiasm has been shown in Egypt over the United Nations' Charter. The Wafdist press, which goes so far as to refer to the San Francisco Conference as a "catastrophe," has strongly criticised the Charter as being opposed to Egyptian interests and those of the Arab League. The view expressed by these papers, which is shared by many of the public, is that Egypt has not been accorded that place in the New World Security Organisation to which, as head of the Arab League, they claim she is entitled.

The Wafdists are also incensed over the issue of a military order by the Egyptian Prime Minister banning the proposed visit of Nahas Pasha to Port Said. Meanwhile, Makram Ebeid Pasha, Minister of Finance, is still pursuing his vindictive policy against his quondam colleagues, the leaders of the Wafd, and is reported to have sent to senators and deputies a copy of the committee of enquiry's report on the alleged misdemeanours of Nahas's Government while the case is still *sub judice*.

The Egyptian journalists who recently visited this country have now returned to Egypt, where they have expressed their keen appreciation of the warm reception given them by His Majesty's Government and by the British people in general.

H.R.H. the Amir Abdilillah, the Regent of Iraq, on the conclusion of his visit to President Truman, arrived in London from Canada on the 8th July. Although his visit here is "unofficial," arrangements are being made by His Majesty's Government to afford him all necessary facilities for making his stay in this country useful and enjoyable. His suite includes no Iraqi Minister at present in office, and it is therefore unlikely that any important political matters will be discussed with him.

M. Sadr, the new Persian Prime Minister, has not yet been able to collect the quorum necessary for the official presentation of his Government to the Majlis, and so far all his attempts to do so have been baffled by the minority who walk out of the Chamber. He may, however, succeed in time.

A report from Angora, attributed to *Reuter*, that Persian Azerbaijan is to be annexed by Russia in accordance with the demand of a local committee in that province, has caused astonishment and alarm in Tehran, as coming allegedly from a British journalist. There is in fact no truth in the story that any committee in Persian Azerbaijan has made such a demand, though no doubt it would be an easy matter for the Russians to provoke one if they wished to do so.

THE FAR EAST.

Dr. Soong's visit to Moscow and the meeting of the People's Political Council dominate all other news from China for the past week. Soong is reported to have been received on three separate occasions by Stalin himself, and Molotov gave a reception to the Diplomatic Corps in his honour. Nothing has yet been disclosed as to the results of Soong's mission, but an official source in Chungking has stated that "limited but not unsatisfactory results" have been obtained. According to this source the results do not include the concession that Moscow will bring pressure on Yenan to compromise with Chungking. According to *Tass*, Marshal Choibalsan, the Premier of the Mongol People's Republic (Outer Mongolia), arrived in Moscow on the 5th July, accompanied by the Soviet Minister to his country, and on the 7th July dined with Stalin at the Kremlin. His arrival may very well have an indirect bearing on Soong's visit (see also under "Soviet Union").

Japanese comment on Soong's visit is that he is negotiating in a dual capacity as representative of Chungking and as spokesman of the United States. The *Yomiuri-Hochi* said that Soong would first discuss the border problems arising from the contiguity of territory between the U.S.S.R. and China; although these problems were not urgent, it was impossible to obtain political stability between the two countries without aiming at a compromise, and from the United States viewpoint this would give an opportunity for judging the limits of Soviet policy towards China. Secondly, Soong would discuss the Yenan régime; the recent stiffening of the Soviet attitude towards Chungking on this issue made at least temporary agreement upon it a most important part of Soong's mission. It would be very difficult to reconcile the hostility between these two régimes, which the

Americans had already failed to compose by mediation. In the final analysis, according to the *Yomiuri Hochi*, it was not Soong's negotiations, but the outcome of the next meeting of the Big Three which would really govern Soviet-Chinese relations.

A *Domei* report from Peking, transmitted by the *Tass* correspondent in Tokio, stated that the U.S.S.R. had taken up a definite attitude towards Chungking by replacing her ambassador (it was announced on the 3rd of April that M. Appolen A. Petrov had been appointed Soviet Ambassador to China in place of M. A. S. Paniushkin, who had resigned because of ill-health in the summer of 1944; M. Petrov arrived in Chungking on the 30th April) and despatching nearly thirty engineers to Yenan. Chungking, according to this version, was pursuing a complicated foreign policy, manipulated by Ho Ying-chin and Chen Li-fu, who adhered to an "independent" line, by T. V. Soong, who relied on American support, and by Sun Fo and H. H. Kung who were working for a pro-Soviet orientation. This Japanese report should be taken with due reserve, but on the evidence otherwise available the developments described are not altogether improbable. Some time ago, the party of British and American journalists who visited Yenan reported that the only Russians there were a doctor and two *Tass* correspondents. But now that American military instructors and technical experts are playing a continually increasing part in strengthening Chungking China, it would be a little surprising if the Soviet Union were to lend no assistance in personnel to the party which her press and radio so strongly favour, and, indeed, not to do so could only have a discouraging effect on the Chinese Communists and put a severe strain on their faith in Moscow. Thus, while there is no confirmation so far of the alleged arrival of Russian engineers in the Communist area, the recent stiffening of the Communist attitude towards Chungking may reflect a form of discreet Russian support for which parallels in Europe are not lacking.

Attention in Chungking has now turned to the People's Political Council, which was convened on the 7th July, the eighth anniversary of the beginning of China's war of resistance. Despite a last-minute effort by a group of its members, who have just returned from a flying visit to Yenan, the Communists have maintained their boycott of this session. The session is scheduled to last for two weeks and to close on the 21st July. This is the Fourth Council, and comprises 290 members, compared with the 240 of its predecessor, whose last session was held in September 1944.

A total of 218 persons are said to have actually attended the opening session, but these included foreign diplomatic representatives. President Chiang, in a speech of twenty minutes, stressed the Government's determination to conclude the period of political tutelage and to inaugurate constitutionalism in China.

The Japanese newspapers have been taken up with the 10 per cent. reduction in staple foods, which is to become effective in mid-July. Various substitutes are to be popularised, including flour made from sweet potatoes. The *Nippon Sangyo* of the 7th July said that this year's harvest of potatoes does not come up to expectations, particularly in Hokkaido, where 50 per cent. of Japan's potatoes are normally produced. The *Tokio Shimbun* declared: "In view of the mainland becoming a battlefield, the setting-up of a structure to make us self-supporting in food is imminent. Food will become scarcer. At this critical juncture all Japanese must learn to eat weeds." The *Yomiuri Hochi* complains of the black market. "Should Japan be defeated, it will not be by the enemy, but because of the black market. . . . Should the enmy land in Japan, how can uniform official prices be applied to localities cut off from one another? Official prices must be fixed locally. As long as the black market exists, victory cannot be won." The Minister of Agriculture issued an appeal on the 8th July. In his broadcast he is reported by the *Asahi* as saying that the reduction in rations was a very grave matter, because men cannot fight well when they are hungry, but that "the teaching we have inherited from our forefathers is that we are the descendants of the Samurai, who do not feel hunger, even if they are hungry. It is with this spirit the nation should fight this war to final victory."

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

President Truman has continued the reconstitution of his Administration. In less than three months he has accepted the resignation of six out of nine Cabinet members and of a dozen or so other high-placed officials. Last week he announced that he had accepted the resignation of Mr. Morgenthau, who

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for the last eleven years has been Secretary of the Treasury, a post ranking next in seniority to that of Secretary of State, and he has indicated that after his return from the Berlin Conference he will nominate Mr. Frederick M. Vinson to succeed Mr. Morgenthau. This solution has met with a generally favourable reception. Mr. Vinson, a middle-of-the-road Democrat, was recently appointed Director of War Mobilisation after having served less than a month as Federal Loans Administrator. He was a Congressman for most of eighteen years and is popular on Capital Hill. More recently he was Director of the Office of Economic Stabilisation, and while holding that post he was a member of the United States delegation to the International Monetary Convention held at Bretton Woods. (Incidentally, there are press predictions that if the Bretton Woods proposals are adopted, Mr. Morgenthau will be appointed one of the American representatives.) Mr. Vinson was an ardent supporter of President Roosevelt's business reforms, but he is known to hold the view that Federal taxes should be imposed in such a way as not to be a deterrent to business expansion and to favour the repeal of the Excess Profits Tax after the defeat of Japan. He has also supported the "Full Employment" Bill, which the President himself favours.

The President has also announced the resignation, on grounds of ill-health, of Mr. Harry Hopkins as a special adviser and assistant to the President. Mr. Truman has paid a special tribute to Mr. Hopkins's "tireless energies" in "carrying on the war in all parts of the globe." Mr. Justice Owen Roberts, who has reached the retirement age of 70, has announced his resignation from the Supreme Court. Mr. Roberts is one of the more Conservative members and in recent months, like Chief Justice Stone and Justices Felix Frankfurter and Robert Jackson, he has expressed disagreement with a great many of the Court's decisions.

Of President Roosevelt's Cabinet only four members now remain, Mr. Ickes, Mr. Henry Wallace, Mr. Stimson and Mr. Forrestal. It is believed that Mr. Forrestal (Secretary of the Navy) and Mr. Wallace (Secretary of Commerce) are likely to remain at their posts, but Mr. Stimson, the Secretary for War, is now in his 78th year and it is reported that he would like to retire when final victory over Japan is in sight. There have been many rumours that Mr. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, will not remain long in the Cabinet. The President, however, has denied these reports and at a Press Conference last week announced that Mr. Ickes would shortly be visiting London to re-negotiate the Anglo-American Oil Treaty.

Without doubt the reconstruction of the Administration has met with warm approval in the country. It is felt that Mr. Truman's approach to Government is less personal than that of his predecessor and that he has made these present appointments with the object of delegating substantial authority to his cabinet. The sweeping changes in the Administration do not foreshadow any major deviation from President Roosevelt's policies, but they probably do portend drastic changes in method. The President obviously hopes to conciliate Congress and to win its confidence, and his major appointments are of men who not only have themselves served in Congress but in whom Congress has full confidence.

In an article written for the August issue of the *American Magazine*, Mr. Byrnes, the newly appointed Secretary of State, recommended that the President should be given sweeping power to reorganise the agencies in the executive part of the Government, which "overlap, intertwine and even compete." He also recommended that the "dozen different Federal agencies elbowing one another for control of man-power" be concentrated under "a real Department of Labour"; a recommendation which seems to have met with praise, since Mr. Schwellenbach, the new Secretary of Labour, has announced his intention of amalgamating within his Department, so far as practical and legally feasible, the labour functions of some twenty or more Federal agencies which are now engaged in activities which properly belong to the Department of Labour. Mr. Byrnes also recommended in his article that the joint Chiefs of Staff be established permanently by law, one member serving as Chief of Staff to the Commander-in-Chief. Finally he proposed special legislation establishing a Department of the Armed Services with a Secretary for the Armed Services and four Under-Secretaries, one each for land forces, sea forces, air forces and supplies. General Eisenhower made an even more revolutionary suggestion at West Point, saying that he would like to see all the armed forces in the same uniform. Meanwhile Mr. Byrnes has himself asked the Bureau of the Budget to give him a report on the organisation of the Department of State and he has announced that Mr. Benjamin Cohen, Mr. Donald Russell and Mr. Walter

Brown have joined his staff, each with a temporary assignment as special assistant to the Secretary of State.

The President, with Mr. Byrnes and a large number of political and military advisers, has sailed for Europe. The President goes abroad leaving a stable political situation behind him. Indeed, the general public mood of the United States at the moment is exceptionally hopeful and benevolent. The President's popularity is immense. A recent poll asked the public whether they approved of the way in which Mr. Truman is handling his task. 87 per cent. said they did, with only 3 per cent. disapproving and 10 per cent. saying that they had no opinion. President Truman goes to the meeting in Berlin almost with the certainty that the United Nations Charter will be ratified by the Senate. His hand has also been strengthened by the endorsement by the House of Representatives' Post-War Military Committee of the "broad principle" of universal military training in peacetime. The Committee recommended that Congress should give prompt and thorough consideration to this proposal. Trainees would not be subject to active military service except in the event of a national emergency being declared by Congress. The general plan is that, after a year of training, the trainees will become members of a reserve body subject to call to service in time of war or emergency.

The *New York Times* welcomes this action as valuable evidence of United States intentions to assume obligation as a peace-enforcing Power. Mr. Arthur Krock in approving the action of the Committee has stressed the need for power not only to enforce the United Nations Organisation decisions, but to hold that organisation to its principles and ideals.

The action of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee in approving by a 14 to 4 vote the Bretton Woods proposals for an International Bank and Monetary Fund should also serve as a further encouragement to the President and as additional proof that the United States desire to participate in international co-operation, political, economic and military. This legislation, which has already been passed by the House of Representatives, is expected to go before the full Senate on the 16th July.

The one fly in the ointment on the home front is the labour situation. The Labour Department Conciliation Service reports that the daily average of strikes and walk-outs has risen from twenty before VE-day to approximately forty now. The chief cause behind this unrest is undoubtedly labour's fear of post-war unemployment and the reduction of workers' weekly pay following the cessation of overtime payment. The strikes have been emphasised in the press and have created a strong impression of growing unrest. Meanwhile the Ball–Burton–Hatch Labour Bill continues to be attacked by all labour leaders, but in other quarters it continues to be regarded favourably, being praised as an honest attempt to "meet one of the most challenging post-war issues." There is general agreement that responsibility for industrial peace must rest on the Labour Unions as well as on Management, but the position is aggravated by the inability of the two chief Labour organisations, the American Federation of Labour and the Congress of Industrial Organisations, to reconcile their differences at this critical time.

(See also under "France" and "Latin America.")

LATIN AMERICA.

In Argentina President Farrell has now declared that elections will be called before the end of the year, and it is reported in the Press that this means that they will actually be held not later than March 1946. The President complained that the press had sometimes used its freedom to discredit the country, and added that the internal situation was disquieting. He repudiated the view that the Government were the enemies of capitalists, but blamed the well-to-do classes for the recent unrest: he denied that the Government's position was precarious. Possibly not; but it continues to waver between the dangerous and the ludicrous, and bears a disturbing resemblance to the situation reached a year ago.

The publication by the State Department on the 25th June of an analysis of measures taken by various Latin American Republics against German economic interests (showing Argentina as having 108 Axis "spearheads," of which none had been eliminated, and only four were in process of elimination) led to a statement by the Mexican Foreign Minister on the need for Argentina to fulfil the obligations contracted at Chapultepec. This drew a retort from the Argentine Foreign Minister, who declared that none of the American Republics had

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informed Argentina through their representatives in Buenos Aires that the Argentine Government was deemed to have failed in its obligations, and claimed that 134 German firms had been interviewed. Yet Sr. Ameghino was constrained to admit that only eight German firms were in process of liquidation, while two banks had been taken over.

The State Department's figures combined with Mr. Clayton's evidence to the Kilgore Committee on German attempts to create an economic safe-haven in Argentina, have brought a resurgence of anti-Argentine feeling in the United States. The publication of further news-reports damaging to the Farrell régime has induced Colonel Perón to make a clumsy attempt to silence United States correspondents. Thus, on the 30th June, he told the United States Ambassador that he intended to get the better of "economic interests," and made insinuations about the activities of United States Press correspondents, some of whom, he suggested, were in danger of assassination and should be taken into protective custody. Mr. Braden recalled that American writers had been threatened or assaulted before in Argentina, and added that any incident might gravely affect relations between the two countries. Colonel Perón at length said that he could control the fanatics he knew, but could not answer for "provincial fanatics." On the 3rd July Mr. Newman, the correspondent of the *New York Herald Tribune*, took refuge in the United States Embassy, and the Argentine Under-Secretariat of Information issued a statement expressing its surprise at this "strange attitude" and "the complete unawareness of the authorities of the threats to which the correspondent was said to have been subjected." At a further interview Mr. Braden obtained guarantees from Colonel Perón and Mr. Newman emerged from his sanctuary. At this interview Colonel Perón insinuated that Mr. Braden was very unpopular, and when the ambassador cited Argentine opinion to the contrary, the Vice-President described his countrymen as the most double-faced nation on earth. Colonel Perón has now ordered Argentine newspapers not to publish reports about Argentina from the United States Press.

Nicaragua has become the first country to ratify the World Security Charter.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 302

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
18TH JULY, 1945.

Copy No. 141

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

FULL Military Government by British and American officials has been operating since the 11th July in the zones of Berlin occupied by the Western Allies. A proclamation, posted throughout the German capital, has announced the assumption of control by an inter-Allied Executive Military Council (Kommandantur) but has added that, until further notice, regulations hitherto issued by the Red Army command are to remain valid for all zones. There is thus to be no sudden change in matters where the Russian system of Military Government has differed from that of the British and Americans. Rations are to remain uniform throughout the German capital. Arrangements for the provision of food for the city would now appear, however, to be merely on an *ad hoc* basis, whereby Britain and the United States jointly provide 40,000 tons of foodstuffs from German stocks in their other zones to meet the first month's requirements. Dairy produce will apparently continue to be brought in to the British zone of Berlin from the Russian-occupied farming districts of Brandenburg, but the Russian authorities are themselves pressing for supplies of meat and fats for the whole of the city from the British and American zones of southern and western Germany. To meet some of the city's acute fuel problems, coal is for the time being to be brought to Berlin by rail from the British-controlled mines of the Ruhr at the rate of 2,400 tons per day. A number of special sub-committees are stated to have been set up under the inter-Allied Executive Military Council to supervise the work of the German Oberbürgermeister, Dr. Werner, and his municipal administration, and British and American Military Government officers have joined their Russian colleagues at Dr. Werner's headquarters in the Stadthaus near the Alexanderplatz. The relaxation on the 14th July of the ban on fraternisation for the British and United States troops has ended one discrepancy between the Anglo-American

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and the Russian systems of Military Government which, although not serious in itself, had become all the more obvious since the troops of the three nations had been stationed side-by-side in Berlin.

One observer has referred to Berlin as the focal point of all the complex problems that are going to arise in the occupation of Germany. Despite the glowing picture presented by the Russian-controlled news agencies before the arrival of the other Allied troops, conditions in the German capital would seem to be worse than in any badly-stricken city under British or American occupation in the south or west. The city is said to be virtually without shops, apart from food retailers and a few pharmacies, and the population is compelled to resort to a system of private barter to satisfy the needs of everyday life. Rations are at the moment so inadequate that many people are stated to be approaching starvation. The Berlin radio has had to warn the population against taking waste food from refuse bins, in view of the obvious dangers to public health. According to the Oberbürgermeister, Dr. Werner, about 100 persons are already dying every week from dysentery. Local labour offices are appealing to families to move from the capital and settle on the land in the surrounding villages, and about 10,000 persons are reported to have left so far. In the rural districts outside Berlin, however, Russian troops are said to be making the situation more difficult by rounding up and slaughtering cattle and stripping the country bare to satisfy their own immediate needs.

To the many thousands of homeless in Berlin have been added in the last few weeks large numbers of refugees from the eastern provinces of the Reich which are now occupied by the Poles. On the 9th July the municipal administration of the city was compelled to warn these refugees that there was no accommodation, food or work for them in Berlin, and that they would in future be stopped on the roads before they reached the capital. Nevertheless, there is stated to be no marked diminution in the migration into the Berlin area of dispossessed Germans from the former Polish Corridor and Silesia. The Central Executive of the German Communist Party has appealed to the refugees to halt permanently in the country districts which they have at present reached and has at the same time warned them that "any return to the regions east of the Oder is out of the question." At his meeting with Generals Weeks and Clay, on the 10th July, Marshal Zhukov made it clear that the Soviet authorities had agreed to leave the administration of all territory east of the Oder–Neisse line to the Poles—a decision, however, on which His Majesty's Government still reserves its position.

A new political organisation, the Liberal-Democratic Party, made its appearance in the Russian zone on the 13th July. Two of its principal aims were defined as "the assurance of the elementary requirements of life for the Germany people" and "the unqualified support of all moves to secure peaceful co-operation between nations and a place for Germany in such an international family." The new Liberal-Democratic Party would appear to be politically somewhat to the right of the other organisations so far constituted in Berlin. Its principal sponsors include the former Reich Minister of Economics and industrialist, Waldemar Koch, and the 85-year-old former Minister of Finance, Dr. Eugen Schiffer, both, for a time, members of the old Democratic Party. So far the Liberal-Democrats have not received from the Russian-controlled press and radio anything like the same degree of publicity as the Communists and the Social Democrats, or even the Christian Democratic Union which was formed last month. They were, however, included in the "united front" which, according to a broadcast by the Berlin radio of the 15th July, had been formed at a conference of the four existing German political parties.

The confiscation of all property owned by Germans who had belonged to the National Socialist Party or any of its subordinate organisations, including the S.A., the S.S. and the Gestapo, or who had "obtained from the Nazi régime well-paid posts in the Party, State, Armed Forces or industry and commerce," was announced in a drastic decree issued by the Berlin municipal administration on the 13th July. The significance of this decree, it was stated in its preamble, was "likely to reach far beyond Berlin, although for the present it applies only to Berlin." The presence in the Russian zone of large numbers of landless German peasants from the East has now given a considerable fillip to the agitation of the German Communists for the expropriation of the big estate-owners, and it would seem that officials of the party are already touring the villages and arranging the appointment of commissions to partition the estates into small-holdings.

Important progress towards the reconstitution of a sound German system of justice in the West has been made by the United States Military Government at Stuttgart with the reopening on the 17th July of all German law courts in the American-occupied area of Württemberg. Jurisdiction in normal civil and criminal matters will, it has been stated, henceforth be exercised by these German courts, although all decisions must in the last instance be submitted to Military Government. Among the courts reopened are the provincial courts ("Landgerichte") at Ulm, Ellwangen and Heilbronn and the district courts ("Amtsgerichte") subsidiary to them, along with other district courts in several small towns around Stuttgart. To the north-west of Württemberg, the Military Government authorities in the 15th United States Army area have reopened the provincial courts at Zweibrücken and Frankenthal, along with 13 district courts. In the area controlled by the United States 12th Army Group, the reopening of German courts has enabled the number of Military Government courts to be reduced from 469 to 343. Approximately 7,500 cases have so far been tried in these Military Government courts, but only 30 per cent. have involved anything more serious than violations of curfew or infractions of travel restrictions.

On the 10th July, the United States Military Government in Bavaria announced that judicial proceedings had been instituted against all persons in local economic life who had played a major part in Germany's rearmament, and on that and subsequent days the Munich radio published the names of 125 well-known Nazi businessmen and industrialists who had been arrested. These names included directors of important war plants like the Bayerische Mortorenwerke, A.E.G., Fichtel und Sachs, Kloeckner-Humboldt-Deutz, Junkers and Messerschmidt. Among them were Professor Willy Messerschmidt himself, Dr. Karl Roechling and the Silesian coal and steel magnate, Count Henckel von Donnersmarck. The property of those concerned was stated to have been seized. The news of the arrests followed only four days after the announcement that the United States Military Government had taken over the management, factories and equipment of all branches of the huge I.G.-Farben combine in the American zone as one of a series of measures to disarm Germany industrially.

The hitherto rigid ban on trade union activity in the West is now being gradually lifted. On the 10th July it was announced that a "General Free Trade Union" had been recognised by the United States Military Government authorities at Heidelberg, and that negotiations were in progress for it to receive former trade union property which had been taken over by the Nazi Labour Front. The "General Free Trade Union" would, it was stated, work towards the restoration of the 8-hour day and the introduction of a 40-hour week in the German factories. The revival of other trade unions is reported to be under consideration by the new provincial Ministry of Labour, which has been set up in Munich to take over for Bavaria the functions of the former Reich Ministry of Labour. Permission to form trade unions was stated on the 16th July to have been granted "on principle" by the United States Military Government in Württemberg.

Agreement has now been reached by the Allied Reparations Commission in Moscow as to the share of the final reparations from Germany which each of the three major Powers shall receive. 56 per cent. of the total amount of reparations, including the proceeds of German national wealth removed from the Reich and of deliveries from Germany since the end of hostilities, is to go to the Soviet Union and 22 per cent. each to the United Kingdom and the United States. Claims for reparations by the other Allied nations will be met by each of the three major Powers giving up a proportionate share of their own reparations. What was clearly an inspired address on the payment of reparations as a national duty was delivered to the German people over the Moscow Radio by the President of the Free German Committee, Erich Weinert, on the 11th July. Reparations in kind for the devastation caused in Russia, Weinert pointed out, must enjoy priority over the work of reconstruction in Germany. The more energetic and sincere the contribution of every German to the task of reparation, he added, the more prompt would be the return of German prisoners of war home from Russia, and the departure of the occupying Russian forces from Germany.

ERRATUM.

In last week's *Summary* No. 301, "Germany," p. 1, line 14, for "classification" read "clarification."

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AUSTRIA.

The agreement on the control machinery for Austria was signed in the E.A.C. on the 4th July, and the agreement on the zones to be occupied by Great Britain, the United States, Russia and France, was signed on the 9th July. Within Austria's 1937 frontiers, Russia is to occupy Lower Austria (except the City of Vienna), that part of the province of Upper Austria situated on the left bank of the Danube, and the Burgenland. United States troops are to occupy the province of Salzberg, and that part of Upper Austria on the right bank of the Danube. The provinces of Tyrol and Vorarlberg will be occupied by France. Carinthia, including Ost-Tyrol, and the province of Styria, except the Burgenland, will be occupied by British troops.

The City of Vienna is to be an area of joint occupation by the Four Powers. The districts of Leopoldstadt, Brigittenau, and Floridsdorf in the north-east and Wieden and Favoriten in the south, will be occupied by Soviet troops. The districts of Neubau, Josefstadt, Hernals, Alsergrund, Währing and Döbling, in the north-west of the city, will be occupied by United States troops. South of the United States zone, the French will occupy Mariahilf, Penzing, Funfhaus (including Rudolfstein) and Ottakring. British troops will occupy Hietzing, Margareten, and Meidling in the south-west, and, separated from these districts by the Soviet-occupied wedge of Wieden and Favoriten, Landstrasse and Simmering in the south-east. The Innere Stadt will be jointly occupied by troops of all four Powers.

The boundaries between the zones of occupation, with the exception of the boundaries of the City of Vienna and of the Burgenland, will be those which came into effect by the German Decree of the 1st October, 1938. The boundaries of the City of Vienna and of the province of Burgenland will be the pre-Anschluss boundaries (see Map).

An Inter-Allied Governing Authority, consisting of four commandants appointed by their respective Commanders-in-Chief, will be established to direct jointly the administration of the City of Vienna,. General Mark Clark has been named as the Commander-in-Chief of the United States Forces in Austria, and American representative on the Allied Control Council for Austria. General McCreery is the British Commander-in-Chief and representative on the Council. Marshal Koniev is acting for Marshal Tolbukhin as Soviet Commander-in-Chief. The French Commander-in-Chief has not yet been officially announced.

The Tulln airfield is to be under the control of the United States forces, while the Schwechat airfield will be under British control, for the joint use of British and French forces. The occupying Powers will be allowed free access to the airfields assigned to them.

The non-fraternisation order has been relaxed in Austria.

On the 16th July one "Lambert," who is known to be a representative of the *Comité Autrichien de la Libération* and to have paid several visits to Austria recently, gave an interview to Press corespondents in Paris. Claiming to be the personal representative of Dr. Renner, he confirmed that large-scale removal of machinery, cattle, clothing and fuel stocks was taking place under the direction of the Russian Commissar for prizes of war, who works directly under the Government in Moscow, and who had also seized everything in the banks. Herr Lambert thought that the results of elections to factory committees reflected these conditions : at one big factory only one of twelve members was a Communist, the rest were Socialist. The system of refuse collection in Vienna was not functioning, and typhus had broken out. Because of the lack of electricity it was impossible to listen to the wireless, so that there was great ignorance of international affairs. Dr. Renner himself did not know what the San Francisco Conference was about. Herr Lambert emphasised the importance of the opening of communications between the zones, to enable food to be distributed equitably and the displaced population to return to their homes. He appealed to the western Allies not to let down the new Austrian Republic. The Austrian Provisional Government had enunciated the principle that Austrian liberty was destroyed when the Constitution was annulled in 1933. Although he gave a gloomy picture of conditions in Vienna, Herr Lambert was careful not to complain of the treatment which Austria was receiving. The interview as a whole definitely represents a Social Democrat as distinct from a Communist point of view.

On the 10th July an announcement on Vienna Radio said that " a number of incidents resulting from subversive propaganda, and sabotage, organised by

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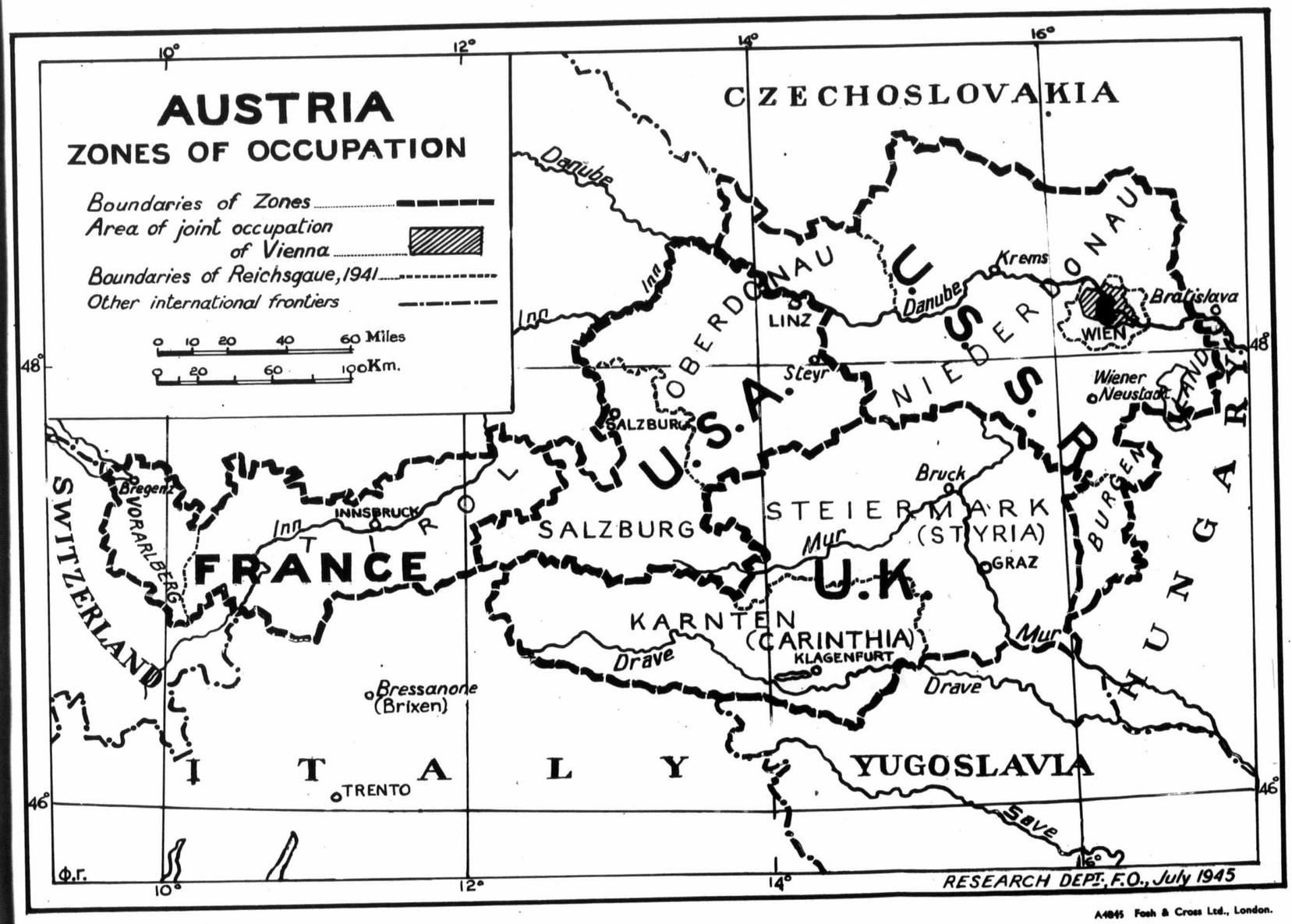
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underground Nazis,'' had been '' met by energetic and immediate State Police measures.'' Several hundred suspects were arrested in the first large-scale round-up. The Viennese were now asked, the broadcast continued, to obey unconditionally the instructions issued by the official organs in connexion with these measures, while they were assured that Red Army members engaged in this '' clearing-up process '' would always be accompanied by a German-speaking official. Previously, brief radio announcements had indicated that there was some sabotage and subversive activity, but this is the first direct admission and warning. It is possible that the unexplained disaster to Vienna's electricity system on the 29th June was caused by sabotage.

One provision of a new nationality law passed by the Renner Government is that pre-1938 members of the Nazi Party are to lose their Austrian nationality.

In the last days before Austria's collapse there was a run on the banks, with the result that when the banks were closed, most of the bank-notes were in private hands. The Renner Government has now taken measures to collect hoarded money, and has warned people that Reich bank-notes in circulation in Austria will soon be called in for stamping. The public are assured that the purchasing power will not be reduced thereby, but that those people who take their money to the Savings Bank now will have to pay less levy than those who wait for the stamping of the notes. There were considerable restrictions on the withdrawal and transfer of money, but if the hoarded money was paid back, they would be relaxed. Officials were told that it was their duty to '' calm and enlighten '' the population on this subject. The Government's appeals and warnings would seem to have had some success. On the 14th July Vienna Radio reported queues at the re-opening banks, and deposits in the first week were said to exceed withdrawals by RM. 100 million.

No clear picture of the strength and position of the old Austrian political parties has yet emerged. According to one report the People's Party in Vienna, at first thought to be the old Christian Social Party under a new name, is to include representatives of the Landbund, Heimatschutz, Monarchist, and Gross Deutschland parties, although it is composed mainly of Christian Socialists. In Graz, three parties exist openly—Communist, Social Democrat, and People's Party. One report says that the latter is numerically the strongest, but it is largely composed of people unwilling to undertake political and administrative activities, so that Socialists and Communists are prominent in official posts. In Innsbruck, the American-appointed Landeshauptmann, Gruber, seems to have been at least partly successful in his aim of forming a new party composed of resistance elements. The new group—the *Demokratische Staatspartei*—is composed of fairly right-wing members of the resistance, and its aim is said to be to create a strong conciliatory centre party between the Socialists and the extreme right. The party programme is identical with that of the Tyrol People's Party.

The Salzburg gendarmerie has been re-established, under a commander who suffered disciplinary action in 1938 for his loyalty to Austria.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

The reduction in the number of American and Soviet troops on Czechoslovak territory referred to in last week's *Summary* has been taking place. The Russians are apparently stationed almost wholly in the frontier districts, apart from Slovakia. The American forces have been reduced to three divisions with the removal of a further two divisions; the large number of displaced persons in the American zone has made it impossible for the Americans to withdraw so far from towns like Plzeň. The State Department is willing to take up with Moscow the question of a simultaneous and complete withdrawal of occupying armies if it receives a suggestion to this effect from the Czechoslovak Government.

The American attitude to the minorities and frontier questions is very close to that of His Majesty's Government. The State Department has recommended the Prague Government to lay its plans for the transfer of the minorities before the Allied States represented on the Control Council for Germany and the Control Commission for Hungary, through the appropriate Czechoslovak co-ordinating missions. In reply to the Czechoslovak note on the Kladsko (Glatz) salient, the State Department said that it cannot agree with the Czechoslovak Government that the end of military operations in Europe is a desirable opportunity for making frontier changes. The United States recognises the 1937 frontiers of Germany, and a formal occupation of the Kladsko area would be regarded as a

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unilateral act in disregard of the agreements between the major allies. Nevertheless, provided the other members of the Council agreed, the United States does not object in principle to a temporary occupation, nor to local administrations entrusted to indigenous Polish or Czech officials.

From Belgrade it is learnt that the Governments of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia have reached an agreement concerning the division of their share of the Hungarian reparations payments. Of the 100 million dollars involved, the Czechoslovak Government has relinquished part of its half share previously agreed upon in recognition of the greater suffering endured by Yugoslavia, and is to receive now only 30 per cent. The arrival in Prague of Dr. Černej, the Yugoslav Minister, was the occasion for a ceremony at the Hradčaný on the 9th July. There was a very cordial exchange of greetings between the new Minister and the President, and an emphasis upon the bright prospects for economic and political co-operation between the two countries. "Apart from selling her own products to Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia intends to place her great ports, which must became Czechoslovakia's gate to the world, at the disposal of Czechoslovak industry."

Press and radio comment during the last few days in Prague has been preoccupied with the publishing of the Presidential Decree, of the 19th June concerning the punishment of war criminals and traitors, and the setting up of the necessary Extraordinary People's Courts. At an industrial conference in Prague on the 11th July, Minister Laušman announced officially that the Government intended to proceed with the nationalisation of key and heavy industries. In a press statement, Premier Fierlinger referred to the Government plans for the setting up of the Provisional National Assembly by way of delegation from the local, district and provincial National Committees. He said it was considered necessary that some of the National Committees, formed in the heat of battle, should be reconstructed to reflect local opinion more fully. He declared that it was necessary to solve the pressing economic and social questions of the day, before the Provisional Assembly would be able to issue writs for the election of the Constitutional National Assembly. A Press Bureau Broadcast on the same day, the 11th, quoted Fierlinger as saying that the Soviet Government had promised full help in carrying out the transfer of minorities. "Regular trains are now already leaving for the Soviet zone of occupation in Germany and towns like Litomerice, Ustí, not to speak of Brno, Jihlava and Znojmo are again Czech."

Bratislava Radio issued a statement on the 11th from the Slovak National Council accusing some members of the Church of reintroducing Hlinka's policy of reaction. The Archbishop of Nitra and other Church officials, it was claimed, were attempting to oppose the decision of State control of education, by obtaining signatures to a petition. This would not be tolerated.

Dr. Hajek, Professor of Forensic Medicine in Prague, addressing a conference of doctors on the 10th, produced evidence to show that the German propaganda story in April 1943, accusing the Russians of having massacred thousands of Polish officers, was a lie. He had been forced by the Germans to witness the "disgusting comedy" at Katin near Smolensk, and had assisted in the investigations when the place had been retaken by the Red Army. The victims could not have been buried for more than eighteen months according to this evidence, and had been shot, without exception, with German ammunition.

POLAND.

Further recognitions of the Polish Provisional Government include those of the Governments of Holland, Belgium, Luxemburg, Switzerland, Mexico and Finland. In addition to the earlier statement of President Raczkiewicz, reported in *Summary* No. 300, M. Raczynski, the Ambassador in London of the London Polish Government issued a dignified protest on the 6th July claiming that his Government was still the only legally valid Government of Poland, and enumerating the Alliances, Agreements and Declarations to which that Government was a party.

There are signs of the beginning of a return to more normal conditions in Poland. The Vistula is being reopened for passenger traffic from Warsaw to Torun. The Red Army has begun its withdrawal, and is to start handing over the main railways to the Polish administration on the 1st August. The Minister of Education has said he adheres to the principle of compulsory Religious Instruction in all state schools, according to Article 120 of the 1921 Constitution. A party of

foreign journalists has visited the Greater Upper Silesia area, including the correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*.

Three Polish submarines which had been interned in Sweden have been handed over to the Swedish Government with a view to eventual transfer.

Settlement of Poles in former German provinces continues and settlers have reached the Czech border in Oppeln Silesia, and the Oder estuary north of Stettin. The Warsaw Cabinet has approved a Bill for the alteration of provincial boundaries including the incorporation of considerable areas of German Pomerania and Brandenburg into the Polish Provinces of Gdansk (Danzig), Pomorze (Polish Pomerania) and Poznania. Other changes concern the Southern provinces and East Prussia.

Controversy is acute on the question of immediate return to Poland. In a recent speech in Italy General Anders warned members of the Polish forces of the possible consequences of return. A number of Poles in this country have appealed to all Poles to go back who can do so, notably Professor Kot in *Jutro Polski*, fifteen leading political figures (including M. Adam Romer) quoted in a Warsaw broadcast, and a group of four Polish generals in Great Britain, including Modelski, late Chief of Staff, and Boruta-Spiechowicz, late Corps Commander in Scotland. Public meetings in this country show majorities opposed to immediate return. Recent news from camps in Germany show large majorities in favour of going back at once. Many seemed to have been swayed by the return of MM. Mikolajczyk, Grabski and Stanczyk. They have now been joined by M. Eugeniusz Kwiatkowski who is credited with the responsibility for the construction of the port of Gdynia and is an ex-Cabinet Minister. The desire of Cardinal Hlond, the Polish Primate, to go back and resume his functions, important for ecclesiastical reasons, may, if realised, also have weight in all *émigré* circles. His Eminence was reported to have reached Turin by the 14th July on his way to Czechoslovakia where he hoped to arrange for the remainder of his journey.

Mr. R. M. A. Hankey took up his duties as Chargé d'Affaires in Warsaw on the 14th July. Mr. Victor Cavendish-Bentinck has been appointed British Ambassador. The date of his going to Warsaw has not been announced.

(For statement by Dr. Hayek of his impressions when shown the scene of the Katyn massacre by the Nazis see above under "Czechoslovakia.")

SOVIET UNION.

On the 11th July a decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. introduced the military ranks established for Red Army and Red Navy officers for the commanding personnel of organs of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs and the People's Commissariat for State Security. Junior officers are to continue to wear the existing uniforms and insignia, but N.K.V.D. generals and admirals will adopt the uniforms and insignia of the corresponding ranks of the Red Army and Red Navy. As a consequence of this decree the rank of Marshal of the Soviet Union has been conferred on M. Beriya, People's Commissar for Internal Affairs, and the rank of Colonel-General on M. Merkulov, Commissar of State Security, first rank.

Too much significance should not be attached to this decree. It brings the officers of the N.K.V.D. into line with Red Army and Navy officers, allows them to share the prestige now accorded to Soviet officers and perhaps to escape from some of the unpopularity attached to the N.K.V.D. In the early days of the war, when the loyalty of certain sections of the Red Army might be open to doubt, there may have been advantages in distinguishing the picked men of the N.K.V.D.; but if such a need ever existed it has long since vanished. On the other hand, with the cessation of hostilities, the N.K.V.D. may anticipate an attempt to curtail its powers; and this decree may be a defensive step aimed at consolidating its position by identifying its officers with the Red Army. One incidental consequence of the decree is that Marshal Beriya now outranks all his colleagues in the Politburo except Generalissimo Stalin and Marshal Voroshilov; in particular, he will take precedence over Colonel-General Zhdanov.

On the 12th July, in Berlin, Field-Marshal Montgomery decorated Marshal Zhukov with the G.C.B., Marshal Rokossovsky with the K.C.B., Generals Sokolovsky and Malinin with the K.B.E.

The reports of ill-treatment of Soviet citizens abroad have now been extended to include Palestine. *Tass* issued a statement on the 11th July claiming that

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Soviet citizens, mostly youths and children from Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, who had fled to Palestine in 1943 from German and Roumanian persecution, were being cruelly treated in their place of refuge. The numbers involved appear to be very small, as representatives of the Soviet military mission in Egypt, who had visited Palestine two months before, had registered only 200 children and a number of adults. The British military authorities were stated to have promised that all the persons registered should be put into a special camp with a view to early repatriation, but the *Tass* report alleged that after the departure of the Soviet mission "reactionary Jewish organisations" began conducting anti-Soviet propaganda among these Soviet citizens, urging them not to return to their motherland; in spite of this, however, their burning desire to return home was not quenched. The report went on to allege that actual physical persecution had been conducted by "dark elements," who were unceremoniously dismissing Soviet citizens from work, expelling them from their flats and even beating them up, the pretext apparently being that they were Soviet spies. A statement was quoted from a group of Soviet youths among these exiles who had written to the Anti-Fascist Youth Committee in Moscow maintaining that they had been brought to Palestine against their wish, and were being persecuted for their political views, most of them being Komsomols. The *Tass* report concluded by criticising "reactionary organs of the Jewish press, obviously inspired," which were adopting a hostile attitude towards the Soviet citizens who wished to return to the U.S.S.R., and were spreading anti-Soviet lies. The truth of these reports is difficult to assess; it is, however, a fact that Zionist organisations do habitually bring pressure to bear on European Jewish refugees in Palestine not to return to their home country, and that a campaign urging them to remain in Palestine is conducted in the local press.

On the 13th July *Krasnaya Zvezda* published a two-column article on the Arab League by M. Belinkov, the first to appear on the subject in the Soviet press. M. Belinkov discussed the history of the Arab question since the Great Powers opposed a united Arab State at the Paris Peace Conference. At that date the Arabs were chiefly concerned with eliminating foreign domination; all that they got was a number of Arab States with restricted sovereignty and no real independence. The dynastic, political, economic and religious divergences of these States hampered the movement for political unity. But now, he argued, the Arabs saw that complete sovereignty might be reached through Arab unity, though there were still difficulties in the way. The Arab League had not solved the conflict between the Levant States and France, and could not solve the problem of Palestine. It had not proved a vital force in the Arab world. The article drew no conclusions, but implied that the Arab League, based on the existing Arab States, was favoured by Great Britain, whilst American opinion was more reserved. It also hinted that the Arab League was powerless in face of the strategic interests of the Great Powers, and perhaps intended to imply that a more democratic and radical Arab movement was required.

A renewed campaign against the Vatican has been set on foot during the past week. The challenge was first issued, not in an official Soviet source, but in an Appeal to the whole Christian world issued by the National Council of the Armenian Church, convened at Echmiadzin for the election of a Catholicos Patriarch (see *Summary* No. 300). The appeal stated that the Christian Church was called upon to establish the ideal of fraternity, justice and freedom in the life of the whole of humanity; politically tendentious efforts of Christian Churches could only hinder the attainment of this aim. The Roman Catholic Church by involving itself in political matters and defending the German destructive force was laying itself open to this very condemnation of hampering the true Christian purpose. The Council accordingly solemnly condemned the position of the Vatican as "incompatible with the high aims of Christianity."

New Times in its third issue argued on familiar lines that the post-war plans of the Vatican were cast in "a spirit of black reaction." The current number of the *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate* carried two articles on the subject. The first by Metropolitan Benjamin, Exarch of the Moscow Patriarchate in North America, maintained that the Roman Catholic Church was fighting consciously and deliberately against the Soviet Union, and "trying to undermine one of the most powerful and most self-sacrificing members of the United Nations." A second article by the new Bishop of Volhynia and Rovno, Nikolai, dealt with the attempts of the Vatican to dominate the Orthodox Church in liberated Slav territories. His diocese in Western Ukraine was in fact the scene of a good deal of Uniate propaganda during the German occupation. A commentary by M. Mihailov, broadcast in English from Moscow (13th July),

expressed alarm at the growing Catholic press campaign in favour of giving the Pope a say at the Peace Conference. After making the point that the Vatican, by aiming at "restoring the disturbed balance of Europe," was attempting to return to a system which had made Fascist aggression possible, M. Mihailov remarked on the present gravitation of reactionaries of many different countries towards Rome—Franco Spain, the remnants of the Hapsburg dynasty, royalists in Italy, Schuschnigg, Weizsäcker, Brüning, and Prince Rupprecht. It is interesting that King Leopold was omitted from the list. Brüning, and other German Catholics in the United States, were further criticised in the form of quotations from a favourite Soviet source, the magazine *Protestant*, which stated that they were trying to direct Anglo-United States policy towards Germany into reactionary channels and to create a *cordon sanitaire* west of the Elbe.

The Dean of Canterbury has been awarded the Order of the Red Banner of Labour "for outstanding organisational work in the collection of funds for aiding the people of the Soviet Union."

See also under "Czechoslovakia," "Middle East" and "Far East."

SCANDINAVIA.

On the 13th and 14th July the Nordic Labour Movement's Co-operation Committee met in Stockholm. It was influentially attended. The Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Norway represented their country in the conference, and the proceedings opened with a speech by M. Hansson, the Swedish Premier. Three members of the Finnish Government, MM. Hiltunen, Vuori and Kilpi, attended, together with M. Fagerholm, the Speaker of the Diet, and M. Varjonen, secretary of the Social Democrat Party. Denmark was represented by her Prime Minister, M. Buhl. On the 15th July the conference issued a statement expressing the determination to continue and extend organised co-operation between the Northern peoples, especially in the cultural sphere. Uniformity of legislation, so far as possible, and extended economic collaboration were mentioned as desirable aims, and the conference resolved to consider as soon as possible the co-ordination of social laws and services, a common Nordic labour market, the extended exchange of students and mutual recognition of school certificates. In international matters there should be permanent contact between the northern nations, who should all take part in the work of the organisation founded at San Francisco.

Further steps towards the cultivation of Scandinavian solidarity which have been announced are a resumption of the periodic Nordic inter-parliamentary meetings, discontinued during the war, in Copenhagen on the 10th and 11th August, and a meeting of the Kings of Norway, Sweden and Denmark in the Danish capital in September on King Christian's birthday. The bishops of the Scandinavian countries are also to meet in Copenhagen, about the 20th August, in preparation for the Lutheran World Congress. On the other hand, *Göteborgs Handels Tidning* for the 7th July has criticised somewhat bitterly a Danish restriction of book imports, as a deliberate breach of the normal cultural relations which it considers bound to have an adverse affect on Nordic unity.

The settlement of the Swedish Metalworkers' strike (see last week's *Summary*) does not yet appear to be secure. On the 12th July a meeting of the club and group managements in the Metalworkers' Union challenged the agreement by a large majority, and resolved that the representatives who had negotiated for the workers had forfeited their confidence and should resign.

THE LOW COUNTRIES.

The Unity Trades Union has demanded that the claims of the Rotterdam dockers should be met by the 26th July, failing which a general strike would be called. According to M. L. van Os, one of the leading members of this Union, the aims of the Union include the improvement of the mental and spiritual as well as of the social conditions of the workers, and he has complained that the motives for the Rotterdam strike were almost universally misrepresented in the press. The Prime Minister announced on the wireless on the 13th July that the Government would not tolerate strikes which took advantage of the abnormal conditions in Holland to demand disproportionate wage increases, and that he was prepared to take measures to curtail the right to strike, since all disputes should be settled by negotiation in a time of national necessity. He also

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announced that agricultural labour would be mobilised for the harvest on a voluntary basis and appealed to the people to answer the call. In the meantime the Rotterdam dockers have worked day and night to create a record in the unloading of three coal ships.

Great interest is shown in the press in the formation of a "Netherlands Committee for the Extension of Territory" under the chairmanship of M. van den Broeck, former Minister of Finance and Industry. The object of this Committee is to co-ordinate the findings of all other such committees, and to study and collect data on the annexation of German territory. The only paper directly opposed to annexation is the Communist *De Waarheid* on the ground that a policy of annexation is contrary to democratic principles.

The Government has set up a kind of emergency Parliament of 50 members called a "National Advisory Committee," which will meet for the first time on the 20th July.

The Belgian crisis remains unsolved in spite of the Prime Minister's seven days' visit to Salzburg. Although at the beginning of the visit abdication was considered likely in view of the summoning of the Prince Regent and the Presidents of the Chamber and Senate to Salzburg, the meeting ended by the King refusing either to return or to abdicate. On the 17th July the Prime Minister accordingly presented a Bill to the Chamber of Representatives amending the Constitution so as to provide that the Regency might not be terminated without the express permission of Parliament. The Bill was passed by 98 votes to 6 with 32 abstentions mostly from the parties on the Right. The six Catholic members of the Government had resigned before the introduction of the Bill. At the moment of writing the Bill has yet to be discussed in the Senate.

When the Prime Minister was in Austria the Minister of National Defence, M. Mundeler, issued an order forbidding demonstrations or public assemblies of more than four persons, and the big public demonstration planned for Sunday the 15th July was also expressly forbidden. This decree was accepted with surprisingly little comment in the press and was followed up by a statement of approval by the Central Committee of Democratic Unity. It was generally felt to be a sensible measure in view of the believed imminence of the solution of the crisis, and also of the impending arrival of President Truman in Belgium.

It is probable that the decisions of Parliament will tide over the crisis, of which the Belgian people, with their eyes on world events, are beginning to show themselves heartily tired.

FRANCE.

In a broadcast on the 12th July in which he dealt with the Provisional Government's Constitutional proposals (see last *Summary*) General de Gaulle paid a tribute to the achievements of the Third Republic at home and abroad. While recognising the need for changes he considered that the country as a whole must say whether the institutions of the Third Republic were still valid. It was inadvisable, moreover, that the Constituent Assembly should become an omnipotent institution, unlimited in scope and duration.

This broadcast was sharply criticised, particularly on the Left, which argued that it made no reference to the alternative danger of a dictatorial Government; and the Bill as finally tabled for discussion by the Consultative Assembly was modified so as to provide for two parallel referendums (simultaneously with the general election on the 14th October) on the two questions: (1) Do you favour a single Constituent Assembly? (2) If so, do you favour the Provisional Government's Bill defining the Constituent Assembly's powers in relation to the executive? A negative reply to the first question means a vote in favour of the Constitution of 1875 and its two Chambers (the election to the Conseils Généraux have been arranged to take place on the 23rd and the 30th September and preparations will thus have been made for the election of a new Senate). But those who favour a single-chamber Constituent Assembly can by the new arrangement decide whether it is to have unlimited powers, or is, during the seven months of its existence, to confine itself largely to drawing up a new draft Constitution while its function in respect of the Provisional Government would have a mainly consultative character.

It was in an atmosphere of *détente*, therefore, that the 14th July was celebrated in Paris. As in recent years, the military parade of the morning was followed by a political demonstration, largely "Leftist" in character, in the afternoon. But, for the first time, the Place de la Bastille was the centre of the

official celebrations. General de Gaulle, accompanied by the Bey of Tunis (whose visit, like that of the Sultan of Morocco, has been made much of—see *Summary* No. 298), took the salute and later congratulated the British units on their appearance and expressed satisfaction at the fact that for the first time troops of other nations had joined in a 14th July review.

The afternoon procession was led by the Conseil National de la Résistance, and all Resistance organisations and Left parties were represented, the Communist Party being particularly conspicuous. Some banners demanded a sovereign Constituent Assembly, others the death sentence for Pétain; and in some cases costumes of the French Revolution were worn.

Among the most prominent demonstrators were the 2,200 delegates of the "Etats Généraux de la Renaissance Française." This body—whose first session (10th–14th July) had been arranged last December at the first Assembly of the Departmental Committees of Liberation (see *Summary* No. 272)—consists of delegates from each department, representing the organisation and parties which joined in last summer's liberation. At their meetings, under the chairmanship of M. Saillant, they had been vociferously demanding a "sovereign Constituent Assembly." That all Republican opinion did not favour this cause was, however, shown by M. Herriot's speech at the Lyons celebrations.

He supported General de Gaulle's attitude; defended the record of the Third Republic; and attacked the violent campaign against it and its institutions.

Among the many messages reported in connexion with the 14th July was one conveyed by the Lebanese Foreign Minister to the French Delegate-General to the Levant States, where French press and wireless messages report an improvement in the atmosphere (see under "Middle East"). But the exclusion of France from Potsdam is bitterly commented on by wireless spokesmen, who are suggesting that questions in the Levant, the Straits and Tangier are being settled there behind France's back. Moreover, it is added: "France's prestige in German eyes is part of her means of defence against the German Empire." Even commentators on foreign affairs of long experience like MM. Bernus and Mousset sadly shake their heads at the disregard of France's counsel and experience at a moment when decisions vitally affecting Europe's whole future are being taken.

In the meantime, MM. Tarbé de St. Hardouin and Jacques Rueff have been appointed legal and economic adviser respectively to the French occupation authorities in Germany; General Koenig, French Delegate to the Berlin Inter-Allied Commission; and General de Monsabert, Commander of the French troops in Germany. General de Lattre de Tassigny has been appointed to the post of Inspector-General of the Army.

The allegations contained in a book by M. Louis Rougier that an agreement had been concluded in 1940 between His Majesty's Government and the Vichy Government (see *Summary* No. 299) have been the subject of a Foreign Office statement which, according to *The Times*, has been received with satisfaction in French official circles. It is to be used in evidence by the prosecution at Pétain's trial, which is due to begin on the 23rd July.

SWITZERLAND.

The expulsion of National Socialists and Fascists continues. Among the latest batch of 448 to be deported were 90 members of the German Legation in Berne and 19 Italians.

From the 13th July, the funds of all persons expelled from Swiss territory have been frozen. Payments to such persons can be made only to the Swiss National Bank, and no property deals can be effected without the consent of the Swiss Clearing Office, while the transfer of such property abroad is absolutely prohibited. It was further decided, after discussions between the Swiss Government and the bankers, that all German holdings in Switzerland must be disclosed, together with the correct names of the owners. It was felt that this step, besides ascertaining whether high Nazi officials had large deposits in Swiss banks, would remove American fears that Swiss banks were hampering Allied efforts to track down German assets hidden in neutral countries. The Swiss Bankers' Association declares that, for a long time now, Swiss banks have exercised great restraint in accepting foreign capital, and that the figure mentioned abroad for German holdings in Swiss banks—16,000 million—is

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grossly exaggerated. One of the main problems associated with this measure is how the Swiss Government can meet Allied requests without violating the principle of secrecy which is regarded as vital to the Swiss banking system.

Another problem under discussion in the Federal Council arises out of the termination of active military service on the 20th August. As Swiss law allows the death penalty only in war-time, questions have arisen regarding traitors sentenced to death *in absentia* and not captured until after the 20th August. While opinion varies on the subject, many hold that, to ensure equality of treatment, the death sentences already passed should be carried out if the condemned persons are subsequently arrested.

The extension of Switzerland's diplomatic relations is forecast in Federal Council discussions on the advisability of opening Legations in Denmark, Norway, Canada, Australia, South Africa, China and certain South American States. Meanwhile, on the 13th July, the appointments were announced of M. René de Weck, former Minister in Roumania, as Swiss envoy in Rome; M. Henri Martin, Swiss envoy to Portugal; and Gérard Bauer, Commercial Attaché to the Swiss Legation in Paris. It is expected that in the near future Ministers will be appointed to Warsaw and Lisbon.

In other spheres, too, Swiss external relations are steadily returning to normal. A new trade agreement has just been concluded with Spain, from which a considerable increase in the exchange of goods is hoped for. Negotiations have also been carried out concerning the resumption of air communications between the two countries. This, however, depends on permission to fly over France. A visa and passport agreement has been signed with France, coming into force on the 15th July, providing a number of relaxations, but not, however, reaching pre-war conditions.

Imports for July showed a slight increase, though exports were lower. Rations for July were also increased, and a rather more optimistic view is taken of Switzerland's future food supply.

The Japanese Government has now replied to the Swiss protest about the killing of Swiss subjects in the Gilbert Islands and Manila. Japan has not yet explicitly admitted responsibility, on the ground that it is at present impossible to investigate the matter; but she has expressed regret and sympathy, and offered the sum of 1 million fr. for the victims' families. The Federal Council has decided to accept the proposed settlement as satisfactory.

SPAIN.

The canicular atmosphere of Madrid this July is heavily charged with rumours of impending political change. The old familiar stories of a Council of the Realm to be set up in a more liberal Spain purged of the Falange and fortified by "free" municipal elections have been re-told with insistency and specific detail. But chancellery and café gossip seem to have crystallised in a remarkable article in A.B.C. on the 11th July which declared that the time had come for Spain "to remove the camouflage made necessary by the war and now no longer required," and the authoritative sources of some of the current reports do suggest that something really is in the wind this time.

Through all the confused buzz of tittle-tattle, which lights now on Señor Benjumea, the ailing and conservative Minister of Finance, now on the equivocal trimming Lequerica, Minister for Foreign Affairs, finally to hover around Arrese, the dyed-in-the-wool Falangist Minister and Secretary of the Party, it seems that the plan of "de-falangización" previously prepared but not put into action (see *Summary* No. 289) is now taking shape. It apparently consists in shearing the Falange of all political power and replacing the Party Ministers by men who can be presented as Catholics, Conservatives and even Monarchists, but who are in fact "Franquistas" body and soul. Franco's sincerity is always suspect, but one preliminary test will be the position of Arrese. If, indeed, the key-office of Minister-Party Secretary be abolished and a non-Falangist be given the Ministry of Interior, which would then control the Civil Governors—who are also provincial delegates of the Falange—the Franco régime would be furnished with a façade at least of demi-respectability. Hitherto the Caudillo has shrunk from such a step. It was not that the Falange were particularly strong; the Army, who are the ultimate repository of power, have always been confident that in a show of force the result would not be in any doubt. But the Party has wielded the strength given by the menace of bloodshed; they countered hints of dissolution by threats of violence, and those threats, playing on fear, the most powerful

collective emotion in Spain to-day, have been believed. The country is in the grip of a spiritual apathy, an "accidie," which stultifies any real attempt at reform. In a land so rich in monuments of the nobility of man, where the measure of human worth has been so satisfyingly displayed, it is distressing to see the complete thrall of fear with the consequent upthrust of material values. Faced with this inharmonius picture of a Western European nation still under the press of the evil things which we went to war to destroy, one is forced to ask the question, "How much do the Spaniards really want freedom?" Seemingly the answer must be that they are held by a neurosis, a Franco fixation, which, so long as they enjoy physical safety and material prosperity, limits their desire to a mere wordy longing for liberty. This is the source of the internal strength of Franco, and of the paradox that the most rebelliously individualistic people in the world are to-day passively accepting a tyrannical tutelage of which no civilised State could be anything but ashamed. The régime is reinforced, too, by Franco's own conviction, which is coming to be shared by his disillusioned political opponents, that Great Britain and the United States, officially limiting themselves to the frigid courtesies of correct relations, have no intention whatever of taking steps to turn him out. The only cloud on the Caudillo's horizon is Russia, and even that he thinks is silver lined, for he seems to be fooling himself with the hope of being delivered by a war between the Soviet Union and the Western Allies.

Given this situation, Franco must think himself a most generous-minded man to consent to play through for our benefit the solemn farce of making Spain into an "organic democracy." He may dismiss Arrese and the Party Ministers —and they are reported to be prudently going through their files—and he has had his famous Bill of Rights passed by the Cortes. (But note that most of the essential liberties defined in the charter will need special legislation before becoming operative.) The next step will be the promulgation of a new municipal law—elections are due to be held in the autumn—and of a law establishing the freedom of the press. All to the accompaniment of the usual transcendental stultiloquence. After that we shall see what all the shouting amounts to. There is a Spanish proverb peculiarly apposite whenever Franco makes fair promises: *mucho ruido pocas nueces*—a few nuts in a tin make a deuce of a din.

ERRATUM.

See last week's *Summary*. Last line. For President Cormano *read* President Carmona.

ITALY.

Italy has been at war with Japan since the 15th July. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs issued a statement to the effect that diplomatic relations were broken off between Japan and the Italian Royal Government in September 1943, when the Japanese arrested the Italian diplomatic and consular personnel in Japan but maintained contact with Mussolini's Government. On the 22nd June, 1944, the Tripartite Pact between Italy, Germany and Japan was denounced at the first Council of Ministers held under the presidency of Signor Bonomi, and on the 18th January, 1945, the Council of Ministers denounced Fascist Far East policy and declared its recognition of the National Government of Chungking as the sole legitimate Government of China. It has been clear for some time that the Italian Government was only waiting for the right moment to declare war on Japan. Signor Prunas, the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, has explained that the Italian Government had decided to act just before the meeting of the Big Three in Potsdam in the hope of creating a good impression on public opinion, particularly in the United States and China, where it would be realised that Italy was sincerely desirous to share in the war effort of the United Nations. Signor Parri also expressed Italy's aspirations in his message to President Truman, where he said: "The fact that Italy's lining up with the United Nations coincides with the Potsdam meeting is for the whole nation a reason for faith and hope in that future justice of which you are the highest sponsor."

The Council of Ministers, at its meeting on the 11th July, agreed on the need for special guarantees for citizens speaking other languages than Italian, and promised that, in addition to the official recognition of other languages in relations with political administrative and legal authorities, the teaching of the mother-tongue would be guaranteed in schools in those areas where there are a considerable

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number of non-Italian-speaking citizens. The Val d'Aosta received special consideration, and the Council decided "to establish a special régime of local autonomy." Signor Parri explained to a meeting of foreign journalists on the 13th July that the Val d'Aosta problem was urgent, that the Government must repair the errors of the Fascist régime, and that it would not be regarded as a precedent for other claims to regional autonomy, which would have to be decided by the Constituent Assembly.

The economic situation in the north is causing serious anxiety both to the Italian Government and to Allied Military Government. Political interest has yielded with most people to absorption in acute economic problems, particularly in regard to the incompatability between wages and prices. Even if the proposed increase of 100 per cent. is made in workers' wages, these will only be eight times as high as 1939 wages, while the cost of living is fourteen times as much as it was. This incompatability, together with the growing menace of unemployment, causes an increasing feeling of uneasiness among all classes of the population. Organised but orderly demonstrations for higher wages have taken place, particularly in Milan. The situation of the industrialists is also very difficult, as they have on their pay-roll very large numbers of unemployed workers, *e.g.*, 60 per cent. of 429,000 workers in engineering, 70 per cent. of 376,000 textile workers. The Economic Commission of the National Committee of Liberation has pointed out to Allied Military Government that the difficulties of the economic situation are aggravated by the fact that in North Italy the economic structure is inter-regional, whereas Allied Military Government control is on a regional basis.

THE VATICAN.

The Vatican has still further explained its recent policy by publishing documents which deal with the German persecution of Catholics in the Warthegau, and Polish Catholic Workers in Germany, up to March 1943. Apart from the strong and detailed Vatican protests, the most interesting letter is Cardinal Bertram's reply to the Papal Secretary of State. It shows German bishops and priests risking concentration camps and charges of disloyalty to help Polish workers. Nothing could be done in face of the "Party Chancery," which controlled all Government and "did not hold itself bound by the Concordat." The documents, besides justifying papal policy against charges of weakness and reaction, prove the existence of a large body of men in Germany who had the courage to maintain Christian standards in face of the totalitarian State.

The Vatican has just announced that Cardinal Bertram died on the 13th July. Born in 1859, he had been Prince-Archbishop of Breslau since 1914, and was President of the Bishops' meetings at Fulda—a man of wide learning and deep piety, and fearless in the face of the Nazis.

For the latest attempts of Moscow to identify the Vatican and the Roman Catholic Church with Nazism, &c., see under "Soviet Union." The underlying reason for these attacks and the Church's answer could be seen in the Pope's speech to U.N.R.R.A.: "Has man certain God-given rights which the State is bound to protect? Or has the individual only what rights the all-powerful State finds it useful to confer?"

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

The Press continued to criticise sharply the treatment of the Hungarian minority in Czechoslovakia, making allegations of persecution. The Foreign Minister, in a statement on the 4th July on the exchange of population between Hungary and Czechoslovakia, said that Hungary would never propose such a measure except on the basis of international agreement, considering it to be contrary to the spirit of democracy and humanity. If the Slovaks living in Hungary wished to return to Slovakia, they were free to do so, but Hungary offered them full equality in political, economic and cultural life.

An agreement was concluded with Czechoslovakia whereby Hungary supplies petrol against Czechoslovak sugar in the proportions of 4 litres of petrol to 1 kilogram of sugar.

Hungary's relations with her other neighbours remained friendly: under an agreement reached between Hungarian and Roumanian Health Trade Unions,

Hungary will receive from Roumania pharmaceutical goods and condensed milk and hospitality for 50 children at the sea-side.

The Russian censorship of the Press was removed as from the 14th June and the responsibility passed to the Hungarian Foreign Minister. At a Press Conference he outlined the policy to be followed as (i) cultivation of friendship with the U.S.S.R.; (ii) cautious use of news material showing disagreement between the Big Three, and (iii) moderation in dealing with the delicate question of the Hungarian minority in Czechoslovakia.

American Independence Day was celebrated in Budapest with a meeting before the Washington monument attended by the whole Cabinet and the leaders of the political parties, at which a prominent part was played by members of the Allied Control Commission.

The Prime Minister, in an interview with the head of the British Political Mission in Budapest, stated that there were 100,000 soldiers of Szálasi's army held by the Russians in concentration camps in Hungary. They were not being released, but deported to the U.S.S.R.

Hungary is said to have demanded the extradition of two German generals; one was G.O.C. of German troops in Hungary from October 1944; the other was in command of German troops in the Budapest area, and responsible for the destruction of the Budapest bridges. The arrest was reported of a group of people involved in the preparation of a demonstration in favour of the imprisoned members of the Volksbund and Arrow Cross. Statistics published on the activities of the political police show that 22,000 people have been arrested, 9,700 interned and 5,400 placed under police supervision. 2,150 were transferred by the Political Police to the People's Court.

The Russians are gradually returning industry to Hungarian control; it was stated that after 1st July, only 12 factories would remain under Russian management, and all coal mines have been restored to Hungarian administration. The Minister of Industry made a statement on the progress of industrial reconstruction, with particular reference to industry's contribution to the payment of reparations to the U.S.S.R. The total value of plant to be dismantled amounts to 10 million dollars, and industrial products will account for a further 155 million dollars. Thus 80 per cent. of heavy industry will be producing for reparations and there will only be a small surplus for home consumption. The oil wells of Lispe were producing 80 per cent. of their pre-war output and 1 million tons of oil would be available for reparations in the next six months.

Under a recent decree, all fit men between 18 and 60 and women between 18 and 48 are liable for four days' compulsory labour on clearing away débris every month, but can be exempted on payment of a fine scaled in proportion to earnings. The Russian commentator, Fedorov, in an article on speculation and the black market in Hungary, urged that the law should be enforced to make it impossible for "black-market adventurers" to shirk public work, so that food and industrial products would return to the market and prices would fall.

Dr. A. Valentin was replaced as Minister of Justice by Dr. I. Ries, another Social-Democrat and former legal advisor to the Party. The Social-Democrat Party explained that this was caused by inconsistencies between Dr. Valentin's policy and its own.

The International Red Cross is to send thirty lorries with food and medical supplies to Hungary. In *Summary* No. 300, figures of the increased bread rations were given, and the population of Budapest has now been informed that its bread supply is assured for two months.

Roumania.

Negotiations continue for the working out of details of the Russian-Roumanian Oil Combine. So far it has been provisionally agreed—it does not amount to more than that—that two companies from each country will form the combine.

It is announced by the Bucharest Radio that a Soviet-Roumanian Transport Company is also in process of formation, which is to include all land and air transport enterprises.

It is also announced that a congress is to be convened in Bucharest to form a Balkan Trades Union Federation. Countries on the edge of the Balkans, such as Hungary and Czechoslovakia, are to be invited to take part.

The Roumanian Radio is strictly under Soviet control and announcements cannot be taken at their face value. But a mental glossary of technical terms is in process of formation amongst regular listeners, and with this help it is

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possible to read between the lines. It is learned that the gendarmerie is to be reorganised on a " democratic basis " similar to that of the recent reorganisation of the police. This police reorganisation was effected by taking over and enlarging the unofficial guards of the Communist Party, which escaped being disbanded when the other political party guards were disarmed. Just before it came to the turn of the Communists, the Soviet authorities discovered that to disarm this guard would be to " interfere with the internal affairs of Roumania," and therefore, of course, it could not be done. The gendarmerie is to be " a democratic institution working honestly in the service of the people." Some units, who have been " trained in the democratic spirit," have been despatched to Moldavia and Transylvania " to stop criminal and reactionary activities threatening the progress of the people." It is on precisely the same lines that the Iron Guard worked under the late king and during the Antonescu régime. Always in Roumania, plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose!

Yugoslavia.

The policy of Allied Military Government includes the restoration, in accordance with International Law, of the Italian civil tribunals of before the 8th September, 1943, with Slovene magistrates for Slovene areas, and a special court for the trial of Fascists, collaborators and war criminals. The Yugoslav clandestine organisation does its utmost to obstruct and discredit A.M.G. The news agency Tanyug has been operating, unlike other agencies and correspondents, without A.M.G.'s leave. It reported that the " Liberation Assembly of Trieste " sent to Field-Marshal Alexander a " demand " for the immediate release of their president, Dr. Pogassi, whose arrest they described as a provocation and as the climax of Allied insults. The Belgrade press has included an accusation from Opcine, near Trieste, that New Zealanders have stolen bicycles, food, wine and furniture and assaulted persons, completely without provocation.

For the press campaign about Greek Macedonia, sustained with masses of corroborative detail, see " Greece."

At the request of the Yugoslav Government, the only British naval officers in a Yugoslav port, those at Split, are being withdrawn. This will not facilitate the sailing of Allied merchant vessels to the port.

On the 28th June the Belgrade press printed a law for the dissolution of the courts in Serbia for the trial of offences against national honour. On the 5th July *Borba* said that these courts had been valuable in convicting of collaboration persons, such as industrialists, intellectuals, merchants and bankers, with whom the pre-1941 courts would have sympathised; but that now a return to normality and regular courts was possible. Similar provisions for Montenegro and Macedonia were announced two days later. As, however, the law in question merely transferred the functions of the courts of national honour to district courts, with newly appointed judges, the change seems to amount to little or nothing. A state of nervous tension was reported still to prevail in Belgrade in July.

On the 5th July there was a meeting at Belgrade of the " Liberation Fronts " of the six federated regions of Yugoslavia, to form an organisation for the central direction of policy. Pijade, in *Borba*, described the conference as " marking the beginning of a new political era for Yugoslavia," and wrote that " reaction " would be harmless " if isolated from the outside world." (Tito developed the latter point when, addressing the united Balkan Youth Congress (8th–15th July), he said: " There can be no peace in the Balkans if reaction is strong in the other European countries.") The " Liberation Front " is the name of the party at present all-powerful. A.V.N.O.J., the partisan assembly, is to meet on the 2nd August, accept numerous new laws and prepare for the election of the Constituent Assembly. What is being decided is whether, behind this façade of Assemblies, the Front is to represent, as now, the dictatorship of one party, or is to be a coalition of various parties, even if under Communist leadership. The distinction may appear unreal. The only third possibility appears to be an unequal civil war of unarmed insurgents against the armed authorities.

An U.N.R.R.A. ship has arrived at Trieste with 6,500 tons of wheat, 450 tons of flour and 40 tons of peas and beans. Welcoming the arrival, the Minister of Trade said that delivery at Trieste had been specially requested, as goods could now be transported thence to the larger cities. The problem of transport to the most devastated areas remains.

Greece.

The propaganda campaign conducted by Belgrade, Tirana and Moscow against the " monarcho-fascist terror " said to reign in Greece has continued

without intermission. The material on which it is based comes almost exclusively from the E.A.M./K.K.E. press. This campaign has at last provoked some response from the Greek Government. On the 11th July the Regent, in a widely reported interview given to the Athens *Vradyni*, spoke highly of the present Government, which he described as " composed of upright officers, university professors and high officials who do not and will not make politics," and cited the freedom of the Greek press (of which, as noted above, full advantage is taken by Greece's enemies) as evidence that accusations of " fascism " were unfounded.

The following afternoon, on his return from a flying visit to Salonica, where he conferred with the Governors-General of Macedonia and Thrace, M. Voulgaris broadcast a carefully worded speech to the nation. Except in references to the sufferings of northern Greece under Bulgarian occupation the tone of the speech was one of studied moderation. After emphasising the " inextinguishably " Greek character and sentiments of the population of Greek Macedonia, the Premier continued, " I discovered after enquiry and solemnly declare that in the frontier regions absolute quiet prevails. From the Greek side no reprehensible activity has been observed. Therefore any pretension to the contrary is, if not malevolent, surely based on malicious information and intentions." Though making it plain that Greece was aware of the hostility of her neighbours and prepared if necessary to defend herself, M. Voulgaris wisely refrained from any direct reference to Tito's 7th July speech (see *Summary* No. 301, " Yugoslavia "). Instead he made a cordial reference to the long-standing friendship between Greece and Yugoslavia and expressed the hope that it would be preserved. Athens radio enlarged on this theme the following day, with the comment that Voulgaris had put the question of Greek-Yugoslav relations in its proper perspective, ridding it of temporary misconceptions.

A less oblique reference to Yugoslav provocation was made by the Socialist Professor Svolos, himself a Macedonian, who declared that the only autonomists in Greek Macedonia were persons who feared punishment for collaborating with the Bulgars during the occupation: " The idea of an autonomous Macedonia is inadmissible—Macedonia is Greek, the Macedonians are Greeks. Though some may speak Slav languages, they nevertheless remain Greek: they fought excellently like Greeks."

Athens radio statement that the General Officer Commanding British Forces in Macedonia had assured M. Voulgaris that all allegations of incidents on the Yugoslav-Greek frontier were unfounded is unconfirmed from British sources. The situation in Western Macedonia is still unsatisfactory. There is considerable coming and going across the frontier in the Florina–Monastir area and armed bands continue active. A report from Greek Army Headquarters, Salonica, to the Athens General Staff estimates the number of ex-E.L.A.S. who have joined the Yugoslav forces as 13,000. Rigorous measures have recently been taken against armed organisations. By a new law published on the 9th July, which is to remain in force until the 31st December, 1945, leaders of armed bands are punishable with death, and other members with imprisonment. Death is also the penalty for armed resistance to authority. The old Greek banditry law has been reimposed, and all licensed firearms are to be surrendered by the 31st July.

Bulgaria.

The Communist Party's calculations have been unexpectedly upset by an act of defiance, which must have called for some courage, on the part of some prominent Agrarians of the more genuine, independent sort, headed by two members of the Government, M. Nikola Petkov and M. Asen Pavlov, by M. Asen Stambuliski (son of Bulgaria's national leader who was assassinated in 1923) and by the chief organiser of the Agrarian Union, M. Georgi Yordanov. These gentlemen have sent a circular letter to all chairmen of local Agrarian associations throughout the country, in which they candidly set forth their grievances against the Communists. They complain of persistent interference with their lawful party concerns, high-handed and unwarrantable treatment of loyal party members, and systematic suppression or distortion of their views. They say the consequent loss of many honest Agrarians to the Patriotic Front is to be deplored, and go on to demand really democratic elections, with each party free to nominate its own canidates without any interference from outside. If this condition is not met, the Agrarian Union will have no alternative but to present independent candidates of its own; and local chairmen are asked to explain the situation fully to all members of the party in their districts. It is difficult to predict future developments, but information of this kind travels quickly in Bulgaria,

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and it will by now be clear to all members of the Union, which claims a million or more adherents, that the newly-intruded party secretary, Obbov, has overplayed his hand.

It has recently become known that the Bulgarians are broadening the railway-line running south from Sofia along the Struma valley to Kula on the Greek frontier. The work is being organised by a new State Railways director named Sakelarov, who, like numerous other Bulgarian Communists, fled to Russia in 1924–25 and has lived there until quite recently as a Soviet citizen. At a recent press conference Sakelarov stated that intense efforts were being put into the work and that it was hoped to finish it by the end of August. The implication was that the Army's needs required it. While it seems to be the case that in spite of paragraph I (*d*) of the Armistice the Bulgarian Army is being maintained and even increased instead of being demobilised, the fact remains that there is obviously no military justification for this activity. Indeed, the railway material expended should surely have been delivered by Bulgaria to Greece in part settlement of her well-justified reparation claims.

In the course of the last two or three weeks a fairly considerable number of Russian troops have been moving through Sofia by night, and a strict "curfew" has been in force. When this was made an excuse to restrict still further the movements of the British Military Mission—whose position, along with that of their United States colleagues, has from the first been one of great delicacy—General Oxley lodged a strong protest with General Biryusov. Since then both the British and the American Military Missions have been notified by the Soviet authorities on the Control Commission that not only are they to enjoy the right to move freely about Bulgaria but in future they will be called into consultation by the Chairman of the Control Commission at least once every ten days. While our representatives naturally welcome any sign of greater cordiality or readiness to co-operate, it is not the first time that similar assurances have been received.

Turkey.

Turkey has intimated that she is unable to accept the proposals put forward by the Soviet Government—as a prerequisite to the conclusion of a new Treaty of Friendship and perhaps of alliance with her. The Turkish Government is therefore marking time, while the discussion is carried to a higher level at Potsdam. Meantime M. Saracoglu has made a pronouncement on the situation at a private meeting of the Parliamentary Group of the Republican People's Party. The Government's policy was unanimously approved.

The press agreed in declaring that Turkey refused even to discuss any changes in her frontiers and rejected any suggestions of bilateral talks on the subject of the Straits. Russia was accused of seeking to dominate her neighbours —not with the object of ensuring her own security, but of preparing bases for further imperialist expansion. It was stated in Angora that Russian troops were concentrating in Bulgaria and that preparations were being made for joint Russian-Bulgarian military manœuvres in the neighbourhood of the Turkish frontier.

The identical Declaration of the 10th August, 1941—whereby Britain and Russia confirmed their fidelity to the Montreux Convention, disclaimed any aggressive intentions with regard to the Straits, and undertook to observe the territorial integrity of Turkey—was promiently featured in the press.

A Bill to assist the Government in carrying out the provisions of the new Land Reform law has been laid before the Assembly. Land Commissions, consisting of a president and two members appointed by the Ministry of Agriculture, will be set up in each Vilayet; and itinerant judges will be appointed whose duty it will be to settle legal disputes on the spot. It is estimated that the reforms will take twenty years to carry out.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

On the 9th July, the day following that on which the French issued their declaration on the transfer of the *Troupes Spéciales* (see *Summary* No. 301), the Lebanese and Syrian Governments published a joint communiqué on the subject, framed in correct but rather frigid terms. After stating that they "have taken cognisance of the declaration" and noted its contents, the two Governments "announce the satisfaction which they feel at taking over their troops. The two Governments have each decided to appoint a technical

commission for the taking over of these troops." The wording of the communiqué as published differs considerably from that of the original draft, which was much longer and contained objectionable passages inserted by the Syrian Government but finally omitted on our representations.

Without consulting His Majesty's Legation, the Lebanese Government, on its own, published a second communiqué, containing a declaration by the Minister for Foreign Affairs to the following effect: "The Lebanese Government has received with satisfaction the announcement made by the Provisional Government of the French Republic for the transfer to the Lebanese and Syrian Governments respectively of locally recruited troops. Regarding the services which are due to be restored to us, I hope that their transfer will neither be delayed nor occasion any difficulty. As regards the withdrawal of foreign troops, this will form the subject of a simultaneous arrangement between the interested parties." According to the Syrian authorities, the Lebanese Minister for Foreign Affairs tried to persuade them to insert a reference in the joint communiqué to the withdrawal of foreign troops, but the Syrian authorities refused to agree on the grounds that this would imply the withdrawal of British as well as French forces. The Syrians did not regard the presence of British forces, which they welcomed, as constituting a danger to their independence.

During the early part of July the Levant nationalist press continued to urge the withdrawal of all French troops. Press comment on the French declaration of the 8th July and the States' joint declaration of the 9th July suggests that France has only handed over something that rightfully belongs to the States, and that if the transfer had been made earlier, the disturbances with their serious loss of life and the consequent atmosphere of extreme tension might have been avoided. The Damascus press in particular emphasises that this latest move does not imply the resumption of negotiations with the French, and that Syria will continue to press for the complete withdrawal of all French troops from her soil.

The first meeting between the French and the States' authorities to discuss the details of the transfer took place on the 12th July. At this meeting the only point of difference that arose concerned the so-called "Avenantaires" *i.e.*, those Syrian or Lebanese nationals engaged on regular French terms of service, for whose transfer the French representatives said they had no authority. They would, however, give a further reply at the next meeting. Three commissions were appointed to deal respectively with barracks, personnel and services.

(See also under "France.")

The recent announcement in Egypt that the Royal Palaces in Cairo and Alexandria are again to be opened to the public during the month of Ramadan—an indication that King Farouk is still anxious to court the masses—will no doubt be accepted without demur by the present Egyptian Government, though the Wafd may well take up the challenge.

The trial of Mahmoud Issawi, for the assassination of Ahmad Maher Pasha, has been resumed in the Supreme Court of Martial Law, and the Public Prosecutor has demanded the death sentence. According to the Egyptian press the accused stated that the murder was committed because the declaration of war by Egypt had been made at Great Britain's request. It is said that the Prime Minister and other prominent Egyptians, including Nahas and Ali Maher, are to be called as witnesses for the defence.

According to the Egyptian Prime Minister the report on the alleged misdemeanours of Nahas Pasha is still before a Parliamentary Committee, but will come sooner or later before the Chamber of Deputies. While deprecating any "victimisation" of Nahas and his colleagues, Nokrashi Pasha recently told His Majesty's Ambassador that prosecution was not the same as persecution, and seemed to indicate that he was not unwilling to have Nahas prosecuted if the Chamber so decided. On the other hand, an independent Deputy—himself a bitter opponent of Nahas—has expressed the view that the majority of his colleagues in the Chamber are now opposed to Nahas being tried, since the charges against him do not, in fact, constitute offences punishable under the penal code, and are in any case largely unsupported by proof.

There are indications that the Soviet authorities are endeavouring to obtain mastery over Persia, or, at any rate, that part of it in which they are mainly interested, before the time of military evacuation arrives. On the 9th July *Pravda* published a violent article entitled "Reactionary elements increasing their activity in Persia," attributing the repeated Government crises in Persia that have occurred of late to "the activity of the reactionary and pro-Fascist

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elements headed by the notorious adventurer, Seyyid Zia ud Din." No changes for the better had been made since the abdication of the late Shah; peasants remained landless; workers were exploited; no educational or electoral reforms had been introduced. But hope lay in the "democratic movement of Left-wing parties headed by the Tudeh Party." This article seems to have been evoked by a recent speech of Seyyid Zia, accusing the Tudeh Party of seeking to overthrow the independence of Persia. It now looks as if the efforts of the Tudeh Party to foment industrial unrest may be backed by a Russian trades union delegation which recently arrived in Tehran, and which, after visiting Isfahan, may tour other places and make trouble for the Persian Government.

There seems to be no doubt that in parts of Northern Kurdistan, to which the Russians will not allow Persian troops to be sent, the Kurdish independence movement is being encouraged, and that emissaries of the Tudeh Party are stirring up trouble in the north and north-west, where they show complete independence of official control. The Russians, moreover, are using Radio Tehran for political propaganda. This has driven the Persian authorities to cut off a recent Soviet broadcast in Persian and to suspend completely all foreign broadcasts, including those to the Indian troops stationed in Persia. This order, though it means a loss to us, also means that the Russians can no longer attack the Persian Government on its own radio or indulge in objectionable wireless propaganda. We ourselves gave up broadcasting from Radio Tehran in Persian in March of this year.

On the 10th July several grenades are said to have been thrown at the house of Dr. Keshavarz, a leading Tudeh Deputy. Since, however, only one grenade exploded, and since all the inhabitants of Tehran (except perhaps the Tudeh Party) want the Russians to leave Persia as soon as possible and are therefore anxious not to give them any pretext for remaining, it is difficult to believe that the grenades were thrown by an opponent of Dr. Keshavarz. It may well be that it was a put-up job on the part of the Tudeh Party itself to prove to the world how real are the dangers depicted by *Pravda* on the previous day.

(See also under "Soviet Union.")

THE FAR EAST.

The Japanese press is full of descriptions of the reception awaiting the Allies when they invade Japan. These accounts suggest an anxiety to bolster up civilian morale; there is a great deal of talk about the "indomitable fighting spirit" of the Japanese. "We are able to fight an overwhelming enemy without the least fear," said one broadcaster, "because we think we are fighting a righteous war. It is quite impossible for the Americans to understand the mental attitude of our heroes—that when they commit *hara kiri* they die heroically—in other words because they find calm and resignation and not because of despair and helplessness. . . . The enemy may have taken some prisoners. We recognise that a few Japanese have not the true Japanese mental attitude or Japanese spirit."

The *Nippon Times* writes: "Should the enemy land on the mainland, we shall have numerical superiority. In Europe the United States used 18 tons of shipping for each soldier, but for the Japanese landing she will need 54 tons of shipping for each soldier. Even supposing 18 tons should be sufficient, the navy will need 18 million tons of shipping to transport one million men in their landing operation, and she has only 5 million tons of shipping available for this campaign. But whether or not the enemy land this number, we can meet them with several times as many. We have accumulated enough aircraft in preparation for this decisive battle. Our aircraft factories have already hidden themselves underground. Our topography, with its numberless paddyfields and mountains, will prevent the enemy using mechanised forces to any great extent. We have absolute conviction in ultimate victory."

Nomura, formerly Japanese Ambassador to the United States, was reported by *Domei* as saying that the "initial brilliant successes achieved by the Japanese were nothing but the foundation for the process of bleeding the enemy in future operations." The enemy was at present "riding on the crest of his power," but there was "no short cut to victory." If the demand for surrender was persisted in, "there is no other recourse but to make the enemy take useless blood-letting . . . and he will be terror-stricken when he suffers several millions of bloody casualties." The *Mainichi Shimbun* believed that the American losses on Okinawa had completely upset the American time-table, but cautiously adds: "We have tended to dismiss the loss of these strategic islands with superficial

optimism." The rest of the article emphasised the necessity of turning Japan into an "iron fortress" and stressed the American desire for a quick victory for fear of heavy casualties. A naval spokesman has stated that the invasion will be very different from that of Okinawa; "everything that Japan lacked in Okinawa will be available to her on the Japanese mainland," where "an armed force of millions of soldiers, in addition to 40 million civilians mobilised as Civil Defence, stand ready to anticipate an invasion." If necessary, women and children would help. Air bombardment, he maintained, had not affected Japanese war potentiality to any marked degree and had only added to the determination of civilians to repel all invaders.

Some speculation has appeared both in the Chinese and Japanese Press on the possibility of the Japanese withdrawing their forces in China. The *New China Daily* has reported that the Japanese Policy is (1) to "scorch" South China, (2) to fight hard in Central China, (3) to wage a life-and-death struggle in defence of North China. The Japanese were said to have selected the Shanghai zone as battlefield on which to meet Allied landings and to have taken emergency defence measures on the 700 miles of coastline between Haichow and Ningpo. The *Tairiku Shimpo*, an organ of the Japanese army in China, has produced an editorial in which it says: "Japan will never withdraw her troops from China unless the East Asia war ends. Of late press circles in Central China seem to have abandoned their attitude of reticence and have frequently commented on this question, which they usually dare not talk about. . . . . Some commentators have advocated that Japan should withdraw her troops from Java, Borneo and Sumatra to Malaya and then from Malaya and Burma to South China, and then from South China to Central China and North China and possibly to Manchuria. Such views are unrealistic and beneath contradiction."

A wide hostile publicity has been given in the Soviet Press to a statement by General Ho Ying-chin, in which he is quoted as saying in an interview at Kunming on the 27th June that the Chinese could not evict the Japanese from their country until the Americans landed in China, and that, even then, it would take a long time, as the Japanese, even without communications by sea, could continue the war in China from their resources in Manchuria. There does not appear to be anything particularly reprehensible in this statement, even though it may be used by the Japanese for purposes of self-reassurance; it is a fair estimate of the situation. But the Communists, who regard Ho as their most formidable enemy, have long represented him as secretly pro-Japanese and have busily promoted the idea that nothing but anti-Communist and pro-Japanese intrigues in Chungking stand in the way of an overwhelming Chinese offensive.

There is a growing concern in Chungking at the penetration of Communist forces into territories occupied by Japanese or Nanking troops, and a tendency to suggest that the Japanese are conniving at their moves. While this suggestion may be part of the Kuomintang anti-Communist propaganda, there is no doubt that Japanese interests would be served by any action calculated to increase the antagonism that already exists between Chungking and Yenan, and any increase of Communist strength south of the Yellow River cannot fail to aggravate the tension.

In Chungking the People's Political Council has held continuous sessions, at which various ministers have reported and have been questioned. At the second meeting held on the 8th July 170 members were present. The resolutions of the first meeting were read and were followed by a speech of the Director of the War Production Board on the position of Lease-Lend materials and the problems of supply. On the 10th July Dr. Chu Chia-hua, the Minister of Education, gave a report on the year's progress of his department. He admitted the responsibility for the inadequacy of the equipment in many institutes because of the difficulty of replacement owing to the war, and said that the state of undernourishment of some of the students was giving him some anxiety, but that the shortage of teachers in the middle and primary schools was the most pressing problem confronting the Ministry. The Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs followed with the statement that the abrogation of the "unequal treaties" between China and other foreign Powers was nearing its final stage. Switzerland and Portugal had previously agreed that in the event of the abolition of "unequal" treaties with other Powers their treaties with the Chinese Government should also lapse. The Chinese Government were therefore intending to make formal notification to this effect to the Governments of these two countries. At the meeting on the 13th July General Chen Cheng, the War Minister, was closely questioned by

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several representatives of the Assembly on measures for improving the treatment of officers and men in the army and on the methods of recruiting students. Mr. Ku, Minister for Social Affairs, spoke on problems of demobilisation. Little of interest is revealed by the published reports of the proceedings of the Council but unofficial information indicates that the members of the Council are not entirely satisfied with the attitude of the Government towards them. The member selected to reply to Chiang Kai-shek's opening speech apparently made some allusion to the political situation which was unpalatable in high quarters, as he was not elected, as had been intended, to the Praesidium of the Council. The absence of Soong and of news of his doings in Moscow has robbed the meetings of some of their interest; the Council seems to have expected him to be more forthcoming than his ministerial colleagues dare to be. But he may yet attend the latter meetings of the session, as he had left Moscow to return to Chungking by the 14th July.

A joint Soviet-Chinese communiqué issued on the 14th July said that the conversations in which both Stalin and Molotov had participated on the Soviet side, and which had had as their aim the "improvement of Soviet-Chinese relations," had been "interrupted" owing to the departure of Stalin and Molotov to the Potsdam conference. "Questions of the highest importance and interest to the two countries" were said to have been examined and a "wide mutual understanding" revealed. Conversations would be continued in the near future. Nothing was said, however, about any formal agreement having been reached.

Dr. Kung has arrived in Chungking, but has made no public announcement. There is no question but that his return has been unsettling, but at present there is no evidence that he has begun to intrigue against Soong in his absence at Moscow.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

This week there is an atmosphere of hushed expectancy. It is clearly recognised that many problems which have been debated for weeks and months now await decision at the Big Three meeting. The outcome of the meeting is awaited with optimism.

President Truman, accompanied by Mr. Byrnes, has arrived at Potsdam. The American Press and radio continue to emphasise the vital significance of this conference. Among the many subjects to be discussed, the control and future of Germany is generally singled out as the most immediate and pressing. It is emphasised that the lack of coal, food and the means of distribution may result in utter chaos in Europe, unless the Big Three can work out an adequate programme of relief and reconstruction. There is some uneasiness lest the zonal occupation may lead to friction between the major allies, though the solution of the recent Berlin episode has caused the press to contrast Russia's "realistic" and "planned" approach with the "timidity and unpreparedness of the Anglo-Americans." There appears to be no disposition on the part of the press to blame Russia. On the contrary, the press recalls Russia's "demonstrated willingness" to co-operate at San Francisco, and it is generally hoped that President Truman's "innate shrewdness" will enable him to reconcile divergent policies and allow him to continue the rôle which President Roosevelt is thought to have played with such success, that of middleman between the "old energy represented by Britain and the new energy represented by Russia."

There is a growing recognition that the food situation in Germany and in liberated Europe as a whole is becoming desperate. While Mr. Clinton Anderson, the new Secretary of Agriculture, has stated that the United States must do all it can to help, he has added his voice to those raised in Congress which point out that it cannot and should not try to feed and clothe the world.

Although the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee voted 20 to 0 last Friday to accept the United Nations Charter without amendments or reservations, one or two members of the committee who were absent have subsequently announced their dissent. The aged Senator Hiram Johnson (Republican, California), who was one of the leaders in the fight against the League of Nations and the Treaty of Versailles, continues to oppose United States participation in international agreements. Of the other two absentees, Senator J. E. Murray (Democrat, Montana) recorded a favourable vote by telegram while Senator Shipstead (Republican, Minnesota) still has not revealed his position. Meanwhile, however, the Foreign Relations Committee chairman, Senator Connally, has estimated that not more than six votes will be cast against the ratification when the Senate votes on this in a week or so's time.

The Charter has given way for the moment to consideration of the Bretton Woods Agreement. Senator Barkley (Democrat, Kentucky), majority leader of the Senate, has disclosed that he hopes the Bill will be disposed of this week in order to "clear the track" for consideration of the United Nations Charter. There are several irreconcilables in this field—all Republicans—notably Senator Taft (Ohio), who maintains that the International Monetary Fund and Bank would not solve the economic problems of the world but "merely waste our money and accomplish nothing." These are urging postponement of this Bill and the convening of another international conference. They also advocate the provision of American credits to Great Britain and other nations—credits which, they say, may never be repaid. Several newspapers have pointed out that the opposition to Bretton Woods is an attempt to sabotage the United Nations Organisation by withholding United States participation in international economic co-operation. However, it is expected that the Bill, despite this opposition, will be passed while the President is in Germany, and thus strengthen President Truman's bargaining position. Mr. Robert Wagner (Democrat, New York), chairman of the Senate Banking Committee, has issued an appeal for the speedy passage of the Bretton Woods monetary plan. "This Bill offers," as he said, "the opportunity to initiate constructive steps to outlaw competitive currency devaluation and other economic warfare devices; and to substitute co-operation for unilateral action in dealing with international problems."

The nomination of Mr. Frederick M. Vinson to be Secretary of the Treasury in succession to Mr. Morgenthau was sent by radio to the Senate, which has already unanimously confirmed it. Originally, Mr. Morgenthau agreed to serve at the Treasury until after the President's return from the Berlin Conference. However, he had later telegraphed to the President stating that there were so many Treasury problems calling for prompt decision that he felt that Mr. Vinson would be placed at a disadvantage unless he took over immediately. The President, after consideration, agreed with this view, and expressed his appreciation of the "fine spirit and great sense of public responsibility" in which Mr. Morgenthau approached the matter. Mr. John W. Snyder has been nominated to succeed Mr. Vinson as Administrator of the Office of War Mobilisation and Reconversion. It is only a few weeks since Mr. Snyder succeeded Mr. Vinson as Federal Loan Administrator.

Mr. Artemus L. Gates, who since 1941 has been Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Air, has been sworn in as Under-Secretary of the Navy. He succeeds Mr. Ralph A. Bard. Mr. Gates is a former director of the Pan-American Airways Corporation, and he has been responsible for the supervision of the building of the Navy's Air Arm to its present striking-power in the war against Japan.

Recently in the Senate there was a debate on the Fair Employment Practices Committee (F.E.P.C.). This produced the traditional filibuster and the proposal to convert this committee into a permanent body provoked particularly bitter speeches. In particular, Senator Eastland, of Mississippi, made some very disparaging remarks about the negroes, which have been taken as showing that the traditional southern sentiment on this topic has not greatly changed. Congress has opposed the creation of a permanent agency, but has passed compromise legislation to continue the F.E.P.C. for another year.

The release of the British Empire casualty figures has been given wide publicity in the United States. Many commentators stressed the high share borne by the United Kingdom. On the radio, in particular, there have been tributes to the British. One spokesman exclaimed: "We want to say Bravo to the people of Britain. We know they have suffered in a way we have been spared, but we would not be spared if there were another war." Another radio commentator pointed out that "in the last dramatic sweep of the American armies across Germany we may have lost sight of the fact that the British have done most of the dying . . . . for a long time the British, alone and single-handed, held off the foe. They made it possible for us to win."

LATIN AMERICA.

Despite the somewhat soothing remarks of General Farrell last week, the atmosphere of make-believe which persists in Argentina has been heightened by a melodramatic statement from Colonel Perón and a no less theatrical performance by Trade Union leaders in his honour. Both of these seemed designed to give the impression (which the President has denied) that Argentina is on the verge of civil war and so apparently to intimidate opponents of the régime. Thus in

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interviewing a Cuban journalist, the Vice-President is reported as saying that he hoped that there would be bloodshed, and that the working classes would murder the Argentine newspaper-owners. This may be taken to show just how galling the present comparative freedom of the Argentine Press is to Colonel Perón. The Cuban Ambassador, who was present at the interview, has said that the Vice-President's remarks were in fact even more violent than the report appearing in Chilean papers has suggested. The interview was not published in Argentina, and presumably Colonel Perón was content to leave it to rumour to have the desired blood-curdling effect. Meanwhile, an ovation for Colonel Perón, lasting over two hours and widely broadcast, was prepared by the Railway Workers and other Unions. One orator, the President of the Railway Unions, strongly attacked Argentine capitalists who were trying to rob the workers and keep them down, and said that the people wanted a return to constitutional morality, but not the constitutional methods by which reactionary capitalists seized power and used the machinery of Government against the working-classes, "as was done before." Another speaker added that the working-classes would fight the "reactionary offensive" of "elements which the workers regard as disturbers of social peace and public order." A third speech was to the effect that both the constitutionalists and "certain great newspapers" had been conspicuous by their absence when the rights of the Unions needed defending from the Ramírez Government. Colonel Perón, duly acclaimed, was no less bellicose, and stated: "We are all pledged to fight for truth, right and justice: some may fall in the struggle, but others will go on." He himself, it would seem, is struggling vigorously to be among the others.

Sr. Padilla, the Mexican Foreign Minister, has resigned, and his place has been taken by his capable Under-Secretary, Sr. Manuel Tello, a career diplomat. It has been reported that the ex-Foreign Minister would run for the presidency in 1946, but according to broadcast reports, he himself has stated that he has not this intention. On present form it would appear that his position is much less favourable than that of his rivals, such as the Minister of the Interior, Sr. Alemán.

The Venezuelan Cabinet has resigned, and it has been stated that the reason is to give President Medina a free hand in facing elections, also due next year.

The Brazilian cruiser *Bahia* blew up at sea early in July, with some loss of life. The First Lord of the Admiralty has sent a message of condolence. Meanwhile, a German submarine, U 530, surrendered to the Argentine naval base of Mar del Plata on the 10th July.

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REPEAT
REPETER

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 303

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
25TH JULY, 1945.

Copy № 141

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

MORE than usual vitality has been shown during the past week by German political groups in Berlin and the Russian zone generally, and the tempo of their activities has obviously been quickened to coincide with the meetings of the Big Three at Potsdam. The determination of the German political parties to "regain the confidence of all other nations and establish relations with them on the basis of mutual respect" was emphasised by the Chairman of the German Communist Party, Wilhelm Pieck, in a statement on the aims of the new "united front" of the four German parties which he published in the *Deutsche Volkszeitung* of the 17th July and which the Berlin radio broadcast two days later. The "hope that the occupying Powers will show understanding for the immeasurable plight and distress of the German people and that they will render material aid to restart Germany's economic life" was expressed in a new version of last month's manifesto of the Christian Democratic Union which was rebroadcast by the Berlin radio in its "Forum of Democracy" programme on both the 18th and the 21st July. The necessity of repentance for the crimes of the Nazis and of reparation for the damage inflicted on other nations was likewise generally emphasised. Pieck repeatedly referred to reparations as the prerequisite of reconstruction in his statement of the 17th July, while the Christian Democratic Union manifesto insisted that the "loyal fulfilment of our obligations resulting from the lost war" was the only possible basis for co-operation between Germany and the rest of the world.

On questions of internal reorganisation, the four German political parties constituting the "united front" in the Russian zone continue to speak with striking unanimity. In its manifesto, the Christian Democratic Union called for "State control of the mines and other monopolies" and the use of the large

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estates to "provide the greatest possible number of Germans with land of their own and independent work." It added, however, that it "affirmed the right of private property" and stood for "the maintenance of a free peasantry." Identical principles are professed by the Communists and by the Social Democrats, who would seem to remain the most radical group within the new coalition. As far as may be judged from their public pronouncements, the Liberal-Democrats and the Christian Democratic Union are as enthusiastic for the "united front" as the Communists and Social Democrats, and Andreas Hermes, the former Centre Party Minister of Finance who holds the official position of head of the Berlin Food Department and who is rapidly emerging as the main spokesman of the non-Socialist parties, is at present in the public eye as much as Pieck, the Chairman of the Communist Party, who has played a leading rôle among the German *émigrés* in Moscow since 1933. (The two men were, of course, the most uncompromising of opponents under the Weimar Republic.) In the Berlin radio programmes to commemorate the first anniversary of the abortive *Putsch* against Hitler of the 20th July, 1944, Hermes was honoured as an active participant in that event. The *Putsch* of the 20th July was interpreted as the real beginning of the "united front" in Germany, when men of all political creeds combined to rid the country of Nazism.

The administrative division of the German capital between the three major Powers has brought the broadcasting station of the Berlin radio which, in contrast to the ban on political activity enforced by British and American Military Government, serves as the principal mouthpiece of German political agitation over the Russian zone, within the area of Berlin under British control, although it continues to be governed by its original Russian sponsors. The station itself studiously avoids, wherever possible, all reference to the division of Berlin into zones and even to the presence of the Western Allies in the city. One of the first official accounts of conditions in the British zone of Berlin describes how, as a result of the almost total destruction of the city centre, the suburbs are tending to think in terms of an independent existence and to take on the character of provincial towns. Factories are not working, and in many cases, as, for example, at the Siemens works, all the machinery has already been removed by the Russians. The decision of Military Government on the 19th July to remove a number of propaganda billboards erected by the Russians has been sharply criticised by Allied press correspondents. Yet, after the indiscriminate looting in which some Russian soldiers have indulged, the native population is not stated to have been seriously impressed by the assurances given by the Red Army on some of these billboards.

The sudden increase in black market activities, particularly as between the German population and Allied troops, has in the past few days constituted a problem that has occasionally demanded the combined intervention of Military Government and the German police, and even of the German religious bodies. Allied press correspondents have been struck by the extent to which, after the relaxation of the non-fraternisation ban, a system of open barter has sprung up between British and American soldiers and the inhabitants of Berlin, with the Germans making fantastic offers of cameras and jewellery for cigarettes, chocolate, soap and food from the troops. On the 20th July it was stated that this system of surreptitious trading had reached such proportions that the British, American and Russian military authorities had agreed to take joint action to suppress it, and that the resources of the Berlin civil police would be combined with those of the Allied military police to the same end. In a pastoral letter which he had originally circulated in Bavaria on Ascension Day and which the Vatican rebroadcast to Germany on the 19th July, Cardinal Faulhaber condemned black-market trading in food-stuffs as one of the worst forms of sin, and said that all members of his congregation who sold their produce for "usurious prices" would take a heavy responsibility upon themselves. In Bavaria, the German price-control police now have authority to impose fines up to 2,000 Reichsmarks and the temporary suspension of business on shopkeepers who accept more than the maximum prices laid down by Military Government.

Some impatience continues to be shown by small German political groups in the West at the alleged tardiness of Military Government in eliminating the last minor Nazi officials from public life. In some places the ranks of the agitators have been swollen by the return of former concentration camp inmates and their clamour increased by the formation, as at Bonn and Stuttgart, of political prisoners' clubs to act as local pressure groups. Persons at Düsseldorf describing themselves as "anti-Fascists" have gone so far in recent weeks as to evict forcibly from their homes a number of fellow-citizens whom they accuse of being

Nazis. Other anti-Nazi groups are stated to object to the appointment of the local German Nationalist leader, Dr. Vagts, as acting Oberbuergermeister of Bremen, although Dr. Vagts himself claims never to have joined the Nazi Party, despite the fact that he apparently held public office under Hitler until February of this year. Wherever they are available, Military Government detachments are now using captured Nazi membership files to check the *bona-fides* of smaller officials who deny ever having belonged to the party and to eliminate those who have practised deliberate deception. Of the original 1,114 German mayors in Schleswig-Holstein, 550 have now been removed from office by British Military Government for their former association with the Nazi Party.

Permission to hold public meetings—which has so far been generally withheld in both the British and American zones—was stated on the 18th July to have been granted by the Military Government authorities in Württemberg to facilitate the formation of a trade union movement among the working population. Military Government, it was added, would accept the aid of the trade unions in purging public life of Nazi influences. Details of the newly constituted Württemberg Trade Union Association were published on the 22nd. The Christian trade unions were said to have joined the Association, and the Protestant Bishop Wurm of Württemberg to have promised his support. Leading industrialists, artisans, businessmen and farmers were described by the President of the Association, Markus Schleicher, as already working closely with trade union representatives at the district labour office. A "free German Trade Union Association" was stated on the 22nd to be in process of formation by permission of the British authorities in Brunswick, and a representative of this body had been promised a seat on the executive committee of the local chamber of commerce. Membership would be compulsory for all workers in industry, agriculture or public offices. One of Germany's leading Catholic trade unionists, Dr. Adam Stegerwald, who was Head of the League of Christian Trade Unions from 1903 to 1929 and Reich Minister of Labour in the Brüning Government after 1930, was stated on the 22nd July to have been appointed to the new post of Regierungspräsident of Würzburg.

Considerable progress by Military Government in breaking the virtual deadlock in German economic life that has resulted from the absence of an adequate transport system is now reported from both the British and American zones, although a further restoration of the German railways may be necessary to cope with the harvest. A programme to convert 200 lorries a month to producer gas has been put forward at Stuttgart, where a transport pool has already been provided for vital civilian needs. More than 200 trains have so far been used to bring food into the Ruhr, and Hamburg is receiving about 530 tons of coal daily from the Ruhr for its public services and essential industries. In Schleswig-Holstein the railway system is undamaged and is working with slightly reduced services. Oil for transport purposes is being produced from German wells at Hanover and Heide, and an adapted German "People's Car," which is being manufactured at the Volkswagen factory at Fallersleben, is to be used for the reorganised German postal system.

Information has now been received that the Polish authorities have taken over the administration of the port of Stettin, which they have for some time claimed along with all German territory east of the Oder–Neisse line. Complete silence regarding the fate of Stettin and the more eastern territories of the Reich—other than the brief warnings of the German Communist Party that refugees from these areas cannot hope to return home (see last week's *Summary*)—has been maintained by the Russian-controlled press and radio in Germany. One competent observer from East Prussia confirms that the German population there has already been largely moved out, although in some places columns of dispossessed peasants may still be seen travelling westwards along the main highways.

AUSTRIA.

General Winterton, with his United States and French colleagues, held meetings with the Soviet authorities in Vienna on the 16th July. The Soviet representatives maintained that the agreements reached in the E.A.C. on the control machinery for Austria and the zones of occupation had not been ratified by their Government, and that consequently they could not discuss the occupation of Styria by British troops, and the movement of British, American and French advance parties into Vienna. Since then, however, British forces had begun to

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occupy Styria and the establishment of the Allied Commission in Vienna is probable within the immediate future.

Innsbruck Radio on the 18th reported the arrival there of General Bethouard, the commander-in-chief of the French forces of occupation. Austrians were assured that while the French authorities would rigidly suppress everything Nazi, and would allow no obstruction of their military and administrative organisations, they had sympathy and respect for Austrian culture, religion and civilisation.

The interview in Paris by "Lambert" on the 16th July (see last week's *Summary*) has aroused prompt and strong criticism from the Communist Party in Vienna. On the 21st its spokesman said that Lambert, whose real name was Dr. Ernst Lemberger, was an international adventurer, who had posed as the envoy of various agencies and governments, including the British and American High Commands. "Lambert's" alleged statement that there were only two parties in Austria, the Social Democrats and the Christian Socials, and that Communist influence was even less than before 1934, was indignantly refuted, as were his statements about Russian activities and the food supply in the Russian zone, which were described as "false and distorted rumours." "Lemberger" never mentioned, said the Communist spokesman, that on the whole only German property in Austria had been treated as war booty, or that "in hundreds of cases the Russians have returned requisitioned goods to Austrians." It was denied that there was an epidemic in Vienna, due to bad water, and the help of the Soviet Government in supplying food to Vienna was emphasised. Dr. Renner is to publish a categorical statement that the State had not charged "Lemberger" with any mission and that his claim to be Renner's special envoy is false. Dr. Renner has said, according to this broadcast, that Lemberger was charged with restoring contact between the Austrian and French Socialist parties, and is thus an emissary of the Austrian Socialist Party; but he had no instructions from that party to take any part in public demonstrations and discussions. The speaker concluded by saying that this "patent attempt to drag Austria into international intrigue must be nipped in the bud," and Austrians must "act with great determination before serious harm is done to our country."

In spite of these emphatic denials of "Lambert's" description of Viennese life, it would appear that conditions there are indeed bad. The schools in Vienna have had to be closed, "owing to the continuing heat-wave and the reduced mental and physical capacity of the children, caused by insufficient nourishment, which make it unlikely that the pupils can derive any benefit from a continuation of lessons." Teachers will be expected to help in the Ration Card offices. The announcement of the closing of the schools was made by Kunschak, formerly announced as the Christian Social Minister of State in the Renner Government. He no longer holds that office, and is described simply as "Deputy Lord Mayor, and acting President of the Municipal School Authority."

At a Cabinet meeting on the 18th, Dr. Renner announced the appointment of Dr. Heinrich Wildner as "Envoy extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary" to the Austrian Foreign Office. Wildner was a civil servant until 1938, attached to the Austrian Foreign Office. He is a specialist on economic questions, with a distinguished record.

On the 22nd the Council of Ministers approved Dr. Renner's report about the abolition of German regulations concerning area subdivisions in Austria. A law concerning the transfer of administrative and judicial institutions of the German Reich to the Austrian Republic was also approved.

In the British zone, the first steps have been taken in abolishing and renaming titles and offices introduced by the Nazis into Austria. Subject to the eventual quadripartite decision, *Gau* for instance, will be in future *Land; Reichsstatthalter* and *Gauhauptmann* will be *Landeshauptmann; Landkreis* becomes *Bezirk;* and *Regierungspräsident* becomes *Landesamtdirektor*.

In the American-occupied zone, the *Landesgericht* in Linz has been reopened, as well as three district courts at Wels, Ried, and Steyr.

From Linz, too, it was announced that the bank accounts of Austrians have been unblocked, although holdings belonging to foreigners are still restricted. On the 20th the Military Government Finance department broadcast a denial of rumours which were circulating to the effect that the Military Government would refuse to recognise Reichsmark currency in Austria. From Vienna there are continued appeals to the public to deposit hoarded money in the Savings Bank.

A report of the formation of the Land Salzburg branch of the People's Party says that the new party conforms to a pattern set by the Vienna branch. Most

of the members of the committee are former Christian Trade Union members, and are well to the left of the traditional party line. The organisers of the branch believe that the party will absorb the former Landbund, Democrats both Christian and Liberal, and the Monarchists. The two points of the party programme which were revealed were the attainment of a compromise traditional Liberal position and a new programme providing for the socialisation of big business; and the complete separation of Church from State.

It is reported from Bolzano that the South Tyrolese party has begun to conduct active propaganda, for the reunion of South Tyrol with Austria, although there is a split amongst the German population, due to fear of extreme Left tendencies in Vienna. Some attempts are being made to establish a new German-speaking party, the Christian Peasant Party. Local authorities are following a policy of toleration and conciliation. On the 11th July the Italian Government guaranteed the free use of language in bilingual areas, in schools as well as in commercial relations, public meetings, press, religion, and relations with administrative and judicial authorities. Some French officers appeared in Bolzano after the surrender of Germany. One, who was reported to have discussed plans with the head of the South Tyrolese Party for the formation of a Greater Bavaria, including Vorarlberg, the Austrian Tyrol, and Bolzano province, was later arrested by the Allied military authorities for an obscure financial transaction with the former Prefect of Bolzano. The French authorities have disclaimed all knowledge of his activities. It is known that since the French took over their zone, some separatist notices have been posted by them in Bolzano province. A clandestine radio station has been broadcasting in German to Bolzano, apparently from Austria. According to Radio Paris and Reuter, this station broadcast a report that an ex-prefect and mayor of Bolzano were to go to Paris, London and Washington to discuss the future of Bolzano. This report appeared in the Italian press, and caused considerable indignation, and has been officially denied as wholly without foundation.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

A Czechoslovak Government delegation has been visiting the industrial areas of Northern Moravia and Teschen during the past few days. The delegation, which includes two of the Vice-Premiers, Gottwald and David, and two Ministers, Nejedly and Hala, has obviously been selected to give it as representative a political character as possible. It described its own function as a committee of enquiry into the needs of, and complaints raised by, the region. Its coincidence with the Potsdam Conference may be accidental, but it does reflect the anxiety of the Government over the fate of Teschen, as well as other disputed districts along the frontier with Poland and Germany. All members of the delegation emphasised the unanimous resolve of the Government to retain the Czechoslovak part of Teschen, which the Poles are claiming. A desire for friendly relations with Poland was also voiced, and promises were made to the Polish minority of recognising its civic and national rights. The provision of Polish schools was already guaranteed by an order of the Minister of Education on the 26th June. A warning was given to "provocateurs of unrest and dissatisfaction" in the zone. Friendlier relations between Poland and Czechoslovakia may be presaged by the arrival of a Polish representative at the All-Slav celebrations in Bratislava; he was conspicuously absent from the great Dévín Rally on the 7th.

Munich (American-controlled) Radio broadcast on the 18th a report which suggests that the organised transfer of Sudeten Germans across the American zone of Western Bohemia has already been taking place, similar to that across the Russian zone reported last week. In a Reuter interview of the 21st, Dr. Beneš said that 200,000 of the most active Nazis had left voluntarily, and the immediate deportation of other Germans was due to "the Czechs' accumulated bitterness after years of brutal treatment." The President is reported as having given the figure of between 300,000 and 500,000 of those who would be given the option of remaining in the republic. As regards the possible transfer of Czechoslovak minorities from abroad, the Trades Union newspaper *Práce* recently gave figures of Slovaks who "desired to return home." These were stated to be 80,000 in Roumania, 150,000 in Yugoslavia and 200,000 in Hungary. The last differs from the 345,000 put forward by the Czechoslovak Government against an exchange of 400,000 Magyars from Slovakia (see *Summary* No. 301). There is a movement on foot also for the return of Czechoslovak workers from France, mainly miners.

Dr. Ripka, Minister for Foreign Trade, arrived in London on the evening of the 18th to conduct preliminary negotiations with regard to the re-opening of

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trade relations. Czechoslovakia hopes to purchase certain raw materials such as wool and rubber, and industrial equipment, from Great Britain. At present, the Soviet Union is absorbing a large part of Czechoslovak manufactures, particularly textiles.

M. Majer, the Minister of Food, is reported by Mr. Nichols as being fairly confident about the general situation in Czechoslovakia. He acknowledged the valuable help rendered by U.N.R.R.A. and by the Red Army, in the matter of domestic animals and food supplies for the industrial area of Moravská Ostrava. U.N.R.R.A. supplies up to the 1st July totalled 30,000 tons, and another 15,000 tons are in transit. Dr. Lilico, British health expert with the U.N.R.R.A. mission, described the state of health as better than expected. In this respect, the Czechoslovak Ministry of Health has however shown concern over the spread of tuberculosis; Dr. Ungar, head of a Czechoslovak medical mission, has said that child tuberculosis is raging in some parts of the country. M. Majer hopes to increase the bread and flour rations by at least 20 per cent., and meat and fats by one third during the next year, provided transport and import difficulties can be overcome.

Mr. Laurence Steinhardt, the American Ambassador, arrived in Prague on the 16th. He was received, together with the entire diplomatic staff, by President Beneš at the Hradčaný on the 20th.

POLAND.

The eighth session of the National Homeland Council—which serves as a provisional legislative assembly in Warsaw—opened on the 21st July. Among new members admitted were MM. Mikolajczyk, Grabski and Stanczyk, from this country; and MM. Zulawski, Kutrzeba, Kiernik, Krzyzanowski and Kolodziejski, who had joined in the Moscow conversations. At the same session the Presidium of the Council was announced as President: M. Bierut; Deputy Presidents: MM. Witos, S. Schwalbe, Grabski; other members: MM. Roman Dabrowski and J. N. Miller, and General Rola-Zymierski.

At the opening session M. Osobka-Morawski, the Prime Minister, reviewed the situation of Poland. By the formation of the Provisional Government an end had been put, he said, to discussions about two different political conceptions, and to the ten-year-long dispute about the 1935 Constitution. He referred to the growth of the Polish democratic parties, and added: "Political circles also contemplate the emergence of groups connected with the Labour Party (*i.e.*, the Christian Democratic Labour Party). These may find scope either within the framework of a widened Democratic Party or as a separate Party." He stressed the importance of friendly collaboration between all Slav nations, and of the repatriation of Poles from the U.S.S.R. and from Western and Northern Europe and the Americas. "The liberated country," he said, "awaits the return of all its citizens, who are needed for reconstruction. . . . It also will welcome the return of Poles, who, living abroad, have assumed foreign citizenship."

As to the Polish armies abroad, he said: "We have great admiration and respect for those soldiers, sailors and airmen who, far from Poland, fought for her with the Americans, British or French. To-day we await their speedy return to their homes, mothers and children."

On the 17th July a Co-ordinating Committee of the four "democratic" parties (Peasants, Socialists, Communists and Democrats) decided to invite to the next meeting MM. Popiel and Olczak from the "Labour" Party.

On the 20th July a formal parade was held in Warsaw of Red Army troops which were passing through on their way back to the U.S.S.R. The occasion was used to emphasise the importance of Slav solidarity.

Reports that General Paszkiewicz, formerly second in command of the Polish Corps in Great Britain, had been summarily dismissed for announcing his adherence to the Warsaw Government, are put in a different light in the Polish London daily of the 23rd July, which states that he informed his commander-in-chief of his intention to return to Poland and that the latter accepted his declaration and accordingly took his name off the strength of the Polish officers under his command.

The attitude of the United States Government to the Polish Provisional Government has been the subject of a letter from Senator Vandenberg of the 9th July; to which Acting-Secretary Grew replied in a letter published on the 20th July. Mr. Grew stated in particular that the fact of the formation of the Provisional Government did not of itself free the United States from further

responsibility incurred at the Yalta Conference. As to the holding of unfettered elections, Mr. Grew stated that the United States Ambassador would make reports on the situation in Poland and on the basis of these reports his Government would consider the question whether supervision of elections would be advisable. If it were decided to supervise the elections, the United States Government would insist on its right to participate on an equal basis with other Powers.

SOVIET UNION.

The 22nd July was celebrated in the U.S.S.R. as Red Navy Day. Generalissimo Stalin, as Supreme Commander-in-Chief, issued an Order of the Day, in which he referred to the Red Navy's help in covering the Red Army's flanks which rested on the sea, in attacking enemy merchant shipping, and in maintaining Soviet communications. "The Soviet people," he added, "wishes to see its Navy still stronger and mightier. Our people will create new fighting ships and new bases for the Navy." The People's Commissar for the Navy of the U.S.S.R., Admiral of the Fleet Kuznetsov, issued an Order of the Day along similar lines, in which he declared "it is necessary by strenuous military preparation to study and consolidate the experience of naval warfare" accumulated by the personnel of the Red Navy during the war. The First Lord of the Admiralty sent a message of greeting to the Soviet Chief of Naval Staff and to all officers and men of the Red Navy and Fleet Air Arm on behalf of the Board of the Admiralty and the Royal Navy. Coming at a time when the régime of the Straits, the disposal of the German fleet, and possibly bases in the Far East, are all likely to come under discussion in the near future, this emphasis on the importance attached by the Soviet Government and people to the Red Navy has an obvious significance.

Considerable apprehension over the machinations of German business men has found expression in the Soviet press during the past week, particularly over Hugenberg's plan for the economic reconstruction of Germany reported in the *Daily Herald* and said to have been drawn up at the request of the British authorities. "Living political corpses like Brüning, Strasser and Hugenberg, must not be allowed to pollute the political atmosphere of post-war Europe." A Moscow broadcast (18th July) stated that the German imperialists were still dreaming of a combine stretching from Bordeaux to Odessa; they would strive to subdue Europe with golden bullets now that they had failed with lead. An article by M. Mihailov in *Krasnaya Zvezda* (17th July) castigated Richard Dimbleby for indulging in absurd forecasts of the "insurmountable difficulties" that would be involved in the setting up of an Allied administration in Berlin. While mainly optimistic over Allied co-operation, which had confounded Dimbleby and his followers, M. Mihailov went on to point out the problems that did still exist in Germany; he listed in particular the report that one and a quarter million Germans were still retaining their arms in Schleswig Holstein, that a clash between German and Danish sentries had taken place in Frederickshaven, and that neither the disarmament nor the evacuation of German troops from Norway had been started.

The new Syrian Minister in Moscow, Faix al Khury, has just had his first interviews with President Kalinin and MM. Dekanozov and Kavtaradze. In answer to the Minister's expression of hope that the Great Powers had no aggressive designs on his extremely small country, M. Dekanozov gave the standard reply that the Charter of the United Nations was sufficient protection for all the smaller Powers; the Big Three meeting, according to him, was mainly to discuss German questions. M. Dekanozov and his colleague both disclaimed on behalf of the Soviet Government any special interest in Middle Eastern countries with the exception of Persia, in which that interest had already been made known.

M. Khury later explained to the head of the Press Department of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs certain inaccuracies in the recent *Krasnaya Zvezda* article on the Arab League (see last week's *Summary*) and was promised an interview with the author to expound his views in more detail.

Some interesting sidelights were given by M. Khury on the position of the Orthodox Church. He had hoped to get help in Moscow from Patriarch Alexei, who had recently been given such a cordial reception of his visit to Syria, not only by the Syrian authorities but by the Soviet Minister himself. While in Damascus the Patriarch had apparently emphasised the frequency of his contacts with Generalissimo Stalin and clearly succeeded in impressing the Syrians with

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his importance. In Moscow, however, M. Khury found the Patriarch relapsed into insignificance; instead of being able to assist the Syrian Minister, he actually begged him to tell the Soviet Government how useful the visit of the ecclesiastical delegation to Syria had been.

The claims of the Armenian S.S.R. to the former Russian territories of Kars, Artvin and Ardahan continue to be indirectly presented. (For the statements of the Armenian Council in the United States reported by *Tass* see under "Middle East.") Great prominence was given in the Moscow press (21st July) to an article from the *Christian Science Monitor* by Stevens, a former Moscow correspondent, supporting these claims and pointing out that most Armenians would choose Russian rather than Turkish rule. The same article went on to justify the Soviet demand for a revision of the Montreux Convention in the Straits, and *Tass* quoted in detail the passage asserting that the peril of the present Soviet-Turkish situation consisted less in the Soviet Union's demands than in the British sensitivity to anything likely to affect the Mediterranean balance of power. From a perusal of the *Tass* extracts the Soviet reader could hardly fail to draw the conclusion that the British are trying to build up a Turkish-Greek *bloc* to keep Russia out of the Mediterranean. The opportunity of suggesting a difference of view between the British and Americans afforded by the article has clearly been seized with a certain relish.

No doubt the British ex-prisoners of war and other inhabitants of liberated Europe who have had to hand over their watches to Red Army men will read with a certain nostalgia that watch production in the U.S.S.R. is to be stepped up, and that 400,000 watches are to be produced in 1946. Besides the old factories in Moscow and Chelyabinsk, new ones are being set up in Erevan and Sverdlovsk. The design of the proposed watches sounds attractive, though the fact that mortar factories are being switched over to watch production has a slightly ominous ring.

SCANDINAVIA.

M. Tuomioja, Minister of Finance to the Finnish Government, has resigned, in order to become governor of the Bank of Finland in succession to M. Ryti. M. Torngren, of the Swedish People's Party, has been appointed Finance Minister in his place.

The Hornborg Committee, appointed to enquire into the events leading to Finland's entry into the war, has submitted its findings to the Diet, but they have not been made public. They are understood not to be unanimous. According to *Helsingin Sanomat*, the report exonerates M. Tanner and Professor Kivimäki. *Vapaa Sana*, referring to this statement, says that such an amnesty is more than premature, and that the Committee had no authority to take decisions on this matter. It has now been reported from Helsinki that M. Ryti, the former President, is to be impeached, together with ten members of the former Government, including the Premier, M. Linkomies, M. Ramsay and General Walden. The charge will allege violations of the Finnish Constitution, presumably in connexion with the agreement with Ribbentrop not to conclude a separate peace, since this was made without reference to the Diet.

In connexion with the establishment of secret arms dumps, there are now stated to have been more than 1,000 arrests, including General Airo, Chief of the General Staff, and two of his subordinates, Colonels Nihtilae and Ahti. The official statement alleges that dumps are still being found daily in different parts of Finland, and that investigations are therefore continuing.

On the 20th July, the Minister of Finance in the Danish Government broadcast an explanation of the drastic proposals laid before the Rigsdag, for a large-scale investigation of the capital possessed by Danish citizens. The primary object seems to be to check the evasion of taxation, which is said to have reached startling proportions, running into hundreds of millions of kroner. An expert committee has estimated the annual loss at nearly £350 million. It is also designed to trace Danish currency which has illegally passed into German hands, with a view to its recovery, and to disclose the funds in the hands of collaborationists. Private citizens and companies, with a few exceptions, have to return the amount of their capital as on the 23rd July, while, as a further check, all existing currency notes are to be withdrawn from circulation from the above date, and must be surrendered to the banks by the 30th July. The amount which can be exchanged for cash is limited, for each individual, to 500 kroner (about £25). The excess is to be put into banking accounts, which will be temporarily frozen.

Captain Fjölsen, formerly Danish Naval Attaché in Berlin, has created a sensation by the publication of a booklet entitled *The Overture to April 9th*, in which he discloses information which he passed to the Danish Government as to the imminence of a German invasion, which he asserts was ignored. His action is strongly criticised in official quarters as a breach of his obligations to secrecy.

According to a press report, M. Günther, the Swedish Foreign Minister, has been appointed Swedish Minister in Copenhagen from the 1st October. The dissolution of the Coalition Government is now imminent, and there have already been forecasts of its successor in the Swedish press. It is expected that the Ministry for Foreign Affairs will be entrusted to M. Osten Unden, who held the same post in the Sandler Government of 1925–26, and achieved an international reputation as the Swedish representative on the League of Nations. In a speech delivered on the 22nd July, M. Undén stated that Sweden was prepared to join the United Nations Organisation created at San Francisco, though to do so would involve the abandonment of neutrality and the acceptance of military obligations. To act otherwise would indicate lack of confidence in the new security organisation, and would create differences between Swedish foreign policy and that of the remaining Scandinavian countries, with a detrimental effect on Nordic solidarity—which was in no way incompatible with membership of the United Nations.

LOW COUNTRIES.

Agreement with the Rotterdam dock-workers is reported to have been reached, nearly all the demands of the "urgency programme" having been conceded by the employers. Efforts are to be made to secure uniformity of wage-levels and of working conditions in all Netherlands ports. Nevertheless the Unity Trade Union is still dissatisfied at its non-recognition by the Government and called a "protest" stoppage, of an hour's duration, on the 23rd July.

Fraternisation between Allied troops and German civilians is being sharply criticised in the Dutch press. Perhaps the most striking comment is to be found in the Brabant paper *Nieuwsblad van het Zuiden*: "To watch or to play the guardian is strange to them [the British and Americans]. And non-fraternisation was something entirely new. . . . . They have not been occupied as we have been; . . . . and they have seen but a fraction of Europe's misery. Fraternisation is now being permitted, and British soldiers will . . . . visit the houses of German families whose fathers and sons have devastated our countries and persecuted our people."

In Belgium, the question of the King still awaits an answer. After the Government Bill amending the Constitution (see last week's *Summary*) had been adopted by the Legal Commission of the Senate, it was passed in the Senate itself by 77 votes to 58 with 5 abstentions.

Two days later on the 20th July, the promised debate on the "question royale" began in the Chamber of Representatives. On a point of order, M. Behogne (Catholic), asked for a postponement of the debate until the 24th July, on the ground that the morrow (21st July) was the Belgian National Day; but the motion was defeated on a show of hands by 96 to 87. The main feature of the proceedings was the long speech in which the Prime Minister outlined the history of the negotiations with the King during the past three months and stated the reasons which had led him to the conclusion that the King ought to abdicate. These, in general, were the indecision manifested by the King after his liberation and the evidence of his attitude during the Occupation. There was no question of disloyalty on the Government's part towards the Monarchy; and the Prime Minister himself did not look upon the King as a traitor. Nevertheless, M. Van Acker maintained that the King, convinced of a German victory, had displayed, during the occupation, a lamentable indifference towards the fate of his country and people: he had neither followed the Government into exile nor supported it; he had failed actively to resist the enemy; failed to encourage the reconstitution of the Belgian Army in the United Kingdom; refused to declare war on Italy; and disapproved of participation in the war by the Congo. He had not remained a prisoner at Laeken, but of his own will had paid visits to Austria. He had also made an unfortunate second marriage. More serious still were his visit to Hitler at Berchtesgaden and his failure to make an immediate an energetic protest against the deportation of Belgian workers to Germany. Moreover, M. Van Acker asserted, King Leopold had "voluntarily accepted if not caused" his own removal to Germany because he did not want to face the

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responsibilities he might be called upon to meet if he were in Belgium when the country was liberated. The documentary evidence would be at the disposal of Party leaders and members of the bureaux of the Chambers: to give it wider publicity could only harm the national interest. In conclusion, M. Van Acker stated that he had not the slightest intention of allowing the question to become an election issue. In view of the evidence, the Government had no right to advise the King to return, as this would "plunge the country into civil war for a lost cause." The debate was resumed on the 24th July, when the Chairman of the Chamber announced that it would end the following day: it will be considered in next week's *Summary*.

A highly critical situation exists in the Luxembourg steel industry, which (with the exception of two blast furnaces at Differdange) has been idle for the last nine months. Through this period the various concerns—the great ARBED works in particular—have continued to pay their employees; but their resources are rapidly approaching exhaustion. There is grave danger therefore of widespread unemployment in the industry, together with the possibility of political upheaval. The remedy lies exclusively in the provision of adequate supplies of coke, of which 90 per cent. was formerly imported from Germany.

FRANCE.

The long-awaited trial of Marshal Pétain on a comprehensive list of charges of collusion with the enemy and plotting against the internal security of France opened in Paris on the 23rd July. In spite of the Consultative Assembly's request that the proceedings should take place at the Luxembourg, the trial is being held in the small Court Room in the Palais de Justice in which the cases of Esteva and Dentz were heard. The aged Marshal and his wife are being lodged in the building and special precautions have been taken to ensure their safety. At the opening of what the President of the Court called "the greatest trial in history," the counsel for the defence denied the competence of the Court and criticised as arbitrary the composition of the jury from parliamentarians and members of Resistance groups. His contention was, however, overruled and, after the lengthy indictment drawn up by the Public Prosecutor had been recited, Pétain read a statement declaring that he was addressing himself to the French people; the Court did not represent the French people and he would not answer any questions. He claimed that he had "inherited a catastrophe" for which he was not responsible and that the Armistice of 1940 had saved France and contributed to the victory of the Allies by ensuring a free Mediterranean and the integrity of the French Empire. He once again professed to have given his person for France and maintained that he represented a Christian tradition "against all the tyrannies." Unity and reconciliation among Frenchmen had been his one aim. Finally he protested his innocence and urged that if he was to be condemned his condemnation should be the last and that no other Frenchman should ever again be imprisoned or condemned for having obeyed the orders of his lawful Chief. The first witness for the prosecution, M. Paul Reynaud, gave a long account of his relations with Pétain and Weygand during his Premiership in 1940, and was followed by M. Daladier.

The Government's constitutional proposals have continued to meet with criticism in the press of both Right and Left. Moreover, the State Reform Commission of the Consultative Assembly has unanimously agreed to put three resolutions before the Consultative Assembly; the first rejects the draft Ordinance and Bill proposed by the Government; the second proclaims the absolute necessity in all circumstances for direct and complete ministerial responsibility to the people's elected representatives; and the third favours a sovereign Constituent Assembly. As it is clear, however, that the critics are sharply divided, the Government are unlikely to be willing readily to modify their plan. Indeed, in a speech at Brest on the 21st July the General not only explained the proposals again but unequivocally expressed his hope and belief that French men and women will answer "Yes" to both questions of the referendum.

The press has again been stressing the importance of reparations and expressing regret that France is not represented on the Commission now sitting in Moscow. Particular concern has been caused by an American report that 90 per cent. of the reparations demanded from Germany would be divided between the three major Allies and only 10 per cent. allotted to other countries, including France.

According to a Paris statement broadcast in German on the 22nd July 175,000 German prisoners of war were working in France on the 1st July: they

included 90,000 in agriculture, 16,000 in forestry, 15,500 in mines and 15,000 in building work.

The *Monde* of the 20th July published a letter from the Maronite Patriarch of Antioch expressing anxiety about the future of the Christians in the Middle East and voicing the hope that the independence of the Lebanon would be under the special protection of France, who had always had a care for their vital interests. This would not prevent other Allied Powers from supporting France in her "intervention humaine." "I have already said, and I repeat," wrote His Beatitude, "that it is to the interest of the Lebanon to conclude a treaty with France safeguarding the interests of the two countries without impairing the independence of the Lebanon. This is the wish of all our Christians." (See also "Middle East.")

SWITZERLAND.

The Full Powers Committee of the National Council met during the week. Among the subjects discussed were the abrogation of active military service on the 20th August and whether death sentences already passed should be carried out after that date (see *Summary* No. 302). The majority advocated the substitution of penal servitude for life instead of the death penalty. The opinion was also expressed that the application of military law to civilians should be curtailed as far as possible.

It is reported that Swiss authorities are preparing a White Paper on the anti-democratic activities carried on in Switzerland both before and during the war by foreign organisations and their adherents. The paper will explain the dangers that confronted the Swiss nation and the efforts made to combat them.

At a Press Conference on the 20th July, the Italian Prime Minister, Signor Parri, stated that no official decision had yet been reached regarding Switzerland's request for the use of the port of Genoa. It was, however, a legitimate desire which Italy wanted to satisfy. Suggestions have also been made that, if Genoa is too badly damaged for use in the near future, the port of Savona might be put at Switzerland's disposal.

Switzerland has accepted the position of Protecting Power for Japan in the United States, relinquished by Spain last March. The Swiss Legation informed the United States Government that Switzerland would assume the protection of Japanese interests only if Japan was willing to admit Swiss representatives to all prisoner-of-war and internment camps in Japan and Japanese-occupied territories. This permission, which has hitherto been denied to Switzerland as the Protecting Power of United States interests in Japan, has now been granted, and it is therefore expected that the treatment of American prisoners in Japanese camps will improve.

The negotiations have been concluded for the reception in Switzerland of United States troops on leave, and it is officially announced that complete agreement was reached on all questions. The scheme, which will come into operation on the 25th July, will apply provisionally for one year. A special Swiss Travel Centre has been set up to deal with the arrangements.

The Federal Council has cancelled the decree of the 29th August, 1939, which placed broadcasting under the control of the State.

A delegation of Swiss publishers has been discussing with the trade in London plans to facilitate the exchange of publishing and translation rights. It was stated in a Swiss broadcast that exhibitions of books would be arranged in both countries early in 1946.

The new Belgian Minister to Switzerland, Vicomte de Lantsheere, presented his credentials on the 20th July.

SPAIN.

For once Spanish rumour has not lied, and General Franco's much-heralded Cabinet changes—the first general shuffle since 1942—have come to pass. On the 19th July, two days after his speech to the National Council marking the anniversary of the civil war, the Caudillo announced the composition of the new Government. Only four of the old Ministers—those of Interior, Finance, Labour and Education—remain in office. The Secretary-General of the Falange, Arrese, who held the post of Minister without Portfolio, goes out, and his office apparently is not to be filled. Señor Lequerica, the Foreign Minister, is also relieved of his post which is taken over by Señor Martín Artajo, hitherto President of "Catholic Action" and a former member of Gil Robles' C.E.D.A. group which he left to

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join Franco. With Lequerica goes Señor Aunós, Minister of Justice; apparently they both had to be thrown overboard as compensation to Arrese. The other new appointments are: War—General Dávila, formerly Chief of the General Staff, Justice—Señor Fernández Cuesta, Marine—Rear-Admiral Francisco Regalado, Air—General Eduardo González Gallarza, Industry and Commerce—Señor Juan Antonio Suances, Public Works—Señor José María Ladreda, and Agriculture—Señor Carlos Rein Segura. The departure of Carceller is a surprise: the idea may be—since he is known as an anti-Monarchist—to present Franco's own attitude to a Restoration in a better light. His successor, Señor Suances, was Minister of Industry and Commerce for a short time in 1939 in the first post-civil war Government. He maintained thereafter close connexions with German industry, and, as President of the National Institute of Industry, he has been associated with ambitious plans for the development and modernisation of Spain's industrial equipment by State intervention and controls.

Most of the new men are comparatively unknown, and only one, Fernández Cuesta, is a politician. The general purpose of the changes seems, as was suggested last week, to have been to present to the Spanish public—and especially to the world outside—a Government of mainly non-Party moderates representing Spain's "evolution" which Franco has always maintained is in consonance with the post-war world. The disappearance of Arrese is certainly a superficial improvement which may be followed by a lessening of the political power of the Falange. It is a step in the right direction. But the retention of Girón, the extremist Party thug, and above all the reappearance on the political scene of Fernández Cuesta, a flamboyant "Old Shirt" of doubtful reputation who, as Minister of Agriculture, was involved in a financial scandal in 1939, will do much to lift up the hearts of the hollow men. The substitution of this man for Aunós at the Ministry of Justice will not mean more justice in Spain. And unless there are changes in the Civil Governors, who are also provincial delegates of the Falange, local administration will still be controlled by the Party. It should be noted that the Minister of the Interior, who will now doubtless control the Civil Governors as in pre-civil war days, is one of the old Cabinet; and Blas Pérez González, though a moderate, is nevertheless a Falangist. The other members of the new Government are merely pliant "Franquistas." The façade of respectability has been laid on, but behind it nothing very much has been changed.

There is no sign here that Franco is suffering as yet from a surfeit of power; he firmly believes that "il faut aimer sa place. Si tu es roi, aime ton sceptre." And the only one who has any right to the sceptre is not at all impressed by the Caudillo's specious and circumlocutory affirmations that one fine day he really will be restored to the throne of his fathers. What Franco has to say now to Don Juan amounts to little more than asking him "Vhether he'll have it now, or vait till he gets it." However irritating this game may be to the Monarchists, they are holding their horses—a gesture with which they are not unfamiliar—with cheerful and confident patience. Perhaps they are right; it must be an encouragement to Don Juan to know that Franco apparently wished to give the new Government a more strongly Monarchist complexion and approached several Royalists all of whom refused to accept office.

On the face of it Franco's latest move is natural and not unskilful. The indication given at San Francisco that Spain would be blackballed for the World Organisation came as a jolt; so, before the Potsdam Conference is over—and the anniversary of the civil war makes for convenient timing—the Caudillo produces, as the free gesture of a generous man, a nice new Government which will surely disarm the most unfriendly criticism. He forgets only one thing: he is still head of it. That is what the outside world—if not Spain—cannot swallow. The shifting of a few portfolios does nothing to solve the Spanish problem; what is wanted is not a new Government, but a new regimé.

ITALY.

The Regina Cocli prison in Rome has already been the scene of riots amongst the political prisoners confined there, and on the 22nd July a further outbreak occurred. Order is now said to have been restored. According to Signor Togliatti, the Minister of Justice, who visited the prison, the trouble was caused by turbulent elements but principally by excessive overcrowding. There have also been further outbreaks of lawlessness in the North. During the trial of five former partisans in Milan, accused of murder, armed aggression and robbery, the crowd attempted to break into the Court and set free the prisoners merely because they had formerly been partisans. The attempt was fortunately

frustrated. But 33 former partisans, who were being held for trial in the San Vittore prison in Milan for illegal possession of arms, have escaped with the connivance of the prison guards, themselves former partisans. These guards have now been dismissed and their place taken by Carabinieri. Signor Parri, in his broadcast speech on the 23rd June, drew particular attention to the seriousness of this situation and made a direct appeal to all former partisans to co-operate for the defence of law and order and not to allow their reputation to be sullied by such acts. The revival of the old Turin newspaper *Stampa* as an independent paper, under the auspices of A.M.G., has also caused trouble. A crowd broke into the office, burnt the paper and smashed the printing machinery. The opposition to the revival of *Stampa* is said to be due to the fact that this paper became an organ of Fascist propaganda during the Fascist régime, but the political parties may also fear competition for their party papers.

The Council of Ministers, on the 4th July, approved a draft legislative decree concerning the membership of the National Consultative Assembly. This decree contains various modifications of the decree approved on the 30th April, necessitated by the liberation of the North. In general, the representation of the partisan movement is widened by the increase, from 6 to 16, of the members of the National Association of Partisans, and the number of Anti-Fascist ex-Deputies and ex-Senators is limited to 80. The Assembly will be constituted as follows:—

From each of the 6 parties of the C.L.N.—26	156
From each of the 5 parties of the C.L.N.A.I.—11	55
From parties outside the C.L.N.	20
From the Syndical organisations	46
From ex-Servicemen's organisations (including partisans) ...	22
From representatives of the professions and technicians ...	10
Anti-Fascist ex-Deputies and ex-Senators	80
	389

In addition, all ex-Ministers and Under-Secretaries who served in the various Governments formed since the liberation of Rome.

Signor Parri had stated recently in answer to enquiries about the situation in the Tyrol that all the information he had, which was admittedly scanty, was satisfactory as it indicated a rapprochement between the local Austrian and Italian inhabitants, but irresponsible interference from other sources in the Bolzano area has caused disquiet in Rome.

[For a further account of recent happenings in the Tyrol see under "Austria."]

THE VATICAN.

The Vatican is showing a new resolution in replying to the attacks of Moscow and its friends. In his address to United States pressmen on the 21st July the Pope gave the positive answer:—"the success of your profession depends on your fidelity to truth . . . . but what shall we say of deliberate falsehood?" *Osservatore Romano* boldly dealt with the word "reaction." "We wonder if the nations are not tired of this word, this bogy, used by certain people as a pretext for destroying all that displeases them." Vatican broadcasts in French stressed the need to resist campaigns of falsehood with exact knowledge; for the suppression or distortion of such knowledge was a prime cause of the war; and *Osservatore Romano*'s comment on the Potsdam Conference—may deeds not contradict words—struck a similar note. The Vatican's constant fear that revolutionaries may exploit the ignorance of the people and dissolve society is seen in the Pope's latest request to the United States envoy, that Allied troops might remain in Italy as a symbol of law and order, until conditions are normal.

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

The "second stage" in the occupation of Hungary having been reached, the Russians have proposed revised arrangements for the working of the Allied Control Commission. The Soviet, British and American members of the Commission will hold regular meetings. The communication addressed to the British Commission states that directives to be handed to the Hungarian Government will

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be *agreed* with the British and United States Commissioners. Similar communications addressed to British representatives in Bulgaria and Roumania have however, made it clear that in those countries we can expect only *discussion* in the Commission and no guarantee that our views will not be overruled. Steps are being taken to discover whether the Russians really intend to give us, as their communication indicates, genuinely tripartite control in Hungary. In other respects also the British and American representatives will have a larger voice in policy, and be subject to fewer restrictions, than heretofore.

It is understood that a full copy of the Hungarian reparations agreement will shortly be made available to His Majesty's Government.

The Soviet authorities have restored to Hungarian control all the Hungarian oil-wells and installations. General Miklós and Generalissimo Stalin have exchanged further telegrams.

The Hungarian Government has asked the Allies for the extradition of persons listed by Hungary as war criminals for trial in Hungary. The request, which Marshal Vorishilov has endorsed, is under consideration.

The Government is still pressing for permission to deport to Germany some 200,000 disloyal "Swabians" (members of the German minority in Hungary).

The People's Court has sentenced to death General Beldy, the former "Youth Leader."

To the account of Gyöngyössy's speech, given in last week's *Summary*, protesting against the deportation of Magyars from Slovakia, should be added that he was followed on the platform by a local Slovak who affirmed the loyalty of the Hungarian Slovaks to Hungary; while after the meeting a deputation of Slovaks presented Gyöngyössy with a memorandum asking to be protected against compulsory deportation.

In domestic politics, tempers are getting seriously frayed. Not only are the Bourgeois Democrats entirely excluded from participation in political life, but a few days ago very harsh words were exchanged between the Left-wing of the Communists, under J. Révai, and the Right-wing of the Smallholders, under Varga. The more moderate leaders, Rákosi for the Communists and Tildy for the Smallholders, have tried to prevent a breach while the Social Democrats also mediated, reaffirming their old alliance with the Smallholders. The Communists had been accusing the other parties of "fostering reaction," and some concessions were made to them. The resignation of Social Democrat Minister of Justice, Valentiny, reported last week, is now known to have been due to pressure from the Communists, who thought him too lenient to "fascists." It has been followed—admittedly for the same reason—by the resignation of the Smallholder Finance Minister, Vásáry, whose successor is I. Oltvanyi, formerly President of the National Bank. Finally after the attacks of the Left on General Faraghó had gone crescendo to fortissimo, he was at last removed, to be replaced by S. Rónai (Social Democrat). This arrangement puts the Social Democrats on an equal footing with the Communists and Smallholders with three portfolios each.

The cost of living fell a further 6·3 per cent. in June and the President of the National Bank has described fears of inflation as unfounded. The yield of this year's harvest (wheat and rye) is forecast at only 10 million quintals, which, when reserves for seed are deducted, will hardly cover more than half the normal peacetime needs.

Roumania.

The Soviet authorities have announced certain modifications in the method of work of the Allied Control Commission in Roumania. These new arrangements include the calling of regular meetings, a provision that directions on matters of principle are to be issued by the Chairman after "discussion," but not necessarily with the agreement of the British and American representatives, and the concession that freedom of movement throughout the country is permitted to British and American representatives, on condition that dates and routes are notified beforehand. Moreover, the British and Americans are to have the right to fix the number and select the personnel for their own staffs. The despatch of mails, supplies and diplomatic couriers is to be carried out in the manner prescribed by the A.C.C. It is obvious that a good many loopholes are left, and that much depends upon what the Soviet intentions may be. This move appears to have been precisely timed to forestall discussion at the Potsdam Conference.

The agreement setting up a Russian-Roumanian Oil Combine was signed at Moscow on the 17th July.

A draft agreement has been drawn up for the formation of a Russian-Roumanian Shipping and Harbour Company. The details both of this and of the Oil Combine require careful study and will be dealt with more fully in the next *Summary*.

The President of the Roumanian Armistice Commission announces that he has been informed by the Soviet authorities that they intend to keep an army of 1,000,000 men in Roumania for at least a year, and that Roumania will be responsible for the provisioning of this force.

In an article in the *Sunday Times* of the 15th July, Mr. Gibson, who was recently allowed to leave Roumania after a long period of waiting, reports that the Roumanian Prime Minister told him on the 23rd May that he had had as many as 90,000 people under arrest but that the figure had recently fallen to 2,300. Dl Patraşcanu, the Minister of Justice, is quoted as putting the number at 60,000 last April. Another source which should be trustworthy puts the figure at over 50,000, of whom many are followers of Maniu.

Yugoslavia.

Although the situation in and around Trieste remains disturbed, the Italian inhabitants are recovering some confidence, food conditions seem to have improved and prices have fallen about 15 per cent. The arrests of 49 agitators on the 9th July provoked no immediate reaction; but a general strike for one day was called for the 19th. The Yugoslav Government have protested to the British and American Ambassadors against the Allied Military Government's suppression of Yugoslav-sponsored authorities.

Ribnikar, the Minister for Education, in an editorial article in *Politika*, let himself go against Greece, Turkey and the Western Allies. He wrote, "The behaviour of the great Western Allied Powers in liberated Europe is diametrically opposed to what they solemnly proclaimed during the war and are still repeating —freedom, democracy, national self-determination." With the Western Allies he contrasted the Soviet Union, which "neither demands territory nor military bases . . . . because it is not an imperialist conqueror State." His article was supported by other denunciations of the "reactionary" West, representing the European war as a revolution against all Governments except that of the Soviet Union. A cartoon showed E.A.M. as Hercules bound and threatened by a hydra, whose heads included the Greek King, the Greek Archbishop and John Bull. The *News Chronicle* was quoted for evidence that the British were not surrendering "war criminals" and neutral States were threatened for the same reason.

The Yugoslav Ambassador in London has received some straight talk in the Foreign Office about this propaganda. The British Ambassador has expressed himself similarly to Tito. He also enquired the reason for the constant hostility of Yugoslav military and civilian officials, and received Tito's assurance that orders would be issued to remedy the situation and that His Majesty's Embassy should be allowed to maintain touch with its consulates by aeroplane.

In Serbia not only have the functions of the courts of national honour passed to the district courts (see *Summary*, No. 302, p. 16), but in some cases the same personnel continue to act as judges.

The president of A.V.N.O.J., which the Crimea Conference recommended should include members of the last Yugoslav parliament, has said that it will be enlarged by the inclusion of "patriots from within the Front." A congress of the Front will also be held in August. No members of the former Governments in London are included in the Committees of the Congress, which will be a gathering of the partisan movement.

Before the Conference at Potsdam King Peter sent a letter to Mr. Churchill protesting that Yugoslavia was the victim of the tyranny of one party, in violation of the Tito-Shubashitch Agreement, which the King had been induced to accept last January.

The Head of U.N.R.R.A.'s Yugoslav Mission has given a warning about the harvest. The maize crop will be only two-thirds of the pre-war average; beet sugar less than a third. Above all, 6,000 lorries are needed before October, if the devastated western areas are to be supplied, and U.N.R.R.A.'s allocation to Yugoslavia is 1,650. Meanwhile the official *Borba* said that the chaos in the markets of Belgrade was the fault of selfish merchants and of "the people's authorities," who had done nothing to check the rise of prices, *e.g.*, of fruit and vegetables. The stagnation in the Serbian textile industry is attributed to the failure of the new committees to carry out the State wool-purchasing drive, which only collected 18,000 kilog. of wool, instead of 200,000 expected, in a month. In view of the

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country's economic needs men over 35 and all women, except some specialists, are to be demobilised from the army in the next two months.

The entire output of the British-owned Trepca mines, which are operating on a reduced scale under the temporary administration of the Yugoslav authorities, is reported to be destined for Russia.

Greece.

The Foreign Minister, M. Sophianopoulos, who returned from the United States on 22nd July, announced his resignation the following day after a long meeting with the Regent and the Prime Minister. His resignation had been expected by the majority of Athens politicians since, contrary to his instructions, he voted against the United States and British Delegates at San Francisco over the Argentine issue (see *Summary* No. 292). M. Sophianopoulos told the Press that his conversations abroad had confirmed his belief that Greek interests called for the immediate formation of an all-party Government. Only such a Government could inspire a feeling of security among all classes and make possible free elections the results of which would be beyond dispute in Greece and abroad. His resignation was designed to emphasise these views. While in the United States, M. Sophianopoulos conversed both with M. Molotov and M. Gavrilovitch, whose Governments continue to display marked hostility to the present Greek Government and would no doubt welcome its replacement by one in which the Communist party was represented. It is, however, difficult to believe, with the failure of the post-liberation all-party Government of M. Papandreou in mind, that a political Government would be better suited to handle the real problems of Greece (see *Summary* No. 301). There is therefore reason to suspect that M. Sophianopoulos' resignation was dictated by party rather than international considerations.

His action may well be connected with a new campaign in all the non-Royalist press to represent the internal situation in Greece as completely out of control. While this is nothing out of the ordinary for the Communists—E.A.M. on the 10th July sent an "appeal" to the peoples of Britain, America and Russia, and the resistance movements of Europe, which represents the country as at the mercy of Right-wing terrorist bands—it is a new topic for the Republican press. Its adoption is probably due to the realisation by Republican politicians that the Government, which is proceeding steadily with the compilation of electoral rolls, intends to hold elections and a plebiscite in the autumn or at all events this year. It is generally accepted that the probable result of autumn elections would be a Royalist victory since, with the events of December 1944 still vividly in mind, the majority of voters consider the issue to be the King or Communism, not Monarchy or Republic. Thus, while the Royalist parties view the preparations for early elections with equanimity, the Republican politicians are doing all they can to postpone them or to discredit them in advance. M. Kaphandaris recently told the Press that his party would not participate in "rushed elections." Rizospastis had already stated, on the 16th June, that the Communist party would abstain from voting "if there were no guarantee for the free expression of the people's wishes." Early elections are, however, among the prerequisites of Greece's return to normality, and their supervision by the United States and British, and possibly also the Soviet and French, Governments should provide a sufficient guarantee of their fairness.

On the 22nd July the Yugoslav Legation in Athens presented a note drawing the attention of the Greek Government to the alleged persecution of Slav Macedonians by regular and irregular Greek forces. It goes on to say "The Yugoslav Government expects the Greek Government to give the necessary orders to put an end to all acts of terrorism and persecution of the population of Yugoslav origin in Ægean Macedonia, and that the Greek Government will respect the rights of our minority." There is no Yugoslav minority as such in Greece, and His Majesty' Consul-General, Salonica, recently confirmed, after a recent tour of the frontier area, that there is no persecution of Slavophone Macedonians. The Greek Government cannot accept such a document which, they observe, gives no particulars in support of its allegations and reads more like an article from *Borba* than an official communications between civilised, let alone Allied Governments. Such documents had in recent years been preludes to acts of aggression by their authors. At the Greek Government's request the matter has been referred to His Majesty's and the United States Governments, and no reply will be sent until their comments are received.

Albania.

Some ten weeks ago an American official, Mr. Joseph Jacobs, was sent to Albania by the State Department in order to investigate and report on the situation. It is understood that he has now sent in his recommendation, which is likely to be that the United States Government should inform Enver Hoxha that they will be prepared to accord *de facto* recognition to the F.N.C. régime subject to his first agreeing to hold free elections.

It is announced from Tirana that Enver Hosha has sent his close associate Colonel Hisni Kapo to Belgrade as his representative accredited to Marshal Tito's Government. Kapo has been a member of the National Liberation movement in Albania from the beginning, and it was he who organised the first armed bands near Valona. One of his duties will presumably be to do what he can to persuade Yugoslavia, in spite of her own grave shortages, to supply Albania with some of the grain of which she is now so sorely in need. In normal times Albania (without Kosovo) had to import 400,000 quintals annually, and the F.N.C. has not only to make the grain available quickly but also to pay for it somehow.

No fresh U.N.R.R.A. developments have been reported.

The press and wireless campaign against Greece—here as in Bulgaria—has continued with unabated virulence.

Bulgaria.

Two stormy Cabinet meetings followed the issue of M. Petkov's circular letter (see last week's *Summary*), but he and his two remaining Agrarian colleagues have so far refused to resign, backed up (it is thought) by the widely respected Regent Ganev. The existing tension cannot continue indefinitely, but it is hard to foresee what will happen next. Meanwhile the leader of the not very influential Democrat Party, M. Stoicho Mushanov—whose two chief lieutenants, Bourov and Nikola Mushanov, are incidentally in prison—has made a formal request to the (Communist) Minister of the Interior for his party to be permitted the right of legal individuality under the terms of the new Electoral Law, but has been told categorically that no organised opposition would be tolerated.

The Ex-arch Stefan, fresh from his visit to Moscow, told Mr. Houstoun-Boswall on the 21st July that from conversations which he had held there with Georgi Dimitrov and various eminent Soviet personages he was convinced that it was not the intention of the U.S.S.R. to precipitate a crisis in Bulgaria, particularly of such a character as to disturb His Majesty's Government or the Government of the United States. Dimitrov, he declared, speaks every evening direct with Sofia "and he is the mouthpiece of the Generalissimo, to whom he is very close indeed."

Four days earlier, however, General Oxley called on General Biryusov and asked him point-blank whether it was true that the Russian Army of Occupation in Bulgaria had been increased, and if so what did it signify? General Biryusov replied that the Russian Armies in South-East Europe were in process of being regrouped as a result of withdrawals from Hungary, Austria and Yugoslavia, and went on to explain that the troops being withdrawn north-east from the southern part of this area had necessarily to cross Bulgaria. General Oxley then asked if these troops were being moved back to Russia. After a pause General Biryusov said he had no knowledge of the plans of the General Staff, but "there were other countries, too, beyond Bulgaria." Had he not heard that we ourselves had largely increased our garrison in Greece? The Greek press were putting out highly inflammable statements, one of which was to the effect that they proposed to march through Bulgaria to Moscow. He presumed they could be likened to a flea on the back of an elephant, which feels that much stronger. General Oxley thereupon endeavoured to allay his fears, assuring him that there had been no increase of British troops in Greece. This assurance General Biryusov accepted, and the meeting ended in many professions of mutual esteem.

Turkey.

The Turkish Government has continued to withhold information from the public concerning the recent Russian proposals. So much so that the press has complained that on such a vital issue it has had to rely on agency telegrams from abroad.

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Direct attacks on Turkey by the Russian press and radio have somewhat diminished since the opening of the Potsdam Conference. Moscow radio has, however, reported in detail an appeal by the American National Committee of America to President Truman, Mr. Churchill and Marshal Stalin for the return of "the Armenian Provinces, now forming part of Turkey, to their rightful owners, Soviet Armenia." It contrasted the miseries which the Armenians had suffered under the Turks, with their present security and economic advancement under the Armenian Soviet Republic. The appeal referred to the valour of the Armenian troops who fought in the Soviet and American armies and contrasted their deeds with "the traditional double-faced policy of Turkey"—which had led her to postpone her declaration of war on Germany until the last minute.

Yet another political party—to be known as the Party of National Restoration—has made its appearance. Its leader is Nuri Demirağ, a wealthy merchant and contractor who took an active part in Turkey's railway development, in the Air League and in aircraft production. The programme of the party includes freedom from Government interference in commerce and industry; the abolition of conscription and its replacement by a small, highly trained, technical army; direct, in place of indirect, voting; and the "adoption of a policy which, while conforming with Turkish traditions, would be modelled on the internal and external policy of Britain."

Turkey has appointed a delegation of four prominent merchants to represent her at the Congress of the International Chamber of Commerce, which is to take place shortly in London.

A fortnightly Turkish steamship service will shortly be established between Istanbul and Egypt. The vessels will call at Smyrna, Piræus, Alexandria, Port Said, Haifa, Beyrouth, Alexandretta, Mersin, Antalya and Rhodes.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

The transfer of the *Troupes Spéciales* to the Levant Governments has been proceeding with greater speed than was at first thought probable. In fact, progress may have been too rapid. It is by no means a simple matter for one controlling authority to hand over to another so many troops, to say nothing of their barracks, stores and equipment; nor will it in any case be easy for the local Governments to arrange for the feeding and training of those troops that they require for the formation of their national army. Once the transfer of the *Troupes Spéciales* has been completed it will be time enough to consider the possibility of discussions on other matters. Count Ostrorog himself fully recognises the impracticability of reopening negotiations at present, and even appears to think that little or nothing can be done in that direction for some time.

During the past week the Syrian authorities in Aleppo have begun to show more energy in countering the activities of local anti-French extremists. On the 11th July, for instance, the Governor of Aleppo spoke to the leading men of the town on the importance of spreading counsels of moderation among the population. He also urged restraint on the editors of the local press, as a result of which some of the Aleppo newspapers, for the first time since the crisis began, have published quite moderate articles on the local situation. For these satisfactory developments due regard must be paid to the representations made both in Aleppo and in Damascus by His Majesty's Legation and the British Military Authorities. (See also under "France.")

It is reported from Cairo that on the 3rd July a meeting was held under the auspices of the Young Men's Moslem Association to discuss the situation of French North Africa. Representatives of various bodies interested in Moslem–Arab affairs were invited to the meeting, at which speeches denouncing French policy in Arab countries are said to have been made. Among the resolutions passed at the meeting were those advocating intervention by the United Nations to prevent French "terrorism" in North Africa; support of the claims of Morocco, Algeria and Tunis for complete independence and membership of the Arab League, and the holding of a general conference to make propaganda in favour of these North African territories.

The trial of Mahmoud Issawi for the murder of Ahmad Maher Pasha was resumed in Cairo on the 18th July. According to the press, Nahas Pasha excused his attendance as a witness on the grounds of ill-health, but wrote to the president of the Court repeating the declaration of the Wafd made in February last, that

his party disapproved of Egypt's declaration of war. Among other witnesses summoned, who were heard *in camera*, were the Prime Minister, Nokrashi Pasha; and Ali Maher and Makram Ebeid, all three of whom are said to have stated that they were in favour of Egypt's declaration of war, Nokrashi and Ebeid emphasising that it was *not* made at the behest of Great Britain. Ebeid added that it was due to the wish of President Roosevelt, a statement that not unnaturally caused some sensation, but was later denied by Nokrashi.

In an interview granted to a Reuter correspondent in London by the Regent of Iraq shortly after his arrival in this country, His Royal Highness is reported to have said that the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty should be revised and would be discussed with his Majesty's Government while he was in London. (It is, on the face of it, unlikely that the Regent actually said this to a correspondent, but it is just possible that he did so.) The interview has been prominently and favourably featured in the Iraqi press, which has expressed satisfaction that on the question of treaty revision the Regent contradicted an earlier pronouncement by the former Iraqi Minister in London (who incidentally is attending the Regent on his travels) that the treaty was good and should be left unaltered. It is not unnaturally assumed in Bagdad that the amendment of the treaty is actually being discussed in London with His Majesty's Government, which, of course, is not the case. It may well be that, in view of recent speeches in the Iraqi Parliament and of the press campaign on the subject, the Regent may wish to raise the matter in private conversation with the Secretary of State or some senior official of the Foreign Office; but it is most unlikely that there will be any fomal discussion of the question. The Regent was also reported as saying that Rashid Ali would be hanged on his return to Iraq—a statement which was not so favourably received. Meanwhile the campaign for the revision of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty is gathering volume in the Iraqi press, and while most of the articles deal with the problem in general terms, there have been references to the existence in Iraq of British "military bases" which are regarded as incompatible with complete independence.

Faiz al Khury, the newly appointed Syrian Minister to Russia, stopped in Bagdad on his way to Moscow and was received in audience by the Acting Regent, the Amir Zaid, on the 5th July. On the following day he held a press conference at the Syrian Legation in Bagdad, at which he expressed his own and his Government's views on Franco-Syrian relations, stressing the impossibility of resuming negotiations with the French as long as their troops remained in Syria, and his distrust of any proposals for a "cultural" treaty which the French might put forward. (See also under "Soviet Union.")

The new Persian Government was presented to the Majlis on the 17th July, when at last a sufficient number of members attended to form the necessary quorum. This, however, does not imply that the minority supported M. Sadr's Government, and the Prime Minister is inclined to think that he had better retire unless he succeeds in getting at least 70 votes. Many Deputies are already on the look-out for a successor.

The order by the Persian Government to suspend foreign broadcasts (see *Summary* No. 302) has been cancelled, and foreign broadcasts from Radio Tehran may now be resumed, provided that the script is submitted beforehand to the Persian censor. Our broadcasts to Indian troops may therefore be renewed, subject to Persian censorship. It remains to be seen whether the Persian censor will be strong enough to prohibit objectionable references to us or to the Americans broadcast under Soviet auspices, as has occurred several times recently.

THE FAR EAST.

In Japan the Potsdam Conference is clearly regarded with apprehension for its possible effect on the policy of the Soviet Union. Japanese publicity has shown some vacillation on the subject. On the 22nd July a Japanese broadcast claimed that Russia was "shying away from all attempts to force her to enter the conflict," and predicted that President Truman would be gradually driven to modify the foreign policy he had inherited from the Roosevelt Administration. On the other hand, a Tokyo broadcast on the following day uttered a warning to the nation to be prepared for a communiqué after the Potsdam Conference containing "provisions considerably unfavourable for Japan" and calling for a "fresh, vigorous policy towards the Soviet Union."

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Mr. Elmer Davis, head of the Office of War Information, declared on the 22nd July that there was no special significance in a broadcast to Japan on the 20th by Captain Zacharias, an American naval officer, and said that mistaken inferences had been drawn from it.

Captain Zacharias commended the unconditional surrender peace formula as "a humanitarian gesture of great constructive value," and urged "Japanese leaders who are sincerely interested in terminating the war with honour" to study American historical precedents, notably "the honourable surrender of General Lee in 1865. He declared that Japan had a choice between "the virtual destruction of Japan followed by a dictated peace" and, on the other hand, "unconditional surrender, with its attendant benefits as laid down by the Atlantic Charter." He also assured the Japanese that "if they should initiate the cessation of hostilities without further delay it may be assumed that it will be the United States which will enforce the formula and ensure the peace."

The session of the People's Political Council in Chungking closed on the 20th July. A vast number of resolutions have been passed. Among these were proposals that twenty-year treaties should be concluded with Great Britain, France and Russia; that the Emperor Hirohito should be declared a "war criminal"; that the existing political organisation in Mongolia and Tibet should be strengthened; and that the land laws should be revised. Dr. Soong, who addressed the Council on the last day, is reported to have expressed the view that owing to the Allied bombing of Japan and the well-co-ordinated Chinese and Allied military operations, it was possible that Japan would surrender unconditionally this year or at the latest by next spring. He did not reveal what questions had been under discussion during his visit to Moscow, but he explained that no definite decisions had been reached. Referring to China's internal situation, Soong said that after Japan's defeat the problems of administering the liberated territory and of national reconstruction would arise. It would be necessary to decide what economic enterprises should be developed in the next few years and then to negotiate with friendly Powers for loans for this purpose. The United States, Britain, the U.S.S.R., Canada, France and Belgium were mentioned as being in a position, and willing, to help China in this respect. Soong said that during his visit to Washington he had succeeded in securing "a large quantity" of United States gold, which would be used to strengthen China's currency reserve, and that big consignments of cloth had been secured for transshipment to China from the United States, Mexico and Brazil.

Dr. Soong hopes to return to Moscow about the end of the month and renew the interrupted negotiations with the Soviet Government. He has intimated his intention of visiting both Washington and London after the conclusion of the Moscow talks. He professes optimism as to the ultimate result of the Moscow talks, but it appears that their course so far has not been easy. Meanwhile, Chungking's relations with Yenan remain as bad as ever. Both sides are now busy jockeying for position on or near the coast, with their eyes on the eventual control of the great coastal cities, which in normal times produce the bulk of the Chinese revenue. Each side is thinking of its own strategic position in event of an American landing on the coast of China, for whichever is the better placed for assisting the Americans in such operations would expect to get the lion's share of arms and support for its local administrative authority; such American support would be given to either side for strategic motives but the eventual consequences to China would be political. Much, therefore, depends on where landings are made. South of Shanghai the Chungking Third War Zone forces under General Ku Chu-tung, an old supporter of Chiang Kai-shek, appear to have the upper hand outside the Japanese-garrisoned areas, but most of the coast of Shantung (except Weihaiwei, Chefoo and Lungkow, where there are Japanese garrisons) is now controlled by the Communist forces, who have ousted the Chungking guerrillas. Apart from the forces now adhering to either Chungking or Yenan, there are the numerous troops of the Nanking puppet régime and their commanders who are likely to break with Japan as soon as it seems safe to do so and try to bargain themselves into safety.

A full account has now been received of the proceedings of the Seventh National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (see *Summary* No. 298). In the course of his review of the political situation, General Mao Tse-tung claimed that the Communist troops, numbering some 910,000 men, had become the main force of resistance to Japan and that in contrast to this the Kuomintang areas had nothing to show but a long tale of "military defeats, loss of large territories and economic and financial crisis." He claimed that since 1939 it was the Communists who had borne the brunt of the Japanese attack. He said that

in 1943 64 per cent. of the Japanese forces operating in China and 95 per cent. of their Chinese puppet troops had been engaged by the Chinese Communists and that 56 per cent. of the Japanese forces in China and most of the puppet troops were so engaged. These are figures which have often recently been quoted in the British and American Press; they are, however, largely meaningless, because they do not compare numbers of troops on different fronts; as the Communists operate almost entirely behind the Japanese lines, they can count all occupation troops not actually at the "front" as engaged against them, but strong occupation forces would in any case be necessary for garrisons and lines of communication in the wide territories superficially conquered by the Japanese since 1937. Mao went on to voice the old grievance that the Nanking puppet troops were receiving "moral and organisational" support from the Kuomintang and that they were encouraged to attack the Communist-held areas, which were at the same time blockaded by 800,000 of the Kuomintang's forces. "Many people know of the Mihailovitch in Yugoslavia," he added, "but they never hear of the scores of Mihailovitches in China." Owing to the strict censorship imposed by the Kuomintang it was impossible to make this state of affairs known to many Chinese or to foreign public opinion.

As against Mao Tse-tung's charge that the Nanking puppet troops are receiving Kuomintang support, it is interesting to note that the Chungking military spokesman claimed recently that the Communist troops were receiving tacit, if not active, Japanese support in the occupation of areas vacated by the Japanese. While it is no doubt in the Japanese interest to promote civil strife between Communist and Chungking troops, there is nothing to show that the Communists are in fact acting in collusion with the Japanese.

On the 24th July Yenan broadcast a statement that Chungking troops had attacked Communist positions 65 miles north of Sian, that fighting had been going on for three days and that General Chu Teh, commander of the (Communist) 18th Army Group had cabled to Chiang Kai-shek demanding a cessation of the attacks. So far there has been no confirmation of this report from Chungking sources.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A further milestone in acceptance by the United States of responsibility for participation in world affairs and further evidence of the determination of the American people to help the world back on to its feet is the ratification by the Senate by a vote of 61 to 16 of the Bretton Woods Monetary Agreements. It has usually been granted that the proposal to set up a World Bank and International Monetary Fund for Reconstruction and Development was a more controversial issue than ever the United Nations Charter. But despite persistent opposition from Senator Taft (Republican, Ohio), incidentally and unexpectedly supported in some of his manœuvres by the internationalist Senator Ball (Republican, Minnesota), who produced a last-minute amendment to the effect that nations failing to abolish discriminatory currency practices within three years should be banned from the use of the fund, the final votes were more favourable than even the most optimistic earlier dared to hope. Indeed, the vote of the House of Representatives approving the legislation as passed by the Senate was unanimous. The Bill now only needs the President's signature to become law. Mr. Morgenthau, the late Secretary of the Treasury, greeted the final passage of these proposals with the statement that "The American people are united in their determination to co-operate with other countries in the settling of international problems by the method of discussions and agreement," and expressed the hope that other nations would promptly follow the United States lead.

The Senate has also approved legislation to make the Export-Import Bank an independent, permanent agency of the Government with resources increased from 700 million dollars to 3½ billion dollars. These increased lending powers are necessary in order to finance the delivery of industrial equipment and supplies to Europe, which have hitherto been granted under Lend-Lease. Mr. Crowley, Administrator of the Federal Economic Administration, in urging the grant of increased lending powers, remarked that the need was the greater because the proposed International Bank contemplated under the Bretton Woods Agreement could not be put into effective operation for another year or eighteen months.

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A further expression of the readiness and willingness of the United States to do all it can to restore international prosperity is the approval by a voice vote of the completed Congressional action on a resolution authorising United States participation in the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organisation (F.A.O.).

Meanwhile the United Nations Charter is now being debated on the Senate floor and speedy ratification seems certain. Devout internationalists, however, fear lest public complacency may enable an isolationist minority to cause trouble over the subsequent enabling legislation. The three points over which controversy might arise in the future are finance, the powers of the United States delegate on the Security Council and the size and conditions of the use of the United States quota forces. Senator Vandenberg, who has wholeheartedly supported, and has, indeed, proved a tower of strength to, the Administration on this issue has himself suggested that later legislation should require the President to notify Congress whenever he authorises the United States delegates to commit United States forces; and it is of interest that ex-President Hoover, while advocating immediate ratification by the Senate of the United Nations Charter, has suggested that " somewhere along the line Congress must define (the) delegate's powers " for Congress should never part with its powers to declare war.

As the *New York Times* has pointed out, these events in the United States, strengthen the hand of Mr. Truman at Potsdam; as to Potsdam, however, the American people have so far had to be content with the bare announcement that " the work of the conference is going ahead and much serious business has been done." Naturally there is some (but surprisingly little) criticism of the secrecy which surrounds the Conference, and an immense amount of speculation concerning the topics that may have been or are being discussed. Thus it is reported that " President Truman has succeeded in putting the Pacific War first on the agenda of the Potsdam Conference," and, more cautiously, that there is " increased discussion of developments in the Far East and on the possibility of an early peace." The press, for its part, continues to pronounce strongly against any contemplation of a negotiated peace, though certain papers, for instance, the Luce publications, and such responsible commentators as Mr. Ernest Lindley and Mr. Mark Sullivan, are urging a clarification of the unconditional surrender terms in order to save American lives; despatches from Washington, which have been echoed by such columnists as Drew Pearson, maintain that President Truman has taken to Potsdam a report by Acting Secretary Grew, outlining the minimum peace terms for Japan.

Rumours of Japanese peace feelers also continue in spite of the denials by Mr. Grew and his insistence that the policy of unconditional surrender remains unchanged; and despite official discouragement a good deal of emphasis is placed on Japan's impending defeat. Closely allied to this are tributes to the part that the British are playing in the Far East war and in particular the contribution made by the Royal Navy, though in certain quarters it is still alleged that Britain is not pulling her full weight. A recent Gallup Poll revealed that 77 per cent. of those interviewed wish to see Soviet Russia join in the war against Japan, but at the same time only 39 per cent. (as against 65 per cent. immediately after Yalta) believe she will come in. Speculation on Russia's rôle in the Far East continues.

Mr. Ickes has announced that if possible six million tons of American coal will be shipped to Europe for civilian use between now and the 1st January (see last week's *Summary*). This decision, Mr. Ickes said, was reached because of the " desperate " coal situation in Europe. " The race in Europe to-day is one between coal and anarchy. I do not think it is going too far to say," he maintained, " that a coal famine of such severity as to destroy nearly all semblance of law and order is certain to occur in certain countries in North-West Europe next winter unless immediate and drastic action is taken now." Mr. Ickes has also appealed to the army to release at least 30,000 miners.

Dr. Vannevar Bush, Director of the Office of Scientific Research and Development has presented a report, which was requested last November by President Roosevelt, proposing the establishment of a National Research Foundation by Congress for the purposes of promoting a national policy for scientific research and scientific education. Representative Randolph (Democrat, W. Virginia) and Senator Magnuson (Democrat, Washington), have introduced Bills into Congress to create such a foundation, which, it is estimated, will cost nearly eight million pounds a year.

(See also under " Poland," " Latin America " and " Far East ").

LATIN AMERICA.

The Argentine masquerade continues. According to Press reports, pamphlets attacking the United States Ambassador as " the cowboy tamer of South American Governments," and insinuating that Al Capone was to be found in the United States Embassy, have been distributed in the streets. Posters, similar to those which are issued by the Secretariat of Labour and Welfare, are reported to have been exhibited urging workers to " unite against Wall Street imperialism." The Government have denied responsibility for the posters and, according to broadcast reports, Sr. Ameghino, the Foreign Minister, has ordered an investigation. Nevertheless, the incident is far from creditable to Colonel Perón.

Meanwhile two more German firms are stated to have been taken over, and the winding-up of German insurance companies has been ordered.

In the Dominican Republic the distribution of leaflets attacking Generalissimo Trujillo has led to arrests among students: persons who sought sanctuary in the Colombian Legation have left Ciudad Trujillo under safe conduct, but the sheltering of others in the Venezuelan Legation seems to have revived the old tension between the Dominican Republic and Venezuela.

The election of Dr. Bustamante Rivero as President of Peru, which has been virtually certain for several weeks (see *Summary* No. 298), has been officially proclaimed, and the new President will take office on the 28th July. Dr. Bustamante, who had a majority of two to one over General Ureta, is a native of Arequipa and a lawyer by profession. He entered politics in 1930, and served as Minister of Justice. Since 1934 he has been successively Minister at La Paz, Ambassador in Montevideo, and Ambassador at La Paz.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 304

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
1ST AUGUST, 1945.

Copy No. 141

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

THE Allied Control Council for Germany took up its permanent duties on the 30th July, after holding its first formal meeting in Berlin under the chairmanship of General Eisenhower on that day. At the conclusion of this meeting an official communiqué was issued, stating that future sessions of the Control Council would be held regularly on the 10th, 20th and 30th of each month and at any time on request of any member of the Council. The Council, it added, "took note with approval of the arrangements reached for an allocation of the sector in Greater Berlin to the forces of occupation of the French Republic." The area allocated, however, was not specified.

Considerable interest has been shown by the Russian-controlled press of Berlin in the results of the British parliamentary election. In the view of the Communist *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, the advent of a Labour Government in Britain "might influence the political development of many European countries, including Franco Spain." According to the *Berliner Zeitung*, the official organ of the German municipal administration in Berlin, the fundamental principles adopted for their reconstruction by liberated countries like France and Czechoslovakia had now also been endorsed by the British people. The same paper expressed a hope that the new Labour Government would "grant permission for anti-Fascist parties to operate in the British zone" as well as in the Russian. *Tägliche Rundschau*, the mouthpiece of the Red army authorities in Berlin, confined itself to quoting the somewhat non-committal *Pravda* leader of the 28th July, emphasising that the main issue of the election turned on questions of British home policy.

A move to bring some of the newly-formed trade unions in the Russian zone "into line with the international trade union movement" was announced from Dresden on the 27th July, with the constitution of a "Preparatory Trade Union

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Committee" to foster the growth of labour organisations in the province of Saxony. A similar "Preparatory Committee" was stated on the same day to have been set up at Rostock, and will presumably exercise the same functions in the province of Mecklenburg. The principles and aims of these committees are substantially the same as those of the new trade unions in Berlin, and their members are drawn exclusively from the Social Democratic and Communist parties. All provincial organisations of the Social Democratic party throughout the Russian zone are at the moment rigidly controlled from Berlin, where the party now claims a membership of 60,000 and where headquarters have been planned as the eventual central authority of the party for all Germany. In the absence of any serious division or even, it would seem, discussion on ideological issues, all the political parties and trade union groups in the Russian zone are at the moment concentrating their main energies on plain domestic tasks like the provision of labour for this season's harvest. Despite the establishment of native German administrations for Brandenburg, Mecklenburg and Saxony at the beginning of July (see *Summary* No. 301), it is clear that Marshal Zhukov is keeping executive responsibility very firmly in his own hands. On the 26th July, with a view to "improving the administration of Brandenburg," he ordered the subdivision of the province into four new *Verwaltungsbezirke*, centred in the towns of Brandenburg, Bernau, Eberswalde and Kottbus, to replace the existing *Regierungsbezirke* of Potsdam and Frankfurt-an-der-Oder. These *Verwaltungsbezirke* contained none of the old territory of Brandenburg east of the Oder.

On the 25th July Marshal Zhukov issued an order compelling private citizens, business concerns and public institutions in the Russian zone to hand over to the "field offices" of the State Bank all gold, silver and platinum in bar or coin, and all foreign currency and "documents relating to property and precious objects" in their possession. Those failing to comply were threatened with severe penalties. In many of the German cities property-owners as a class have been virtually destroyed. 80 per cent. of private dwelling-property in Berlin is now regarded as a total loss, according to an estimate by the Berlin radio of the 24th July. A recently established "Office for the Disposal of Salvaged Property" at the moment disposes of entire businesses and factories which have been classified as "ownerless." To the impoverished city dwellers of Russian-occupied Germany are slowly being added several millions of ruined business people and dispossessed peasants driven from the East. Some 34 per cent. of the 2,300,000 Germans who are due to arrive completely destitute from East Prussia, and some 30 per cent. of the 4,700,000 who are due to arrive in a similar state from Silesia, are persons who were described in the last German census as "selbständig," that is, townsfolk with their own businesses or peasants with their own farms. In a community so poverty-stricken and *déclassé*, even non-Socialist German political parties like the Liberal-Democrats and the Christian Democratic Union may genuinely be losing their *bourgeois* character as their recent proclamations would suggest.

The most recent meeting of the Inter-Allied Executive Military Council, which took place in the Berlin suburb of Zehlendorf on the 25th July, was the first of its kind to be reported in full by the Berlin radio, which still remains studiously silent on many of the administrative changes that have taken place in the German capital in the past weeks. Problems of food, fuel and labour, it stated, had been discussed and commissions had been appointed to standardise prices and wages. The Oberbürgermeister of Berlin, Dr. Werner, whom Col.-Gen. Gorbatov formally presented at the meeting to his British, American and French colleagues, was instructed to arrange within the next month for an orderly registration of the entire Berlin population so that a systematic distribution of food could be undertaken. On the day that the Military Council met, the Russian-controlled news agencies in Berlin made much of the burden which the Red Army was stated to have borne in the feeding of the city. In the first 24 days of July the Soviet authorities were said to have sent 43,128 tons of food, principally meat, fats, sugar and flour to Berlin. The city's meat supply was described as "exclusively in the hands of the Red Army," which had ordered large herds of cattle to be driven in from the surrounding countryside, so that at times about 70,000 head were available for feeding the population—a situation not easy to reconcile with other reports of how the Red Army has driven the best German cattle eastwards or slaughtered it indiscriminately to satisfy its own day-to-day needs. On the 30th July Col.-Gen. Gorbatov alleged that "Nazi wolves in sheep's clothing" had been attempting to sabotage Allied plans for food distribution in Berlin, among other things by misdirecting supplies. He added that Dr. Andreas

Hermes, the leader of the Christian Democratic Union and former Centre Party Minister of Finance, had "asked to be allowed to resign his post" as head of the Berlin food office as a result of investigations which had been made.

Under a new plan published in the *Hamburger Neue Presse* on the 28th July, certain perishable food-stuffs grown by the German population for German needs but difficult to store owing to the destruction of the packing plants will be placed at the disposal of the British Army in Germany, in exchange for tinned British food which can be kept by the Germans for winter. Policy at the moment is stated to be to raise local German food supplies to a level sufficient to maintain the health of the population, but no more. The high death-rate in the dysentery epidemic which is at present threatening Berlin and other cities is described as symptomatic of the general undernourishment there. In the week ending the 21st July, 475 cases of dysentery were noted in the British zone of Berlin alone. A milder incidence is reported from Munich and there is a marked seasonal outbreak at Frankfurt-am-Main. Following a considerable increase in the number of typhoid cases in Berlin for which the refugees from the East are believed to be largely responsible—Marshal Zhukov on the 27th July prohibited all further migration into the German capital (which he estimated at between 4,000 and 5,000 daily) and ordered the Red Army authorities to turn back at the railway stations all persons arriving without permits.

It is now estimated that no less than 600,000 displaced persons, principally Poles, will have to go on being fed and accommodated in the British zone during the autumn and early winter months. Nearly 600,000 Russians have so far been delivered to the Russian zone, but 400,000 remain, their return being entirely dependent on the rate at which the Soviet authorities will accept them (which amounts to 4,000 to 5,000 a day at the moment). All "westbound" repatriation is now virtually complete. More than half a million German troops have so far been demobilised for work of reconstruction in the British zone under the so-called Operations "Barleycorn" and "Coalscuttle," while under the Operation "Shuttlecock" 50,000 more have been sent to their homes in the American zone in return for 20,000 of those from the American prisoners-of-war cages whose homes are in the British zone.

Further details of the general plan of administration now being followed by the United States Military Government authorities in the South were published by the United States District Commander in Stuttgart, Colonel William Dawson, on the 24th July. The United States Military Government authorities, Colonel Dawson stated, "intended to use a system of German civil administration, jurisdiction and executive bodies as soon as possible." As a general principle, Military Government would enforce its will by indirect means. Although the National Socialist Party and all its organisations had been dissolved, the new administration might use these dissolved organisations when they served important needs, such as public assistance, health and sanitation, though without Nazi staffs and Nazi methods. Daily discussions "on the manifold problems of reconstructing the German administrative apparatus" were stated on the 23rd July to be taking place between all the German Landräte and members of the United States Military Government in Württemberg. The American-controlled Stuttgart radio is also inviting the German public to send in its views on the reconstruction of local government and similar matters of political interest. A certain measure of administrative decentralisation in Bavaria was announced by the Bavarian Prime Minister, Dr. Friedrich Schaeffer, on the 28th July. The main authorities for all public affairs, except railways, posts and finance, would, it was stated, in future be the five local Regierungspräsidenten and not the central State administration in Munich.

On the 25th July it was announced from Paris that M. Emile Laffon, Secretary-General in the French Ministry of the Interior, had been appointed "General Administrator" under General Koenig for the French zone of Germany. The French administration in Germany would, it was stated, comprise some specialised departments "almost equivalent to Ministries"—especially those charged with the recovery of property stolen in France and with compensation for losses borne by France during the occupation. Native German "cadres" would be used to assist the French administration. Though reports from the French zone are very scarce, one neutral observer has expressed considerable satisfaction at the way in which the French occupation is being managed and has claimed that German rations in the French zone are "in some respects bigger than the Parisians'." There were no reprisals against the German

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population, but some French officers apparently "regretted the relatively lenient occupation." Relations between the French and Swiss frontier authorities in South Baden and Württemberg would seem to be excellent, and members of the French Military Government are said to be supporting a plan of the Swiss Committee for Aid to Germany, devised under the guidance of Professor Ernst Stähelin of Basle, to open a number of Swiss-controlled schools and colleges in South Germany.

AUSTRIA.

The joint Allied occupation of Vienna is nearer to becoming an accomplished fact, with the arrival there of advance parties of British, United States, and French troops on the 27th July. They have taken up quarters in their respective zones, which are, however, only billeting areas; the administration of Vienna is to be on a joint basis. The administration of the entire city will, however, remain under Russian control until the meeting of the Allied Council, which is likely to be further delayed owing to the indisposition of Marshal Koniev, and the temporary absence of General Mark Clark in Brazil. When the administrative machinery is in operation, representatives of each of the four Allied Powers will preside in turn over the governing authority for one month. The advance parties are preparing for the arrival of larger units which are expected to arrive soon. The difficulties of finding suitable accommodation are considerable—many houses are destroyed, and essential services such as water, light, and sewage are still disrupted. The famous palace of Schönbrunn is likely to be the headquarters of the British administration. A report from Radio Linz pointed out that in the name of the Allied authority to be set up in Austria—the Allied Commission for Austria—the word "control" is missing. The contrast with Germany was, of course, deliberate.

British troops received a warm welcome on their entry into Graz (formerly occupied by Russian troops), on the 25th July, when General McCreery broadcast a message to the people of Styria. Machold, the *Landeshauptmann* of the Styrian Provincial Government set up during the Russian occupation, and which acknowledged the authority of the Renner Government, tendered his resignation and was invited to form a new provisional Provincial Government under British supervision. Elementary schools in Styria are to be reopened on the 10th September, and new text-books are being printed.

In Carinthia,, the Consultative Committee under Dr. Piesch has been recognised and elevated to the status of a Provisional Provincial Government, which held its constituent meeting on the 25th July, under the Chairmanship of Piesch as *Landeshauptmann*. This brings Carinthia, where the Committee previously had advisory powers only, into line with the other Austrian provinces, in each of which there is now a provincial administration under a *Landeshauptmann*. It is not yet clear how many members of the Consultative Committee hold office in the new government, but the distribution as between the parties is: 4 Social Democrats, 3 Volkspartei, 1 Communist, and 1 Carinthian Slovene, Dr. Tischler, who is responsible for minority questions. The list of offices announced includes Security, Agriculture, Minorities, and Reconstruction.

Neues Österreich reported an unofficial visit by Böhm (the Social Democrat Minister of Social Welfare in the Renner Government) to Czechoslovakia. Böhm spoke favourably of his friendly welcome there, of his hopes that Austria might expect some assistance from Czechoslovakia in the coming months, and of the good treatment accorded to Austrians by the Czech authorities.

The first Austrian trials of war criminals are scheduled to begin in Vienna at the beginning of August. Among the first cases will be that of a group of S.A. men accused of shooting Jews from a detention camp; and an accusation of sabotage against Professor Lange, of Vienna University, who is alleged to have smashed an electron microscope and other valuable equipment immediately before the Red Army's entry into Vienna.

At a conference of the Austrian Socialist Party in Vienna on the 29th, the serious food situation was discussed, and it was stated that the Red Army's help in supplying food was soon to end. According to Allied press correspondents who are now in Vienna, Russian supplies are expected to last until the 1st September.

In all four zones of Austria there were commemorative speeches and ceremonies on the 25th July, on the anniversary of the Nazi Putsch and the murder of Dollfuss in 1934. A memorial mass for Dollfuss was held in Salzburg.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

"After seven terribly long years," as he himself described it, Jan Masaryk, the Czechoslovak Foreign Minister, arrived in Prague on the 30th July. He was met at the airfield by the British, American and Russian Ambassadors, and Mme. Beneš. He passed through London last week, after concluding his work in the United States, where he was leader of the Czechoslovak delegation at San Francisco.

The Prague press has reacted favourably to the change of Government in Britain, while at the same time expressing admiration for the great genius of Mr. Churchill. References to Munich were numerous, and the opposition of Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden to the Chamberlain policy was praised. Dr. Clementis, the Under-Secretary of State, sent a congratulatory telegram to Mr. Bevin before he left for Potsdam. The outcome of the conference continues to be a matter of prime concern to the Czechoslovak Government, whose task of post-war reconstruction largely depends on the satisfactory solution of the problems of the minorities and territorial security. The German frontier has been temporarily closed, so that the movements of deportees into the Russian and American zones of occupation have ceased.

No clear picture of the situation in the Border Regions can be obtained; but the Czechoslovak authorities have been concerned about outbreaks of terrorism and the murder of officials appointed to administer these areas, as, for instance, the assassination of Dr. Rychlík, the emissary in charge of the transfer of Sudeten industry. The raising of a new Czechoslovak army is proceeding, and the moment when the assistance of Allied armies can be dispensed with is approaching, but local authorities are obviously experiencing great difficulty in obtaining satisfactory and disciplined personnel. This administrative and military complication is the background into which fits the Stefan Litauer report (*News Chronicle*, 30th July) on the existence of an irregular Polish unit in the forest country west of Plzeň. A Czech Government spokesman in London described Litauer as a very accurate reporter, but had no confirmation of the story so far. Stop-press news has just been received of further terrorist activity, involving heavy damage and loss of life in the industrial town of Ustí (Aussig) on the Elbe north of Prague.

At the Czechoslovak Institute in London Dr. Ečer, Czechoslovak representative on the United Nations War Crimes Commission, gave a lecture on the subject of war criminals. Dr. Ečer has been in charge of the interrogation of such war criminals as Karl Frank, and expressed his Government's keen desire to bring them to trial in Czechoslovakia as soon as possible.

The British Ambassador, Mr. Nichols, has visited Bratislava recently. Previous reports from Slovakia agree that this part of the republic has suffered the most acutely from the war; the aftermath of its recent political history has left many scars, and the new administration does not seem to be yet firmly established. Slovakia's relations with the Vatican is one of the subjects under discussion in Rome. The Czechoslovak Government does not wish to accord to Mgr. Ritter the full status of Papal Nuncio until preliminary questions can be regulated.

On the 20th President Beneš signed the decree concerning the resettlement of agricultural land formerly belonging to Germans, Hungarians and "other enemies of the country" by Czech, Slovak and other Slav peasants. This follows the decree of confiscation and foreshadows large-scale settlement of peasants from interior districts in the border areas.

A Prague Radio report on the 28th referred to the recent visit of Dr. Ripka to London, which was concerned with the development of foreign trade. Other Czechoslovak trade delegations are now in Göteborg and Moscow, while M. Alphand of the French Foreign Office is now in Prague to discuss economic matters with Government officials there.

POLAND.

It is expected that the first official conversations concerning the transfer of Polish Government assets in this country will shortly take place between the Interim Treasury Committee for Polish Questions (see *Summary* No. 301) and representatives of the Polish Government from Warsaw. It is likely that one of the first questions to be discussed will be the position of the Polish mercantile marine.

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It was announced in a Polish Embassy broadcast from Moscow on the 28th July that Cardinal Hlond, who was reported in *Summary* No. 302 as having left Rome on his way to Poland, had arrived by air in Poznan, the seat of his diocese. Other notable persons who have returned to Poland include Dr. Henryk Sztrasburger, former Polish High Commissioner at Danzig and recently a member of the Sikorski and Mikolajczyk Governments; and Professor Estreicher, of Cracow University.

According to a Moscow broadcast of the 25th July the Soviet-Polish Joint Repatriation Commission, set up in accordance with an agreement of the 6th July, 1945, has now begun work under the chairmanship of one of its Polish members, Dr. Henryk Wolpe. According to a Warsaw broadcast of the 29th July, 815,000 Poles have already moved from the western territories of the U.S.S.R. into Poland west of the Curzon Line.

As has now been stated in the press, Polish representatives were invited from Warsaw to the Potsdam Conference last week in order to state their attitude in regard to the question of Poland's western frontier. It will be remembered that, as Mr. Churchill stated in the House of Commons on the 27th February, 1945, the three Powers agreed at the Crimea Conference that Poland should "receive the important industrial province of Upper Silesia and, in addition, such other territories to the east of the Oder as it may be decided at the peace settlement to detach from Germany after the views of a broadly based Polish Government have been ascertained."

Another German murder camp has been recently reported at Niemodlin (Falkenberg) on the border between Upper and Lower Silesia. It is stated that some 80,000 victims, mostly Russian prisoners of war, are buried there.

M. Stefan Litauer, who is now acting as correspondent of the *News Chronicle*, has reported a visit recently paid by him to a body of Polish irregular forces belonging to the N.S.Z., a body independent of the London Government's authority, which has made its way westwards from Southern Poland through Upper Silesia and across Bohemia to the American-occupied border zone west of Pilsen. They are reported to be well armed, to be living on the country, and to be hoping—somewhat optimistically—to be allowed to join up with the Polish forces in the west.

SOVIET UNION.

Soviet comment on the results of the general election in this country has been cautious and restrained. Surprise at the size of Labour's majority was frankly expressed by some commentators, especially in view of Mr. Churchill's own "undoubted popularity." M. Yermashev, broadcasting in English on the 28th July, thought that the results gave "a pretty fair picture of political sentiment in Britain," and pointed out that most of the Labour candidates were elected by large majorities. "A new chapter is opening in the life of Britain," said M. Mihailov on the 26th July; and unofficial comment has expressed even more gratification at the swing to the left in Great Britain, which has strengthened Soviet confidence in the desire of the electorate to co-operate with the U.S.S.R. in eradicating fascism from the world. All commentators insisted, however, that the change of government would bring about no fundamental change in British foreign policy, of which the main points would continue to be the continuance of the war against Japan, the further strengthening of Anglo-Soviet relations, and collaboration of the three Great Powers for the establishment of peace and security. The general view was that, as *Izvestiya* put it, "the British elector has advanced problems of internal policy to the forefront." A certain amount of nationalisation, the maintenance of controls, the prevention of unemployment and above all housing were listed as the principal problems in this field.

The thorny question of the repatriation of Soviet nationals from Central Europe has now been taken up in a memorandum submitted by the Russian delegation at Potsdam. The memorandum complained that in British and American zones in Austria and in the French zone in Germany émigré Russians were engaging in organised propaganda to hinder the return home of Soviet citizens. Special mention was made of the activities of Ukrainian nationalists, who were alleged to be organised in an Ukrainian Central Committee under that notorious veteran, Hetman Skoropadsky. This committee apparently had branches in all the main German towns, to which it issued certificates bearing the seal of "the President of Free Ukraine." It is of interest to note that the comparatively defunct Hetman organisation should have been mentioned and not the much more

active Union of Ukrainian Nationalists headed by Colonel Melnik. It appears to be a fact that emigré Russians have to some extent been made use of as interpreters in the camps of Soviet nationals awaiting repatriation.

Preliminary data on the repatriation of Soviet citizens from Norway have been given in a report by Major-General Ratov, head of the Repatriation Commission (*Tass*, 29th July). By the 25th July 82,972 Soviet citizens were said to have been repatriated and 1,097 sick persons left in Norway. Further, there were some 5,000 Soviet citizens from Western Ukraine, Western Byelorussia and the Baltic Republics, whose repatriation was being delayed owing to the Allied High Command regarding their citizenship as "disputable." It was alleged in the report that these persons were detained in special camps where Soviet representatives were not allowed, and that propaganda was being conducted among them to induce them to go to Latin America or Britain. The report ended by expressing the gratitude felt by the repatriated persons to the Norwegians for their assistance and kindness throughout the war.

The problem of Soviet Baltic citizens was dealt with separately in an *Izvestiya* article (28th July) which commented with great asperity on the position of the Baltic refugees in Sweden. *Izvestiya* maintained that Sweden was making a complete abuse of the right of asylum. Though Soviet representatives had been allowed to visit the refugee camps, petty obstacles were constantly being put in their way. Protests made in the Swedish press about Russian pressure being put on these Baltic exiles were dismissed by *Izvestiya* as "an abominable Fascist racket of slave traders." *Izvestiya* went on to claim that these Soviet nationals were being deliberately detained by the Swedish authorities, were being converted into a kind of hostage and used as labour under compulsion of the worst possible kind. This problem could not be written off, as *Morgontidningen* suggested. It was time, according to *Izvestiya*, to solve it fully and completely—provided there was no deliberate intention of complicating Soviet-Swedish relations. This threatening note towards Sweden was echoed in a *Pravda* article sharply criticising alleged Swedish views of a Northern *Bloc* (see under "Scandinavia").

Into the uncomfortable atmosphere thus created comes the news that Mme. Kollontay, who had been Soviet Minister in Sweden since 1930 and Ambassador since 1943, had retired and been replaced by a former Counsellor at the Stockholm Embassy, M. Ilya Chernyshov. It was officially stated that Mme. Kollontay had retired owing to ill-health, and this is probably true, for she is 73 and has long been frail.

(See also under "Poland" and "Switzerland".)

ERRATUM.

See *Summary* No. 303, p. 8, line 8, for "Middle East" read "Turkey."

SCANDINAVIA.

Though the official policy of Denmark, and of the Foreign Minister, Mr. Christmas Möller, continues to be strongly opposed to any extension of the present Danish frontiers, a considerable propaganda has been started by the Danish minority party in Schleswig, and its organisation, the "Slesvigske Forening." The latter is reported to be preparing a petition to be presented to the Allied authorities and the King and Government of Denmark, urging an immediate Danish mandate over south Schleswig and even the ultimate restoration of the territory to Denmark. A curious feature of this agitation is that it is supported by the German "Südschleswigscher Verein," and that a number of Germans, including former Nazis, are attempting to become members of this association. The Danish-language paper in Flensborg—*Flensborg Avis*—is reported to have doubled its circulation in the last six months.

It was announced on the 26th July that the British Government has offered assistance to Denmark in the training and arming of the enlarged defence forces which the exigencies of the future will require.

The Swedish Coalition Government resigned, as expected, on the 31st July, and was immediately succeeded by a purely Social Democratic Cabinet. The Premiership remains in the hands of M. P. A. Hansson, and the charge of Foreign Affairs is entrusted, as anticipated, to M. Undén. It would be premature to discuss further the composition of the new Government this week.

The Soviet press has recently directed a strong attack upon the idea of a Scandinavian defence alliance, mainly founded upon some remarks imputed to

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M. Günther, the Swedish Foreign Minister, in a speech delivered to the Swedish Navy League (Föreningen Sveriges Flotta) on the 4th May. The speech itself, however, seems to have been completely misunderstood. Though described in *Pravda* as "a proposal for the foundation of a Scandinavian military alliance," it is actually in the main concerned to criticise the proposals of the San Francisco Conference, and to urge that Sweden should maintain her former neutrality and abstain from association with any alliances, though M. Günther repudiated the suggestion that this was an expression of the "icy egoism of neutrality," and was willing that Sweden should play her part in a general League for the preservation of peace. The only reference to inter-Scandinavian relations came at the end of the speech, in a passage which suggested that the prospects for any form of northern association in foreign policy were at present unfavourable. Though M. Günther hoped that conditions in this respect might change, the idea of a military alliance was never even suggested. M. Günther prefaced his remarks with the statement that he was expressing personal views, which must in no way be regarded as official. The *Pravda* article makes the further mistake of asserting that Professor Ohlin had welcomed Dr. Funk's plans for a new economic order: in fact, Professor Ohlin subjected these plans to searching criticism in the columns of *Stockholms-Tidningen*.

The alliance of the Norwegian Communists with the Labour Party has now been agreed, with the object of strengthening the Socialist vote in the forthcoming elections.

Though Norway has escaped from many of the economic difficulties with which she at one time seemed threatened, the effect on employment of the sudden termination of the work hitherto carried on in the interests of German war production is undoubtedly serious, and the actual situation is only masked at present by the standstill order of the Government forbidding the discharge of workmen. The changeover to normal production is mainly impeded by the lack of fuel; the prospect of unemployment has long been foreseen by the Norwegian Government, and plans to deal with the problem were initiated during the stay of that Government in England.

LOW COUNTRIES.

The debate on King Leopold was resumed in the Chamber of Representatives on the 24th July, and was concluded on the 26th. The principal speakers were M. de Vleeschauwer (Catholic), Minister of Colonies in the London Government, M. Spaak (Socialist), the present foreign Minister, and M. Van Glabbeke (Liberal), the present Minister of the Interior. In a spirited defence of the King, M. de Vleeschauwer asserted that the Prime Minister's statement was "intended to strike at the Monarchy and the dynasty," whatever he might say to the contrary; and went on to suggest that M. Van Acker had deliberately prevented the King's return "immediately after his liberation." M. de Vleeschauwer also cast doubts upon the reliability of the documents used by the Government "to discredit the King," which he alleged included "Nazi statements." He then recalled the meeting at Berne in June 1940 between a representative of the King and a Government representative, at which the former remarked that the King's signature to the instrument of surrender in May constituted "not a political, but a military, act." That Belgium did not go the way of France between June and August 1940 was, M. de Vleeschauwer believed, entirely due to the King, whose behaviour he sought to justify by citing the example of King Albert's refusal to forsake the Army when it was threatened with encirclement near Antwerp in 1914. On the question of deportations, M. de Vleeschauwer said that the King had been warned by Hitler that measures would be taken against him if he attempted to interfere, and reminded the Chamber that despite the Prime Minister's charge of tardiness against the King in this matter, M. Van Acker had admitted that "the King's attitude saved many compatriots." As for the King's visit to Berchtesgaden, this had been made at Hitler's request. Towards the end of his speech, M. de Vleeschauwer read a letter from Canon Leclef, Cardinal Van Roey's secretary, which reaffirmed the King's determination to remain in Belgium and to be present at the moment of liberation; and another from the King himself, protesting to Hitler against his removal to Germany: he also read the King's widely-circulated message to the Belgian people. M. Spaak, who began his 4½-hours' speech by emphasising that he was a Monarchist both by "experience" and by "reason," pointed out that the present situation had arisen

through the King's failure to take the advice of his constitutional advisers. M. Spaak dealt at length with the events of May 1940, and then revealed that on two occasions—in November 1942 and November 1943—the London Government had established contact with the King. On the first, the King was urged to make a resolute stand against deportations; on the second, his attention was drawn to the problems which would have to be solved on liberation. M. Spaak maintained that the present debate would have been superfluous had the King, "as early as May 1940," declared the country's intention of pursuing its policy of friendship towards the Allies. He also described the dramatic final interview at the Château de Wijnendaale, when the King rejected M. Pierlot's insistent appeals to leave the country, in general the King's attitude left them in no doubt that it was "impossible for the Government to wait one day longer without revealing the truth to Parliament." As soon, therefore, as it was clear that the King had decided against the formation of a Government, they issued what are known as the "Berne Documents." "As this case has been opened," declared M. Spaak, "I think abdication is imperative"; the controversy had made it impossible for King Leopold to be King of the Belgians, but the monarchy had to be preserved. M. Van Glabbeke devoted most of his speech to somewhat startling revelations concerning the family of the King's second wife, the Princess de Réthy, *née* Baels. There was no validity in her title, as it had yet to be countersigned by a Minister: there was none in her morganatic marriage—she was, in fact, legally Queen. Referring to the King's dismissal of her father from the Governorship of West Flanders in May 1940, M. Van Glabbeke stated that in April and May 1941, Mlle. Baels had applied to Romsée, then Secretary-General of the Ministry of the Interior, for her father's *dossier*, which had subsequently vanished. Baels himself had been in receipt of half-pay from the beginning of the Occupation until June 1945, during which period over 500,000 francs had been paid to him. The debate closed on the evening of the 26th July with the passing of a motion of confidence in the Government by 95 votes to 68, two Deputies abstaining. The Chamber then adjourned, *sine die*.

The 26th also witnessed the conclusion of the important trial—begun on the 23rd—of Robert Poulet, former editor-in-chief of *Le Nouveau Journal* (founded and owned by the notorious quisling Paul Colin) and director of its political service. Poulet—who has been likened to Charles Maurras—was charged with having (i) incited persons to take up arms against the State; (ii) actually or tentatively recruited men for service with the enemy; (iii) participated in the enemy's transformation of legal institutions; (iv) denounced compatriots to the enemy. Poulet was sentenced to imprisonment for life and to the loss of civic rights, and also ordered to pay 5,000,000 francs damages. His service in the 1914–18 war was taken into account.

The Labour Party's victory has been hailed with great enthusiasm by the Left-wing press in the Low Countries; but at the time of writing, Right-wing papers are conspicuous for their silence.

FRANCE.

The constitutional problem has been confused rather than clarified by the debate which began in the Consultative Assembly on the 27th July. General de Gaulle delivered a closely reasoned speech in defence of the Government's proposals. He said that there were only three ways in which to create a Constituent Assembly "from scratch," namely, to revive the machinery of the Constitution of 1875 and arrange for the Senate and Chamber meeting as a National Assembly to embark upon the reform of the constitution; to elect a single Assembly on which the country would be wholly dependent; or else "while proceeding at the beginning with the election of a single Assembly and without in any way influencing future institutions—which I think should include two Chambers—to ensure that this Assembly should be invested with a formal mandate to draft a constitution within a definite period and that meanwhile the administration should be carried on by agreement." He then proceeded to defend the proposed referendum, saying that the Government by themselves did not feel competent to decide between these various alternatives. "To ascertain which of the three the nation prefers we have only to consult it—and in doing so the Government are convinced that they are taking the most democratic—the only democratic course." Moreover, after so many changes of régime there was a danger that France might feel "something like distrust of her institutions." It was advisable, therefore, that the

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people should be directly associated with the new Constitution "not only by ratifying it, but also by participating in its formation." The General then went on to repeat his personal preference for a single Assembly with limited powers. If the institutions of the 1875 Constitution were revived "would it not be rather hazardous to expect that of their own initiative and without the immediate pressure of harsh events they would agree radically to reform themselves?" As for a single Assembly with unlimited powers, he was convinced that it would lay the country open to the most serious disorders.

Nevertheless, in spite of this clear expression of the General's wishes, of his final hint that he might feel compelled to resign if he were not supported on such a grave question, and of the loud applause with which his speech was greeted, the Assembly by large majorities adopted the three resolutions put before it by the State Reform Commission (see last *Summary*). In other words it rejected the Government's draft Bill and ordinance. It also rejected three counter-proposals, though one put forward by the Socialist, M. Vincent Auriol, and acknowledged by General de Gaulle as deserving most serious consideration, was defeated only by a narrow margin. This negative result of the Assembly's debate has met with adverse criticism from several papers. *Combat* points out that the referendum was rejected by "the strangest coalition imaginable"—one of Radicals and the Right, who both favour two Chambers, with the Communists, who are eager for a single sovereign Assembly. This coalition opposed the Socialist Party and various Resistance groups who defended the principle of the referendum while they were at the same time anxious to amend the Government's proposals. In the absence of any clear positive guidance from the Assembly the Government will have to decide whether they will persist with their proposals in spite of the Assembly's vote or whether they will modify them to meet M. Vincent Auriol's plan or other suggestions. It is unlikely that General de Gaulle will give up the referendum or carry out his threat to resign.

The Pétain trial has continued with the hearing of the evidence of numerous further witnesses for the prosecution. The most notable have been MM. Lebrun, Jeanneney, Louis Marin, Léon Blum, Charles-Roux, Secrétary-General at the Quai d'Orsay until October 1940, General Doyen, Head of the French Delegation to the Armistice Commission at Wiesbaden from September 1940 to April 1941, M. Caous, President of the Supreme Court at Riom, and M. Herriot. The impression given by the speeches of many of these witnesses has been that they are in the nature of apologies for the conduct of the speakers themselves rather than of precise and detailed statement about the conduct of the accused. Moreover, the handling of the case so far suggests that the prosecution have no clear notion of what they are attempting to establish against Pétain, and whether he is to be condemned on his record after the collapse of 1940, on his failure to take adequate measures to prevent defeat, or on his relations before the war with the enemies of his country. In consequence, the proceedings have wandered inconclusively from the policy of Montoire to the history of the Cagoule, and from the history of the Cagoule to the decisions of the French Parliament and of the Conseil Supérieur de la Guerre ten years ago. A disquieting feature of the trial has been the partiality of the Presiding Judge, whose vindictive statements against Pétain on the second day of the trial suggested that his mind was already made up. The Marshal himself has persisted in his refusal to answer questions. He appears to be intermittently aware of what is going on around him, but to be unable to concentrate on the proceedings for any length of time.

The result of the British elections caused great surprise and has given rise to widespread press comment and speculation. While papers of all shades, except the Communist *Humanité*, paid tribute to Mr. Churchill, the Left and Resistance journals have generally welcomed the advent of a Labour Government and hope that it will lead to an improvement in Anglo-French relations.

(See also "Middle East.")

SWITZERLAND.

The Soviet delegation to investigate the conditions under which Russian military and civilian internees were living in Switzerland and to examine the question of their repatriation arrived in Switzerland during the week. The delegation, which consists of eighteen officers and two non-commissioned officers, is under the leadership of Major-General Vikhorov. At a press reception, the head of the Swiss delegation stated that, if the necessary transport was

available and the Allies were willing to lend their assistance, the Russians, who number some 10,000, could be repatriated at the rate of 1,000 a day. As for the conditions of internment, Switzerland had nothing to hide, and was anxious that all possible light should be shed on the whole affair. It was emphasised that the Russian mission was of a purely military character, and had nothing to do with political or economic questions. A radio spokesman declared that speculation had arisen in some quarters whether the visit might not pave the way for negotiations for the resumption of normal diplomatic relations between the two countries.

On the 20th July, the Federal Department of Justice and Police refused the request of Herr Köcher, former German Minister to Switzerland, for an extension of his time limit in Switzerland. The Minister then asked to be interned, but this was also refused by the Federal Council, and the 31st July has been fixed as the date by which Herr Köcher must leave the country.

On the 26th July, a trade agreement was signed between Switzerland on the one hand and Belgium and Luxemburg on the other. In view of the situation created by the war in regard to the industrial production of Belgium and Luxemburg, provision is made for deliveries in advance from Switzerland, together with a credit of 50 million frs.

Telegraphic communication has been re-established between Switzerland and Bulgaria, Poland, and Yugoslavia. A somewhat restricted telephone service has been resumed with France and Northern Italy. It is also reported that telephonic communication with Britain will be resumed during the first week in August, but that it is at first likely to be available only for diplomatic and press conversations.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

Sir Victor Mallet arrived in Madrid last week and presented his letters of credence on the 28th July. He saw General Franco immediately afterwards for three-quarters of an hour. The Caudillo listened as blandly as ever to the tale of mistrust of the present Spanish régime—and its consequent isolation—which His Majesty's Ambassador had to tell. He protested that the degree of Spain's allegiance to the Axis Powers had been grossly exaggerated, and he maintained that it had never been his intention, even in 1940, that Spain should become an ally of our enemies. That may be true enough, since the country could scarcely have stood the strain of further war-making. But, after all, there is a difference only of degree between the status of declared ally and that of non-belligerent associate.

Although Franco made no direct allusion to the British general election he was at pains to cry up his Government's work in the fields of social reform and education, which he appeared to think was more in line with the purposes of the Labour Party than with the policy of the Conservatives. This "social" note of the régime in Spain does indeed justify Franco's reiterated claim that it is not to be identified with black reaction; but, whatever he says, or does, he will get no credit from progressive forces in the other countries, any more than the Fascists or Nazis did. Meanwhile he is evidently determined to continue along the road towards respectability. The ministerial changes, though they do not amount to very much, were clearly designed as one more step in a gradual process of evolution. Franco would like the outside world, at any rate, to believe that the wings of the Falange are being clipped. One further step, which is of some importance, was the decree of the 29th July whereby all the services under the arch-Falangist Vice-Secretariat for Popular Education are transferred to the Ministry of National Education. (Señor Arrese, by the way, has ceased to be Secretary-General of the Party, though he becomes a member of the Junta Política of Falange.)

There will undoubtedly be an under-current of nervousness in Spain as a result of the Labour landslide in Great Britain. But the press and radio have adopted a surprisingly moderate tone. Even *Arriba* proclaims that the advent of a Labour Government will not signify any important change in British foreign policy. And Spanish broadcasters, while picking up the remark by Professor Laski at the Central Hall meeting that the Government would give no support to "decaying monarchs or obsolete social systems," are engaged in reassuring their listeners that they need not expect the new men to make any attack on the

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Crown or the Church—or indeed to make a dead set against private property. What has happened in Great Britain, they say, does not signify the victory of communism. This is shrewd tactics. Since, however, most Spaniards are incapable of distinguishing evolutionary British socialism from the Marxism of the continental parties, they will be easy victims of any subsequent propaganda painting the Bolshevik devil on the wall. Because of their fears the effect of the change of Government in England may well be to strengthen Franco's position internally. Mr. Churchill's eclipse will certainly come as a great shock to the Monarchists.

On the morning of the 31st July Pierre Laval, accompanied by his wife, left Barcelona airport in the same aircraft in which he arrived there on the 2nd May (see *Summary* No. 292), and a few hours later landed at Hörsching, near Linz, in the United States zone of Austria. The German crew who originally flew Laval from Austria also piloted him back. Shortly after his arrival he was handed over to the French authorities who occupy the neighbouring zone of the Tirol. On the same day the Spanish press, which had not hitherto mentioned Laval's three months' *villeggiatura* in Montjuich Prison, published an official statement explaining the reason for his expulsion from Spanish territory. The communiqué is a dignified and skilful piece of drafting. No mention is made of the Spanish refusal to hand Laval over the frontier direct to the French Government, nor of the British disinclination to receive him in "transience" at Gibraltar. Laval's wish to surrender to the "United Nations" is given as the reason for his being allowed to remain, *incomunicado*, on Spanish soil. The statement continues: "More than enough time has elapsed since then (the date of his arrival) for the Governments of the United Nations to determine their attitude. When the aforesaid Governments expressed a lack of interest in such a delicate problem . . . . the Spanish Government did not consider it convenient to prolong his stay." Thus ends an episode not at all discreditable to the Spanish Government.

His Majesty's Ambassador to Lisbon, Sir Owen St. Clair O'Malley, has also taken up his new post. He may find Dr. Salazar and Catholic anti-Socialist elements in Portugal rather nervous. But in Portugal, too, the first reactions of the press have been remarkably calm—and even sympathetic to the Labour Party. There is the usual lull in political activity at this time of the year, and interest has centred on the visit of the Minister of the Colonies, Dr. Marcel Caetano, to Mozambique to attend the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Lourenço Marques Railway. Field-Marshal Smuts, on his return from San Francisco, also made the journey to Lourenço Marques and had a very cordial reception. Dr. Caetano continued his journey to the Transvaal, and the two had further meetings at Pretoria.

ITALY.

Lively satisfaction has been expressed in many quarters throughout Italy at the Labour Party's success in the British general election. Signor Parri, in an interview with a Reuter correspondent, also expressed his satisfaction and Signor Nenni, the Socialist Party leader, has sent a telegram of congratulation to Mr. Attlee and to the Labour Party in London.

In a broadcast speech in Milan on the 29th July Signor Parri reminded the Italian people that Italy's status would be decided within the next few weeks and that although the nation could go on hoping for mild peace terms it must not delude itself into believing that the Fascist bill had been finally paid and that, for this reason, mild peace terms were now its due. Signor Parri therefore made another appeal for discipline in every sphere and in any situation that might arise. The formation of the Consultative Assembly was being pushed on as quickly as possible since it was a preliminary step to the Constituent Assembly, but, said Signor Parri emphatically, the elections would be free—there would be no machine-gun election. Referring to the massacre at Schio, where forty-seven prisoners awaiting trial were murdered by a gang of partisans who broke into the prison and to other similar events in North Italy, Signor Parri expressed the deep humiliation he felt when the Allied Military Governor of the region said that never before had Italy sunk so low in his estimation. Signor Parri asked the people whether they realised the untold damage such incidents did to the nation. Turning to Italy's financial situation, Signor Parri said that in order to achieve a basic reorganisation, the Government must be able to count on the maximum amount of milliards required for the purpose without recourse to inflation and

not in the distant future but within the next few months. These milliards the Government hoped to get through the loan, which had been extended to North Italy and it counted on North Italy to produce them. It was a good business proposition, said Signor Parri, and, although there had been some adverse propaganda, he guaranteed that the loan was a safe investment and would pay the dividends. Signor Parri then turned to the question of the wheat pools. In this case he admitted that it was not a good business proposition but for unalterable reasons the Government could not now change the fixed price. The harvest was not good but might, he thought, turn out better than at first expected. In any case, large quantities of wheat would have to be imported but Italy could not ask the Allies for this unless she could show that she had done her duty. Since prices could not be changed the Government proposed to issue vouchers to those farmers who brought their wheat to the pools. These vouchers would give them the right to purchase textiles at a very cheap price compared to that ruling in the market.

The Council of Ministers has approved the extension of the new 5 per cent. loan to the provinces of North Italy with one modification, the loan will be issued at 99 instead of at 97·50. Subscriptions from Central and South Italy amounted to 31·015 milliard lire and a conservative estimate puts the probable subscriptions from the North at 50 milliard.

The figures of the budget estimates for the year 1945–46 covering the 36 provinces of Central and Southern Italy have been published. Revenue is estimated 29,908·9 million lire, expenditure at 113,593·5 million lire, *i.e.*, a deficit of 83,684·6 million lire. Expenditure is divided into two budgets, one normal of 57,357·3 million, one extraordinary of 56,236·2 million. The extraordinary budget covers expenditure which arises immediately from the present emergency.

THE VATICAN.

Osservatore Romano of the 25th July again noticed Moscow's attacks: "unless they furnish proofs, let decent people give no credence to such slander." Moscow itself broadcast an article, attractively entitled "the Trail of the Hyena." The Trail, it said, differed in different countries, it "could be traced in the Vatican in the provocative sermon on the Christian doctrine of loving one's enemy."

The Vatican has expressed to His Majesty's Minister its alarm at the fate of Italians and Slavs in concentration camps in Venezia Giulia, where many have died; and has asked the Allies to investigate and to send relief. There may be some connexion between this action and the arrival at the Vatican of the Holy See's special envoy to Yugoslavia. The only Yugoslav representative to the Holy See left recently. In Albania, another country where Tito has great influence, the Apostolic Delegate was expelled late in June.

(For recent discussions between the Vatican and the Czechoslovak Government, see under "Czechoslovakia.")

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

Lieut.-General V. Petrovitch has been officially appointed Deputy Chairman of the Allied Control Commission in place of General Starhusky.

The inter-party disputes outlined in last week's *Summary* continued, though with somewhat abated vehemence. The departure of the three ministers was acclaimed by the Communist Révai as a victory over reaction which should be followed up by increased severity in the People's Courts and thoroughness in the purge of the Civil Service, economic life and education, saying: "He who is anti-Communist is reactionary." I. Ries, the new Minister of Justice, proclaimed it to be his most important duty to fight implacably against any form of reaction. He intends to introduce reforms of the procedure of the People's Courts and the Purge machinery. The country police is to be reorganised, to abolish the abuses which have been so violently criticised recently. The force is to be raised to 40,000 men, who will be equipped with arms and uniforms.

The first list has been published of the 61 war criminals whose extradition for trial in Hungary has been requested, and it is headed by the names of Szálasi and members of his Government.

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The draft of the Electoral Law is now said to be complete; by its provisions many persons are deprived of the right to vote, including those who committed offences against the people, who held any sort of office in a Right Radical Party or who re-Germanised their names. The actual date of the elections is still the subject of party friction. The Smallholders are now anxious for an early election, as they believe that postponement would allow the Communists to strengthen their hold on the machine. They believe that elections now would give their party over half the votes in the country, while the Social Democrats would obtain about 20 per cent. and the Communists and National Peasants together another 15·20 per cent. The President of the National Assembly announced that the Provisional Assembly would be convoked after the harvest was in.

New measures of industrial control include the vesting of the Ministry of Industry with authority to requisition any privately owned plant or raw materials needed for reparations or national reconstruction which is not being fully used. The requisition may be temporary, against payment of rent, or permanent, against compensation. A second decree provides that all textile factories must devote a minimum of 60 per cent. of their production to utility goods. Rákosi, the leader of the Communist Party, declared that the fight for the nationalisation of mines had begun. The national coal consumption was rising and was now 1,100–1,200 wagons a day, though only 600 wagons daily could be moved owing to transport shortages; the peace-time production figure was approximately 3,000 wagons daily.

According to figures supplied to the British Military Mission by the Ministry of Agriculture, the wheat harvest is expected to yield 907,000 tons (35 per cent. of normal harvest) and the rye harvest 408,000 tons, or 53 per cent. of normal harvest. Oats and barley may yield 906,000 tons, which is 95 per cent. of the peacetime level. These figures must be considered in relation to the estimated total requirements of 2,144,000 tons of bread grain in Hungary for the year 1945–46, of which 145,000 tons are set aside for the army of occupation, 66,000 tons for reparations payments and 400,000 tons for seed. The prospects for the fruit harvest are said to be excellent and the potato crop promises to be unusually heavy. The Ministry of Agriculture has promised a loan of 4 milliard pengö to small farmers.

The cost of living rose again, being, on the 20th July, 1,351·15 pengö, as against an index figure of 214·13 pengö.

Roumania.

The agreement for the Russian-Roumanian Oil Combine has now been signed, and every effort is being made to complete the agreement on the proposed Shipping Combine, the proposed details of which are available. The constituent members of the Oil Combine are, on the Russian side, the Oil Corporations Querneft and Sojusneftexport, and on the Roumanian side Creditul Minier and Redevenţa, which are the most Roumanian of the concerns operating in the country, together with all other small Roumanian companies. The contributions in shares and material are to be on the Russian side, material confiscated from Roumania under the Russian interpretation of the armistice agreement, valued at 740 million lei, and shares previously owned by Germans in a number of companies to the value of 1 milliard, 760 million lei. On the Roumanian side the contribution consists of assets of the two companies mentioned to the value of 1 milliard, 100 million lei, together with 50 per cent. of State royalties over a period sufficient to complete the full Roumanian contribution of 2½ milliard lei. Shares owned by Germans in Roumanian companies are to be reckoned as part compensation for war damage, and are to be handed over to the Ukrainian Petroleum Company for incorporation in its holdings. The Combine may acquire concessions from private landowners in the same way as other oil companies, it may lay down pipe-lines wherever required, and is to be given most favourable terms for dealing in foreign exchange. By a secret protocol the figure of 50 per cent. of State royalties mentioned above is increased to 75 per cent. These terms are described as amounting to the extinction of all foreign interest, other than Russian, in Roumanian oil.

A Russian-Roumanian Shipping and Harbour Company has been formed with a capital of 3 milliards of lei. The Roumanian contribution consists of the assets of State-owned companies for Danube and Ocean shipping together with the assets of harbour companies and a privately-owned river transport company. The Russian contribution consists of river- and sea-going vessels, and harbour equipment. Each partner will also contribute 250 million lei to form a reserve fund. Roumania is to rent to the Combine for thirty years, docks,

harbour facilities and buildings at Constanţa, Galaţi, Braila, and Giurgiu, up to 50 per cent. of all available facilities, and the Combine will have preference for the renting of the remainder. The Soviet Government grant most favoured treatment for the use of Russian ports. By a secret protocol the general manager, who will be a Russian, has the right to dispose of the property of the Combine as he thinks fit.

At present rates a milliard lei amounts to about £84,000 sterling.

In what looks like a fit of unwary optimism, the Roumanian Government permitted the holding of municipal elections in some districts of Moldavia. The combined Liberal and National Peasant vote averaged nearly 80 per cent., and the Communist vote 8 per cent. The holding of further elections was promptly prohibited.

A Russian-Roumanian Air Transport Company is in process of formation.

Yugoslavia.

The propaganda campaign against Greece and Allied Military Government in Venezia Giulia and Carinthia continued unabated. On the 19th July the British Ambassador, acting on instructions, took Tito to task for this threefold campaign and pointed out that complaints against Greece should be addressed to the Greek Government, but that, pending exchange of Ministers between Greece and Yugoslavia, His Majesty's Government would willingly act as intermediaries. On the 21st the British Ambassador received a Yugoslav Note, dated the 18th, protesting in vague terms against persecution in Greek Macedonia; and on the 25th another Note, similar to one presented to the United States Ambassador, alleged that on eight occasions Greek troops had fired across the frontier. The Minister for Foreign Affairs asked that the contents of the latter Note should be communicated to the Greek Government.

On the 27th the British and United States Ambassadors received a letter from Tito and Shubashitch, addressed to Mr. Churchill and Mr. Truman, protesting against the suppression of Yugoslav-sponsored civil authorities in Venezia Giulia. The letter insisted that Venezia Giulia was not occupied territory, but "liberated territory" (a term and conception unknown to International Law), and proposed that elections should be held in the Allied-occupied zone. (Elections would impose an intolerable burden on A.M.G. and could not be held for several months. Meanwhile, the Yugoslavs can continue to represent their supporters as "the people".) The letter did not suggest that elections should similarly be held in the Yugoslav-occupied zone.

The Yugoslav press of the 27th hailed the electoral victory of the British Labour party with delight.

The trial of 25 members of Mihailovitch's Central National Committee by the Supreme Military Court has begun. Tanyug reported that when the accused entered the court-room there were shouts of "Traitors," "Hang them," "Death to the butchers," "Down with the occupiers' hirelings."

An interview with Matchek, who is in France, appeared in the *New York Times* of the 23rd. Matchek described Tito's Government as aiming at Communist dictatorship, and as lowering an iron curtain over Yugoslavia, obviously because their deeds were evil. He intended to return to Yugoslavia some day, with or without Tito's permission. He could not understand why his Croat colleagues, Shubashitch and Shutej, had joined Tito's Government and supposed that they must have received guarantees of democracy.

The Cabinet met on the 25th after many weeks. Shubashitch and some of the non-Communist Ministers succeeded in gaining agreement in principle that a committee of Ministers should sit daily to revise the draft laws, which are to be submitted to A.V.N.O.J. after the 7th August, and report to the Cabinet. The Committee includes the former members of London Cabinets, Grol, Shutej and Kosanovitch.

In a press conference Kardelj, the Vice-Premier, explained that A.V.N.O.J. could not take in more than a very few of the members of the last Yugoslav parliament, most of whom, he said, had "collaborated with the enemy." Instead A.V.N.O.J. would admit deputies of various democratic groups. He did not explain how these deputies would be selected. Asked about the possibility of a free press, Kardelj replied that a draft law on the press was in preparation.

Recently elections for National Liberation Committees were held in Vojvodina. The electoral law provided ample means for disfranchising persons on the ground of "collaboration," and confined the proposal of lists of candidates

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to organisations which had participated in the partisan movement. As in Macedonia the number of those who voted was published, but not the results. At Subotica the only opposition candidate was struck off the list, on the ground that his nominator was not qualified to act, and that his own morals were bad.

Greece.

Though both the Regent and the President of the Council are well aware of the motives behind M. Sophianopoulos' resignation and the recent démarches by Republican leaders on the security situation, Admiral Voulgaris has been led by his anxiety as to their effect on Greece's already strained foreign relations to inform the Regent that if it were thought desirable in Greece's interests to set up a political Government he would be ready to resign. His offer was not accepted. Pressure by political parties for the formation of an all-party Government, however, continues unabated. The Communist party have repeatedly approached the Republican leaders, MM. Sophoulis, Kaphandaris, Plastiras, Tsouderos and Mylonas, with offers to support without asking to participate in such a Government. Republican enquiries whether the Popular (Royalist) party would participate in a political Government have however met with flat refusals from all Popularist politicians. Meanwhile, M. Zachariadis, the Communist leader, has made an open attack on the Regent, accusing him of chauvinism in foreign affairs, of supporting war criminals and monarchist reaction at home, and representing him as the major obstacle to the restoration of democracy in Greece. It is natural to connect this new Communist move with a remark made by M. Molotov, during his conversations with M. Sophianopoulos in the United States, deploring the Regent's "Anglomania." Wishful thinking in many quarters that the result of the British elections, in which they fondly believe the Greek question was a major issue, heralds a change in British policy in Greece has no doubt contributed to the renewal of political unrest.

The law dealing with the punishment of collaborators laid down that charges must be filed within six months of the publication of the law. This time limit expired on the 21st July. The Government are aware that the leniency shown to collaborators is a point on which they are most vulnerable to attack; their vindication was attempted by the United States Secretary of State for Information in a long explanatory speech on the 24th July, which was subsequently broadcast in full. He admitted the slowness of Greece's "moral purge," which was to be attributed mainly to confusion caused by the December rebellion, but after recounting at length the various measures taken and sentences passed, concluded that "the hesitant, slow and noiseless application of sanctions against collaborators reflects the degree of moral culture of the Greek people."

On the 28th July Athens radio broadcast a summary of a Foreign Affairs Committee statement on Northern Epirus. Its tenor is identical with that of the Memorandum (see *Summary* No. 301) presented to the Governments of Great Britain, the United States, the U.S.S.R. and France, which also emanated from this committee. After the usual historical résumé, the statement goes on to describe the systematic persecution of the Greek element by the present Albanian régime "with the aim of changing the ethnological character of Northern Epirus," and to recommend, as the only solution, that the three Great Powers should order the occupation of this area by Greek and other Allied forces until the final settlement of Albania's frontiers at the Peace Conference. There is still widespread public anxiety in Greece and in Greek communities abroad over the fate of the Albanian Greeks, and the amount of time recently devoted by the Albanian radio to describing the perfect contentment of their minorities is sufficient proof that this anxiety is well-founded.

Bulgaria.

The Fatherland Front has now issued its official list of candidates for election to the National Assembly on the 26th August. It is nominally a joint list, but admittedly an exclusive one. It looks bad enough even on paper. There are 276 seats to be filled, and for these 95 Communists, 95 Agrarians, 31 Social Democrats, 46 Zvenars and 9 so-called Independents are proposed: this despite the fact that the Agrarians have at the smallest estimate five times the popular support of the Communists. Moreover all the Agrarians being nominated are Obbov's men and all the Social Democrats are Neykov's men, and every one has been hand-picked in consultation with the Communists. The Zveno group, always somewhat totalitarian in character, has been steadily losing influence, but clings to office and is by now entirely subservient to the Communists. Finally,

apart from the present Finance Minister, Stoyanov, who is a Professor of Political Economy and Banking, all the nine chosen "Independents" are near-Communists or (like the Ministers of Propaganda and of Education) ex-Zvenars of the Left. The elections themselves will merely be a plebiscite for or against the Patriotic Front; no organised opposition is to be tolerated, and the result is a foregone conclusion.

As no genuine Agrarian or Social Democrat leader has been included in the list—not even the three present Cabinet Ministers, Petkov, Pavlov and Cheshmedzhiev—it has been necessary for those of them still at liberty to apply to stand as unofficial Independents. Petkov and his associates are evidently bent on forcing the issue and have now addressed a letter to the Bulgarian Prime Minister, in which they remind him of the necessity for completely free elections under the Yalta Declaration and urge him to arrange for them to be held under inter-Allied control. As preliminary conditions they ask for a purge of the Militia and the restoration of free speech and a free press, and they recommend a postponement of the elections until after the harvest.

A question which our A.C.C. representative is likely to bring forward soon is the unsatisfactory position regarding the admission to Bulgaria of British trade representatives. Difficulties over their entry have continually arisen and there is no sign of improvement. Meanwhile, under the Bulgarian-Soviet Trade Agreement Bulgaria has exported to Russia so far 10 million kilog. of tobacco, iron and zinc ore, hides and beans, receiving in exchange 50 million kilog. of petroleum products and large quantities of mineral oils, iron, tinplate and chemicals. (It may be added that, according to Radio Sofia, the Germans removed from Bulgaria between 1941 and 1944 nearly 55,000 tons of coal, 11 million kilog. of silk, 3 million kilog. of skins, over 455 million kilog. of meat, 128 million kilog. of tobacco, 275 million kilog. of fruit, over 375 million kilog. of cereals, 918,000 kilog. of fats, 4½ million sheep, 132,000 pigs, 165,000 head of poultry, and 130 million eggs. These Bulgarian figures must no doubt be taken with a good deal of reserve.)

Turkey.

Mr. Churchill's personal prestige stands so high in Turkey, and the position of his Government was regarded as so secure, that the result of the election was received with astonishment and consternation. The more so because the Conservative Party was regarded as being particularly identified with a policy of friendship towards Turkey. Commentators consoled themselves, however, with the statement that Britain's foreign policy—by which they meant her policy in the Eastern Mediterranean—would remain unchanged. The renown of Mr. Churchill, they declared, was undimmed by his defeat.

Moscow Radio continued to quote, without comment, passages from the Turkish press affirming the imperialistic character of Soviet policy, and emphasising Turkey's determination to resist any attempt to weaken or destroy her sovereignty and independence.

It has been reported from Angora that, owing to the lack of rain, the 1945 harvest would be about 40 per cent. below that of last year. Steps are being taken to preserve the existing stocks of grain, which are considerable.

In laying the foundation stone of the new harbour works at Eregli—one of the two ports used for the shipment of Zonguldak coal—the Minister of Public Works stressed the importance for Turkey of the modernisation of her harbours. He declared that, in addition to the works at Eregli, plans were already advanced for similar undertakings at Trebizond and Samsun.

Turkey is about to begin building her first aero-engine plant. The plant is designed to produce 200 engines in 1947 and ultimately to produce 600. Its cost is estimated at 1 million liras.

ERRATUM.

In last week's *Summary*, No. 303, "Turkey," p. 18, line 3, for "American" read "Armenian."

THE MIDDLE EAST.

Nahas Pasha, as leader of the Wafd, has sent to His Majesty's Ambassador a six-page letter in Arabic, expressed in moderate language, but emphasising the importance of a final settlement of questions still outstanding between Egypt

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and Great Britain. Nahas believes that these questions should be settled before the general "Peace Conference," since Egypt would not wish to face such a conference unless she was first in complete accord with Great Britain. In this connexion, Nahas recalls the declaration made by Mr. Eden in 1942 that we would undertake to secure Egyptian participation in any peace conference that affected her interests. The two most important claims that Egypt wished to be settled in her favour were the military evacuation of Egypt and the question of the Sudan.

Though he does not explicitly refer to the necessity for negotiating with the Wafd as representing the Egyptian people, Nahas no doubt hopes that no revision of the treaty, in the drawing up of which he was a principal party, will take place, without at least the Wafd having an important share in the deliberations. Nahas at first intimated that he intended sending the letter to the press. Such action would be, to say the least, discourteous; but so far the contents have not been made public, though the Wafdist press has announced that a statement on Egypt's national aspirations will shortly be made.

The trial of Mahmoud Issawi was concluded in Cairo on the 24th July, when the Court decided to send the case to the Grand Mufti, which is known to be tantamount to a sentence of death. The death sentence was duly passed on the 28th July. The trial failed to establish the existence of any accomplices.

Last week, Drew Pearson, the notorious American columnist, published a syndicated article in which he referred in lurid and distorted terms to the Palace incident in Cairo of February 1942. "Few people outside Egypt," he writes, "had known that the British battered down the gates of the Royal Palace and forced the King to appoint a British-picked Prime Minister." After stating that Sir Miles Lampson had called on King Farouk with "advice" that Nahas Pasha be made Premier, and that the Egyptian Cabinet had sent a protest against political interference, the article goes on to say that "Sir Miles asked for an immediate audience; a brigade of British troops carrying machine guns appeared outside the Royal Palace. British tanks battered down the gates. Sir Miles then repeated his demand that Nahas be made Premier of Egypt at once. Nahas was appointed. Shortly after, Sir Miles was made Lord Killearn." (For what actually occurred on the occasion, and for the story leading up to it, the reader is referred to *Summary* No. 123 of the 11th February, 1942.)

According to the Lebanese Minister for Foreign Affairs, three commissions are to be appointed, French, Syrian and Lebanese, to settle the transfer to the Levant Governments of those "common interests" not yet handed over by the French. So far as is known discussions will be confined to the following: the broadcasting station known as Radio Levant; details concerning the transfer of control (already settled in principle) of the D.H.P. ("Damas–Hama et Prolongements") railways in the Lebanon and the Port of Beirut; and the civil telephone system. This last is French military property, and the States now wish to purchase it for their own use.

It appears that Count Ostrorog recently made an official statement, under instructions from his Government, that the French would withdraw their troops from the Levant States as soon as British troops were withdrawn by us.

The result of the general election in Great Britain has naturally created surprise in Iraq, where people cannot understand the reason for the Conservative defeat, involving as it does the fall of Mr. Churchill. It has, however, pleased the Left-wing Nationalists, who see in it a blow at what they call "Western imperialism." One Iraqi newspaper describes the election as "a bloodless revolution of the British people against capitalism," the effects of which will be felt in due course all over the world. Comment in official and political circles has so far been restrained, but there is deep anxiety lest the new Labour Government should adopt a pro-Zionist attitude over Palestine.

Whether Iraqi fears on this last point are well founded or not remains to be seen, but the Labour victory has been hailed by the American Zionist Emergency Council, representing all the principal Zionist organisations in the United States, as foreshadowing positive action on the Palestine question. Last week the Council declared: "The election gives hope that the intolerable régime in Palestine of the White Paper will now end, and that the sorely-tried Jewish people may at last look forward to effective action on behalf of the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish commonwealth." On the other hand, the *Baltimore Sun* wonders whether things may not seem less clear-cut from the Treasury Bench than they did from the other side of the Chamber, and cites the problem of Palestine as a case in point.

Meanwhile the Jews in Palestine seem to be more interested for the moment in the increase of immigration than in the immediate creation of a Jewish State; while Arab politicians in that country are so unable to compose their differences that the various parties are as far from coming together as ever.

Before Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden left Potsdam it was agreed at the conference that British and Russian forces should be withdrawn from Tehran at once, and that the further steps to be taken in connexion with the withdrawal of Allied forces from the remainder of Persian territory should be discussed at the first meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers, to be held in September next. Up to the 30th July, however, the Russian Ambassador at Tehran had received no instructions on the matter from his Government; and, as we cannot allow the matter to drift indefinitely, by the 2nd August at latest, whether word has been received by then from Moscow or not, His Majesty's Ambassador will inform the Persian Government of the decision reached at Potsdam. The article by the diplomatic correspondent of *The Times* published on the 23rd July, advocating the evacuation of Allied forces from Persia, has been eagerly taken up by nearly the whole Persian Press, even the Tudeh newspapers no longer daring to oppose evacuation.

An important meeting of the party led by Seyyid Zia, which was to have taken place at Meshed on the 22nd July, could not be held owing to interference by the Soviet authorities. Early that morning Russian soldiers, accompanied by Persian police, arrested a number of the committee of the party, including Seyyid Zia's brother. Their houses were searched and documents relating to the party were confiscated. Meanwhile the Tudeh party continues under Russian protection to take measures adverse to the Persian Government.

THE FAR EAST.

On the 30th July it was announced in Chungking that Dr. T. V. Soong had been relieved of his post as Minister for Foreign Affairs, which he had been holding concurrently with the office of President of the Executive Yuan, that he had been replaced at the Foreign Ministry by Dr. Wang Shih-chieh (previously Minister of Information), and that he had been appointed to succeed Dr. H. H. Kung as Vice-Chairman of the Board controlling the four Government Banks of which Chiang Kai-shek himself is Chairman. It was also stated that Sheng Shih-tsai had been replaced as Minister of Agriculture by Ku Cheng-kang.

A dispatch from the Washington correspondent of *The Times* stated that the removal of Soong had caused great surprise there, as there had been no hint in reports from Chungking that any such changes were impending. On the other hand an Associated Press report declared that the change of Foreign Minister had caused no surprise in Chungking, as it had been long expected. The changes in the Chungking Government actually come at the end of a week of very sultry atmosphere in China. Following the return of Soong from Moscow without having reached any agreement with the Soviet Union, Yenan radio on the 24th July, as mentioned in last week's *Summary*, declared that Chungking forces had attacked Communist positions to the north of Sian, and that the Communist Commander-in-Chief, Chu Teh, had cabled to Chiang Kai-shek demanding a cessation of hostilities. Subsequently Yenan radio declared that fighting had broken out also in Suiyuan and in Chekiang, and made accusations that the Kuomintang had long planned the operations now begun. Yenan asserted that early in April "after General Hurley's announcement in Washington" (*i.e.*, his statement at a press conference that the United States recognised only the Chinese Government in Chungking and could not supply arms separately to the Communists as an armed political party) Chungking officers in the Paotou area (Suiyuan) talked to their troops of recovering lost territory from the Communists and setting up an anti-Communist zone in Suiyuan and Chahar to prevent the Eighth Route (Communist) Army from reaching Manchuria. Yenan also gave out a "rumour" that several American military officers disguised as journalists had arrived south of Paotou to help train Kuomintang troops and direct operations.

Chungking did not deny that fighting had taken place against the Communists, but claimed that the Chungking forces in Shensi were only engaged in recapturing a strategically important position (Chunhua) which had been seized by the Communists, while in Chekiang the Communists had no right to have armed forces at all, as the province was outside the zone assigned to them for military

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operations in 1940. At a press conference on the 26th July, the Government spokesman said that the Communists made a habit of attacking and occupying districts lightly held by Government troops, and that, if the latter then attempted to dislodge them, the Communists accused them of aggression. Government reticence in giving publicity to these incidents had merely encouraged such "poaching"; nevertheless, the Government had not changed its policy of seeking a settlement by political and not military means.

As regards the events at Chunhua, a Yenan broadcast on the 27th July referred to a mutiny of Chungking troops there and claimed that the Yenan authorities had maintained strict neutrality, but had sent a detachment to "maintain order" in accordance with the request of "the people"; afterwards these had been withdrawn and some of the mutineers had fled into the Communist zone. A telegram sent to General Hu Tsung-nan, the commander of the Chungking forces in Shensi, accused him as follows: "You mismanaged your armies and, when disorders broke out, wanted to lay the blame on others. Regarding friend as foe, you secretly dispatched a large army and are fighting an undeclared war . . . . It is said that you have long intended to attack the Border Region, but could not find a pretext. The Chunhua mutiny was your machination for supplying the pretext."

It remains to be seen whether the clashes which have taken place can be localised or whether they will develop into general civil war. Now that the Japanese in China are either in retreat or on the defensive, the uneasy truce which has been imposed on the rival Chinese armies by the pressure of the common enemy is in any case likely to be exposed to an ever greater strain unless some settlement is quickly reached, and all efforts to achieve such a settlement have so far failed.

A proclamation calling upon Japan to surrender was released on the 26th July from Potsdam. The text of this ultimatum, which was signed by President Truman and Mr. Churchill, was communicated to Chungking, and a reply was received from Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek in the form of a personal message to President Truman, concurring in the terms of the document. The first clause of the proclamation says that the Allies have agreed that Japan should be given an opportunity of ending the war, and the second that the Allies will prosecute the war until Japan ceases to resist. The third clause dwells on the results of the futile and senseless German resistance to the Allies which "stand forth in awful clarity as an example to the people of Japan" and threatens them with the "inevitable and complete destruction of their armed forces" and the "utter devastation" of their country unless they surrender. The fourth clause states that "the time has come for Japan to decide whether she will continue to be controlled by those self-willed militaristic advisers, whose unintelligent calculation has brought the Empire of Japan to the threshold of annihilation, or whether she will follow the path of reason." Clause 5 states that the terms of surrender which follow in clauses 6–13 are final, and that there is no alternative to them. They are as follows:—

"*Clause* 6.—There must be eliminated for all time the authority and influence of those who have deceived and misled the people of Japan into embarking on world conquest, for we insist that a new order of peace, security and justice will be impossible until irresponsible militarism is driven from the world.

"*Clause* 7.—Until such a new order is established and until there is convincing proof that Japan's warmaking power is destroyed, points in Japanese territory designated by the Allies shall be occupied to secure the achievement of the basic objectives we are here setting forth.

"*Clause* 8.—The terms of the Cairo declaration shall be carried out and Japanese sovereignty shall be limited to the islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu and Shikoku and such minor islands as we determine.

"*Clause* 9.—The Japanese military forces after being completely disarmed shall be permitted to return to their homes with the opportunity of leading peaceful and productive lives.

"*Clause* 10.—We do not intend that Japanese shall be enslaved as a race nor destroyed as a nation, but stern justice shall be meted out to all war criminals, including those who have visited cruelties on our prisoners. The Japanese Government shall remove all obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people. Freedom of speech, of religion, of thought, as well as respect for the fundamental human rights, shall be established.

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"*Clause* 11.—Japan shall be permitted to maintain such industries as will sustain her economy and allow exaction of just reparations in kind, but not those industries which will enable her to rearm for war. To this end access to, as distinguished from control of raw materials shall be permitted. Eventual Japanese participation in world trade relations shall be permitted.

"*Clause* 12.—The occupying forces of the Allies shall be withdrawn from Japan as soon as these objectives have been accomplished and there has been established, in accordance with the freely expressed will of the Japanese people, a peacefully inclined and responsible Government.

"*Clause* 13.—We call upon the Government of Japan to proclaim now the unconditional surrender of all the Japanese armed forces and to provide proper and adequate assurances of their good faith in such action. The alternative for Japan is complete and utter destruction."

In a press interview Admiral Suzuki, referring to the ultimatum, said that it was nothing but a rehash of the Cairo declaration and would be ignored by the Japanese Government. There was no change whatever in the Japanese Government's established policy of fighting this war to a successful conclusion. General Minami, President of the *Dai Nippon Seijikai*, said in a press interview: "The Japanese will be ready to talk peace only when the whole of East Asia is freed from Anglo-American colonial exploitation, and Japan, with other nations in the world, is assured of a peaceful life based on justice and equality." The general professed to believe that the Potsdam ultimatum was designed to checkmate the war-weariness prevailing among the peoples of enemy countries, which made the continuation of the war difficult. The *Asahi* said that the ultimatum aimed at intimidating Japan, and that it betrayed "the enemy's day dream illusions." The *Yomiuri Hochi* called the surrender terms "ridiculous." Japanese comment stressed the fact that the Soviet Union had in no way associated itself with the proclamation, although it issued from the Potsdam Conference.

Meanwhile, Dr. Evatt, Australian Minister for External Affairs, has protested strongly against the procedure of issuing the proclamation without consultation with Australia. "The ultimatum was of fundamental importance to Australia," said Mr. Evatt, "yet our first knowledge both of its terms and of its publication came from the press. . . . The actual peace terms foreshadowed in the ultimatum appear to treat Japan more leniently than Germany, although the slightest sign of any tenderness towards Japanese imperialism is entirely misplaced. . . . There are still people who do not realise that the post-war security for the peoples of Australia and New Zealand is still integrally bound up with the destiny of South-East Asia."

The virtually unanimous verdict of the American press on the Potsdam proclamation was that it was "our last and best offer" to Japan, a final answer to Japanese peace feelers, and that "the next move prior to invasion is up to Japan." The *Springfield Republican*, however, expressed concern that the Soviet Union was not associated with the proclamation and declared that the unconditional surrender formula "seems to have been breached."

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The United Nations Charter has been ratified by the Senate by a vote of 89 to 2 and the United States thus becomes the first major power to confirm its adherence to the new organisation. The negative votes were cast by two Republicans, Mr. William Langer (N. Dakota) and Mr. Henrik Shipstead (Minnesota), and the aged Mr. Hiram Johnson (Republican, California) indicated that had he not been ill in hospital he too would have opposed the decision.

Virtually no one has directly challenged the Charter itself, though one or two internationalists have complained that it does not go far enough. The question which is exercising discussion, however, is the constitutional procedure involved in implementing it. Shortly before the vote was taken President Truman sent a message from Potsdam declaring that on any agreements involving the use of military forces, he would "ask Congress by appropriate legislation to approve of them." This has been interpreted by the press as meaning that the President will ask for resolutions of both Houses necessitating simple majorities. The point, however, was made in subsequent debate that even if the President did adopt

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this method, it would still be open to the Senate to reject a joint resolution and insist on the submission of the agreement to the Senate alone for ratification as a treaty. The point is not of importance in connexion with the Charter itself, but it is likely to assume greater importance as time goes by, and Senators Connally and Vandenberg have themselves indicated that they would like the use of American quota forces to be decided by a treaty requiring a two-thirds support from the Senate.

"It is deeply gratifying that the Senate has ratified the United Nations Charter," cabled President Truman, "by a virtually unanimous vote. The action of the Senate substantially advances the cause of peace." Mr. Grew, the Acting Secretary of State, described it as a "most important step towards establishing peace and security throughout the world," while Mr. Cordell Hull, who, with President Roosevelt, has done so much to bring about this historic event, said: "May this resounding vote of the Senate be followed by speedy approval of the Charter by the other United Nations and its early entrance into force to carry out the noble purposes for which it was conceived." Although there are still dangers ahead and isolationist rocks still strew the path, the achievement is a milestone in American history, and if it reflects deeper currents of opinion, it is also due in no small measure to Mr. Roosevelt's shrewdness in appointing a bi-partisan delegation to San Francisco, to the skilful use of publicity, and to the personal popularity of President Truman with Congress.

The results of the British election came as a profound shock to the majority of the American public. A Conservative majority, although a small one, had been confidently expected, and the first reaction was of wonder at the strange "ingratitude" of the British electorate towards Mr. Winston Churchill. Nowhere is the late Premier forgotten. As the *Baltimore Sun* says: "It is easier to see his virtues than his faults and they are great virtues. He will live in history as a very great man indeed, a great soldier and a great civilian." Tributes to his leadership during the war have been paid by practically the whole of the press. "The defeat of Mr. Churchill's party is not in any way a defeat for Mr. Churchill as an individual," Mrs. Franklin Roosevelt declared. "His place in the hearts of the British people is safe for all time." But now that the first shocked surprise is over, the general reaction in the United States has taken the form of hoping that there will be little change in Anglo-American co-operation and in foreign affairs generally, though it is expected that there will be more encouragement of "Leftist" groups in Europe and stronger condemnation of régimes such as the Spanish and Argentinian, as well as possible changes in the British attitude towards, for instance, Greece, Italy and India. There was some slight apprehension lest the new Government might be less interested in the Far Eastern war than their predecessors, but Mr. Attlee's first statement has set these fears at rest. In many quarters, however, the view has been expressed that the "swing to the Left" will make Anglo-American co-operation in the field of foreign affairs easier. In others there is, however, some anxiety lest the economic policies of the new Government may make more difficult the expansion of freer trade envisaged in Article VII of the Lend-Lease Agreement to the achievement and ratification of which Bretton Woods and the recent tariff Bill are regarded as substantial American contributions. The heads of the organised Labour movements have naturally expressed warm satisfaction over the results and some papers have argued that this new orientation is likely to place Britain in the part of mediator between the Communist State of Russia and the capitalist United States. Even those papers who are somewhat alarmed over the result, however, refer to the English genius for compromise, and it is not expected that violent policies will be pursued either at home or abroad.

Mr. Attlee, of whom there have appeared a number of favourable profiles, is now being compared with Mr. Truman and the general reaction, apart from the extreme Conservatives, is one of friendly analysis of the reason for the change. The *Detroit Free Press* describes it as a revolution which has taken place "by ballots instead of bullets," while Mr. Raymond Swing has described it as "Britain's middle-class revolution by consent." In general the radio commentators have been far more jubilant than the press, though the majority of the Republican organs, such as the *New York Herald Tribune* and the *Baltimore Sun*, independents such as the *New York Times* and of course the democratic and liberal press, have commented favourably on the change.

(See also under "Far East," "Middle East," and "Latin America.")

LATIN AMERICA.

In Argentina, the recent crude attempts to discredit the United States Ambassador (see last week's *Summary*) have greatly increased Mr. Braden's popularity in "opposition" circles, and Argentine "society" went out of its way to welcome him on his return to Buenos Aires from a provincial visit. The Argentine Foreign Minister has now explained that the police did not immediately prevent the circulation of the lampoons in question, because they were unaware of their contents. Meanwhile, the release of small batches of political prisoners has been announced, together with intervention in isolated German firms; and according to press accounts, a manifesto of the Civic Union branch of the Radical Party has definitely expressed its opposition to the Government, declaring that members who have accepted or accept posts under the existing régime will be expelled.

A demonstration in favour of women's suffrage is reported to have lent its support to the Statute for Political Parties; Colonel Perón appeared, on request, and gallantly expressed his approval of votes for women.

Dr. López, the President of Colombia, has once again sent his "irrevocable resignation" to the Senate, and this time, the Foreign Minister, Dr. Lleras Camargo, has been appointed first designate to the Presidency, and will apparently take over Dr. López's functions on the 7th August. According to broadcast reports, the Liberal Party has selected Dr. Gabriel Turbay, a former Foreign Minister and Ambassador in Washington, of Syrian descent, as presidential candidate for the forthcoming elections.

The Ecuadorean Government resigned on the 28th July. The Foreign Minister, Sr. Ponce Enríquez, is reported to have accused the Minister of the Interior, Sr. Carlos Guevara Moreno, of sabotaging the work of the Government. This suggests an imminent parting of the ways between the varied groups which have hitherto supported Dr. Velasco Ibarra.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 305

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
8TH AUGUST, 1945.

Copy No. 141

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

MORE than half the formal declaration issued at the termination of the Tripartite Conference of Berlin on the 2nd August is devoted to the "political and economic principles to govern the treatment of Germany in the initial control period." Two territorial questions of major importance were dealt with. The Conference agreed in principle to accept, and President Truman and Mr. Attlee agreed to support at the final peace settlement, the claim of the U.S.S.R. to an extension of the Russian frontier to incorporate that part of East Prussia, including Königsberg, north and east of a line running from Braunsberg to Goldap (see Map 1). It also agreed, "pending the final determination of Poland's western frontier," to leave the territories east of the Oder–Neisse line, with an extension west of the Oder to take in Stettin and Swinemünde, under Polish administration and not to regard them as part of the Russian zone of occupation. Since it is very unlikely that either of these decisions will be reversed, despite the provisos inserted, the *fait accompli* for which both the U.S.S.R. and the Polish Provisional Government have striven has been successful in securing acceptance by the Western Powers. As a result the future Germany, for which the Council of Foreign Ministers of the United Kingdom, United States, U.S.S.R., France and China are to prepare a peace settlement, will be shorn of between one-fifth and one-quarter of the territory of the Reich as constituted under the Treaty of Versailles. The tide of history has been reversed and the Teuton's *Drang nach Osten* is replaced by a Slavonic *Drang nach Westen.*

Some of the Conference decisions envisage the wider application of principles of control which experience in tackling individual problems—as, for example, the joint administration of Berlin—has already shown to be vital if Military Government is to operate with a minimum of difficulty. Such are the clauses of the declaration providing for the treatment of Germany during the occupation

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as a "single economic unit," for the "equitable distribution of essential commodities between the several zones," and the adoption of a common Allied policy with regard to industry, agriculture, wages, prices, rationing, currency and transportation. The decision to set up "certain essential central German administrative departments, headed by State Secretaries . . . . particularly in the fields of finance, transport, communications, foreign trade and industry" represents a more practical alternative to the establishment of a central German Government, which the Conference has postponed for the moment. The method which the Conference has agreed shall be employed in meeting the Soviet claims for reparations—that is, by the removal of an unspecified amount of industrial capital equipment not needed for the German peace economy from the areas of Germany occupied by the Soviet Union and by the further removal of 25 per cent. (15 per cent. of which is to be paid for in kind) of similar equipment from the areas occupied by the United Kingdom and the United States—represents an entirely new departure in the exaction of reparations from Germany which cannot fail to strengthen Russian economic (if not political) interest in the British and American zones.

A number of important measures to revive German economic life in the Russian zone have been carefully timed to coincide with the last meetings of the Berlin Conference and with the promulgation of its decisions. On the 30th July it was announced that Marshal Zhukov had given instructions for all factories in Berlin which were still equipped to produce solid and liquid fuels, electric power, fertilisers and raw materials for other industries to resume work by the 15th August, and that he would hold the German local government authorities responsible for the provision of the supplies, power, transport and labour with which they were to operate. On the 4th August he ordered the establishment by the provincial administrations of adequate financial machinery to "develop the national economy and eliminate all obstacles to the development of trade and agriculture." Rates and taxes were to be levied according to the old scale; provincial, district and city banks were to be opened; and insurance to cover life and property was to be provided. From this order, and from another decree of the 2nd August under which the President of the Provincial Government of Brandenburg took over all local revenue and customs offices, it is clear that the Soviet authorities now regard the German *Provinzialverwaltung* as the supreme fiscal authority in their zone. On the 1st August it was stated that Marshal Zhukov had established German Railway Directorates at Berlin, Dresden, Erfurt, Halle, Schwerin, Pasewalk, Wittenberg and Magdeburg (all except the last three being old Reich Railway Directorates) and Waterways Directorates at Frankfurt-an-der-Oder and Brandenburg to speed up the resumption of transport. Postal communications between Berlin and other cities of the Russian zone have also been resumed.

No marked advance has been made during the past week in the development of various political organisations in Berlin and it is too early as yet to see how the decision of the Berlin Conference to permit the organisation of political parties throughout Germany will affect their future. Vigorous support is at the moment being given by the Communists to the drive of the Soviet Military Government to resume essential industries, and their party organ, *Die Deutsche Volkszeitung*, has expressed approval of the decision of the Berlin Conference to destroy the German war industries, arguing that this would in the end benefit the German people by enabling their national economy at last to serve the people's needs. The Liberal-Democrats are now being allowed to publish their own party newspaper, *Der Morgen*, which appeared for the first time on the Berlin streets on the 4th August, but without the usual publicity from the Russian-controlled Berlin radio. The future of Dr. Andreas Hermes, the leader of the Christian Democratic Union, who last week resigned under a cloud from his post as head of the Berlin food administration, is not clear beyond the fact that the inter-Allied *Kommandantur* accepted his resignation as final on the 1st August, and confirmed the appointment of an obscure right-wing Social Democrat, Gustav Klimpel, as his successor. In an order of the 31st July, authorising the establishment of youth committees in the German towns, Marshal Zhukov firmly resisted any demand for the formation of political youth organisations. He placed the new youth committees under what he called the "*Bürgermeistereien*," and expressly forbade even the trade unions and the Socialist parties to form their own youth groups.

A marked improvement in the delivery of coal from the Ruhr mines is expected to result from the reopening of the Rhine north of Coblenz to barge

traffic, which it is now hoped will take place on the 1st September. Lack of adequate transport is at the moment one of several obstacles to a further increase in coal output in the Ruhr, where the production of hard coal has already risen from 35,000 tons a day at the beginning of June to almost double that amount by the end of last month, and where the production of brown coal is now approaching 50,000 tons per day. 145,600 miners are now employed in the industry and, as a result of the increased rations provided by Military Government, the average output of coal per man has risen steadily from ·32 tons to ·51 tons a day (as against 1·5 tons, however, in normal times) in the past two months. Three training schools for miners have now been opened in the British zone. The arrival of four coal trains from the Ruhr was acknowledged on the 6th August by the Berlin radio, which stated that quantities of lignite and anthracite were also being received from the Lusatian and Weissenburg mines respectively. In the absence of adequate transport, attention is now being given to the exploitation of local coal deposits which have not hitherto been considered of paramount importance. On the 3rd August it was stated that lignite deposits in the Taunus region might be opened up in the near future to supply the Wiesbaden area. The Bavarian mines are now stated to be producing 10,000 tons per month, and all privately-owned mining companies in the State have been taken over by the United States Military Government authorities.

The tendency of Military Government in the American zone to decentralise authority, and at the same time to delegate administrative responsibility to native German officials has become even more pronounced in the past few days. On the 2nd August it was stated that preparations were being made to re-establish in Bavaria the old State Ministry of Justice, which was abolished with the other surviving sovereign institutions of the individual German *Länder* under the *Gleichschaltung* decrees of 1934. Its re-establishment will follow closely upon the reconstitution of the Bavarian State Ministry of Labour and the elevation of the head of the Bavarian Office for Food and Agriculture to ministerial rank. A decision to make the public health and welfare of the German people in the American zone solely the concern of the local German medical and administrative authorities has been announced by the Director of the Public Health and Welfare Division of the United States Group Control Council, Major-General Stayer. German "examining magistrates" (Untersuchungsbeamte) are being employed in the current drive of Military Government to purge the local administrations of their last remaining Nazi elements. In his message of the 6th August to the population of the American zone, General Eisenhower emphasised the readiness of the United States authorities to permit the Germans to publish their own newspapers, elect their own shop stewards to represent them in the factories and "develop local political activities."

In a similar personal message to the population of the British zone on the 6th August, Field-Marshal Montgomery promised the German people "freedom to get down to their own way of life, subject only to the provisions of military security and necessity." It was, he said, the policy of the Allied authorities "to encourage democratic political parties which may form the basis of an ordered and peaceful German society." Confident estimates of the number of followers which they are soon likely to have are already being made to Military Government by some of the surviving leaders of the old Weimar parties. Dr. Kurt Schumacher, the former Social Democratic editor and Reichstag Deputy in Württemberg, who is now residing in Hanover, predicts that his party will regain its former predominance in Hanover and possibly a working majority in Brunswick, Württemberg, Baden and Hessen-Nassau. Dr. Pfad, the leader of the Centre Party in Hanover, estimates that his following has risen by 5 per cent., despite the Nazi régime; and even the separatist German Hanoverian Party claims that it will collect two-thirds of all votes cast when the first elections are held.

Representatives of 21 Army Group and of the Soviet authorities in Berlin have now reached an agreement whereby the rate of repatriation of displaced Russians from the North-West of Germany will be doubled in the next two or three weeks. (At present between 4,000 and 5,000 such Russians are repatriated daily.) The results should be to clear the British zone of Russians by the end of this month, so that higher priority can be given to the repatriation of the Poles, among whom there has lately been an increase of unrest and lawlessness. Considerable trouble is at the moment being caused by the Warsaw and Lublin broadcasts encouraging the Poles in Germany to band themselves into small

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groups and make for home on their own initiative. The woods on the Anglo-Russian zone frontier in Germany are stated to be full of Poles who have been influenced by these broadcasts, only to find themselves driven back by the Soviet guards. In places like Lübeck, which still has some 20,000 Poles, the situation is expected to become even more difficult if the agitation from Warsaw and Lublin continues.

AUSTRIA.

The brief paragraph concerning Austria in the Terms of Agreement at the Berlin Conference contained the statement that a proposal by the Soviet Government on the extension of the authority of the Austrian Provisional Government to the whole of Austria was examined. The three Governments agreed that they were prepared to examine this question after the entry of the British and American forces into the City of Vienna.

Although this does not imply recognition of the Renner Government by the Allies, Vienna Radio on the 5th August claimed that while no definite date had been fixed for recognition of the Government, in "proposing that the authority of the Provisional Government be extended to cover all Austria, the Report *de facto* recognises the existence of that Government."

Dr. Renner himself issued a long memorandum on the 5th, explaining the events which led to the formation of his Government. He described the entry of Russian troops into Gloggnitz where he was living, on Easter Sunday. The German troops had fled, and there was no fighting, nevertheless, said Renner, "the occupation was a hard experience for the population. Patrols searched house after house and what took place during those searches the people are not likely to forget. I experienced in my own house for two days and two nights just what any other inhabitant experienced." On Easter Tuesday Renner went to see the Russian commanding officer, to seek protection for the people.. An order was given for the abuses complained of to cease, and Renner was taken to see a senior officer, to whom he explained that while the majority of Austrians had at first a hopeful attitude towards Hitler, they "took a dislike to the mere idea of union with the Reich" when Hitler's methods of oppression and warlike aims became obvious, and for a long time they had been longing for the establishment of an independent Austrian Republic. Renner himself had reckoned for some years that Austria might some day want his experience as Chancellor from 1918 to 1920, and his reputation as the Austrian leader at St. Germain. Therefore he had done all he could not to attract Nazi persecution. He said that now he had not the means for action, and the Russians replied that the Red Army could help in many ways. Renner was asked whether he was prepared to fulfil his long-cherised plans. After much reflection he "decided to take the risk of jeopardising my reputation and that of the party, and my existence as a politician." Two days later he was taken to meet "an astonishing number of senior officers," to whom he refused to hand a memorandum of his proposals, because "on no account could or would I act as a mandatory of Russia." He proposed instead to issue a number of proclamations to the Austrian people. He arrived in Vienna on the 21st April, and leading members of the democratic parties were invited to a conference next day. Renner found in Vienna the "foundations of a new democratic city Government ready laid, and the only task remaining was the establishment of a central Government for the whole country." From this statement interesting for Renner's implied criticism of Russian actions, it is clear that the setting up of the Provisional Government was not altogether the spontaneous Austrian action it is claimed to be, and that in fact the Russians had a considerable hand in the matter; and that they knew of Renner's intention of forming a Government some time before they informed the other Allies.

Renner obviously hopes that his Government will be recognised by the British and United States Governments and a possible move to broaden its basis with this end in view has been reported. He has been particularly insistent on the necessity of overcoming the internal barriers presented by the zone boundaries and of administering Austria as a single unit. On the 15th July, a Herr Moeser, who claimed that he was touring Austria as the special representative of Renner, visited Piesch (chairman of the Carinthian Consultative Committee and now Landeshauptmann of the Provincial Government). The object of the visit was stated to be to find suitable candidates for the Renner Government who would be acceptable to the Allies. Berlin Radio reported on the 5th August, as from Vienna, that Renner had requested the Provincial Governments to arrange for the appointment of representatives to Vienna in

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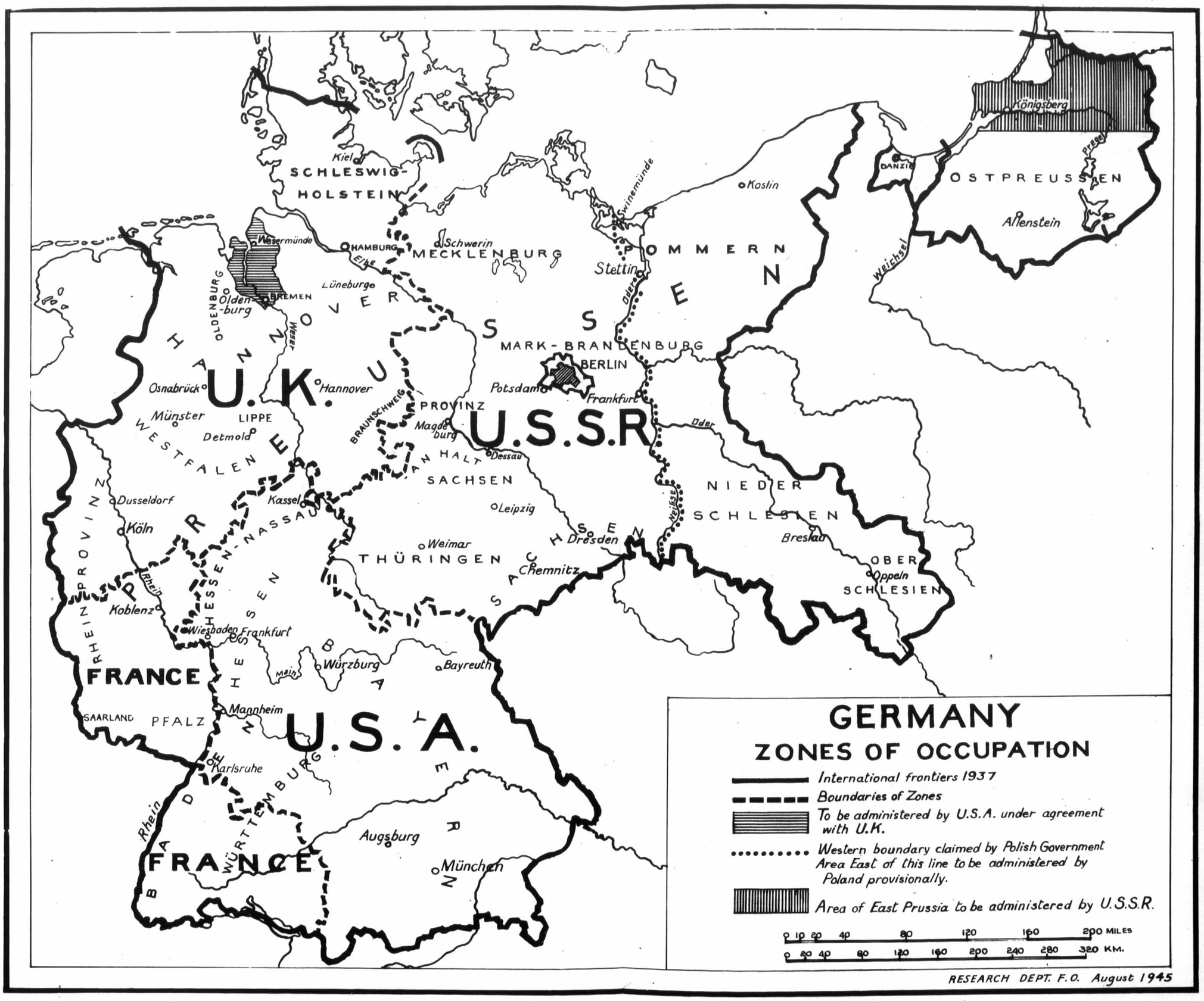
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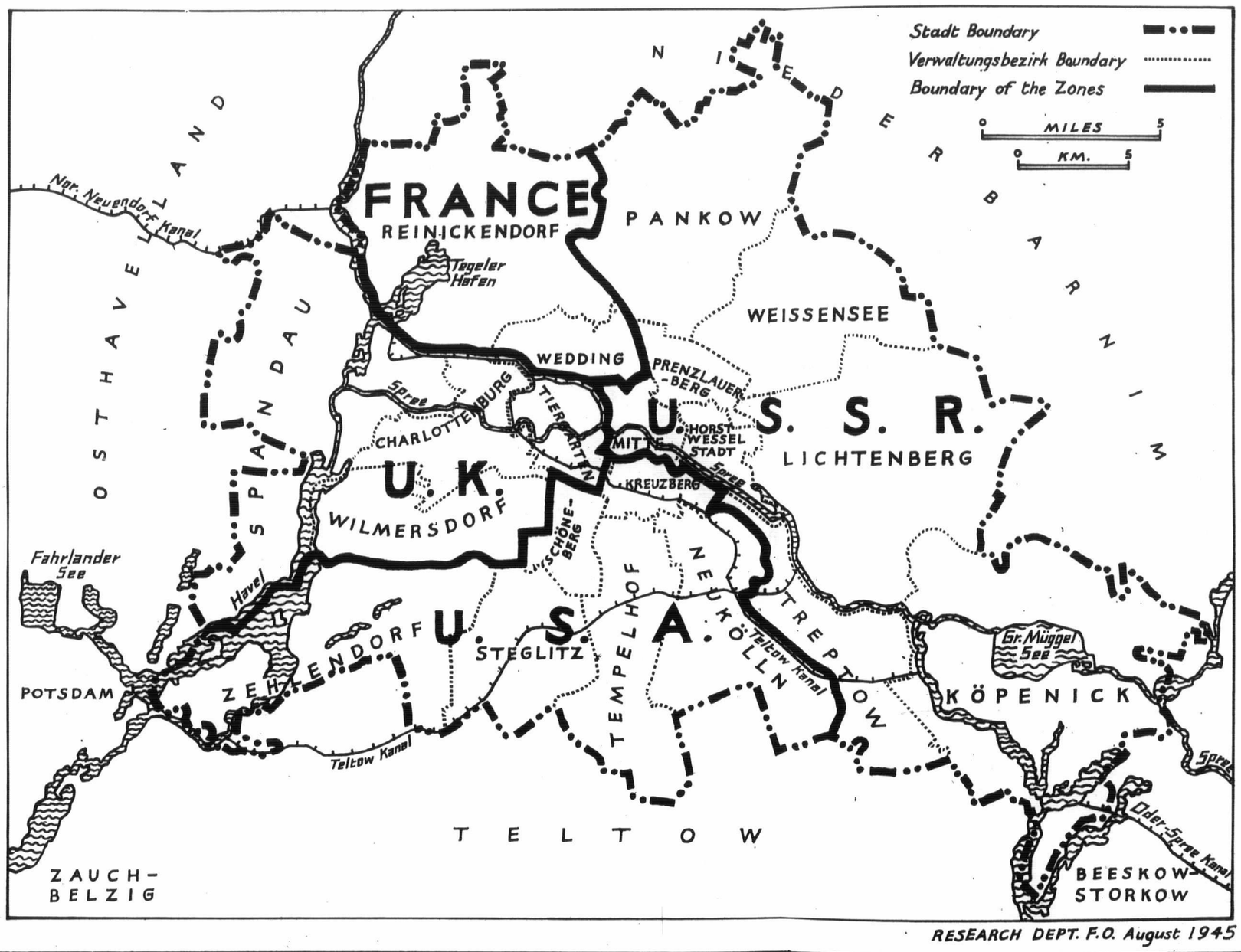
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ZONES OF OCCUPATION OF BERLIN



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connexion with the administration of Austria as a whole. A possible opposition move is reported from another source. It was said that a meeting was planned to take place in Salzburg on the 29th July, attended by members of the Volkspartei and some small groups of the Right, and including the Landeshauptmann of the Tyrol, Gruber, to discuss the relationships between the various provincial governments and the Renner Government. The meeting was expected to be strongly in favour of a broadening of the Vienna régime. In view of the decision as to its future which must soon be taken by the four major Allies, Renner and his colleagues are intensifying their efforts to demonstrate the energy and efficiency of their administration. A political review, broadcast by Radio Vienna on the 2nd August said that ninety-four legislative Acts had been passed by the Provisional Government during the four months in which it has held office. Among the latest of these to be announced are laws reconstituting the Austrian Chamber of Lawyers, and reinstituting the Austrian penal code and criminal procedure; a Bill introduced by Honner, the Communist Minister of the Interior, concerning the revival of political parties and activities; and the restoration of workers' councils.

If the legislation introduced by the Provisional Government is theoretically sound, however, it is doubtful how far it is able to implement it even in those parts of Austria in which its writ runs—that is in the Russian-occupied zone. Emboldened, perhaps, by the arrival of advance parties of British, American, and French troops in Vienna, some speakers from Vienna have been more outspoken recently. One of these complained, on the 5th, of the requisitioning of farms and crops, which made it impossible to fix farmers' surrender quotas. The Austrian Government, he said, required the sole and uncontested right of disposal over the harvest, without outside interference, to be able to fulfil its obligations towards the Austrian people and the Red Army.

There has been an increasing tendency, too, to appeal to the Western Allies to help in Austria's desperate economic plight. One of Renner's Ministers on the 3rd said that only 4,000 tons of coal out of the 15,000 tons per month needed in Vienna and Lower Austria for bakeries, hospitals, and similar essential services were being produced in the region. The Red Army had supplied coal for the railways, but even this import had ceased during the last few days as the railways were being used for "major troop movements." The first train from British-occupied Styria, bringing 600 tons of coal to Vienna to be distributed mainly to bakeries by the Russians, arrived there on the 5th. It was reported that the British and American zones in Austria were to get 15,000 tons of coal from Germany in July, if transport could be provided, and that this offer might be repeated in August and September.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

The conflagration in Usti (Aussig), resulting in the destruction of many important factories, is now regarded as the outcome of sabotage: the damage is estimated at 200 million crowns. As anticipated, this led the press to agitate for the speedy removal of the Germans and to emphasise the fact that the incident is not an isolated example, but is merely an added argument to accelerate the German exodus.

The general dissatisfaction was heightened by Litauer's report in the *News Chronicle* on the presence of a Polish Brigade, some 1,500 strong, in the Bohemian Forest. This came as a surprise to the public, although the Czech military authorities claim to have been long aware of the facts. The press refer to the former London Polish Government's contention that this force was part of the regular Polish army which fought in Western Europe and Italy, whereas the Czechs regard it as being definitely Nazi in sympathy. General Patton, on his recent visit to Prague, promised to have the brigade removed from the affected area.

The discontent was relieved, however, by the Potsdam communiqué which was widely acclaimed in so far as the recognition by the Big Three of Czechoslovakia's moral right to evict the Germans is hailed as a great victory for Czech policy. Only *Práce*, the Trade Union organ, strikes a dissonant chord as it features the Potsdam news with the headline: "Transfer of Germans temporarily stopped." The same paper states that conditions in the border areas are settling down, thanks to the devoted labour of Czech workers. On the other hand, the Deputy-Chairman of the Most District National Committee, commenting on the serious housing problem, considered that German labour is still a vital necessity in the border areas.

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President Beneš recently signed the Decree concerning the withdrawal of Czechoslovak citizenship from German and Hungarian nationals, the measure coming into force on the day of its promulgation. It revives the theme that those who remained loyal will be safe, but that those who acquired German or Hungarian nationality under the occupation forfeit, *ipso facto*, Czech citizenship. Two categories are exempt: Germans or Hungarians who declared themselves Czechs or Slovaks after the 21st May, 1938, and those Czechs and Slovaks who assumed enemy nationality under duress; with the proviso that their reliability is assured by the competent authorities.

The first mass transfer of Czech repatriates from England has already taken place and Czech Air Force personnel have begun to arrive in Prague. The three Czech fighter (Spitfire) squadrons and the Liberator squadron were due to return on the 7th August. Dr. Beneš has always been anxious for his fighting forces to return as soon as possible, in order that they might form the core of the new Republican army.

The economic prospect is rather marred by the serious coal shortage and the hesitancy of the peasants to claim land formerly owned by the Germans. In Slovakia, M. Husák, the Commissioner for the Interior, referred, in his speech at Trenčín on the 6th August, to the occurrence of a series of political demonstrations and disturbances in several Slovak towns. He condemned the subversive activities of the dispossessed Fascists, and gave a warning about the continuance of anti-Semitism in the province. Reliable accounts by visitors who have recently returned from Slovakia confirm the fact that a number of Hlinka Guardists are attempting to infiltrate into the political life, and that an anti-Jewish attitude is quite common.

Mr. Nichols, the British Ambassador, is continuing his series of visits to provincial centres. After visiting Moravská Ostrava and Bratislava he is now at the famous spa of Karlový Vary (Karlsbad), the centre of former Sudeten German political activity.

POLAND.

The Official Report of the Tripartite Conference of Berlin, issued on the 2nd August, resumed and confirmed recent developments in Poland and gave Allied authority to the Polish administration of large areas in Eastern Germany.

The report first states that the conference "took note" of the agreement which made possible the formation of a Polish Provisional Government of National Unity, and noted that its recognition by the British and United States Governments had "resulted in the withdrawal of their recognition from the former Polish Government in London, which no longer exists." The British and United States Governments "have taken measures to protect the interest of the Polish Provisional Government . . . in the property belonging to the Polish State located in their territories and under their control."

The Three Powers, the communiqué continues, "are anxious to assist the Polish Provisional Government in facilitating the return to Poland as soon as practicable of all Poles abroad who wish to go, including members of the Polish armed forces and the merchant marine." . . . They note that "the Polish Provisional Government . . . has agreed to the holding of free and unfettered elections as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot, in which all democratic and anti-Nazi parties shall have the right to take part and to put forward candidates; and that representatives of the Allied press shall enjoy full freedom to report to the world upon developments in Poland before and during the elections."

On the question of the frontiers the three heads of Government reaffirmed "their opinion that the final delimitation of the western frontier of Poland should await the peace settlement." They then agreed that, "pending the final determination of Poland's western frontier, the former German territories east of a line running from the Baltic Sea immediately west of Swinemünde, and thence along the Oder River to the confluence of the western Neisse and along the western Neisse to the Czechoslovak frontier, . . . shall be under the administration of the Polish State and for such purposes shall not be considered as part of the Soviet zone of occupation in Germany."

The communiqué stated that the territory thus placed under Polish administration included Danzig and "that portion of East Prussia not placed under the administration of the U.S.S.R." under a previous provision of the same communiqué, which defined the boundary between Soviet and Polish zones in East Prussia as running "from a point on the eastern shore of the Bay of Danzig . . . north of Braunsberg-Goldap (*i.e.*, presumably north of a line between

these two places) to the meeting point of the frontiers of Lithuania, the Polish Republic, and East Prussia." The city of Stettin, which is situated on both banks of the Oder, is wholly included in the area placed under Polish administration.

The statement was warmly welcomed in Poland. M. Bierut, in welcoming the United States Ambassador, Mr. Arthur Bliss Lane, on the 4th August, said "You are coming to us at a moment when the Potsdam Conference . . . has confirmed our just claims to frontiers on the Oder and Western Neisse." The Provisional Government, on the 5th August, in a message of greetings to Generalissimo Stalin, spoke of "one of the greatest achievements in the history of the Polish nation—the *de facto* recognition of the western frontiers on the Oder and the Western Neisse—the guarantee of its real independence and prosperity.

The Polish *London Daily*, formerly the organ of the London Polish Government, while chiding the Anglo-Saxon Powers for their consistent reluctance to extend Polish frontiers to the west, states that territory now placed under Polish administration "must be degermanised. When the Polish peasant once gets his teeth into those old Polish lands, no power on earth will force him to let go. . . . Their return is in itself a fact which cannot be ignored, and may yield a splendid harvest in the future."

Agitation continues in Poland for the return of Poles in Western Europe to their country. Fresh appeals have been made both by the Provisional Government and by M. Popiel, the leader of the Christian Democrat ("Labour") party. A Council of London Poles, who support the Provisional Government, has been formed to give information and make arrangements in this country.

Dr. Alfred Fiderkiewicz, formerly a member of the Left-wing Peasant party in Poland, and recently Mayor of Cracow, has been appointed chargé d'affaires in this country and reached London on the 4th August. M. Jedrychowski, Minister for Foreign Trade, and M. Stanczyk, Minister of Labour, are in London as delegates to the meeting of the Council of U.N.R.R.A.

SOVIET UNION.

Soviet comment on the Potsdam decisions, though copious, has contained nothing of note. The *Pravda* and *Izvestiya* leaders were couched in terms of sober optimism and satisfaction, *Pravda* pointing out that the results of the conference showed that the collaboration of the Three Great Powers rested on "the firm basis of community of basic interests, which at the same time correspond to the interests of all the freedom-loving peoples." A later *Pravda* international review described the Conference as a blow to all the "professional sobsters," whose doleful prognostications were due not so much to weak nerves as to deliberate provocation, the Swedish press being particularly censured for its pessimistic criticisms.

It was announced in Moscow on the 6th August that the Soviet Union had resumed diplomatic relations with Roumania and Finland. Simultaneously, certain terms of the Finnish armistice were relaxed by the Allied Control Commission "in view of the changes in the general situation consequent on the termination of hostilities against Germany." The restrictions on the right of movement of Finnish war and merchant shipping have been cancelled, and Finnish planes are to be allowed unhindered flights inside Finland. The aerodromes at Kotka and Turku have also been turned over to the Finnish command. Finally, representatives of the United Nations and of neutral countries in Finland are to be allowed open telegraph, mail and telephone communications.

Recent *Tass* reports from Copenhagen have expressed disquietude at the situation in Denmark. The Danish population was said to be extremely dissatisfied with the slow progress of the purge, since only one traitor had so far been condemned to death and high-placed Danish Nazis were being left unmolested. Further, it was reported that the Germans in Denmark, far from having left the country after the surrender, were actually strutting freely about the streets in uniform, with the meagre disguise of a Red Cross armlet; many S.S. men were said to have been found in German hospitals. The German Red Cross had nothing to do with medical aid, but was a typical propaganda institution on Goebbels lines and was distributing pro-Hitlerite literature.

Strong indignation has been voiced in the Soviet press at the remission of the death sentence on a German, Captain Blell, who had shot a Russian in a camp in Norway.

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According to *Tass* the death sentence had been pronounced by the Norwegian authorities, but was remitted by General Thorne. "A British General has unexpectedly laid down that a German officer can kill with impunity, especially if the victim is a Russian, but that no German officer can be killed." Apparently General Thorne commuted the death sentence passed by the Allied Military Court on Blell to imprisonment for life, after strong representations from his advisers, on the ground that there was no proof of premeditation. Blell had shot a Russian trespasser into a German camp. This attack by *Tass* continues the campaign against the Allied authorities in Norway noted in last week's *Summary*.

Much activity has been going on in the Soviet Trade Union world during the past weeks. Roumanian and Bulgarian Trade Unionists, following on the Poles, have just concluded a lengthy visit to the U.S.S.R., that of the Roumanians in particular being given a great deal of publicity. Delegates of the British Iron and Steel Union have also been in the Soviet Union. The last delegation to arrive is that of the Italians, which reached Moscow on the 2nd August.

Meanwhile, Soviet trade union delegations are continuing their visits abroad. One delegation has recently been in Persia, and another is now in the United States on the invitation of the C.I.O. A vigorous attack on the American Federation of Labour in an English broadcast from Moscow has coincided with this visit, in which Green and his followers are castigated for obstructing the formation of the World Trade Union Federation. The leaders of the American Federation of Labour are said to be playing "more than second fiddle" in the reactionary orchestra composed of Argentina, Spain, and Greece with an admixture of American isolationists, Belgian reactionaries and the Catholic press.

The World Trade Union Federation in general has been discussed in a recent interview given to *Trud* (4th August) by M. Tazasov, Secretary of the All Union Central Council of Trade Unions. After describing how the objection of the Amsterdam International had been overruled, and the final form of organisation for a new World Federation adopted Tazasov lamented that representatives of the Administrative Committee of the World Trade Union Conference had not succeeded in getting permission to attend the San Francisco Conference, which was all the more unjust, since of the Big Five only the U.S.S.R. had included a Trade Union representative in its delegation. The President of the C.I.O. had merely been at San Francisco as an adviser. M. Tazasov, however, expressed the hope that as under Article 71 of the United Nations Charter the Economic and Social Council was authorised to consult with non-governmental organisations, the door to the participation of the World Trade Union Federation in the new United Nations Organisation was not quite closed.

The Soviet delegation to the Tangier Conference has just arrived in Paris. It is headed by M. Kozyrev, who has been Secretary-General of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs and principal private secretary to M. Molotov. Since the war he has been Counsellor to the Allied Governments in London, and later Minister in Algiers and Counsellor in Paris. At Potsdam he was present as Head of the 1st European Department of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs.

SCANDINAVIA.

The new Swedish Government is of interest rather for the new personalities included, than as an indication of any drastic changes of policy in Sweden. To interpret its formation, as some British newspapers seem inclined to do, as a significant move to the Left is altogether mistaken. After all, it was not the result of any electoral change in the balance of political parties. On the contrary, the latest elections—of the 17th September, 1944—actually resulted in a diminution of the strength of the Social Democarts by nearly 20 seats and about 133,000 votes, and a loss by that party of a clear majority it had previously enjoyed. The change to a purely Social Democratic Government merely means that the war-time expedient of a coalition has been discarded for the normal practice of entrusting the administration to the strongest political party. The Government's domestic programme foreshadows no startling changes in policy, which, it must be remembered, has been controlled by the moderate socialism of M. Hansson and his party since 1932. Unlike the Governments of Denmark and Norway, this one has found no place for the Communists, a fact which inspires the bitter comment of the Finnish *Vapaa Sana* that Sweden "lags behind as an island of conservatism in the midst of Democratic Europe."

The six principal new members of the Government replace two Liberals, two Conservatives, one Agrarian and one non-party (M. Günther), while among the Ministers without Portfolio one additional appointment has been made and a Conservative and an Agrarian retire, but two men described as non-party, MM. Quensel and Danielsson, retain their former posts.

Perhaps the most interesting of the new Ministers is M. Torsten Nilsson, the Minister of Communications, who has been described in Sweden as "the Crown Prince" of the Social Democrats; he is the youngest of the new entry, being only forty years of age, but has been secretary of the Social Democratic Party since 1940. The appointment most open to criticism seems to be that of M. Allan Vougt, who replaces M. Sköld in the Ministry of Defence, while the latter is transferred to the Ministry of Agriculture, of which he has had considerable previous experience. M. Vougt is accused of being a careerist and is regarded as politically unreliable. His defence of the press censorship during the war was unpopular, and his articles in *Arbetet* were regarded as far too favourable to collaboration with Germany. His previous record as a pacifist makes his appointment as Minister of Defence the more remarkable.

The new Minister of Trade, Professor Gunnar Myrdal, is regarded as a brilliant economist, but lacking in political stability and realism. He has been chairman of the post-war planning commission. In August 1944, he created some sensation by the publication of a book "Warning against Peace-Optimism," which expressed scepticism as to the power of Great Britain and the United States to construct a satisfactory international economic order, and also as to the permanence of collaboration between the United Nations and the "Big Three" in particular. In some Swedish quarters, however, these views were regarded as an attempt to dispel suspicion that the author had become too strongly influenced by the United States.

The Minister of Justice is a recruit from the legal profession new to politics, being an appeal court judge whose father occupied a similar position; and the new Minister of Education, M. Erlander, does not appear to be politically important. M. Undén at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs is a welcome improvement on M. Günther, and his appointment promises a sincere intention on the part of Sweden to collaborate in the security policy of the United Nations.

The Finnish Government has issued a summary of the conclusions of the Hornborg report on the Foreign Policy of Finland during the war, and is believed to be contemplating the publication of the whole report. It appears to be drawn up with impartiality and moderation, and abstains from charges against individuals. It condemns, however, as breaches of the constitution, a number of actions undertaken by the Government without previous consultation of the Diet, and the signature of the Ribbentrop pact by President Ryti. The fact that the choice of Dr. Hornborg as chairman of the Commission is criticised by organs of the left is probably a tribute to his objectivity. There is a severer minority report by the Communist Eino Pekkala and Professor Ruutu.

The removal of Germans from Norway is now proceeding smoothly and rapidly. On the 5th August, M. Gerhardsen, the Premier, estimated that Stavanger and Bergen would be clear by the middle of this month, and that all Germans should be out of Norway some time in October. Numbers of Germans are now being sent by rail through Sweden.

Difficulties have arisen about the manning of some 2,500,000 tons of Norwegian shipping, available for war transport in the Pacific, owing to lack of transport for Norwegian seamen at present in Norway, Great Britain and the United States.

King Haakon's 73rd birthday was celebrated in Norway on the 3rd August.

(For complaints in the Russian press as to Allied leniency to Germans in Scandinavia, see under "Soviet Union".)

LOW COUNTRIES.

Recent reports from Holland—especially from the frontier provinces—reveal a condition of increasing irritation at the delay in restoring property seized by the Germans. The British military authorities are blamed, with the result that British popularity is said to be declining.

Broadcasting on the 3rd August, on the subject of the new Dutch Army, the War Minister, M. Meynen, stated that a total of about 200,000 men would be needed—100,000 for an Expeditionary Force, destined for service in the North-East Indies; 27,000 (inclusive of N.I.C.A. personnel) for battalions to be stationed there and 50,000 for occupation duties in Germany. The remainder would be

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After a few days' deliberation, the Belgian Prime Minister's formal request that the six Catholic Ministers rejoin the Government was rejected by the Catholic Party on the 30th July. When it had become clear that the Catholic Ministers were on the point of resigning, no efforts were spared to persuade them to remain in the Cabinet. The matter had apparently been discussed by the Regent and Cardinal Van Roey, the Regent emphasising the extreme difficulty of his position should he have to carry on with a Government of purely Leftist elements. The Regent's worst fears, however, were not to be confirmed, as the vacancies have been filled by four members of the *Union Démocratique Belge*—a Catholic group (albeit representing the extreme Left-wing of the Party)—and two Liberals. (The *U.D.B.*, which is independent, was jointly founded by M. Antoine Delfossé, Deputy for Liége and Minister of Information and Justice in the London Government, and M. Marcel Grégoire, barrister of the Appeal Court, Vice-President of the *U.D.B.* and one of the new Ministers.) The primary reason for the Catholics' decision to resign seems to have been their acute embarrassment at the Baels revelations in the speech of the Minister of the Interior, M. Van Glabbeke, during the debate on the King (see last week's *Summary*). Accordingly, the Party now finds itself in the equivocal position of having to vote against a Government with whose programme it is in complete agreement. The Ministerial vacancies have been filled as follows:—*Justice*, M. Marcel Grégoire (*U.D.B.*); *Colonies*, M. Robert Godding, Senator for Antwerp (Liberal); *Finance*, M. Frans de Voghel, " technician " and Director of the *Banque Nationale* (*U.D.B.*); *Agriculture*, M. René Lefèbvre, Deputy for Ath-Tournai and President of the *Union Professionnelle Agricole* (Liberal); *Civilian War Victims*, Baron Adrien van den Branden de Reeth, Deputy-Advocate-General (*U.D.B.*); and *War Damage* (a new Ministry), M. Jacques Basyn, barrister and Secretary of the *U.D.B.* Baron van den Branden de Reeth is additionally described as a " *résistant*," M. de Voghel (sometimes) as a non-party man. The new Ministers (with the exception of M. Godding, who is at present in the Congo) were introduced to the Regent by M. Van Acker on the 2nd August, when they took the Constitutional Oath. The Ministry of Information—held by one of the ex-Ministers—has been abolished; but the number of Ministries remains unchanged through the formation of the new Ministry of War Damage.

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equipment was 30 years as against 8 years abroad, and M. Lacoste, the Minister of Production, has declared that the Government plans to invest 70 milliard francs in the manufacture and import of machine-tools.

On the 31st July the Assembly adopted the Government's social security plan, which, it is claimed, will cut down the present costs of administration and pave the way for a simplification of the existing legislation.

Following the agreement on economic co-operation signed earlier this year between France, Belgium, Luxemburg and the Netherlands (see *Summary* No. 282), a secretariat has now been formed. The French representative will be M. de la Baume, who was head of the economic department at the Quai d'Orsay until 1940 and afterwards Ambassador in Spain and Switzerland. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs has set up a special department to handle questions relating to this agreement, and the officials concerned have made clear their anxiety to keep in touch and in step with the United Kingdom. (See also "Middle East.")

SPAIN.

The statement included in the Report of the Tripartite Conference in Berlin barring Franco Spain from the ranks of the United Nations has dotted the i's and crossed the t's of the Resolution which was adopted in Commission I of the San Francisco Conference (see *Summary* No. 299). The present Spanish Government stands condemned as unfitted for membership (1) because of "having been founded with the support of the Axis Powers," and (2) on account of "its origins, its nature, its record and its close association with the aggressor States." Nothing could be more categorical. And, for good measure, the régime was openly trounced on the same grounds by an Assistant Secretary of the State Department, Mr. Archibald Macleish, broadcasting on the 4th August from Washington.

This public reproof has unquestionably put the cat among the pigeons. General Franco, who is resting at his country-house in Pazo de Meiras, near La Coruña, at once sent despatch-riders after the Foreign Minister, already on his way to San Sebastian, to obtain from him the full text of the communiqué. (The press version had reported the bare fact of exclusion.) At the week-end an indignant official statement was issued complaining of the "unprecedented allusion" to Spain in the Berlin communiqué, declaring that any such charges were "arbitrary and unjust" (and obviously inspired by the calumnies of expatriate Reds) and invoking the usual claim to have contributed notably to peace ". . . . by having remained neutral, free and independent in the two greatest and most terrible wars which history has recorded." Spain, the statement goes on, "neither begs for a place in international conferences nor would she accept any which was not in consonance with her history, her people and her services to peace and culture." There follows a reference to the occasion when, from a similar *sentimiento de honor*, the Primo de Rivera régime, in 1926, suspended Spanish membership of the League of Nations.

Some such draft on Spanish pride was only to be expected. But it is a disingenuous performance—and will be so recognised. For the observations of the Big Three are pointedly directed not to Spain but to the present Spanish régime. Italy by contrast—in the same section of the Report—is now regarded as eligible for membership of the United Nations because she has cast off past associations and has what is everywhere recognised to be a democratic Government. Even General Franco must now realise that he has exhausted his credit.

What will he do? His past the Caudillo cannot live down. But we may perhaps witness a speeding-up of the provision of "democratic" trappings. Last week, for instance, there took place the second stage of the "Syndical elections" held in October 1944, the establishment of "Social Reporting Commissions" which in their turn have now elected their representatives on the Standing Committees of the Social Section of the National Syndicalist structure. The next stage of evolution towards a representative system, in the peculiar Franco sense, will be the holding of municipal elections some time next year. In this connexion the press has recently been lavishing its superlatives on the new Local Government Law which was passed by the Cortes on the 14th July. This *Ley de Bases*, eulogised by General Franco in his speech to the National Council of Falange, as the product of five years of research and discussion, vests the appointment of mayors in the Government, while the remainder of the local councils will be made up of persons elected by heads of families or the syndicates and notables chosen by the respective Civil Governors.

This, of course, is so much wurzel-flummery. More significance attaches to the decision which General Franco now appears to have reached to appoint new men in local executive positions and to separate the position of Civil Governor from that of Provincial Delegate of the Falange Party (see *Summary* No. 303). One of the first victims, apparently, was to be the able and popular Civil Governor of Barcelona, Señor Correa Veglisón. When the news of his enforced resignation became known the other day, however, there were angry demonstrations in Barcelona, and a small crowd, which had been booing Franco and singing the Falangist hymn, had to be dispersed by mounted police. This sort of thing suggests that the Falange will certainly not take lying down measures designed to strip them of political power. Indeed, since the Allies have shown that they are not impressed by his trimming, General Franco may well desist from even trying to rid himself of the Falange incubus. The truth of the matter is that in Spain to-day, so long as the present régime remains, State and Party are so closely intertwined that "*de-falangización*" is, necessarily, an empty gesture.

ITALY.

Signor Parri has expressed satisfaction that Italy's efforts to "work her passage" have been recognised at Potsdam. Signor de Gasperi, the Foreign Minister, speaking at the Christian Democratic Party's congress, referred to the question of Italy's future frontiers. Signor de Gasperi drew attention to the general calmness of the Italian people on the question of Trieste and Venezia Giulia but turning to the other area in dispute, the Alto Adige, he stated that he, as a native of Trent, had always been opposed to the Italian frontier being pushed forward to the Brenner. Italy, however, had now spent large sums on hydro-electric plants in the Alto Adige and he explained that the Germans in this area had never had the chance to choose between Fascism and liberty but only between Fascism and Nazism.

A resolution was passed at the Socialist Party Convention to prepare a fusion of the two main working-class parties, the Socialist and the Communist, which will be submitted at the next Socialist Party Convention. Signor Saragat and Signor Silone's resolution in favour of maintaining the Socialist Party's independence only gained a quarter of the votes. It remains, however, to be seen whether in present circumstances this fusion will ever take place and also whether it really meets with Signor Nenni's approval. Signor Nenni is rather inclined to have two points of view, one for public and the other for private consumption.

Subscriptions to the 5 per cent. bond issue are coming in well in Lombardy and Piedmont. That subscriptions to the loan are so satisfactory is thought to be due more to its being considered an important deflationary measure rather than to confidence in the lira, and also to the hope that the forthcoming tax on capital will be in proportion to the success or failure of the loan.

A deputation from the Val d'Aosta, headed by Signor D'Entrèves, late Prefect of the Valley, has been in Rome to negotiate about the conditions of the grant of autonomy. The original demands of the Val d'Aosta were (1) administration and cultural autonomy, (2) all public waters to become the property of the Valley, (3) fiscal autonomy, (4) the Valley to be a free customs zone. These demands were not wholly acceptable to the Italian Government, but it is understood that agreement has been reached on the following:—(1) Administration and cultural autonomy has been granted; (2) the Valley is to be administered by a Council of 25 elected by the Communal Councillors of the towns and villages. The Council to nominate its President and a Giunta of 5. (3) The President of the Council is to assume the powers normally invested in the Prefect. The Council is to be responsible for public order and administration and to be consulted by the Government on all laws and decrees affecting the Valley; (4) French and Italian are to be the official languages; (5) schools are to be under the control of the Valley; (6) the Government is to retain administration of the Army, Justice and Communications; (7) the Budget is to be under the control of the Council; (8) while, in law, all public waters remain State property, full, permanent concessions are to be granted to the Valley; (9) the same concessions are to apply to mines; (10) State forests are to become the property of the Valley; (11) taxes are to remain a State privilege and the Government pledges itself to help the Valley with cost of local public services and reconstruction. The question of the free customs zone is a major issue and has not yet been settled.

Signor Parri has stated that 242,000 tons of coal will be delivered in August. This amounts to about half Italy's present monthly requirements.

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SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

No information has been received on the reaction in Hungary to the decisions of the Potsdam Conference to conclude peace treaties with the ex-satellite States and the possibility of resumption of diplomatic relations with them. Federov, commenting from Moscow on the implications of the decisions for Hungary, said that it would be taken into account that "she has entered upon the road of democracy and that she has a democratic Government which endeavours to comply with the Armistice terms concluded with the Allied Powers."

The Hungarian Government has, however, protested to Voroshilov against the extensiveness of the demands made by the Russians under Article 11 of the Armistice terms, contending that war devastation, the removal of stocks, plant and national and private wealth by the Germans, followed by the appropriation of further stocks and plant by the Russians as war booty, had so reduced the country's productive capacity that it could not fully honour these demands as well as make reparations payments; further, the Government considered that the end of the war in Europe should bring modification of Hungary's liabilities under this article; her obligations should now be confined to providing for the needs of the occupational forces stationed in Hungary.

It is not possible to report the reaction in Hungary to the new decree of the Czechoslovak Government depriving Hungarians of Czech citizenship (see "Czechoslovakia"). Further instances of Hungary's close relations with her other neighbours included a visit of a Trade Union representative to Belgrade to establish contacts between the Hungarian and Yugoslav Trade Unions and a visit to Bucharest of a delegation headed by G. Illyes, President of the Hungarian Writers' Association, to arrange closer cultural relations between the two countries and to discuss the position of Transylvanian Hungarians who have recently earned rebuke for chauvinist activities. There have also been friendly exchanges between Hungarian and Roumanian Civil Servants' Organisations. The first consignment of United States medicines for the Hungarian Red Cross arrived in Hungary.

Roumania.

Roumania, as was to be expected, came in only for a small share of the attention of the Potsdam Conference. The Soviet Government (see the *Summary* for the 25th July) had already proposed changes in the methods of the Control Commission. The Conference "took note" of this, and "agreed" that the revision of procedure should now be undertaken. However, as far as Roumania is concerned, no change of any importance has yet taken place. The preparation of Peace Treaties with Roumania and other countries is to be proceeded with. It is stated that the conclusion of a Peace Treaty with a "recognised democratic Government" will open the way for membership of the United Nations. The term "democratic" is used several times in the Potsdam communiqué, but is not defined. According to Russia the present government of a communist minority in Roumania is "democratic"; other people take a different view. The communiqué also fails to make it clear what is meant by recognition and who is to do the recognising, and what degree of recognition is to qualify a country for admission to the United Nations.

In the neighbourhood of Brasov are a number of resorts, notably Poiana. The inhabitants of these places depend largely upon visitors for their living. The Prefect of the Judet of Brasov has issued an order forbidding visitors to the district this summer and ordering those who are already there to leave. The district is one of those which have been selected for occupation by Marshal Tolbukhin's army.

Yugoslavia.

Greece and Allied Military Government continued to be violently attacked. The rift between the Italian and the Yugoslav-Communist workers' organisations at Trieste seems to be growing. The latter issued a proclamation denouncing those who asserted that the Yugoslav-sponsored Trade Union committees represented a minority and were the product of faked elections; and their press accused the Italian Unions of being "demagogic" and aloof from the workers. Many stories are current about atrocities by the Yugoslavs and their early return to Trieste, and the Italian population is evidently intimidated.

The Yugoslav Government have requested the withdrawal of the R.A.F. detachment at the Yugoslav aviation school near Zara, and also of the British and American Air Force units at Zemun, near Belgrade, which perform functions of great value to the Allies and to Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav Government have arranged for a party of British, American, Russian, French and Czech journalists to be brought from Moscow for a conducted tour of Yugoslavia. The party arrived on the 1st August.

The congress of the National Liberation Front (the party supporting the régime) began on the 5th. The Front was described by the Minister of Finance as "the force upon whose shoulders rests the future and policy of our peoples and country." On the 4th the Cabinet adopted the proposed electoral law for the Constituent Assembly, to be submitted to A.V.N.O.J. That A.V.N.O.J. is expected only to sit for three days shows the purely formal nature of this temporary supreme legislature. Moderate elements have expressed regret that the communiqué of the Potsdam Conference did not comment on the failure to carry out the Tito-Shubashitch Agreement.

The Finance Minister, speaking on the Budget, for July to December, emphasised the great expenditure necessary for economic revival and the construction of the State machine. Fortunately the chief industrial areas, in Slovenia and Croatia, had suffered less than other districts. The estimates showed a deficit of 2,700 million dinars. They did not include the costs of reconstruction, nor State economic enterprises. Every source of revenue would have to be exploited. Nevertheless, he said, "We can satisfy pretty well all our country's requirements."

On the 5th a general amnesty to all minor opponents of the régime was published, accompanied by a general remission of part of their penalties to those serving sentences. The decree contains so many qualifications and exceptions that it is not possible to assess its probable effects.

The trial of the Mihailovist leaders (see *Summary*, No. 304, p. 15) proceeded. The accused were stated to have admitted their guilt. They were also reported to have argued that, when joining Mihailovitch, they had intended to save Serbian lives and to wait for Allied help. A reference by one prisoner to Mihailovitch's contact with the British caused the court to hold a secret session at which so delicate a matter could be heard. Meanwhile the press emphatically declared the accused guilty.

Greece.

The uneasy situation created by M. Sophianopoulos's resignation, Communist and Republican attempts to overthrow the Government, and the continued manifestations of Yugoslav and Soviet hostility, and the general feeling of suspense induced by hopes and fears of a new British attitude towards Greece, have produced the not unfamiliar atmosphere of a political crisis. Royalist politicians, to whose interest it is to keep the present Service Government in being, have so far refrained from fishing in these troubled waters, but the Royalist press, by almost daily leading articles on the imminent "Third War"—*i.e.*, between the Anglo-Americans and the U.S.S.R.—contributes not a little to popular uneasiness. These so-called "revelations" are the more pernicious in that they are represented as the fruits of their authors' recent visit to Great Britain.

The Regent, while anxious to retain the Voulgaris Government, is not averse from replacing the Minister of Justice, the Under-Secretary for War, and possibly the Minister of the Interior. His series of conversations with the political leaders, including the Communists, has led him to the conclusion that the formation of an all-party Government would be impossible, since the Royalists and the majority of Republicans would not sit in the same Cabinet with E.A.M./K.K.E. representatives. Nor is a coalition of all non-Communist parties any more practicable since the Popularist leaders have refused to participate. The Communists have followed up Zachariadis's attack on the Regent (see *Summary* No. 304) with an almost equally forcible attack on the Republican leaders, MM. Plastiras and Sophoulis in particular, for their overtures to the Royalists. In contradiction of their former offers to support, without participating in, an all-party Government, they now propose that the Central Committee of E.A.M. should take the initiative in forming a representative Government with such Left-wing, Democratic, and Resistance Movement personalities as agree to join them. In the dearth of outstanding non-Communists who would join such a Government, it would be generally regarded in Greece as representative of little but K.K.E. This change of tactics has had

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little effect on the public demands of Sophoulis and Plastiras for a political Government, but has deprived them of practical significance.

Political uneasiness has inevitably had economic repercussions. The price of the gold pound rose from 14,000 drachmas on the 21st July to 18,000 on the 4th August, and many commodities are becoming scarce, in spite of the steadiness of controlled prices. The Supply Ministry has issued a circular urging the public not to buy food-stuffs at more than controlled prices and appealing for the denunciation of hoarders. The Government is meeting with opposition from manufacturers over its cotton control scheme, designed to ensure the production of utility rather than luxury goods, and with producers and merchants over the control of olive oil. These persons, hoping no doubt that a change of Government will bring with it a lifting of controls, have adopted delaying tactics. Amendments to the extraordinary taxation measures (see *Summary* No. 299) came into effect on the 2nd August and payments are due by the 10th August. The effect of these amendments will in general be to increase the amounts payable by large industrialists and to give relief to small businesses and devastated areas.

Bulgaria.

In the course of a discussion at the Potsdam Conference about the situation in the Balkans Stalin himself admitted candidly that Bulgaria had done considerable harm to our Allies in Yugoslavia and Greece; that she must be punished for it; that under the Armistice terms Bulgaria was required to pay reparations, and that Russia, together with the other Great Powers, would certainly see to this. There was no mention of such matters in the official communiqué issued at the close of the Conference, which, however, did contain a very vague aspiration that representatives of the Allied press might be admitted to Soviet-controlled ex-enemy countries before long. The question of making peace and establishing diplomatic relations with them is to be examined by the three Governments "in the near future, in the light of the conditions then prevailing."

It was interesting to observe how a month ago, on the eve of the Conference, the Bulgarian Communists received instructions from Moscow urging for once "Surtout pas trop de zèle!" A letter from there, signed by Georgi Dimitrov, appeared in the Sofia press on the 6th July bidding them for the present to devote themselves to the task of healing the dissensions [caused by themselves] within the ranks of the Patriotic Front and to show more toleration and discrimination. Precisely the same tactics were adopted shortly before the Yalta Conference: the same caution and restraint were enjoined then.

Now, however, the dogs are unleashed again: Petkov has been hounded out of the Cabinet: for besides "inciting the peasants against the workers" he had "put personal ambition above national interests and honour" by "signing a document asking for foreign interference in the country's internal affairs"—daring to request, "like the reactionary Polish *émigrés*," that foreign [United Kingdom and United States] troops should supervise the elections.

It is apparent that those who control what is still called the "Patriotic Front" place great hopes on the change of Government in the United Kingdom. Some very extravagant statements, based on wishful thinking and pure ignorance, have been made on the subject by more than one Bulgarian Minister. Very different in tone was a note dated the 19th July—a week before the results were known—and addressed by the Foreign Minister (Stainov) to the heads of the Allied Control Commission, for transmission to Potsdam. Here complaint was made of "absolute and wilful misrepresentation" by "responsible factions in certain foreign countries"—although "the Bulgarian Government wishes to believe that the Allied Governments would take pains in acquainting themselves with the country's true situation."

The country's true situation would seem to be less tranquil than the Bulgarian Communists like to pretend. It appears, for instance, that at Stara Zagora a number of soldiers belonging to the 12th Infantry Regiment have been arrested on a charge of being supporters of Dr. G. M. Dimitrov; that at Karlovo over seventy people have been arrested for belonging to unauthorised armed bands; and that at Yambol a big meeting was recently organised by the Communists, when all members of the party in the district were called upon to put themselves at the disposal of the Militia in order to help in dealing with similar armed bands there. But with roughly 14 Bulgarian divisions still armed in the country, as well as about 12 Russian divisions and 300 aircraft to support them in case of need, it ought not to be too difficult for the Militia to maintain the sort of order which they desire.

Turkey.

Turkey's interest in the Potsdam Conference was centred upon an expected pronouncement on the recent Russian proposals. The silence of the communiqué on this subject was a disappointment; but on the other hand some satisfaction was expressed that no decisions had, apparently, been taken in Turkey's absence, upon questions which primarily concerned her. It was presumed that these questions had been referred to the Council of Foreign Ministers which is to meet shortly in London, where Turkey would be given an opportunity of expressing her views.

Mr. Yalçin continued his outspoken criticism of Russian policy in *Tanin*. In *Vatan*, a newspaper of the left, Mr. Yalman called for a more moderate and friendly attitude toward Russia. Nevertheless, he expressed approval of Mr. Yalçin's warnings, which had aroused public opinion and had strengthened Turkey's defensive forces. Having decided with dignity and courage to meet every emergency, Turkey should, Mr. Yalman declared, prove her good will in her negotiations with Russia by going to the limit of conciliation.

A *Tass* telegram from Bucarest described a meeting of "several thousand Armenian refugees from Turkey" which was alleged to have taken place in the Roumanian capital. Violent speeches were stated to have been made on the subject of Turkey's brutality to the Armenians; and the incorporation of the ancient Armenian lands in the Armenian Soviet Republic was demanded.

Two articles have recently appeared in the Turkish press—one by Dr. Rüştü Aras, a former Foreign Minister—drawing attention to the strategic importance for Turkey of the Dodecanese and advocating the grant of autonomy to the islands. The articles aroused some resentment in Greece. The Greek Press Department issued a statement expressing surprise at the publication of the articles and declaring that they did not represent the feelings of the Turkish people on the future of the islands. The Central Committee of the Dodecanese Islands was reported to have sent telegrams to President Inönü and Mr. Saracoğlu protesting against the views expressed by the Turkish press.

On his way home from San Francisco the Turkish Foreign Minister stopped at Beirut where he was warmly welcomed. It is understood that the question of recognition by Turkey of the independence of the two Syrian Republics was examined by the representatives of the Turkish and Lebanese Governments. Although Turkey has been in sympathy with the aspirations of the two Republics, she has hitherto withheld her recognition because of Syrian claims to Alexandretta. It was reported that the Lebanon will send a delegation to Angora to mediate on Turco-Syrian differences.

It is reported from Angora that the Turkish Government has decided to recognise the Polish Government in Warsaw.

A Commission from the Ministry of Communications is about to leave for Britain to place orders, valued at £300,000, on behalf of Turkey's mercantile marine.

It was reported in Angora that a regular aeroplane passenger service would be maintained throughout the winter between Angora, Istanbul and Smyrna.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

Reference to revision of the Anglo-Egyptian treaty was made by the Egyptian Prime Minister, Nokrashi Pasha, in a speech in the Senate on the 6th August. "We have not the least doubt," said Nokrashi, "that Britain shares with Egypt the conviction that the moment is propitious for such negotiations. There remains only the question of the date of the negotiations." But whether the Egyptian Government will press the matter in the immediate future remains to be seen.

On the anniversary of King Farouk's assumption of constitutional power (29th July), substantial gifts of money from the Royal Family were announced for the foundation of a "University City" in Egypt; while on the following day the King entertained a number of students, upon whom he is said to have impressed the importance of their bearing in mind the welfare of the poorer classes both in town and village.

The Egyptian public were greatly impressed by the sweeping victory of the Labour Party in the recent British elections. While sympathising with Mr. Churchill, many people paid tribute to the result of the elections as a convincing manifestation of democracy. Representatives of the Parliamentary Opposition party suggest that such an example might well be followed by Egypt;

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supporters of the Government, on the other hand, are thought to be afraid lest the new British Government may wish to encourage a more practical application of the principles of democracy in Egypt.

Now that a Labour Government is in power, fears have been expressed in Egypt, as elsewhere in the Arab world, that a more favourable attitude will be shown by His Majesty's Government to Zionist aspirations in Palestine. Arab fears on this score will not be removed by the final passage of Dr. Weizmann's speech at the opening of the World Zionist Conference in London on the 1st August. This was the first occasion since 1939 that the various and widely scattered sections of the Zionist movement had been able to assemble under one roof, and delegates attended from Central Europe, Palestine, America and all the liberated countries.

Dr. Weizmann, who presided, began by saying that their reunion took place in the shadow of the greatest Jewish catastrophe that had befallen their people since the destruction of the Temple. The great and powerful European Jewry of ten or fifteen years ago was no more. Palestine was indeed the one hope for their perishing people in Europe. It was the only country where Jews had been given the opportunity of organising their war effort on a national scale. Referring to the White Paper of 1939, Dr. Weizmann said that the most tragic result of this policy had been the preventable loss of life. Had it not been for the impediments placed in their way by the White Paper policy, tens of thousands of Jews, over and above the 65,000 that Palestine had been able to admit during the war, might have been saved. The White Paper set a gulf between the British Government and the Jewish people.

"Our appeal," went on Dr. Weizmann, "goes out to all the United Nations, and more especially to the two major allies of Britain, the United States and the U.S.S.R., on whose harmonious collaboration the hopes of the world are to-day pinned, to give their approval and active support for the righting of an ancient wrong." Most urgent of all was the question of immigration, upon which a decision should be given speedily. From all corners of Europe the outcry for immigration permits was persistent and growing. The immigration quota under the White Paper was practically exhausted. Were they to read over the gates of Palestine "No Jews need apply"? Finally, in reference to the new British Government, Dr. Weizmann said that Zionists recalled with gratification the unequivocal support given to them by the leaders of the Labour Party, the solid vote of that Party against the White Paper in 1939, and the recent resolutions of the Labour Party conference endorsing their political aims.

Dr. A. H. Silver followed this up later by saying that now Mr. Roosevelt was dead and Mr. Churchill out of office, he was glad to know that the Labour Party stood pledged to support Zionism. "If our rights are denied us," said Dr. Silver, "we shall fight for them. We want a Jewish State, not a shadow of statehood. We shall not resort to terrorism, but the Government will have to use violence to enforce the White Paper régime."

Superficially at any rate the situation in the Levant States has slightly improved. But the feeling against the French has in no way seriously diminished. The Syrians are convinced that recent French action was intended to coerce them into signing an unequal treaty, and thus to perpetuate French control, which was originally imposed upon them by force and against their will, and which they have increasingly resented ever since. They are therefore as much opposed as ever to resuming negotiations with the French until all threat of French force is removed.

While in the Lebanon the feeling of the Christians and especially of the Maronites may be less antipathetic to the French, mainly on religious grounds, the desire for independence is as strong as it is in Syria. Too much attention need not perhaps be paid to the recent letter to the *Monde* from the Maronite Patriarch (see *Summary* No. 303 under "France"), in which he expressed a desire for an independent Lebanon under the special protection of France, but it is noteworthy that the signatories of the letter to *The Times* on the 25th July from the Lebanese-Syrian press delegation now on a visit to this country, dissociating themselves from the Patriarch's views, did not include the editor of *Al-Hadiss*, himself a prominent Maronite.

While the political situation in the Lebanon has been markedly calmer during the last few months than in Syria, there is little doubt that the general attitude of the Lebanese as regards negotiations with the French is in line with that of the Syrians, though the Governments of both States would no doubt be ready, after the transfer of the *Troupes Spéciales* is completed, to discuss with the French

authorities any further unilateral concessions that the French Government might be willing to offer. It is indeed highly improbable that local negotiations for a final settlement will take place with any prospect of success before some considerable time has elapsed. Meanwhile the transfer of the *Troupes Spéciales* is nearing completion, but there is a large number of so-called "Avenantaires," estimated at between 3,000 and 6,000, who have expressed the wish to remain under French control, but of whom many it is believed may change their minds and elect to remain in Syria.

The situation in the Barzan area of Iraqi Kurdistan is once more giving cause for anxiety. Mulla Mustafa is again on the march with some 150 armed followers, and his truculence and defiance of authority have convinced the Iraqi Cabinet that unless he is finally suppressed there will be no peace in the north. While this is probably true, punitive action against Mulla Mustafa must be properly planned and prepared if it is to be effective. An adequate force must be assembled and other arrangements put in hand. The Iraqi Government has been advised by us accordingly, and has been urged not to take precipitate action. At the same time a warning has been sent to Mulla Mustafa by His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires, telling him that, if he persists in ignoring it, the consequences will be upon his own head.

As by the 2nd August the Soviet Ambassador at Tehran had still received no instructions from Moscow, His Majesty's Ambassador informed the Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs of the decision reached at Potsdam that British and Russian forces would be withdrawn from Tehran at once. This news caused serious disappointment to the Persian Minister, who had been confidently hoping for much more. He wondered why he had heard nothing on the matter from the Soviet Ambassador, and thought that it would be unwise for the Persian Government to make any public announcement before receiving confirmation from the Soviet Government. The next day, when we informed the Soviet Ambassador of the communication made to the Persian Foreign Minister, he had still received no instructions on the matter.

THE FAR EAST.

On the 6th August it was announced in Washington that the first atomic bomb to be used in war had been dropped on the city of Hiroshima in Honshu. Thirty-six hours later it was reported that an impenetrable cloud of dust and smoke still covered the area, making accurate observation of the damage impossible. The new bomb was stated to have an explosive equivalent of 20,000 tons of T.N.T. and a blast power more than 2,000 times that of the heaviest bomb previously used. The Japanese Cabinet met on the 7th August and Tokyo radio admitted that a bomb "of a new type" had caused "considerable damage" at Hiroshima.

The announcement of the use of the new weapon has naturally had the effect of greatly increasing the already widespread expectation in this country and in the United States that the end of the Far Eastern war is close at hand. It is indeed possible that the frightfulness of the atomic bomb added to the continual outpouring of ordinary explosives and incendiaries may suddenly crack Japanese morale and produce an early capitulation. It is, however, too soon yet to estimate the effect on the Japanese capacity for resistance, firstly because it is not yet known whether the bombs are available in sufficient numbers for keeping up anything like a bombardment, and secondly, because, according to an explosives expert in New York quoted by the *Daily Telegraph*, the atomic bomb is essentially a "super-blast" and not a penetrating weapon. The terrific blasts it produces may wreak unprecedented havoc on the surface of the earth, but this may merely intensify the previous tendency of aerial bombardment to retransform mankind into troglodytes. A few years ago it was inconceivable to the normal human mind that a nation could carry on as an organised entity with its principal cities reduced to rubble, but Germany's performance has already shown that human beings under ruthless leadership are more adaptable in this respect than had been generally supposed. Factories can be put underground and a "dehoused" population can still live in tunnels, trenches and foxholes; life and industry may thus be reduced both literally and metaphorically to a very low level, but resistance to an invader is still possible as long as the will remains. In their defence of various positions in Pacific islands the Japanese have shown a mole-like propensity for digging themselves in; according to a recent report from a reliable source the force of 38,000 men holding the Rabaul area in New Britain had a system of caves and tunnels of a total length of 150 miles.

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Japanese publicity has been dwelling on the "utter cruelty" of the bomber offensive against Japanese cities and has claimed that the majority of the victims have been women and children. It was stated that of 540 people killed in a raid on Toyohashi 323 were women and 159 children. These figures are not remarkable, considering the high proportion of adult males who would be absent on military service. By American claims more than 100 square miles of built-up urban areas have now been burnt out, and all the principal cities, with the exception of Kyoto, have been visited.

Although the Japanese newspapers have gathered some consolation from the fact that the U.S.S.R. did not participate in the Potsdam declaration calling upon their country to surrender to the Allies, and although they continue to harp on the invincibility of their country to invasion, it has not been always easy for them to hide their gloom. On the 2nd August the *Mainichi*, in an editorial, declared that "The Japanese people are now in the middle of their greatest trial since the foundation of the Empire. Arrogant enemy attacks have been continuing day and night by sea and air. However, it is impossible to decide the outcome of the war simply by the bombing of towns . . . . The fact that Japan has had to make certain cuts in staple food rations owing to the decisive battle has meant a serious trial for our spirits. Moreover, the international situation surrounding Japan does not warrant any optimism . . . . Frankly, we had been under the impression that the war was to be fought on foreign territory. The Sino-Japanese war and the Russo-Japanese war were fought on foreign soil and the Manchurian and Chinese 'affairs' were no exceptions. Even the East Asia War was fought in the initial stage on foreign territory . . . . Now it is clear that the rise or fall of the Empire is to be decided by fighting on or around the mainland. Only by fortifying the mainland and smashing the invading enemy can we hope to protect our land and achieve our great mission of liberating and rebuilding Asia. We must master without flinching the cruel and unprecedentedly serious trial."

Japanese transmissions continue to direct much attention to, and to draw unconcealed satisfaction from, the aggravated conflict between Chungking and Yenan. They speak of the "political dilemma" now facing Chiang Kai-shek, who, it is alleged, cannot prevent his "high-ranking generals" from carrying out an anti-Communist policy, which he had himself fostered in the past, despite his appreciation of the "dire necessity of coming to terms with Soviet Russia." Yenan is represented as opposing the idea of American landings in China, "as they would eventually strengthen United States imperialism in China." The puppet *Shun Pao* (Shanghai), discussing the prospects of peace between China and Japan, follows the Japanese lead and says that all Chinese are opposed to the landing of American troops in their country and are "yearning for peace." The *Hsi Chung Kuo Pao* (Shanghai) remarks that, if Chungking were to launch a peace campaign "on the basis of justice towards Japan," peace might be realised and that the Soviet Union would "certainly welcome it more heartily than any peace imposed by the Anglo-Americans." *Domei* professes satisfaction at the first speech of Chungking's new Foreign Minister, Dr. Wang Shih-chieh, at a foreign press conference after taking over his new post, especially his declaration that Chungking was fighting Japan not with the idea of "vengeance," but to see that the "requirements" of justice and security were adequately met. "Wang's utterance impressed the foreign correspondents as being relatively mild, compared to the vindictive statements on Japan issued hitherto by Chungking leaders," was the Japanese comment.

While Japan makes every effort to conciliate Russia and avoid any Press or radio comment which might offend Moscow, Japan's Nanking puppets, with an eye on Chungking, continue to beat the anti-Communist drum. Chen Kung-po recently declared in a press interview that the aims of his "Government" were "peace, anti-communism and establishment of the nation." The Nanking puppets presumably hope, on the collapse of Japan, to work their passage by making common cause with Chungking against the Communists on the lower Yangtze; these would be embarrassing allies for Chungking, but, failing a definite settlement with Yenan, Chungking may not be in a position to refuse their services.

The fighting in Shensi between Chungking troops and Communists appears to have died down, but mutual recriminations continue. At Chungking, as reported in last week's *Summary*, Dr. T. V. Soong has taken over from Dr. H. H. Kung the vice-chairmanship of the Board of Control of the Four Government Banks, while relinquishing the Ministry for Foreign Affairs to Dr. Wang Shih-chieh. By giving up the Foreign Ministry Soong will be able to give more time to economic affairs, which are extremely urgent and in which his special field of competence

lies. He has, however, returned to Moscow together with Wang Shih-chieh for renewed negotiations with the Soviet Government, and it may be that one of the motives for the change of Foreign Minister was to provide Soong, who is too independent politically for the Generalissimo's liking, with a regulator who, while liberal-minded and progressive in outlook, is also a man in good Kuomintang party standing and from Chiang's point of view more reliable.

News has now begun to trickle through from the Philippines, where the political scene is at present dominated by the economic difficulties with which the Islands are faced following three years of occupation and exploitation by the Japanese; by the immense destruction wrought in Manila and in other major cities during the battles for their liberation; and by the threatened withdrawal of American economic protection. The only source which can provide the compensation for war damages, the capital equipment and the skill and energy necessary for reconstruction is the United States, which is at once the main supplier and the main market of foreign trade on which the rehabilitation of the Philippines must depend. Many Filipinos, encouraged by speeches of some American politicians, appear to believe that American assistance will be limitless; but others fear that even a generous America may not adequately cushion the shock of separation from the American tariff area. On the whole, independence has decreased in popularity, since it has been made clear both by Senator Tydings and by President Osmena, that the United States Government was determined to grant it not later than July 1946 in any circumstances, and that the Filipino Government will not be permitted to change its mind at the last minute if the balance sheet looks favourable. A Commission headed by Senator Tydings with a strong delegation of American experts visited Manila in May, in order to examine on the spot conditions relevant to the future of American-Filipino relations, and to decide upon the programme of American assistance, which has not yet been made public.

President Osmena announced on the 25th May that the National Elections would be held in the Philippines in November 1945. There appear to be at present three discernible political groupings in the country. The first of these consists of President Osmena and his entourage, politically affiliated with Cebu and the Visayas, whose strength lies in the confidence which the American Administration places in them, but who, like other Governments from exile, are not entirely in touch with popular sentiment; secondly, there are the guerrillas, whose strength is an unknown factor, and who will not willingly give up the position which their gallant lawlessness has won for them in the provinces—Mr. Thomas Confesor, first Secretary of the Interior, is their principal representative in Manila; lastly, there are the remnants of the old Quezón faction, whose main strength is in Luzon and who probably comprise the most capable politicians and administrators in the country, but who have been greatly weakened both by the recent death of their leader and by the complete or partial defection of many of their number to the Japanese. The principal figure of this group in future is likely to be Brigadier-General Manuel Roxás, Secretary of Finance in the last Admiinstration before the Japanese invasion.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The United States is eagerly awaiting President Truman's forthcoming broadcast to the nation. In response to questions from the press representatives who are accompanying him on the U.S.S. *Augusta*, the President is reported as stating flatly that there were no secret agreements of any kind resulting from the Three-Power Conference. Meanwhile, the preliminary American comment on the lengthy Potsdam Declaration, which proved too complicated to be taken at one gulp, is mixed and cautious. On the whole, it has been greeted by the press and radio with approval though not with any great enthusiasm. The tendency is to appraise it as much for what it omits as for what it contains.

There is disappointment over the silence on Russia's rôle in the Pacific, though this is alleviated to some extent by the terse reference in the final paragraphs of the Declaration, which refer to the meetings of the Chiefs of Staff "on military matters of common interest." It has also been noted that one of the points in favour of Italy is that she has declared war on Japan. Incidentally, the friendly reference to Italy is welcomed and the concession of lenient terms to the mother country of an important section of the American population is seen as a victory for the United States. Attention has been drawn to other areas omitted from the declaration which are frankly seen as

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"danger spots": in particular Yugoslavia, Austria, the Rhineland, Persia and the Dardanelles. The *New York Times* assumes that the silence on those issues indicates disagreement.

On the whole, however, there is general satisfaction that the declaration stands as a proof of "the high degree of understanding" and unified policy reached at the Tripartite Conference. It is seen, moreover, as the end of the purely war phase in the relationship of the Allies, for the triumvirate "has given place to a Council organised on a broader base, broader even than the addition of the two Powers suggests," according to the *New York Times*, "for the inclusion of France brings a European State into the negotiations deciding the fate of Europe, and the inclusion of China, gives Asia a voice in the reorganisation of the world." The establishment of the Council of Foreign Ministers with a secretariat in London is hailed as a most important step in providing the necessary machinery for the transition period.

While the full implications of the German sections have not yet been digested and have still to receive detailed analysis, they have been generally approved as imposing hard but not intolerable terms on Germany. (Mr. David Lawrence is one of the few critics who maintains that the reparations provisions impose impossible conditions on Germany and will "promote anarchy".) "The Germany of blood and iron and conquest is gone. Germany will be weak. The rest of Europe will be strong" is the way one radio commentator summed it up. "Germany, with all its conventional attributes of nationhood—Government, army, industrial apparatus, educational system and so on," declares the *New York Herald-Tribune*, "is put into bankruptcy." There has, however, been some Congressional criticism at the idea of forced German labour, and it is possible that this issue and the reparations question, as a whole, may yet prove to be a source of trouble.

Not unnaturally, the press and radio have welcomed the promise to provide freedom of reporting in Poland and Eastern Europe. The *Washington Post* expresses the hope that this agreement will usher in a new period of free communication of information.

The condemnation of Franco-Spain is everywhere approved, and this is hailed by *P.M.* as the "most dramatic and hopeful decision of the conference."

The most severe critic to date is Senator Taft (Republican, Ohio) who declares that President Truman has "assumed to speak for the United States in settling many of the most controversial boundaries and terms to be imposed upon Germany without consultation with the Senate or the people" of the United States. And he assumes that "all other questions will be settled by the Council of Foreign Ministers." The transfer of East Prussia to Poland will, he maintains, sow the seeds of a future war. Grudgingly he concedes, however, that the provision for the administration of Germany "accords with the general opinion of the people of the United States."

It is likely that further study of the Declaration may cause modifications of the views so far expressed, but the first reaction in the United States seems favourable and the establishment of machinery for the conclusion of treaties with Italy, Roumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland, as well as for dealing with the manifold problems which will arise in the transition period, is generally applauded. It is felt that Potsdam has opened up new fields of potential co-operation, and that this is perhaps its major accomplishment. As the *New York Times* says: "No one weighing the communiqué as a whole can doubt that in the realm of international co-operation we have moved a long way from Teheran and Yalta."

The ultimatum to Japan which was issued earlier from Potsdam continues to be acclaimed, but as a "clarification" rather than a "modification" of the unconditional surrender formula. Failure to call for measures against Emperor Hirohito is however criticised. Japan's rejection of the terms was not unexpected and caused no great concern.

Congress is now in recess. Both Houses will return to work on the 8th October. In reviewing the work of the last session, Senator Barkley, the Democratic leader, said that although the Senate had been prompt in dealing with matters of foreign policy its accomplishments in dealing with domestic problems had not been remarkable. He went on to outline some of the "more pressing problems" awaiting attention. They include the organisation of the executive branch of Government; the extension of unemployment compensation; the emergency Federal Housing programme; changes in the administration of the Surplus War Property Board; the full employment programme; the extension of the social security programme; tax reduction and the economic bill of rights for servicemen which was recommended by President Roosevelt in January 1944.

A denial of reports that the Administration had immediate plans to ask Congress to approve large credits to Britain has been issued by Mr. Grew, the Acting Secretary of State, who told Mr. Emmanuel Celler (Democrat, New York) that Britain had not approached the State Department about a loan. Nevertheless he declared that the United States should help to solve British financial problems "in all reasonable ways. . . . Any credit granted should be backed by satisfactory arrangements with respect to the timely relaxation of restrictive financial and trade practices which had grown of necessity during the war."

Senator Hiram Johnson (Republican, California) one of the most ardent of American isolationists, has died at the age of 79. A few days ago he announced that he did not agree with the ratification by the Senate of the United Nations Charter. In 1944 President Roosevelt described Senator Johnson as one of the Senators who killed international co-operation in 1920.

(See also under "Latin America" and "Spain").

LATIN AMERICA.

The Argentine Government have issued three decrees which approve and bring into force the Statute for Political Parties (see *Summary* No. 296), though with certain modifications. The main changes in the Statute are the suspension of proposed alterations in the old Sáenz Peña electoral law, the abandonment of the section dealing with the punishment of electoral crimes, and the recognition of the special claims of long-established political parties. (This last point simply means that new parties or fractions of old parties will not be allowed to steal accepted party names by getting in first with registration.) But the Government has clung to its plan for the introduction of "electoral courts," a novelty which has aroused opposition because the new electoral magistrature will obviously be Government appointed and can influence the reorganisation of parties and the acceptance of candidates. The Government have denied that the electoral courts will infringe the jurisdiction of the national courts. They have also promised to raise the state of siege "in due course."

The *Nación* has pointed out that this electoral propaganda cannot in any case begin without the raising of the state of siege. But the Minister for the Interior, in addressing journalists, refused to give a date for lifting the state of siege, and admitted that the decree prohibiting political activities had not yet been annulled, though he maintained that the Government were leading up to this. He added that the question of women's suffrage (see last week's *Summary*) would require separate legislation. He left it to the Supreme Court to decide whether the Communist Party could function under the Statute. According to press reports, however, Rear-Admiral Teisaire received the legal representative of the forbidden Communist Party and, while referring the legal question to the Supreme Court, told him that the police would no longer persecute the Communists.

The circumstances in which the new decrees were promulgated give some scope for speculation. It was freely rumoured at the end of July that there would be changes in the Government, including the departure of Colonel Perón, either under compulsion or voluntarily, in order to devote himself to his political campaign. According to press and wireless reports, a group of high naval and army officers visited General Farrell and dissociated themselves from the Government's internal policy as pursued by Colonel Perón, asking for immediate elections; one version of this interview was that the Army and Navy would support General Farrell in his decision to call elections, as long as no member of the present Government stood. An official communiqué, however, states that "the meetings of admirals and generals called by President Farrell some days ago to ascertain their views on the Government's political orientation have emphasised the absolute unity of aims among members of the Government and the solidarity of the armed forces with them." In any case, the promulgation of the Statute for Political Parties was closely followed by the appointment of a new Minister for the Interior. Since the resignation of the obnoxious General Perlinger, over a year ago, this post has been held, conjointly with the Ministry of Marine, by Rear-Admiral Teisaire. The portfolio of the Interior now goes to Dr. José Hortensio Quijano, a Radical associated with the late President Irigoyen. It may help the Government to have detached someone from the Radical Party.

Meanwhile the campaign of defamation against the United States Ambassador has proved completely *contraproducente*: representatives of the trade unions

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have called on Mr. Braden to express their disapproval, and to assure him that the vast majority of the Argentine people are in sympathy with him and his country. Colonel Perón has harangued his tame unions, but it seems clear that some of the gilt is off his gingerbread.

In Brazil, the Minister for War, General Eurico Dutra, has been relieved of his duties, and General Goes Monteiro has been appointed in his stead. It thus appears that General Dutra will present his candidature for the presidential election in December.

It is reported from Brazil that a meeting of Foreign Ministers of the American Republics will be held at Petropolis in October, for the purpose of elaborating the agreement of Chapultepec.

UNITED NATIONS.

The Potsdam Conference (17th July–2nd August)—now officially designated the Tripartite Conference of Berlin—has resulted in agreement between the Governments of Great Britain, the United States and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics both as to the method whereby the European peace settlement is to be worked out, and also as to certain elements in the substance of that settlement.

The method of peace-making foreshadowed in the report of the Conference differs significantly from the practice of 1919. After the first World War the representatives of all the Allied Powers, great and small alike, assembled in Paris without prior agreement between the great Allied Powers on the substantive territorial and economic problems. The unwieldy Conference was confronted with the entire range of questions involved in the peace settlement. For the new settlement a more circumspect procedure is proposed. The peace treaties are to be drawn up by a Council composed of the Foreign Ministers of the five principal Powers. It is not proposed that the Foreign Ministers shall participate equally in the preparation of each treaty; the responsibility is assigned to those Foreign Ministers whose Governments have signed the terms of surrender with the enemy State concerned, with the proviso, however, that other Members of the Council will be called in when matters concerning them are under discussion and that France specifically shall participate in the making of the settlement with Italy. Provision is also made for the participation of States not members of the Council in the discussion of questions of direct concern to them, while the eventual submission of the draft treaties to the United Nations as a whole is envisaged. A joint secretariat for the Council is to be established in London, where the Council will normally meet. This flexible organisation of the Council will facilitate full and frank exploration of individual problems between the Powers concerned.

As regards Germany, progress towards a settlement lies not in the formulation of terms but in the tutelage of the German people under the régime of occupation. The purposes of the occupation are defined: the positive aim of the reintegration of a peaceful and democratic Germany within the international community crowns the negative aims of complete disarmament and the eradication of Nazi influences. With a view to the pursuit of "a co-ordinated allied policy toward defeated Germany," political and economic principles are enunciated for the guidance of the Allied Control Council. The political rules are far-reaching: uniformity of treatment throughout Germany, control of education, the establishment of the impartial rule of law, freedom (subject to military exigencies) of speech and of association, encouragement of political decentralisation through the restoration of democratic local self-Government, without central Government for the time being save for certain essential central administrative departments under the direction of the Control Council. The broad economic rules are that, in the reorganisation of German economy, the development of agriculture and peaceful domestic industries is to be accentuated; the production of arms, aircraft and sea-going ships is to be prevented; other industrial production of direct military importance is to be controlled and restricted; and German authorities are as far as possible to be made responsible for the administration of such economic controls as may be necessary for the achievement of Allied objectives.

These political and economic principles foreshadow the nature of the eventual settlement with Germany. Other pointers are the sections on Reparations and on the territorial claims of the Soviet Union and Poland. (See under "Poland" and "Germany.")

United Nations Organisation.

The Berlin Conference has also resulted in agreement concerning the admission to the United Nations Organisation of States other than those entitled to join as original members. Support is to be given by the three Governments to applications for membership from suitable neutral States—Spain under its present Government being specifically excepted from this category—and from Italy and minor enemy States after the conclusion of peace treaties with recognised democratic Governments.

The meeting of the Executive Committee of the Reparatory Commission of the United Nations Organisation, which was to have been held in London on the 9th August, has been postponed for a week at the request of the United States Government.

Educational and Cultural Organisation.

In November it is proposed to hold in London a conference with a view to the establishment of an Educational and Cultural Organisation in association with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. Draft proposals for its constitution prepared by the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education in co-operation with the United States Government have been distributed. The principal functions of the organisation would be to facilitate consultation among educational and cultural leaders, to assist in the free flow of ideas and information among the peoples of the world, to foster the growth of educational and cultural programmes which support peace and security, to develop and make available educational and cultural plans, to conduct and encourage research on educational and cultural problems, and to assist countries that require help in developing their educational and cultural activities. The term "cultural" is used in a broad sense to include all that relates to the sciences, the humanities and the arts.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 306

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
15TH AUGUST, 1945.

Copy No. 141

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

IT is still too early to gauge the full effect of the Berlin Conference declaration of the 2nd August on either the political or the economic future of Germany. At the moment the mass migration westwards of dispossessed Germans from the territories east of the Oder and Neisse, which are now recognised as under Polish administration, threatens to overshadow all other developments in both Berlin and the surrounding Russian zone. Such is the magnitude of this migration that even the combined local resources of the Red Army have apparently been impotent to enforce Marshal Zhukov's order of the 27th July forbidding the entry of the refugees into the Berlin area. According to the assistant director of the Berlin Municipal Department for evicted persons, Dr. Karl Baier, there are anything up to 6 million persons still on the move in Eastern Germany; and between 25,000 and 30,000 have been arriving daily in the German capital. Deaths from malnutrition, especially among the children, are said to be numerous. Vast congregations of refugees from the East are stated to be held up near the boundaries of the British and American zones, which are now sealed against them pending the final repatriation of displaced Allied nationals. Reports of conditions in the territories from which the refugees have been expelled are at the moment equally disconcerting. One of the few Allied press correspondents so far able to record his observations in the territory east of the Oder states that the country is dead, the towns apparently empty and the fields untended. Unharvested crops are rotting as a result of the inability of the authorities to bring in Polish settlers at anything like the rate at which they have been expelling the Germans, and Polish officials admit that a large part of the harvest may be lost. All evidence received so far would seem to confirm that the local Polish military commanders are not responding fully to the Allied request to suspend expulsions pending further study of the situation by the Control Council.

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Evictions from Danzig are stated to be taking place street by street. No large-scale expulsions, however, have apparently been attempted from the port area of Stettin, where all hands are needed for the work of reconstruction, but where the food situation is reported to be very grave.

A few German democratic leaders from the Polish-occupied East who have managed to survive the Nazi terror are at present endeavouring to rebuild their political futures in Berlin or the West. The former editor of the *Königsberger Volkszeitung*, Werner Lufft, who was one of the Social Democratic Deputies for East Prussia in the Reichstag up to 1933, is now helping to reorganise his party in Berlin. The former Social Democratic Police President of Königsberg, Dr. Tietze, has become Oberbürgermeister of Regensburg. The new Social Democratic President of the Province of Brandenburg, Dr. Steinhoff, also originates from East Prussia, where he held office as Oberpräsident up to 1933. Hans Ziegler, the former metal workers' leader in Breslau and Social Democratic representative of that city in the Reichstag, has just been installed as Bürgermeister of Nürnberg (the new Oberbürgermeister being a local Social Democrat, Martin Treu).

Some of the major difficulties of meeting the Soviet Union's reparations claim of 25 per cent. of the industrial capital equipment in the British and American zones that is not needed for the work of reconstruction are already becoming apparent. In the British and American zones of Berlin the situation has been complicated by the wholesale removal by the Russians of equipment before the inter-Allied declaration of the 2nd August had been agreed upon. 90 per cent. of the machinery, plant and raw materials of factories in the British zone had already been removed, with the result that the early resumption of any form of production there will be impossible. Of the 50,000 persons previously employed by the two great Siemens concerns, only 250 are stated to have been put back to work so far, and then only on the manufacture of crude agricultural implements. As regards the zones of Western Germany, one expert has suggested that there is no plant or machinery available for reparations if the country is to be permitted anything like the peace economy which the Berlin declaration has envisaged. The Ruhr is said to need the whole of its damaged industrial capacity to be able to pull its weight in even a limited economic revival. The demand for its iron and steel products, particularly heavy bridges, locomotives and coal wagons, is likely to remain considerable for a long time to come.

One of the first big public demonstrations to pledge acceptance by the German people of the Berlin declaration was held by representatives of the four political parties in the Great Hall of the Berlin broadcasting station on the 12th August. Speakers included the Oberbürgermeister of Berlin, Dr. Werner, who welcomed this first big rally of the new "united front" as a "landmark in the revival of German political life"; the Chairman of the German Communist Party, Wilhelm Pieck, who appealed to the Germans to accept reparations "without argument or indignation"; and the leader of the Christian Democratic Union, Dr. Andreas Hermes, whose recent resignation as head of the Berlin food administration (see last week's *Summary*) does not appear, after all, to have seriously prejudiced his political future, and who expressed a hope that the "world-wide religious bodies which were represented in Germany" would see their way clear to assist with her rehabilitation. An unnamed Social Democratic spokesman praised as another "historic turning-point in German political life" the decision of the Communists not to call for the establishment of the Soviet system in Germany. In a joint declaration, published at the conclusion of the demonstration, the four parties pledged themselves to see that the Germans "accept responsibility for the results of the Hitlerite régime and the abominable consequences of Hitler's war" and "avoid the mistakes made after 1918" (when even the Left spent considerable time demonstrating that, whatever Germany was called upon to pay in the form of reparations, she could not pay it).

An optimistic picture of reconstruction in the former Prussian Province of Saxony (*Provinz Sachsen*), which suggested that the Soviet authorities are so far well satisfied with their recent decision to set up native territorial administrations throughout their zone, was provided by the Berlin radio on the 8th August. The mines, especially the rich copper mines of this region, were stated to be working again, the "factory chimneys smoking," and passenger and goods trains running. Prussian Saxony was "one of the best-preserved provinces in Germany." The Soviet authorities had encouraged the Province to become "autonomous," with Halle as its capital (and not Magdeburg, as previously). Their decision to appoint the pre-Nazi Landeshauptmann, Dr. Friedrich Huebener, as President of the Province had apparently been a happy one. Although

describing himself as an adherent of the long-extinct Democratic Party, Dr. Huebener is better known as an economist and as the author of one of the first comprehensive studies of the Soviet system to appear in Germany after the last war. A brief announcement of the establishment of German provincial administrations in Prussian Saxony and in Thuringia (the latter with its capital at Weimar) was originally made on the 17th July. Since then the pattern of German government in the Russian zone at the higher level has been completed, the decision to set up provincial and regional administration in Brandeburg, Mecklenburg and the State of Saxony (*Land Sachsen*, with its capital at Dresden and separated since 1815 from the Prussian *Provinz Sachsen* referred to above) having been announced on the 4th July (see *Summary* No. 301). The picture of German government in the Russian zone outside Berlin now remains most obscure at its lowest level—that of the Commune (*Gemeinde*). In the rural areas, it would seem that the Russians intend the peasant co-operatives to have an important voice in the government of the community. The Raiffeisen Co-operatives, which were originally formed in the latter half of the 19th century as an instrument of self-help among the peasants and which managed to weather the storms of the Nazi period much better than many other German economic institutions, are referred to with particular approval by the Russian-controlled press and radio. They are said to have united the peasants against the Nazis and to have "always conformed to strictly democratic principles."

Considerable progress towards the institution of a centrally-directed agricultural economy in the British zone has now been made with the establishment at Obernkirchen of a Central Office for Food and Agriculture (*Zentralstelle für Ernährung und Landwirtschaft bei der britischen Militär-Regierung*). This is presided over by a Military Government officer and staffed with German food experts and representatives of the five regional farming administrations (*Landesbauernschaften*). Its functions cover the entire zone, but it is so far merely advisory and has no executive power that would permit it to be regarded as a successor to the former Reich Ministry of Food and Agriculture. The first reliable assessments of this season's harvest in the British zone have also been made. Even if all the crops are successfully harvested, it is estimated that it will be possible to support the population during the next twelve months only on a semi-starvation ration scale of 1,200 calories a day and that imports will be needed to maintain the present slightly higher but quite inadequate ration of 1,250–1,300 calories a day. A slight increase in the meat ration at Munich and the standardisation of rations at a somewhat higher level in certain areas of the West—for example, in North Baden and Württemberg—would seem to suggest that in the American zone the harvest prospects are now better than was at first expected. The decision of the United States authorities to preserve in some areas for the time being the rationalisation of smallholdings (the so-called *Landnutzungstausch*) enforced by the Nazis was announced from Frankfurt on the 8th August. Under this rationalisation, scattered peasant holdings in the villages have been united into one estate to be farmed more economically, but many of their conservative owners have resented the experiment as approximating too closely to the Soviet collectivisation.

On the 11th August it was announced that the acting Oberbürgermeister of Bremen, Dr. Erick Vagts, had been relieved of his post for "contravening instructions of the United States Military Government" and for leaving many Nazis in leading positions. For some time previously anti-Nazis in an area of western Germany much wider than the American-controlled Bremen *enclave* had pressed for the removal of Vagts, a well-known German Nationalist who held office under Hitler until February of this year (see *Summary* No. 303), and had come to regard his future as a test case of Military Government's good intentions. Bremen under Vagts's administration is reported to have become the scene of the first overtly patrician political organisation in Germany, the Hanseatische Aufbau-Gemeinschaft, constituted by the city's wealthiest merchants, although ostensibly ready to co-operate with other "democratic" organisations. Nevertheless, Bremen is also the scene of a most thorough process of "de-Nazification" by Military Government, and the latter is, among other things, using the Nazi's own ruthless *Reichsleistungsgesetz* of the 1st September, 1939, to requisition the homes of Party members for the benefit of the community generally. In other parts of both the American and British zones the purge of Nazi officials from local government is being pursued with unabated vigour. More than 100,000 officials with Nazi antecedents are expected to have been removed in Bavaria alone by the end of this month. The most notable high-ranking Nazi to be traced inside

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the Reich since the detention of Ribbentrop on the 14th June is the former leader of the National Socialist Association of Journalists and editor-in-chief of the *Völkischer Beobachter*, SA-Obergruppenführer Wilhelm Weiss, whose arrest near Berchtesgaden was announced on the 11th August.

AUSTRIA.

The Governments of Great Britain, the United States, the U.S.S.R. and France issued a statement on the 8th August on the control machinery in Austria. The Allied Commission for Austria will consist of an Allied council of four military commissioners, who will jointly exercise supreme authority in Austria in respect of matters affecting Austria as a whole; the council will be assisted by an executive committee and staffs appointed by the four Governments concerned, who will advise the council and carry out its decisions. Each military commissioner in his capacity as commander-in-chief of the forces of occupation furnished by his Government will exercise full authority in his zone subject to the general decisions of the Control Council.

The primary tasks of the Allied Commission will be to achieve the separation of Austria from Germany; to secure the establishment, as soon as possible, of a central Austrian administrative machine; to prepare the way for the establishment of a freely-elected Austrian Government; and meanwhile to supervise the administration of Austria. As soon as departments of a central Austrian administration are in a position to operate satisfactorily they will be directed to assume their respective functions as regards Austria as a whole, and will fulfil them under the control of the Allied Commission.

The administration of the city of Vienna will be directed by an inter-Allied governing authority of four commandants, operating under the general directions of the Allied Council, and assisted by a technical staff which will supervise and control the activities of the local organs. Military missions may be appointed by other United Nations Governments chiefly interested.

Preliminary discussions between the Allied Chiefs of Staff in Austria have been held in Vienna on matters that must be settled before the formal setting up of the Allied Commission in Vienna. Arrangements for communications were discussed, but the most difficult question is that of food supplies. Russian supplies for Vienna are expected to last until the 1st September. These foodstuffs brought in by the Russians are now stated not to be free gift, but to be chargeable to the city. It is explained that machinery which the Russians have removed will be credited to the city in part payment of this account. There is much complaint among the civilian population of Vienna that the meat ration in particular is not available, and Radio Vienna on the 9th August announced that the weekly meat ration would "once more be substituted by an allocation of pulse."

The Salzburg Festival was held again this year. Dr. Scherner, head of the Salzburg Provisional Government, made a speech of welcome at the opening ceremony, which was attended by General Mark Clark. General Clark, in his speech, said that the work of re-establishment of a free and independent Austria was already well under way.

Linz is now divided into two zones under the zoning agreement, the major part on the right bank of the Danube being under American occupation, and the suburbs on the left bank under Soviet occupation. Only workers holding permits may cross the river from one zone to the other. The United States zone is supplied with electricity from the power station in the Russian zone.

On the 7th August more than 2,000 Austrians captured by the Allies in Norway arrived in Salzburg on their way to discharge camps.

Reinhard Machold, the *Landeshauptmann* in the Styrian Provisional Government, said in a speech from Graz on the 9th that his new Government (see *Summary* No. 304), was almost identical with its predecessor, and that his contention that continuity of government was necessary had been conceded. He appealed for loyalty and harder work from all Styrians, and said that to believe that those Nazis who fled and are now returning are safe is mistaken. "Just retribution for former Nazis" was being prepared in agreement with the Military Government.

From Vienna it was reported that three more newspapers are now appearing there—making a total of five: the *Arbeiterzeitung*, the Socialist Party paper, is re-established; the *Kleines Volksblatt* is the organ of the *Volkspartei*; and *Volkstimme* is a Communist paper.

In May 1945, according to a Vienna broadcast, talks on the reconstruction of Chambers of Labour were held within the Austrian Trade Union Association, and a draft of the law for this purpose has now been submitted to the Provisional Government, which has incorporated it in its continued flow of legislation. Chambers of Labour are also being set up in the American zone.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

Karl Frank has been handed over to the Czech authorities for interrogation, after which he will be "lent" to the Allied Investigation Commission who need him as a witness in the approaching trial of major Nazi war-criminals. Frank will then be returned to Prague, and it is expected that his trial, limited by Presidential Decree to three days, will take place in the latter half of September before a People's Court. The Ministry of the Interior has issued a circular containing the names of 63 Nazis wanted for the crimes of Lidice and Lezaky: every effort must be made to trace these individuals.

Dr. Ripka, Minister of Foreign Trade, has expressed Czechoslovakia's need for expanding her foreign trade, and he described the satisfactory nature of his negotiations in London and the contacts made with certain South American and Scandinavian countries. Impending arrangements include negotiations with America and Canada, whilst trade-delegations will leave shortly for Berne, Bucharest and Sofia. Dr. Ripka is confident that the main obstacle to this programme of commercial expansion—the chaotic condition of European railways—will soon be overcome.

Dr. Jan Masaryk has returned to London to attend the discussion of the U.N.R.R.A. Council and to participate in the conference of the Executive Committee of the Preparatory Committee of the United Nations' Organisation.

Field-Marshal Montgomery is to visit Prague towards the end of August, but existing conditions will compel his stay to be limited to one day only.

With reference to the Border Regions, His Majesty's Ambassador to Prague submitted a very interesting report, summarising the impressions gained from his recent tour of these areas. He is convinced that the Czechs, although desirous of a drastic solution to the minority problem, wish to treat the Germans humanely; maltreatment of the Germans is singularly rare and is then only due to the more irresponsible Czech elements. There is much bad blood between the Bohemian and Reich Germans, the latter accusing the former of responsibility for the war. All Germans within the Republic must wear some distinctive badge, but they are permitted to move comparatively freely. War-damage is extensive; the countryside, however, appears well-cultivated and a good harvest should be gathered. Everywhere there is admiration for the Western Powers coupled with a deep-rooted wish to renew cultural contacts with Britain: English papers and periodicals would be particularly welcomed. Factories are derelict, there being a serious shortage of labour and transport.

Speaking in Nachod, Dr. Ripka again stressed the urgency of clearing the Border Regions of Germans; a far more important task, however, is the colonisation of these areas—hence "nobody must shirk the duty to go there." As there are still signs of reluctance to settle there, the afforestation of large areas is advocated on strategic grounds.

A Government Delegation, headed by Premier Fierlinger, visited Bratislava to discuss with the Slovak National Council Præsidium the formation of the Provisional National Assembly. It was agreed that Slovakia would hold one-third of the seats in this Assembly.

Several members of the Hungarian Arrow Cross Party in Slovakia have been arrested following the blowing-up of the premises of a local National Security Organisation. The Hungarian Fascists are suspected as they have lately adopted a provocative attitude towards the Czechoslovak Republic.

The vanguard of the Czech Air Force, returning from Britain, has already arrived in Prague. Furthermore, it is reported that all Czech workers in the British zone of occupation in Germany have been repatriated.

SOVIET UNION.

The Soviet declaration of war on Japan was handed by M. Molotov to the Japanese Ambassador M. Sato, on the 8th August and was broadcast to the Soviet people on the same day (see "Far East"). The wording of the declaration (unlike the press comment which followed it) was singularly unbellicose and

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According to the unanimous decision of the Little Khural and the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic, Outer Mongolia declared war on Japan on the 10th August. The declaration of war (as reported by a *Tass* message from Ulan Bator) stated that the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic, true to their pledges under the Mutual Assistance Agreement concluded between the Mongolian Republic and the U.S.S.R. in March 1936 and inspired by "the eternal wish of the Mongolian people for freedom, independence and complete sovereignty, originating from the desire of the Mongolian tribes to live as one family in peace with their democratic neighbours . . . . and anxious to make our contribution to the cause of the United Nations," has declared a holy war against Japan. The omission of China and the call for unity of "the Mongolian tribes," in this declaration may be of future significance and is worth noting.

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the new discovery. *Aftonbladet*, formerly a notorious pro-Nazi paper, condemned the atom-bombing of Hiroshima. "The so-called rules of warfare which were hailed in 1939 must brand [*sic*] the bombing of that city as a first-class war crime. The experiment with the population of an entire city as guinea pigs reflects no martial glory on its authors."

On the 16th July the first death sentence in Norway since 1857 was passed on Reidar Haaland, a member of the Gestapo and of the Quisling police, who had been convicted of torturing Norwegian political prisoners and of fighting for Germany on the Eastern front. The findings of the court were unanimous. On the 9th August the sentence was confirmed by the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court Judge Arne Vislie has been appointed to prosecute all Supreme Court Judges who took office during the occupation. The Norwegian T.U.C. has issued directives for the treatment of collaborators which will prevent them from holding any office in trade-union organisations for a first period of one year.

In Denmark also the interest in the trial of collaborators continues, and strong protests have been made by the Resistance Movement against the numerous aquittals of persons arrested as suspected collaborationists. There are indications that the Danish Social Democrats are more ready than the Communists to reach an early agreement on the amalgamation of the two parties. Hr. Hedtoft Hansen hopes to achieve a decision, at any rate in principle, before the party congress of the 19th August, but it appears as though the Communists prefer to protract the negotiations until after the elections, when they hope to increase their bargaining power. M. Christmas Møller, on his return from this country, has been publicly attacked by the chairman of the Co-operative Slaughter Houses, who accused the Foreign Minister of having acted entirely on his own responsibility in the London Price Negotiations, the result of which was bound to affect Danish agricultural production and foreign trade unfavourably. The Minister of Trade, M. Fibiger, refuted this allegation and pointed out that the Agricultural Delegation which had returned home had realised that prices would have to be decreased, but was not prepared to give way. It was consequently decided that a higher authority would have to handle the matter and a delegation sent to London by the Foreign Minister.

In Finland M. Paasikivi, on the 10th August, received a deputation from a citizens' meeting at Helsinki, which urged a decision on the question of the trial of war criminals. The deputation threatened that any further delay in the matter would result in a strike being called by the trade unions.

On the 5th August it was announced in Helsinki that certain relaxations of the armistice terms had been granted by the Allied Control Commission. These relaxations mainly consist of freedom of movement for Finnish naval and merchant ships and for aircraft within the Finnish frontiers. However, the Soviet authorities alone are responsible for this decision, the British members of the Control Commission not having been consulted beforehand. A further announcement on the 7th August stated that in view of Finland's loyal fulfilment of the armistice terms the Soviet Union desired to re-establish diplomatic relations with that country.

LOW COUNTRIES.

There is a growing demand in the Netherlands for early elections. A number of people including the foreign editor of *Vrij Nederland* and the Political Correspondent of *Het Parool* have sent an open letter to the Prime Minister urging that elections should be held this year, and that postponement is not justified by either technical or political considérations. Meanwhile, the question has been considered by the recently created National Advisory Commission: but it is reported only to have referred it back to a "preparatory" Commission.

In a broadcast on the 10th August the Dutch Prime Minister spoke of the Commission for Devastated Areas. Its object, he explained, is to co-ordinate all relief work in conjunction with the Ministry of Social Affairs. Young men with nothing to do would be to put to work in the devastated areas and, if the supply of bachelors were insufficient, married men would be drafted for relief and reconstruction work in these districts.

The Rotterdam dockers belonging to the Unity Trade Union, which claims to incorporate "nearly all" dock workers, called a protest strike of 24 hours on the 13th August. About 1,000 men in the Amsterdam docks are also reported to have struck. The Unity Union complains that the conditions of the port workers have not improved at all in spite of the recent agreement (see *Summary*

No. 303) and says that the dockers had now been forced to the conclusion that no help could be expected from the Government. The Government have countered by a declaration insisting on State arbitration in all labour disputes, and by an urgent appeal to the workers not to support the Unity Union.

On the 7th August M. Van Acker presented his reformed Ministry to the Belgian Chambers and made a statement on the policy of the new Government. He said that it should be posisble to hold general elections in March. In the meantime the Government would ask for approval of a draft Bill depriving "unworthy citizens" of the right to vote. The work of "financial purification" would also be continued and a budget would be submitted to the Chambers early in November. The Government hoped soon to be able to relax various restrictions on trade and the rationing of certain food-stuffs. They proposed to revise the salary scales of all civil servants and public employees and to proceed with the purge of the administration. So far as foreign affairs were concerned, they intended to assert Belgium's right to her share of German reparations as well as her right to participate in the exploitation of certain German resources. The Belgian army would soon be reorganised and modernised, and it would take part in the occupation of Germany. In the course of the debate which followed M. Carton de Wiart (Catholic) pointed out that his party was now called the "Christian Social Party," and affirmed that this title showed the importance it attached to social reform. The party was not opposed in principle to the nationalisation of certain forms of activity, but it would not indiscriminately accept nationalisation as a system. At the end of the debate M. Van Acker gave further information about the economic position of the country. In particular, he said that the average yield of the coal miner had now reached the pre-war level. "We are the first country to attain such a result." The coal output would continue to increase, since arrangements had been made with the Allies for between 30,000 and 40,000 prisoners of war to be employed in the mines. Moreover, the quota of 70,000 tons of imported coal promised for September had now been further increased by the Allies. The debate ended with the passing of a vote of confidence in the Government.

ERRATA.

In last week's *Summary*, page 9, line 7, and page 10, line 4—for "North-East Indies" read "Netherlands East Indies"; page 10, line 19—for "Delfossé" read "Delfosse"; page 10, line 55—omit "but."

FRANCE

The prospect of the end of the war in the Far East has caused pleasure and relief rather than excitement in France. An article by the diplomatic correspondent of the French Press Agency which appeared in the papers of the 12th August pointed out that it was hoped that the restoration of Indo-China to the French Commonwealth and the liberation of other Far Eastern territories would soon make an appreciable difference to the food situation in France. It also said that French official circles hoped that France would be represented at the signature of the Armistice with Japan, and that French troops already on the spot would be used to clear any pockets of resistance especially in Indo-China. Vice-Admiral Thierry d'Argenlieu has been appointed Governor-General of Indo-China in place of Admiral Decoux, whose whereabouts are unknown.

General de Gaulle has been touring Northern France. After visiting Beauvais, Amiens and Doullens he arrived at Béthune on the 11th August, and made a speech to the miners which was also broadcast. He referred to the improvement in coal production, which had now reached 75 per cent. of the pre-war level, and to the relative improvement in industrial activity, although this was still less than half the pre-war level. Turning to foreign affairs, he deplored the absence of France from decisions regarding the fate of Germany, but stated: "This time last year there was not even any recognised French Government. To-day France is governing German territory with the three other great Powers. She is strongly installed on the Rhine and the Danube." In this connexion it may be noted that the ceremonial transfer from British to French control of the Reinickendorf and Wedding area of Berlin took place on the 13th August. In Austria General Béthouard, Commander of the French forces there, has decided, according to a Paris broadcast in German, to found a French university at Innsbruck, and to open French schools for the children of the occupying forces; Austrian children will also be allowed to attend them.

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After long deliberations the Cabinet finally reached a decision on the constitutional question on the 10th August. The new solution is still more complicated than the first plan (see *Summaries* Nos. 301 and 302), but it makes important concessions to the supporters of a sovereign Constituent Assembly, and comes close to the Vincent-Auriol amendment which was defeated in the Consultative Assembly. The referendum will still offer the choice (1) between a Chamber and Senate and a Constituent Assembly; and (2) between the Government project for a Constituent Assembly with limited powers and a sovereign Assembly. But under the revised Government project the new Government will be partially responsible to the Constituent Assembly, and it will have to resign if a vote of censure is passed by an absolute majority of the Assembly. The Assembly will have power to initiate legislation concurrently with the Government and will vote the Budget, but will not be able to propose expenditure. As in the previous plan the new Constitution must be drawn up within seven months and submitted to the country by referendum. The Cabinet also decided that the system of proportional representation on a departmental basis should be used in the general elections which will be held on the 21st October.

The constitutional question has further disturbed the already delicate relations between the Communist and Socialist Parties and their respective allies. The Radical–Communist alliance, which defeated the Socialists and their Resistance supporters in the Consultative Assembly (see *Summary* No. 304) has now been further exemplified by the report that M. Herriot has joined the *Comité d'Initiative* of the Communist-backed *Mouvement Unifié de la Renaissance*. The opposing body, the Democratic Socialist Resistance Union (U.D.S.R.), has, on the other hand, drawn closer to the Socialist Party, and with it and the Young Republic Party has subscribed to a joint manifesto published on the 31st July. At the Socialist Party Congress, which started on the 11th August in Paris, M. Daniel Mayer, the general secretary, succeeded in carrying a motion proposing a close alliance between the Party and the U.D.S.R.; while M. Léon Blum followed up a series of articles in the *Populaire* by a speech which appears to have turned the scales against the acceptance of the Communist proposal for a complete fusion of the Socialist and Communist Parties (see *Summary* No. 300). The Party leaders were, however, at least temporarily overruled by the adoption of a motion urging the resignation of the Socialist Ministers should the Government not modify their constitutional scheme, and the matter is to be discussed again.

The British delegation to the Socialist Congress is headed by Mr. Harold Laski, who spoke to the Congress of the Labour victory in Britain, and said that a big Socialist victory was also needed in France "so that we can form a single State out of the two nations, with the same objectives and the same methods."

The Pétain trial reached its final stage on the 11th August with M. Mornet's summing-up for the prosecution. The witnesses last week for the defence included several generals, M. Peyrouton, M. Jacques Chevalier, who referred to yet another "Vichy–London Agreement" negotiated at the end of 1940 through the Canadian Minister to Vichy, M. Dupuy, and General Bergeret. MM. de Brinon and Darnand were also heard on the request of the jury. M. Mornet announced that the charge of plotting against the security of the State had been dropped, since Pétain's complicity in the Cagoule had not been established, but he accused the Marshal of treason in the form of accepting the Armistice, betraying the nation's trust, scheming to overthrow the Republican régime, helping Germany against Britain and persecuting Frenchmen. He demanded the death penalty. MM. Payen, Lemaire and Isorni in effective speeches for the defence claimed that the Armistice had been preferable to capitulation, and beneficial as regards both the fate of France and the issue of the war. The Marshal's policy had been to safeguard, defend and acquire material advantages at the price of moral concessions. Before the jury retired Pétain himself broke silence and read a brief statement declaring that throughout his long life his only ambition had been to serve France.

After the jury had deliberated for several hours the verdict in this historic trial was pronounced early on the morning of the 15th August. The Marshal was found guilty on all charges and sentenced to death, but the court made a recommendation to mercy on account of his great age. In view of the attitude of the judge and the composition of the jury the death sentence was to be expected. At the same time it seems certain that General de Gaulle will exercise his prerogative of mercy.

(See also "Vatican.")

SWITZERLAND.

The question of Swiss neutrality has again been brought to the fore by the Potsdam decision that support will be given to applications from neutral States who are able and willing to accept the obligations of membership. It was pointed out by Swiss radio commentators that any action on the part of Switzerland could be taken only as a result of a referendum. The question was also raised whether the resumption of diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. should not be discussed first, since it would appear to be somewhat paradoxical for Switzerland to belong to a new International Organisation without first achieving normal relations with the major Powers which would exert a decisive influence in it. As the indications seemed to suggest that the majority of the Swiss people remained attached to the nation's traditional policy of neutrality, it was thought possible that Switzerland might ask that the special position in which she was placed by both nature and history might be taken into account. She was, nevertheless, anxious to play her rightful part in the task of ensuring world security.

On the 3rd August a bilateral air transport agreement was signed in Berne between Switzerland and the United States, by which authorised American airlines obtain transit rights across Swiss territory, as well as the right of commercial entry for international traffic at Geneva or another suitable airport. The proposed air route serving Switzerland is one of several recently announced by the Civil Aeronautics Board, and extends from the United States to the Middle East via Ireland, France, Switzerland, Italy, Greece and Egypt. Reciprocal rights are granted to Switzerland for an airline to operate over the North Atlantic to New York.

On the 7th August a preliminary conference took place between the Swiss and the Russian delegations who are investigating the treatment of the 10,000 Russians interned in Switzerland. Representatives of Britain, France and the United States participated. All parties were reported to have given the impression that both the investigation into conditions and the removal of grievances were well under way. On the 10th August the first train, carrying 1,000 Russian repatriates, left Berne, and it was considered that the entire repatriation would be concluded in about two weeks.

A trade agreement was signed at Berne on the 10th August between Switzerland and Italy dealing with the regulation of payments and the mutual exchange of goods. To facilitate the resumption of trade relations and to assist Italy in her work of reconstruction, provision is made for an advance of 80,000,000 Swiss francs.

On the 10th August the Japanese Minister conveyed to the Swiss Government the first Japanese offer of surrender for transmission to the Governments of the United States and China. The final acceptance of unconditional surrender, addressed to the four Allied Powers, was received in Berne on the 14th August and was immediately despatched to Washington.

The new Swiss Minister to Czechoslovakia, Dr. Girardet, presented his credentials on the 8th August.

It is reported from Geneva that Herr Walter Thurnheer, Swiss Minister in London from 1940 to 1944, has died at the age of 61.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

The Potsdam declaration regarding the non-eligibility of the Franco régime for admission to the United Nations organisation has caused no little excitement inside Spain, while it has naturally aroused great hopes among the expatriate Spaniards. It does not seem likely, however, that the Berlin declaration will have any immediate effects. (For one thing it is much too hot at this time of the year in Madrid—and indeed all over central and southern Spain—for sustained political activity!) Nevertheless, to scotch the manifold rumours, the Government in its radio service to Latin America has thought it wise to deny reports of unrest and, specifically, to repudiate a French agency story that a Military Directorate had been formed to oust General Franco and to institute a normal Spanish Army dictatorship. That is, of course, the most likely development one day. But there is no evidence at present that the Army leaders are spoiling for a fight with Falange; and Franco is back at his old game of playing off one against the other. Thus it is entirely in accordance with present trends that the new Civil Governor of Barcelona, replacing Señor Correa Veglisón, should be a soldier, General

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Bartolomé Barba, now taking up his first civil appointment. He has made a statement to *La Vanguardia* promising strict military discipline.

In mingled accents of pride and injured innocence the press has supplied appropriate glosses upon the official Note of protest which was discussed in these pages last week. On the wireless the insufferable Eugenio Montes has been indulging in a comparison between the aristocrats of the Congress of Vienna and the "sham democrats" of Potsdam. Spaniards, he says, are great aristocrats—"as Churchill knew"—who before attending any peace conference would themselves impose conditions. Spain "is so sure of herself that she does not in the least care if she comes into contact with other countries or not .... To-day Spain is at peace with herself, entrenched in her castle, in her nobility." *A.B.C.*, the organ of the solid middle classes—not, be it noted, the Falange party organ *Arriba*—has been chosen as the vehicle for the principal outpourings. An article in that paper on the 8th August, with the title "Irrefutable Realities" purports to set out the "plain facts" of Spanish neutrality. In the first place, says the writer, there was the Pact of Friendship with Portugal—the Iberian *Bloc* policy—which was in itself a guarantee of the maintenance of Spain's friendship with Great Britain. Then Spain's ties with the American nations precluded her from association with a Europe obedient to the will of Germany; and, moreover, Spain resisted all pressure which was brought to bear upon her to join the Tripartite Pact. Spain's non-intervention in North Africa is likewise cited as evidence in her favour, while her "intervention" in Tangier is represented as the gesture of a neutral nation seeking to preserve an African territory from the war. Following up this liberal splash of whitewash *A.B.C.* of the 11th came out with an imposing statistical analysis of Spain's "gigantic aid" to the United Nations in the way of trade. The upshot of the numerous articles is that the United Nations ought to be very grateful to Spain for the way she behaved during the war, Spanish resistance to Axis pressure having been a big factor in their victory. In comparison with last year's efforts, when the object was to authenticate Spain's neutrality, there is a new note of hyperbole.

With the departure of Señor Lequerica the way is clear for better relations between General Franco's régime and the de Gaulle Government. But it will be hard going. The Foreign Affairs Committee of the French Consultative Assembly has again passed a Resolution (on the 3rd August) calling for a formal rupture of Franco-Spanish diplomatic relations. However, efforts are being made to renew the trade connexions broken off at the end of June following the Chambéry incident (see *Summary* No. 299). A French Delegation has arrived at San Sebastian to try to work out the bases of a Franco-Spanish Commercial Agreement.

While Dr. Salazar has so far made no pronouncement, *O Seculo*, in an editorial article "After Potsdam," has expressed gratification at the decision in Berlin that the neutral States (other than Spain under the present régime) will be welcomed into the United Nation's fold. Comment on the atomic bomb and the negotiations for the surrender of Japan has so far been sparing, and the interest of Lisbon appears at the moment to be centred upon the arrival of contingents of the Brazilian troops who are on their way home from the Italian front. An important conference for the adjustment of spelling differences in the Portuguese and Brazilian languages has just concluded its work.

TANGIER.

The conversations in Paris about Tangier, which were suspended on the 3rd July, following the request of the Soviet Government to take part, were resumed on the 10th August. A fortnight ago His Majesty's Government acceded to the Russian request and arranged with the French Government for a joint formal invitation. It was necessary, however, to wait for the conclusion of the Berlin Conference and for confirmation of our representatives' instructions by the new British Government. At Berlin, in the absence of the French Government, no useful discussion of the Tangier question was possible.

The first step would seem to be for the four Powers' meeting in Paris—Great Britain, France, United States and Soviet Russia—to authorise the first two, the only States having any *locus standi*, to communicate with General Franco's Government in order to arrange for Spanish evacuation of the International Zone and for the establishment of a provisional régime on the basis of the Statute of 1923. His Majesty's Government are chiefly concerned now to fix a date for the full-scale conference of all the interested Powers, and they contemplate a quite

simple arrangement to tide over the interim period. But it is not going to be plain sailing. The Spanish Government have formally protested in a *note verbale* (dated the 9th August) against the negotiations being carried on without reference to them. They invoke their understanding with His Majesty's Embassy in Madrid that Spain's interests would be safeguarded in any future discussion of the Tangier question, and also the assurances given at the time of the Anglo-American landings in November 1942. And, without mentioning any names, the note goes on to complain of the invitation to "a European Government which on no previous occasion has participated in the administration of Tangier." This phrase is, of course, equally applicable to the United States or the U.S.S.R.

The Soviet attitude in regard to the participation of Spain in either the interim régime or the subsequent International Conference remains to be seen.

ITALY.

The Italian Government is having a difficult time trying to stop the numerous outbreaks against law and order which are now occurring throughout Italy. Signor Parri has himself addressed various appeals to the nation in an effort to persuade the people not to take the law into their own hands, but so far he has had little apparent success. Undoubtedly the conditions under which some of the partisans lived have something to do with the present situation but, in view of past history, one cannot help regarding these outbreaks with considerable misgiving. Before the Risorgimento brigand bands were more or less accepted as an integral part of the countryside, particularly in the mountains of the South. Baron Ricasoli, Cavour's successor, had to adopt the most drastic measures before the situation was finally cleared up, and it looks as if a similar situation might arise again unless strong action can soon be taken. The difficulty is, of course, a lack of good trained Carabinieri. Enough men are, apparently, available, but they do not seem to be up to standard either in training or morale. It must, however, be remembered that, compared with the police in this country, the police and the Carabinieri work at a considerable disadvantage. In Great Britain the average citizen takes the side of law and order; whereas in Italy the exact opposite occurs. And at the moment the Carabinieri have an added handicap in that they are considered to have been pro-Fascist, which does not simplify their work in present circumstances.

The latest outbreak took place in Messina, where a mob of ex-soldiers and repatriated workers from Germany broke into the Prefecture because the prefect refused to receive a deputation from their ranks. The cause of the trouble was a complaint that ex-Fascists were still employed on the prefect's staff, and the mob demanded that they be dismissed and that ex-servicemen should be given their work. Before admittance was gained a free fight took place and several Carabinieri and others were wounded.

THE VATICAN.

The Vatican has again called attention to the cruelties and starvation practised in Tito's concentration camps and has asked Allied aid in persuading Tito to allow the Bishop of Gorizia to take a relief mission to the camps. His Majesty's Government is supporting the Vatican's request, but without much hope that the Yugoslav Government will allow any relief to be sent.

Monsignor Montini has told Sir D'Arcy Osborne that, in spite of all reports, the Vatican has made no official pronouncement on the Potsdam decisions. Many of these it could approve, though it would not favour the transfer of such obviously German cities as Königsberg and Breslau. It applauded the proclamations made to the German people by Generals Eisenhower and Montgomery. It has not condemned the use of the atomic bomb, which the Pope forecast with scientific precision in his address to the Pontifical Academy of Sciences on the 21st February, 1943. Its attitude was best shown in a Vatican broadcast in French on the 8th August: "If we wish to save ourselves, our spirituality must prove equal to the material discoveries ready to revolutionise our history."

The French *Semaines sociales* have been revived after a gap of six years. In a letter to this thirty-second session, the Pope said that "men rightly expect a profound amelioration of their conditions of existence," and he hoped that the necessary social and economic rebuilding would be carried out according to Christian standards, and that the grave dangers which atheistic pretensions cause

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to the reconstruction of the world would be avoided. In his inaugural sermon that indomitable champion of the Resistance movement, Archbishop Saliège of Toulouse, boldly recognised the truth in the Marxian insistence on the importance of the economic factor in the formation of man; but, by combining it with the Christian view of the eternal value of the individual, he avoided the dwarfing doctrine of economic determinism, and gave Christians a fresh and truer interpretation of man: "We can no longer ignore the truth that there is a certain solidarity between the economic technique and the spiritual, nor that the former can, over a longer or shorter period of time, modify the latter. A new humanity has become conscious of its social power." Both Pope and Archbishop insist that man has certain inalienable rights which no society or group may deny. For them, the dignity of man is a condemnation of intolerance.

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

The Hungarian Government has, as was reported in last week's *Summary*, informed the U.S.S.R. of its inability to satisfy demands by the Russian military authorities under Article 11 of the Armistice Terms as well as make reparations payments under Article 12. It may be in this connexion that the Ministers of Industry and Trade and Communications went to Moscow for trade negotiations. The Minister of Industry stated that Hungary wished to procure raw materials from the U.S.S.R., including timber from Carpatho-Ukraine, on a barter basis, in order to maintain industrial production for reparations deliveries. In view of the Russian decision to exact 5 per cent. interest if payments are not made punctually, efforts are being made to increase production. A new wage system, based on piece rates and production bonuses was introduced.

Count Teleki has resigned from the presidency and membership of the Bourgeois Democrat Party. It has often been suggested that he has only retained the portfolio of education so long because he was the sole representative of this party in the Government. As he has recently been strongly criticised by the Communists and Social Democrats and by Federov, the Russian commentator, for not pursuing an energetic policy of purge and reform of education, it will be interesting to see whether he remains in office.

Rákosi, the leader of the Communist Party, in a speech at Szeged, demanded that inflation should be checked. Wages have risen to correspond with the price level, and any further rise in prices must be prevented. He attached great importance for the success of the present economic policy to the farmers delivering grain in excess of the compulsory minimum. He concluded his speech by stressing the necessity of co-operation between workers, peasants and "intellectuals."

The Jewish Relief organisation published statistics on the persecution of Hungarian Jews since March 1944. At that time there were 1,000,000 people who came within the definition of Jews laid down by the Jewish Law of 1939. Of those, 780,000 were deported and 80,000 died in camps and ghettos in Hungary; the total number killed outside Hungary is estimated to be 600,000. At the time of liberation there were 110,000 Jews in Budapest and 30,000 in the provinces, but since then 45,000 deportees have returned and there are still about 80,000 deportees in territories held by the Allies.

A report on Health shows an alarming increase in venereal disease. Medical supplies are short and only 3,800 doctors are now practising in Budapest, as against 6,000 before the siege; of 21,000 hospital beds, only 9,800 can be used.

Roumania.

Russia has resumed diplomatic relations with Roumania.

It is reported in reliable quarters that, in accordance with the desire of the Russian Control Commission that there should not be a military attaché in Turkey, the military staff of the Roumanian mission in Ankara has been withdrawn.

The convention setting up the Soviet-Roumanian Air Transport Company has been signed in Moscow.

Yugoslavia.

The Congress of the Front (see *Summary* No. 305, p. 15) continued. A 32-point programme was submitted and adopted unanimously. "8. Peace among all nations." was followed by "9. The struggle against Fascism and reaction." Point 11 committed the Front to a Republic, thus virtually announcing that the

electorate will vote republican. Most of the other points expressed approval for peace, prosperity and democracy. A central committee of 16 was elected, of whom at least 9 are Communists and 2 more are near-Communists. Tito then spoke, as President of the Front. He bitterly attacked "reactionaries" abroad, who criticised Yugoslavia, and maintained that the new democracy of social reform was an improvement on that of voting papers. He spoke at length on the Monarchy, rejecting the institution and especially King Peter for having supported Mihailovitch. He warned insurgents that they would be mercilessly suppressed.

A.V.N.Q.J. assembled on the 7th August. It included 107 new members (making 489 in all), of whom 36 were Deputies in the last Yugoslav Parliament. Its name was changed to the "Temporary National Parliament of Democratic Federal Yugoslavia." Tito addressed it, paying a warm tribute to the help received in the war from the Western Allies. He claimed $61,000,000,000 as reparation from Germany and Italy, the former's debt to be paid mainly in the form of entire German factories. He spoke of the brotherly relations with Bulgaria and Albania, and expected to have the friendliest relations with the new Polish and Czechoslovak Governments. The alliance with the Soviet Union, he said, was the most important event in Yugoslav history. With the Western Allies Yugoslavia had normal diplomatic relations. On Greece he was silent.

On the 8th King Peter issued a statement in London saying that he had accepted the Tito-Shubashitch Agreement, in January, on the advice of the great Allies. It was now clear that the Agreement had not been kept, and that Tito's régime was a dictatorship, supported by special police and allowing no freedom of the press or of association, &c. As the Regents were helpless to perform the royal function, he announced that he withdrew their mandate and himself resumed the duty of defending the rights of his people. In the Temparory Parliament Kardelj read a statement saying that King Peter had appointed the Regents to act till the Constituent Assembly had decided the form of government and that he could not withdraw their mandate. On the motion of Pijade the assembly ignored the King's statement.

The Electoral Register Bill was introduced on the 10th. It allows those over 18, of both sexes, to vote and to be elected; also those under 18 who served in the partisan forces. "If a youth can carry a rifle, he is mature enough to vote and be elected," said Pijade. The armed forces are also enfranchised. Disfranchised are all collaborators with the enemy and opponents of the partisan movement. Membership of what organisations entail disfranchisement will be decided not by the courts, but by the Federal and Regional Governments. Grol, the Vice-Premier, boldly argued that the Civil Rights Bill should be discussed first. The Electoral Register Bill was then carried, *nem. con.*; Grol and one other member having the courage to abstain from voting. A Land Bill followed on the 11th. Its object is to confine the ownership of land to those working it, except for the large landed property of the State. Pijade urged immediate adoption of the Bill. Despite some mild opposition from Grol and another, the Bill was unanimously accepted in principle. It is a sweeping measure for a provisional parliament to carry.

Other events were the condemnation, on the 10th, of the Mihailovist leaders (see *Summary* No. 305, p. 15), seven to death and the rest to prison for from 18 months up to 20 years; the incorporation of Vojvodina in Serbia; the announcement of the release, at five centres, of 2,862 imprisoned chetniks under the recent amnesty; and the lifting of the censorship from outgoing press copy.

The attacks on Greece and Allied Military Government continued. Allied authorities have received countless appeals from relatives of Italians allegedly deported to Yugoslav camps and have lists of about 2,000 of such deportees. About 140 deportees are reported to have returned in late July.

Greece.

The Regent concluded his series of conversations with the political leaders on the 7th August, the final day having been devoted to representatives of Resistance organisations. The following evening Athens radio broadcast a message from His Beatitude to the nation expressing his conviction that an all-party Government could not be formed, and his consequent decision once more to entrust Admiral Voulgaris with the formation of a Service Government.

By the 11th August the reformation of the Government was practically complete. Five Ministers and two Under-Secretaries have been dropped from the Cabinet; these are the Ministers of Education, Professor Balanos; Health, Dr. Sbarounis-Trikorphos; Justice, M. Soliotis; the Interior, Professor K. Tsatsos;

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Communications, Professor Karandasis; and the Under-Secretaries of Press, Professor Zakynthinos, and for War, Lieut.-General Drakos. There are few changes in the new Government. Admiral Volugaris has himself taken over the portfolios of Foreign Affairs—vacated on the 23rd July by M. Sophianopoulos—and the Interior; as Under-Secretary in this all-important Ministry he has appointed General Georgoulis, who was military member of the Greek Delegation to the San Francisco Conference. The other key Ministry, Justice, has been entrusted to Professor Kasimatis, a young and able lawyer who founded his own resistance organisation during the occupation, and who in the previous Voulgaris Government held the post (in which he has not yet been replaced) of Minister of Social Welfare. The new Minister of Health is another Professor of Medicine, M. Voilas, and Professor Oikonomos, an archæologist of repute, becomes Minister of Education. The Under-Secretary to the Presidency of the Council, Captain (R.H.N.) Lambrinopoulos, has temporarily undertaken the Ministry of Communications, and M. Pesmazoglou combines the Under-Secretaryships of Finance and the Press. It is doubtful whether General Merenditis, who is Admiral Voulgaris's choice for the vacant War Ministry, will be willing to leave his present position as Governor-General of Northern Greece.

The policy of the new Government was explained in a speech broadcast by the President of the Council on the 11th August. He emphasised that his single object in once more accepting the Regent's mandate to form a Government was the restoration of Greece's normal political life. To this end the Government must make preparations for a free and fair plebiscite and elections, complete the re-establishment of law, order and security throughout the country, and continue to fulfil the financial and economic reconstruction programme already adopted; the Greek Army must also be reformed on the basis of military not political qualifications. One of the Government's main preoccupations at the peace conferences forecast by the Potsdam declaration, must be to obtain satisfaction for Greece's national claims. M. Voulgaris spoke at length on this point, on which (he said) the whole nation, including the extreme Left, was united, but he discreetly refrained from defining what these claims were. With the object, no doubt, of forestalling Republican criticisms that national claims could not properly be presented by a Service Government, he drew attention to the assistance given to the Government on all questions of foreign policy by the political Foreign Affairs Committee.

The most important declaration of policy concerned the administration of justice. The dictatorship, the occupation and the abuse by extremists of the "incomparable" Resistance Movement, which had culminated in the December civil war, had, he said, left an evil inheritance of personal and party hatreds, reprisals, and excesses which had crowded the prisons with persons awaiting trial. The Government now proposed to dispose of all cases as soon as possible, administering exemplary punishment to those against whom there was clear evidence, and releasing the rest. He recognised that this step would shock the majority of Greeks, but was convinced it was essential for the tranquillity of the country.

The decision to grant this measure of amnesty was a wise one. During the last four years Greece has in some ways gone back half a century, and has reverted to the evil traditions of armed brigandage and the blood-feud. Brigandage is being gradually stamped out by the deployment of Gendarmerie; the release of political prisoners will show that the State refuses to be a party to the paying-off of private scores.

Bulgaria.

The Fatherland Front and Opposition lists of candidates for the elections have been approved. The Moscow Communists Georgi Dimitrov and Vasil Kolarov head the Government lists. The Opposition includes the former Agrarian Ministers Petkov and Bumbarov, the Social Democratic Minister, Cheshmedzhiev and Kosta Lulchev, former Secretary-General of the same party. The Independent Minister of Finance, Petko Stoyanov, by leading the Opposition list has now come out openly on the side of the "dissidents." Asen Pavlov, the Agrarian Minister of Agriculture, has withdrawn his name from the Opposition and the fourth Agrarian Minister Darzhanski figures on neither side. There have been other withdrawals besides that of Pavlov.

While using all the resources of propaganda in favour of the Fatherland Front and neglecting no opportunity for discrediting their opponents, the powers-that-be are patently anxious to preserve the appearances of democracy in the

conduct of the elections. The Regional Courts, in approving the lists, rather ostentatiously ignored the objections raised to a number of Opposition candidates. The curfew has been raised. Not only have the Opposition been promised equal opportunities with the Government in the election campaign, but the Prime Minister has announced that orders have been issued to local authorities to put the promise into effect. Previously possessing no facilities for publicity, the Opposition are being granted "complete freedom" to print election bulletins or appeals and to hold meetings. Permission has been given to the Union of Journalists to publish as soon as possible a non-party independent daily paper for the expression of the views of all those—Opposition candidates and others—"who for one reason or another are unable to use existing papers."

But there is evidence that in fact the usual "Balkan" methods are being applied in the election campaign. Government canvassers are reported to be eliciting support by such forms of pressure as the threat to withdraw fuel permits, and to be paying unwelcome attention to electors who do not commit themselves. It is believed that many people have been removed from their constituencies—contrary to the Electoral Law—by conscription or internment in labour, educational and concentration camps. The outlook for the Opposition, in fact, is such as to give rise to the rumour that Petkov contemplates withdrawing all his lists on the grounds that it is pointless to participate in the elections under present conditions.

It is reported that the Bulgarian Army is being put on a peace-time footing, with reversion to pre-war organisation. For the time being, however, one Partisan division and the system of assistant commanders (political commissars) are being retained.

The Press and wireless have given much publicity to the celebration of Saint Elijah's Day (Ilinden) by Macedonians within and without Bulgaria, and anti-Greek propaganda continues.

Turkey.

President Truman's recent pronouncement in favour of the free and unrestricted navigation of certain European waterways, including the Straits—the navigation to be directed by the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and France, plus those States which border the waterways—was received in Turkey with relief, if not with complete satisfaction. Her leaders already regarded as inevitable some change in the present régime of the Straits. They rejected the recent Russian proposal for bases there, because its acceptance would, in their view, have been tantamount to a surrender of Turkey's independence. But the control of the navigation by the Great Powers in association with Turkey is regarded as quite another matter. Reaction in Angora to this proposal has not been unfavourable. Turkey would, however, insist on her sovereignty remaining unimpaired and would expect a change in Russia's attitude towards her. Fuller details of the practical application of the proposal are now awaited.

A Commission is on its way from Angora to London to consult with British aircraft manufacturers regarding the preparation of plans for the proposed Turkish aircraft factory. The Commission was accompanied by five engineers and six skilled workmen who will receive technical instruction on the manufacture of aircraft engines.

Mr. Maxwell, of the Middle Eastern Department of the British Overseas Airways Corporation, has arrived in Angora to continue discussions with the Turkish authorities on the establishment of B.O.A.C. air lines through Turkey and beyond.

A good fig and raisin crop is expected in Turkey this year. The cotton crop, on the other hand, will be below average.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

Further details have now been received of the speech made by Nokrashi Pasha in the Egyptian Senate on the 6th August, to which brief reference was made in *Summary* No. 305. The Prime Minister was replying to certain interpellations made in the Chamber of Deputies and in the Senate, and his statement in both Houses was the same. In the course of his speech Nokrashi said that the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of Alliance had prepared the way towards the complete realisation of Egyptian aspirations. During the war Egypt had loyally supported her ally, Great Britain, and her assistance had been recognised by the United Nations.

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This was the best justification for the breaking of those bonds that still fettered Egyptian independence, and for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Egyptian soil. As for the unity of the Nile Valley, "which was Egypt and the Sudan," the principles of the new era could ensure its realisation in accordance with the aspirations of all people dwelling in the Valley of the Nile. Nokrashi went on to say that the Egyptian Government did not believe there would be any difficulties in its negotiations with Great Britain, and that there was no doubt that Great Britain herself agreed that the present circumstances were opportune for such negotiations. "It only remains to determine the time when negotiations should begin."

The Egyptian Parliament concluded its session the same day (the 6th August), and now that the fasting month of Ramadan has begun, the tempo of political activity will probably diminish. It is clear, however, that the Wafd intend to continue their pressure for revision of the treaty and for a free election under a neutral Government. The Wafdist press has criticised Nokrashi's statement of the 6th August (quoted above), which it regards as an admission of inertia. On the other hand, the pro-Government press comments unfavourably on the letter addressed by Nahas Pasha on the 23rd July to His Majesty's Ambassador (see *Summary* No. 304), which was published by the Wafd a few days later in the local press, and which stressed the importance of settling all outstanding questions between Egypt and Great Britain.

In a Ramadan broadcast by King Farouk to the Moslem and Arab nations, the King emphasised the need for social reform. For whatever reason, King Farouk has recently paid more serious attention to the importance of social reform in Egypt; and there are probably many Egyptians who agree that internal reform, both social and administrative, is in fact a far more urgent matter than the adjustment of Egypt's foreign relations.

The economic and agricultural committees of the Arab League began discussions in Cairo on the 15th July, with delegates from Syria, the Lebanon, Transjordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, the Yemen and Egypt taking part. In welcoming the delegates, Abdul Rahman Azzam, the Secretary-General of the Arab League, stressed the need for ensuring that Arab lands in Palestine should remain in Arab hands; this was not merely a technical problem of economics or agriculture, he said, but was the material manifestation of a bitter and ruthless struggle between the policy of international Zionism and the rights of a sedentary race confirmed by thousands of years' ownership.

Arab sentiment on this question will not be eased by the declaration issued on the 13th August by the World Zionist Conference in London. After condemning the White Paper policy as "a concession to Arab terrorism which raged in Palestine from 1936 onwards with the support of Hitler and Mussolini," the declaration goes on to state that the Jews could not in any circumstances acquiesce in the continuation of the White Paper; nor could there be any solution of the problem "except by constituting Palestine, undivided and undiminished, as a Jewish State, in accordance with the purpose of the Balfour Declaration." It ends by endorsing the requests made to His Majesty's late Government by the Jewish Agency in May 1945, including an immediate decision to establish Palestine as a Jewish State, and appeals to His Majesty's present Government to carry them out forthwith.

Nor will the Arabs be consoled when they learn of the appointment of the former Senator Gillette of Iowa, who accepted it against the advice of more orthodox Zionists, as Chief Political Adviser to the Hebrew Committee for National Liberation at a salary of $10,000 a year. Gillette is an honest Presbyterian and a typical Mid-Westerner of considerable character. In announcing the appointment, Peter Bergson, the head of the organisation (which is regarded in some quarters as disreputable), said: "As Lafayette and Kosciusko were to the American people, and Lord Byron to the Greeks, so will Gillette be to the Hebrew people"; while in a prepared statement for the press Gillette himself said: "Now that a new Government has come to power in Great Britain, which is publicly and officially committed to the abrogation of the Chamberlain White Paper under which Palestine is administered, Britain's sin of having kept Palestine closed to the martyred Hebrews of Europe, at a time of their greatest ordeal and need, should be immediately ended."

Conversations have recently taken place in Beirut between the Syrian and Lebanese Ministers for Foreign Affairs on the one hand, and the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs on the other, on the question of the recognition by Turkey of the independence of the Levant States (see *Summary* No. 305 under "Turkey"). The Syrian Foreign Minister told his Turkish *confrère* that, as recognition was already technically covered by the presence of Syrian and Turkish representatives

at the San Francisco Conference, there was no need for an exchange of notes on this point, and that diplomatic relations should be arranged forthwith. He thought that the question of the Hatay should be left for future discussion. The Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, on the other hand, rejected the proposal that the frontier question should be discussed apart from that of recognition, and said that, if it were to be raised at all, Turkey would also put forward her claims.

The Emir Feisal, second son of King Ibn Saud, who has been attending the San Francisco Conference on behalf of his father, arrived in England on the 11th August, accompanied by his son and three of his brothers. Their short visit to this country is unofficial, but arrangements are being made, as in the case of the Regent of Iraq, for offering facilities for their enjoyment and profit.

The situation in the Barzan area of Iraqi Kurdistan, to which reference was made in last week's *Summary*, continues to deteriorate. In spite of our advice to the Iraqi Government that they should go slow in any contemplated action against Mullah Mustafa, in order to allow time for training and planning, the Iraqi authorities decided to take immediate action against the insurgents. It is possible, however, that wiser counsels may still prevail. His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires has urged upon the Iraqi Government the importance of undertaking widespread political propaganda in order to prove to the inhabitants of Barzan and to the adjacent Kurdish tribes that, in spite of military operations, the Iraqi Government has no ill will against them, but that law and order must be maintained.

At long last, on the 9th August, the Soviet Ambassador informed the Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Potsdam decision that Allied forces would evacuate Tehran. It is believed that the Soviet forces will leave Tehran very shortly. In this matter the Russians have an advantage over us and the Americans, since they have no assets of importance in Tehran itself, and their headquarters are not in the capital, but at Kasvin which may not be evacuated by the Russians until we leave Kermanshah.

THE FAR EAST.

On the 8th August M. Molotov delivered to the Japanese Ambassador in Moscow a communication in the following terms: "After the rout and capitulation of Hitlerite Germany, Japan remained the only Great Power insisting on the continuation of the war. The demand of the three Powers—the United States, Great Britain and China—on the 26th July this year for the unconditional surrender of the Japanese armed forces was rejected by Japan, and thereby the request by the Japanese Government to the Soviet Government to mediate in the war in the Far East became groundless.

"Taking into consideration Japan's refusal to capitulate, the Allies have addressed to the Soviet Government a proposal to join in the war against Japanese aggression, thereby shortening the duration of the war, reducing the number of victims, and assisting in the speediest restoration of general peace.

"True to its duty to the Allies, the Soviet Government has accepted the proposal of the Allies and has associated itself with the Allied declaration of the 26th July of this year.

"The Soviet Government considers that such a policy on its part is the only means capable of bringing peace nearer, freeing the peoples from further sacrifices and sufferings, and giving the Japanese people the opportunity to avoid those dangers and destructions which have been suffered by Germany after her refusal to capitulate unconditionally.

"In view of the foregoing, the Soviet Government declares that, with effect from to-morrow, the 9th August, the Soviet Union will consider itself in a state of war with Japan."

For this declaration see also under "Soviet Union." The emphasis in it was laid on the Soviet Union's loyalty to her Allies, who had requested her intervention, and to her humanitarian desire to shorten the duration of hostilities. No reference was made to any specific Soviet grievances against Japan, nor was there any statement of Soviet objectives as regards territories previously under Japanese sovereignty or occupation and now to be invaded by Russian armed forces. Hostilities, in fact, immediately involved Russian offensives into Karafuto (southern Sakhalin), Korea and Manchuria. Karafuto, having been

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ceded by Russia to Japan in 1905 as a result of the Russo-Japanese war, and excluded in the Potsdam Declaration of the 26th July from the definition of territory to be left in future under Japanese sovereignty, was a fairly obvious territorial objective. Korea is destined under the Cairo Declaration to become an independent State "in due course," but the nature of its independence may be conditioned by the character of the preliminary military occupation. As for Manchuria, it is by the Cairo Declaration to be restored to China. Russia accepted the Potsdam Declaration, which expressly states that the terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be carried out. Manchuria is known, however, to have been one of the subjects of discussion in the Sino-Soviet negotiations in Moscow interrupted three weeks ago (see *Summaries* Nos. 301–303) and resumed on the 7th August with the return of Dr. T. V. Soong, President of the Executive Yuan, accompanied by Dr. Wang Shih-chieh, the new Chinese Foreign Minister. At the time of the Soviet declaration of war no agreement had yet been reached between the Soviet and Chinese representatives, though M. Molotov expressed at a Press conference his confidence that a treaty would be signed. The position of the Chinese negotiators is not a happy one now that Russian has entered the war without any prior agreement with China, for with every square mile of Chinese territory overrun by Russian forces the Russian bargaining position becomes stronger and the Chinese weaker.

No definite information is so far forthcoming of the extent of Soviet demands on China, but it appears that they traverse what the Kuomintang has hitherto claimed as China's sovereign rights never again to be compromised by "unequal treaties" concluded under duress with foreign Powers. *The Times* Diplomatic Correspondent on the 13th August stated that "it is generally taken for granted that the Chinese will recover Port Arthur." The original Russian lease of Port Arthur (the Kwantung territory including also Dairen), however, was for twenty-five years from 1898 and therefore expired in 1923; its renewal was one of the concessions extorted by Japan in the notorious "Twenty-one Demands" of 1915, and in the Chinese view has been annulled by China's declaration of war against Japan. Russia's reported aspiration for "recovery" of this area would, therefore, be regarded by Chinese nationalists as a fresh seizure of Chinese territory, and it would be difficult for the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek, whose whole political programme has turned on "rights recovery," to consent to any new diminutions of China's sovereignty without seriously weakening their position. On the other hand, they are faced with the danger that refusal to accept Russian demands may cause the Russians to extend even more support to the Chinese Communists than they otherwise would. Soviet forces are reported to be striking south towards Peking and may soon establish contact with the Communist Eighth Army in North China.

Yenan has already broadcast appeals to Japanese troops in China to surrender to the Communists. This has caused great alarm in Chungking; Chiang Kai-shek has issued an order to the Communist forces (still nominally under his supreme command) to stay where they are unless given instructions to move, and has proposed to the American Government that a clause in the surrender terms to be imposed on Japan should require Japanese forces in China to surrender and hand over their arms only to authorised representatives of the Central Government. A United Press despatch of the 13th August from Chungking spoke of the "growing threat of large-scale armed conflict between the Government and the Communists for possession of territory to be evacuated by the Japanese and for arms and equipment the Japanese are going to give up," and remarked that "China to-day is as unprepared for peace as she was unprepared for war in 1937."

The mention of an Allied Supreme Commander in the singular is of great significance, for it implies that the military Government of Japan will be in the last resort under the control of a single Power instead of being a condominium of four Powers as in Germany. It is generally expected that General MacArthur will be appointed to the post. The claim of the United States to this primacy is entirely reasonable on account of her predominant rôle in the Pacific war; the Soviet Union was at first unwilling to agree, but finally gave way.

The Potsdam Declaration, the text of which was given in this *Summary* No. 304, laid down that only certain "designated points" in Japan would be occupied by Allied forces. This again is in contrast to the state of affairs in Germany, where the entire country is under military occupation. It implies not only that there will be unoccupied zones in Japan, but also that some sort of armed force will be left to the Japanese Government, because the task of maintaining order in these zones will rest on the Japanese authorities and considerable

elements of disorder are likely to be present. This limitation of the occupation in the terms demanded has probably been a factor in persuading the Japanese military leaders to submit to the humiliation of surrender.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

This week has witnessed a succession of violent impacts on the United States which have left the people more breathless than exultant. While the press and radio were beginning detailed and sober analyses of the long-awaited Potsdam communiqué, news of the atomic bomb burst on an astonished America and monopolised the front pages. Then came Hiroshima, followed in quick succession by the Russian declaration of war on Japan, the atomic bomb attack on Nagasaki, President Truman's broadcast to the nation, the Japanese offer of surrender, the subsequent negotiations and the end of the second world war.

It is impossible to overstate the impact of the announcement of the use of the atomic bomb. The potentialities of this new weapon for good and evil immediately caught the imagination of the nation-wide press and radio. Some people were incredulous, some shocked, some jubilant, all regarded it as "awful" in the biblical sense of that word. As a result of its discovery everyone agreed that the Japanese war would be immeasurably shortened. It was felt that, faced with the threat of its continued use, the Japanese militarists were unlikely to hold out long. There is little open criticism of the atomic bomb and its use is regarded as the implementation of the Potsdam ultimatum.

While there was relief that the secret of the bomb is and will remain in Anglo-American hands (and incidentally there is generous appreciation for the part that this country and Canada have played), there is an underlying fear lest the principles of the new weapon should become more widely known, and possibly fall into the hands of a hostile aggressor. On the other hand, the basic humanitarianism of the American people is beginning, it is reported, to assert itself in private conversation, and Mr. John Foster Dulles, Governor Dewey's adviser on International Affairs, and one or two other leading Churchmen, have urged the temporary suspension of its use on moral grounds. The vast majority of editorials have emphasised that this new weapon spells the end of any isolationism on America's part, and it was widely recognised that its advent made it imperative that there should be no more war, and that if civilisation were to survive the United Nations Security Council must succeed. There is considerable emphasis on the necessity of keeping moral responsibility ahead of scientific discovery. Otherwise the fate of man is seen as too terrible to contemplate.

Coming on top of the atomic bomb, Russia's declaration of war was welcomed as doubly sealing the fate of Japan. These two happenings were thought to provide a sufficiency of "face-saving opportunities" to enable the Japanese to accept the unconditional surrender formula. Comment on the Russian declaration has followed expected lines. The Internationalists and Liberals, who are friendly to Russia, praise the "perfect timing" of the declaration and welcome this last link in the Russo-Anglo-American unity in peace making. The majority of comment, however, expresses itself as dubious of Russia's aims. The *Washington Post*, for example, asked "What does Russia hope to get out of the war in the Far East?" It is expected that she will undoubtedly seek to recover the position she occupied in 1895 in Manchuria and Korea, but there is considerable worry over the fate of China, and the hope is being fervently expressed that the talks in Moscow between Generalissimo Stalin and Mr. Soong will produce a solution of the outstanding Sino-Russian problems. The extremists fear lest China should become another Poland.

The Japanese surrender offer following the delivery of the second atomic bomb and the Soviet military operations was received with wild delight, and the public decided that the war was virtually over. Several premature rejoicings and celebrations took place in many cities, one as a result of an incorrect report which was issued by an American news agency which stated that President "Truman announces Japan surrenders." Although this report was quickly denied, on the strength of it, the Canadian Broadcasting Commission put on a record specially made by Mr. Mackenzie King announcing that Sunday, 19th August, would be a national day of prayer and thanksgiving in Canada. The official announcement of Japan's final acceptance of the Allied terms was made public simultaneously at midnight London time on the 14th August.

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On the other hand approval for the Government note was expressed in several other quarters, and in particular in circles which had some knowledge of Japan and the Far East. "Only the super-sensitive and super-suspicious will quarrel with the Big Four reply," said one commentator, while several others pointed out that the Emperor would not be a sovereign: he would be merely a figurehead and puppet, taking orders from the Allied Supreme Commander. However divergent the views on this question, it is clear that the people would have resented any considerable prolongation of the war over this issue.

The momentous news from the Pacific stole the limelight also from President Truman's broadcast on the Potsdam meeting. The passage affirming the United States' determination to secure adequate strategic bases in the Far East and elsewhere was welcomed as clarifying the President's earlier remarks at Berlin that the United States did not seek one inch of territory. The need for American aid to devastated Europe was also noted sympathetically.

The momentous developments this week have also intensified the mounting anxiety on the subject of reconversion, and there is considerable worry lest the Japanese surrender will "produce temporary chaos." Congress has been criticised for going into recess until October. After consulting the President, Senator Barkley, the majority leader, has now announced that, if the emergency legislation is ready, Congress will meet as soon as practicable, probably on the 4th September. The legislation referred to covers unemployment compensation, the Surplus Property Disposal Act, the "Full Employment" Bill,, the classification of the status of war agencies and the Bill initiated by the President to give him extensive powers to reorganise the executive departments. The majority of comment has stressed the ability of private enterprise to meet the problems of reconversion if given freedom from "government policies which strew the path of industry with difficulties and obstacles," to quote the *New York Journal of Commerce*. The financial papers even go so far as to state that "an early peace will be helpful to business." The President has issued a five-point programme for reconversion to peace-time production, which includes a vigorous drive to expand the production of materials which are in short supply to meet civilian as well as military needs.

The Liberals, however, are demanding Government action and are pressing particularly for action on the Murray Bill and for legislation to cushion the shock of reconversion. The results of the British election continue to be quoted as "a lesson" on the necessity for economic security.

(See also under "Middle East.")

LATIN AMERICA.

On the 6th August the new Argentine Minister of the Interior announced that the state of siege was to be lifted: a decree to the same effect, published on the following day, stated that the "extraordinary reasons for the state of siege have partially disappeared, and that the Government is now able to guarantee public order by normal, legal and administrative methods." When journalists asked if this meant that political parties could carry on activities previously prohibited by decree, both the Minister for the Interior and Colonel Perón assented vigorously. The Government can, however, always have recourse to the decree dealing with crimes against the State published in January (see *Summary* No. 278) by virtue of which it is endowed with very wide powers. Shortly before the raising of the state of siege the Minister of the Interior was expelled from the Radical Party, which, like the Conservatives and Socialists, has refused to accept the Statute for Political Parties. The Radical Party apparently intends to carry its opposition to the length of abstaining from any elections that may be held. It is still not

clear whether the Government have been able to split off any considerable section of the rank and file of the Party, or indeed whether the opposition groups can agree on anything more concrete than their hostility towards the Statute.

On the 10th August President Farrell left Buenos Aires on an official visit to Paraguay. For the period of his absence President Farrell delegated his powers to the Vice-President, and Colonel Perón's first act was to promote the President from the rank of Brigadier to that of General of division. Since then, Colonel Perón has presided at a cabinet meeting, delivered himself of a statement on post-war economic policy, addressed a meeting of workers, and received some 300 senior officers, who came to present their compliments at the Casa Rosada.

The Senate and Chamber of Deputies of Peru—which have undergone a complete change of complexion since the result of the recent elections has been declared, and contain a large representation of the hitherto outlawed A.P.R.A.—have passed motions approving the establishment of diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. and the breaking off of relations with the Franco régime. The latter decision is reported also to have been taken by the Government of Uruguay.

The tension arising from the harbouring of Dominican oppositionists in the Venezuelan legation (see *Summary* No. 303) appears now to have been lessened: the refugees will now be allowed to leave the country, but the Venezuelan Minister in Ciudad Trujillo will be replaced.

UNITED NATIONS.

U.N.R.R.A.: Third Session of the Council.

The third session of the Council of U.N.R.R.A. is now proceeding in London. At the first Plenary Session on the 7th August the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs delivered a speech of welcome. On the 8th August the Director-General presented his report to the Council on the work of the administration. The Director's survey of the current situation is supplemented by the reports of the Combined Food, Raw Materials, and Production and Resources Boards, and by statements made in Plenary Session on the 9th August by representatives of the Allied military authorities on operations concerned with military relief and displaced persons. On the 10th August the Council proceeded to discussion of the Director-General's report, and on the 13th August of his programme of operations.

Brief reference may be made to the salient problems. Several delegates have expressed appreciation of the work of U.N.R.R.A. "The real work which U.N.R.R.A. is doing has tended to pass unreported," observed Mr. Bevin. But the Council meets in no mood of self-adulation. The financial situation is grave. The U.S.S.R. has requested assistance to the value of $700 million for a twelve-months' period. Yet, independently of assistance to the U.S.S.R., the modest programme of relief and rehabilitation for 1946 presented by the Director-General will entail expenditure of at least $1½ billion in excess of the resources available to U.N.R.R.A. on the present basis of contributions. No less difficult it the procuring of supplies—food, clothing and raw materials. Virtually, all basic food-stuffs are in short supply, though substantial quantities of all important food-stuffs except meat have been set aside for the liberated countries by reductions in civilian consumption in the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand below the 1944 levels. But the most urgent need is the provision of lorries—"the life-blood of organised society," in Mr. Noel Baker's epigrammatic phrase. If aid is not forthcoming, concluded the Director-General, "the name of the United Nations will be a mockery in Europe this winter."

Delegates have submitted a variety of criticisms and constructive comments. Mr. Noel Baker dwelt on the need to widen the area whence supplies are received, and remarked that it may soon prove necessary to set time-limits for the completion of U.N.R.R.A. operations as targets for planning purposes. Others have expressed their conviction of the need for closer and more effective collaboration between U.N.R.R.A. and the Combined Boards in order to ensure that relief is given requisite priority in the allocation of supplies. Mr. Bruce (Australia) urged the immediate establishment of a regional office for the Far East. Vicomte Obert de Thieusies (Belgium) echoed Mr. Noel Baker's conclusion that "as we plan for tailing off the help from U.N.R.R.A., so we must plan working the economy of the assisted countries into the new forms of international economic co-operation which will be developed."

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LATIN AMERICA.

On the 6th August the new Argentine Minister of the Interior announced that the state of siege was to be lifted: a decree to the same effect, published on the following day, stated that the "extraordinary reasons for the state of siege have partially disappeared, and that the Government is now able to guarantee public order by normal, legal and administrative methods." When journalists asked if this meant that political parties could carry on activities previously prohibited by decree, both the Minister for the Interior and Colonel Perón assented vigorously. The Government can, however, always have recourse to the decree dealing with crimes against the State published in January (see *Summary* No. 278) by virtue of which it is endowed with very wide powers. Shortly before the raising of the state of siege the Minister of the Interior was expelled from the Radical Party, which, like the Conservatives and Socialists, has refused to accept the Statute for Political Parties. The Radical Party apparently intends to carry its opposition to the length of abstaining from any elections that may be held. It is still not

clear whether the Government have been able to split off any considerable section of the rank and file of the Party, or indeed whether the opposition groups can agree on anything more concrete than their hostility towards the Statute.

On the 10th August President Farrell left Buenos Aires on an official visit to Paraguay. For the period of his absence President Farrell delegated his powers to the Vice-President, and Colonel Perón's first act was to promote the President from the rank of Brigadier to that of General of division. Since then, Colonel Perón has presided at a cabinet meeting, delivered himself of a statement on post-war economic policy, addressed a meeting of workers, and received some 300 senior officers, who came to present their compliments at the Casa Rosada.

The Senate and Chamber of Deputies of Peru—which have undergone a complete change of complexion since the result of the recent elections has been declared, and contain a large representation of the hitherto outlawed A.P.R.A.—have passed motions approving the establishment of diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. and the breaking off of relations with the Franco régime. The latter decision is reported also to have been taken by the Government of Uruguay.

The tension arising from the harbouring of Dominican oppositionists in the Venezuelan legation (see *Summary* No. 303) appears now to have been lessened: the refugees will now be allowed to leave the country, but the Venezuelan Minister in Ciudad Trujillo will be replaced.

UNITED NATIONS.

U.N.R.R.A.: Third Session of the Council.

The third session of the Council of U.N.R.R.A. is now proceeding in London. At the first Plenary Session on the 7th August the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs delivered a speech of welcome. On the 8th August the Director-General presented his report to the Council on the work of the administration. The Director's survey of the current situation is supplemented by the reports of the Combined Food, Raw Materials, and Production and Resources Boards, and by statements made in Plenary Session on the 9th August by representatives of the Allied military authorities on operations concerned with military relief and displaced persons. On the 10th August the Council proceeded to discussion of the Director-General's report, and on the 13th August of his programme of operations.

Brief reference may be made to the salient problems. Several delegates have expressed appreciation of the work of U.N.R.R.A. "The real work which U.N.R.R.A. is doing has tended to pass unreported," observed Mr. Bevin. But the Council meets in no mood of self-adulation. The financial situation is grave. The U.S.S.R. has requested assistance to the value of $700 million for a twelve-months' period. Yet, independently of assistance to the U.S.S.R., the modest programme of relief and rehabilitation for 1946 presented by the Director-General will entail expenditure of at least $1½ billion in excess of the resources available to U.N.R.R.A. on the present basis of contributions. No less difficult it the procuring of supplies—food, clothing and raw materials. Virtually, all basic food-stuffs are in short supply, though substantial quantities of all important food-stuffs except meat have been set aside for the liberated countries by reductions in civilian consumption in the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand below the 1944 levels. But the most urgent need is the provision of lorries—"the life-blood of organised society," in Mr. Noel Baker's epigrammatic phrase. If aid is not forthcoming, concluded the Director-General, "the name of the United Nations will be a mockery in Europe this winter."

Delegates have submitted a variety of criticisms and constructive comments. Mr. Noel Baker dwelt on the need to widen the area whence supplies are received, and remarked that it may soon prove necessary to set time-limits for the completion of U.N.R.R.A. operations as targets for planning purposes. Others have expressed their conviction of the need for closer and more effective collaboration between U.N.R.R.A. and the Combined Boards in order to ensure that relief is given requisite priority in the allocation of supplies. Mr. Bruce (Australia) urged the immediate establishment of a regional office for the Far East. Vicomte Obert de Thieusies (Belgium) echoed Mr. Noel Baker's conclusion that "as we plan for tailing off the help from U.N.R.R.A., so we must plan working the economy of the assisted countries into the new forms of international economic co-operation which will be developed."

REPEAT
REPETER

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The International War Crimes Tribunal.

The Moscow Declaration of the 1st November, 1943, regarding German atrocities distinguished between acts of brutality and terrorism committed in specific places, the perpetrators of which were to be sent for trial within and according to the laws of the countries where such acts were committed, and major offences having "no particular geographic localisation," punishment for which was to be administered "by the joint decision of the Governments of the Allies." The agreement of the 8th August between the Governments of France, the United Kingdom, the United States and the U.S.S.R. regulates the procedure for the trial of this second category of war criminals. An international military tribunal is to be established. Each signatory is to appoint one member of the tribunal. Its permanent seat is to be in Berlin, but Nuremberg will be the scene of the final trial. Proceedings will be conducted in four languages. The tribunal's verdict of guilt or innocence will be final, but the Control Council for Germany may mitigate sentences.

Juridically the innovation of greatest interest lies in the designation of certain types of military and political action as criminal acts for which individuals shall be held responsible before the tribunal. The crimes within the jurisdiction of the tribunal are classified as (*a*) Crimes against peace, such as the preparation and conduct of aggressive war or of war in violation of international obligations; (*b*) War Crimes, of which the killing of hostages and the wanton destruction of towns are examples; (*c*) Crimes against Humanity, such as deportation of civilians.

Much preparatory work for the trials remains to be done. This is entrusted to four chief prosecutors, one to be appointed by each signatory. Individually, but in collaboration, the chief prosecutors are to amass evidence, to prepare indictments, and to conduct preliminary examinations of witnesses and defendants. The final designation of major war criminals and the final approval of indictments is entrusted to a committee composed of the four chief prosecutors deciding by majority vote.

"Major war criminals of the European Axis" are to be tried by this procedure. Additional identical tribunals may be established.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 307

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
22ND AUGUST, 1945.

Copy No. 141

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

MOST Germans have been too immersed in their own immediate economic problems to react very perceptibly to the end of the war in the Pacific. So far, the most notable German pronouncement on the termination of hostilities—and that not a particularly outstanding one—has been a declaration issued by the Free German Trade Unions League in Berlin, welcoming the fact that, with the victory of the democratic nations, mankind can once again begin to hope for a better future, and reaffirming the determination of the unions to bear the "sacrifices and privations" demanded by reparation and reconstruction in the knowledge that they would in the end promote "a new political and social order." The Berlin radio on the 15th August devoted a substantial part of its programme to the causes and circumstances of Japan's defeat, and gave particular emphasis to the part played by the Soviet Union in bringing about the common victory of what it called "the united front of the democratic peoples." In Munich the Bavarian Prime Minister, Dr. Friedrich Schaeffer, greeted the news of Japan's surrender with a brief statement to the press in which he expressed the hope that the end of the war in the Far East would exert "a beneficial influence on developments in Germany."

Two important decisions which should help to place the shattered finances of the city of Berlin on a more stable basis were announced after the sixth meeting of the inter-Allied *Kommandantur* on the 16th August. The British and American representatives on the *Kommandantur*, it was stated, had each agreed to advance a credit of 25 million marks to the Stadtkontorbank to assist the city treasury and also to finance certain essential private enterprises. A further 25 million marks which had previously been deposited with the bank by the Soviet military command would be used to the same end. The *Kommandantur* at the same time accepted a scheme of the Oberbürgermeister of Berlin, Dr. Werner,

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to organise a public lottery to finance the work of municipal reconstruction. On the 15th August the Allied commanders in Berlin had issued a joint order reminding the population that paper money put into circulation by the military authorities must be accepted on a par with Reichsmarks as legal tender for all purposes, and that the conclusion of commercial agreements calling for eventual payment in foreign currencies was prohibited. During the past few weeks the value of the mark, including the Allied military mark, is stated to have fallen slightly—at least a fall is reflected in the fluctuation of Berlin black market prices—and the principal decline of confidence in the currency is said to have been caused by the huge quantities of military marks with Soviet code markings that have been brought into circulation by Red army officers and men who have in many cases recently received their first pay in three years.

Harvest reports which have been coming in during the past few days from many parts of Germany are in some cases even more discouraging than was hitherto expected. On the 15th August, the *Berliner Zeitung*, the official journal of the Berlin *Magistrat*, stated that the harvest in Brandenburg would be quite inadequate to feed both the province and the population of Berlin during the coming year, the rye crop being only two-thirds and the potato crop only slightly more than half of the normal. Only one-fifth of the former livestock of the province remained. The area under cultivation, according to the provincial food and agricultural administrator, Heinrich Rau, has declined in the past twelve months from 60,000 to 28,000 hectares. The poor harvest is already being used by the Left-wing parties as a further pretext for pressing their demand for immediate land reform, and for blaming for some of the present depressing conditions the "lamentable agricultural policy of the Weimar Republic," which failed to carve up the large estates. In the West, the oil-plant crop is stated to be below expectations. Serious shortages of fats and sugar are anticipated in Bavaria, but the cereal crops there are apparently more satisfactory, and quantities of bread grain have even been sent by the United States authorities during the past month to the American zone of Austria. Nearly all this season's threshing in Bavaria, as in most other parts of the Reich, will have to be done by hand, as less than 200 threshing machines remain available in the entire State. Even in the relatively rich agricultural province of Schleswig-Holstein, owing to the shortage of fertilisers and the progressive exhaustion of the soil during the war, the yield per acre this year is not high. Heavy rains have added to the difficulties of harvesting in Westphalia and have rotted considerable quantities of corn that had been cut but not garnered. An inter-Allied team of experts, on which the United Kingdom is represented by Sir Jack Drummond, is in future to pay quarterly visits to all three zones of western Germany and to regularly report its findings and recommendations on the agricultural and food situation to the military commanders-in-chief.

A full statement of the conditions which will in future govern the resumption of trade union activity throughout the American zone has now been issued by the United States authorities at Frankfurt and Munich. The United States Military Government insists that employers must not be allowed to influence the election of trade union officials or works committees; that elections inside the trade unions must be held according to democratic principles; that no former member of the Nazi Party or German Labour Front must be permitted to hold office; and that any group which has the support of 25 per cent. of the employees of a factory will be entitled to formal recognition as a works committee. Decisions on wages and hours of work are to remain the exclusive prerogative of Military Government, and the main object of the unions for the time being must be to co-operate with Military Government in purging industry of its Nazi leadership. In the Hamburg region of the British zone, the twenty reorganised unions have recently been issued with questionaires asking them to supply details of persons in industry whom they have reason to regard as Nazis and whom they can assist Military Government to eliminate in this way. At Dortmund a special office has been opened under the direction of Military Government to advise the working population on the organisation and government of a trade union system. Its activities are being supervised by the well-known Social Democratic journalist and Reichstag deputy, Fritz Henssler, who under the Nazi régime spent seven years in a concentration camp.

In the Ruhr particularly, the permission granted by Military Government to proceed with the organisation of trade unions has met with an immediate response. The eagerness of the miners for a thorough clean-up of the local industrial managements is, however, tending in some ways to complicate the purely technical problems of increasing coal output, which Military Government regards

as its most pressing task at the moment. So thorough has been the concentration of economic power in the Ruhr coalfield in the hands of a few syndicates during the past twelve years that it is now virtually impossible to dispense at one stroke with the organisations which the Nazis have favoured, and at the same time to obtain from the mines the large deliveries of coal for which many Allied countries of Europe are waiting. The key agency in the Ruhr coal industry is still to a large extent the highly-suspect Rhenish-Westphalian Coal Syndicate, which has in the past given generous support to Hitler and the Nazi Party treasury, but which cannot be dispensed with until a complete reorganisation of the Ruhr industry is undertaken. Nevertheless the higher ranks of the syndicate have been purged of a number of prominent Nazis and the rest of its staff is now working under close British supervision.

On the 16th August the Vatican radio broadcast the text of the first Pastoral Letter to be issued by the Catholic Bishop of Berlin, Konrad Count von Preysing, since the Allied occupation. In this document, which was dated the 24th June, Mgr. von Pressing dwelt at length upon the "grave injuries" which the Church had sustained during the twelve years of Nazi persecution, the "devastation and confusion wrought by the Nazi Party doctrine in the souls of men," and the sufferings of Catholic prelates like the Provost of Lichtenberg who had met his death at Dachau for protesting against the persecution of the Jews and the killing of the insane. In the new era that lay ahead—"of which we know nothing except that over it, too, the Lord's hand would reign"—Mgr. von Preysing stated that he "would not shrink from any effort to rebuild the Catholic press . . . . and claim again the rights of organisation and assembly for the Catholics." By insisting that "all political activity must be guided by Catholic principles" he mildly rebuked those members of his congregation who have recently committed themselves deeply to the idea of a "united Christian front" under the ægis of the Christian Democratic Union, the major non-Socialist political party in Berlin and the Russian zone.

What may prove to be a far-reaching development in the unification of all Protestant religious bodies in Germany was foreshadowed on the 14th August by an announcement in *Die Zeit*, the organ of the Christian Democratic Union, that the regional Evangelical Churches (*evangelische Landeskirchen*) had opened negotiations to form a "Common German Evangelical Church" (*Gemeinsame Deutsche Evangelische Kirche*). A united Evangelical Church has never yet existed in Germany, for the German Evangelical Church League, founded in 1922, made no pretensions to provide a central government for the Evangelical Churches. Instead, there have been a number of regional Churches (*Landeskirchen*), each with its own constitution (*Kirchenordnung*) issued by the sovereign political heads of the various States in consultation with the Church authorities.

AUSTRIA.

The unveiling of the Red army memorial on the Schwarzenbergplatz on the 19th August has been made an occasion to demonstrate once again to the outside world the cordiality of the relations between the Renner Government and the Soviet Military authorities. Dr. Renner himself spoke fervently on this occasion of the way in which the deeds and sacrifices of the Red army had "brought about the resurrection of the Austrian State and given its people once more the right of self-determination." Other warm tributes to the Russians were paid by members of his Cabinet and by the Oberbürgermeister of Vienna, General Koerner. On the Russian side, General Kornyakov suggested that the new memorial would "immortalise the struggle of the democratic peoples against barbarism, and the Austrians' debt of gratitude to their liberators."

Much publicity has been given by the Russian-controlled news agencies in Vienna to the trial before the Austrian People's Court of four Nazi storm troopers who were accused of shooting 102 Hungarian Jews during a "death march" from the Engerau concentration camp in Lower Austria when the Russians first approached the frontier. The trial—the first of its kind to be held before the new Court and under the recently-enacted "War Criminals Law"—opened on the 14th August and ended on the 17th with three of the defendants being sentenced to death and the fourth to eight years' penal servitude. Its most notable feature was a passage in the main speech of the Public Prosecutor in which he digressed from the principal purpose of the trial to plead the innocence of the Austrian people as a whole regarding the atrocities mentioned in the indictment.

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A grim warning to the population of Vienna not to "indulge in false hopes about its food prospects for the next few weeks" was given by a member of the city council at a press conference on the 14th August and repeated by the Vienna radio on the following day. The local yield of this season's harvest, it was stated, was not yet certain, but it would in any case hardly suffice for more than three months. The assistance given by the Russians under the *Stalinaktion* would ensure the city's bread supplies for three weeks longer than had originally been promised, and negotiations with Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union for further quantities of food would be continued. The ration cards for the coming period, however, would no longer promise any fixed amounts of food, although there might be the possibility of an increase in the bread ration of 50 grammes a day for children and normal consumers.

The allusion to negotiations with Czechoslovakia, as well as with Russia, for food was accompanied on the 14th August by a suggestion by the Secretary of State for Education and Culture, Ernst Fischer, at a concert of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, that Austria's Czech neighbours were now "ready to go with her on her historic road." Fischer, who before his return to Vienna with the Red army was one of the principal exponents of Soviet policy in the German and Austrian broadcasts from Moscow, went on to explain that the Austrians "would have nothing to do with the German imperialists . . . but they held out their hands to Czechs and Slovaks, Yugoslavs and Russians."

An agreement whereby Austrians would in future be permitted to travel freely between the British, American and French zones, provided that they first obtained the authorisation of their local Military Government office, was announced from Linz on the 15th August. This agreement, which will undoubtedly be welcomed as an earnest of Military Government's determination to administer Austria as one country, stated that Austrians wishing to move permanently from one zone to another would also be permitted to do so. The concessions, however, did not apply to the Russian zone, and the question whether persons in Vienna would be given similar permission to move to other parts of the country under British, American and French occupation had yet to be decided.

On the 14th August it was announced that the former Gauleiter of Oberdonau and one of the most prominent of the Austrian Nazi leaders, August Eigruber, had been arrested by the American military police at St. Pankraz. Despite the many weeks which he had spent as a hunted man, Eigruber was stated at the time of his capture to be as arrogant as ever and to have vowed that he was still and would remain a Nazi. His arrest should do much to reassure those Austrian democrats in the American zone who have recently been inclined to complain that the action of Military Government there against prominent Nazis has not been more expeditious. At the moment there is still criticism of the American authorities for permitting the former Austrian Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Guido Schmidt, who is generally regarded as having "sold out" his country to Hitler in 1938, to remain at liberty in their area. In Carinthia the purge of Nazis from all branches of public administration is being pursued with the utmost vigour by the British authorities, despite the repeated insinuations to the contrary by the Belgrade radio, and more than 2,300 officials of the former régime have already been detained there.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

The death was announced last Thursday of Dr. Krofta, Foreign Minister from March 1936 until shortly after the Munich Agreement. During the occupation he was a member of the Triumvirate which guided the Resistance Movement in the Protectorate. He had only recently been released from a concentration camp, the rigours of which, no doubt, had accelerated his death at the age of 69. Dr. Ripka refers to him as "one of our most deserving patriots."

A vigorous campaign has started for the recolonisation by Czech peasants of the Border Regions. The first groups of Czech peasants are expected to arrive there early in September, by which time German property should either have been allocated to Czechs or taken over by the Land Reform Fund. In the meantime, German Fifth Columnists are attempting to cause unrest among the peasants and to obstruct the Land Reform Scheme by spreading false reports.

The problem of coal and labour is still one of the gravest in the economic reconstruction of the Republic. In pre-war times there were 80,000 miners; to-day there are only 30,000. Emphasis is laid upon the fact that the miner has a social duty to fulfil, and that the "Revolution can only succeed if it succeeds economically." To help to overcome the labour shortage, all unproductive

industrial, as well as agricultural, enterprises will be abolished, whilst unemployed labour can, when necessary, be conscripted by special Decree for harvest-work. The first Germans have already been put to work in the mines at Moravská Ostrava.

The recent Anglo-Czech commercial talks in London have now been satisfactorily concluded, and the terms for the new £5,000,000 Loan were agreed upon. In addition, the possibilities of entering into a Monetary Agreement and of the liquidation of the remaining Czech Government Offices and Missions in London were discussed. A Trade Agreement has been reached between Czechoslovakia and Hungary, whereby Hungary, in return for Czech industrial products, will deliver oil and other commodities. U.N.R.R.A. has begun fresh negotiations with Czechoslovakia and an import-programme is being prepared, to be effective from the 1st November. Goods of every description which Czechoslovakia needs from abroad will figure in the Agreement.

The Slovak Communist Party Conference in Zilina has terminated. The Party decided to increase its efforts to mobilise all available man-power for the reconstruction of the Republic, and to gain the support of all who share responsibility for development in Slovakia. Reports of unrest continue to arrive from Slovakia, but reliable information is scanty. The superficial reason is the food, housing, and transport situation: the real reason, according to some quarters, is the attempt by "subversive Fascist elements" to undermine faith in the Republic and the Slovak National Council. Former members of the Hlinka Party will receive full national, democratic, and religious rights, but reaction in the guise of religion will not be tolerated.

General Harmon, Commander of the 22nd American Army Corps, has announced the departure of the Polish Brigade from Czechoslovak soil (see *Summary* No. 305).

Air Marshal Sir Sholto Douglas, escorted by other high-ranking R.A.F. officers, has arrived in Prague.

POLAND.

In his review of foreign policy in the House of Commons on the 20th August, Mr. Bevin pointed out that the decision taken at Potsdam to hand over provisionally to the Poles the administration of the zone between the Eastern and Western Neisse was a necessary measure if the economy of the region was to be restored and enabled to make its full contribution as soon as possible to provisioning a devastated Europe. He went on to say that the final delimitation of the frontiers would depend largely on how many of the Poles from the areas ceded to Russia, and of the Polish troops and civilians in Western Europe, would return to Poland in the future. In their conversations with the representatives of the Polish Government at Potsdam, the Prime Minister and he had received assurances that all Poles returning would be accorded personal rights and rights of property on the same basis as other Poles; that the elections would be free, secret, and conducted in accordance with the 1921 Constitution, and that it was hoped to hold them as soon as possible and not later than early 1946; and that religion was free and would remain so. They had, further, been assured of the right of entry for the Press of the world and of the sending out of uncensored news, and had come to an arrangement for the establishment of reciprocal air services between London and Warsaw to serve official needs, and that service had now begun; they had made it clear to the Polish representatives that they would expect, in particular, that the principal democratic parties should be allowed full liberty to make up their own programmes and put forward their own candidates in the elections, and that freedom of speech and impartial justice should be guaranteed to all Polish citizens. Marshal Stalin had stated that the Soviet troops would be withdrawn from Poland, with the exception of a small number required to maintain the communications necessary for the Soviet troops in Germany. The question of the prisons and secret police in Poland still needed to be cleared up; but, with these assurances, the Secretary of State urged Poles oversea, both military and civilian, to go back and assume their responsibilities in building the new Poland.

On the 8th August a delegation headed by MM. Bierut, Morawski, and Mikolajczyk arrived in Moscow to discuss reparations and the final delimitation of Poland's eastern frontier; on the 16th August a Frontier Treaty and a Reparations Agreement were signed. The Frontier Treaty lays down the Curzon Line frontier, with the minor rectifications in Poland's favour provided for by the Crimea agreement, and with two more substantial concessions to Poland: namely,

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(*a*) in Eastern Galicia, an area not exceeding 30 kilom. in depth lying east of the Curzon Line and between the rivers Bug and Solokya (this area, which the Poles claim to be oil-bearing, was left in German-occupied Poland by the Ribbentrop-Molotov Line of 1939); and (*b*) in the Bialystok region, part of the Forest of Bialowieza lying east of the Curzon Line to a depth not exceeding 17 kilom., and including the towns of Niemirow, Gainowka, Jalowka and Bialowiez. A provisional frontier through East Prussia has also been agreed upon, running eastward from a point on the eastern shore of Danzig Bay, and north of Braunsberg-Goldap, to the point where the Lithuanian, Polish and East Prussian frontiers meet.

Under the Reparations Agreement, the Soviet Government relinquishes in Poland's favour all claims to German property and other assets, and also to shares in German industrial and transport enterprises throughout Polish territory, including the German territory which passes to Poland. In return for a 15 per cent. share of all reparation deliveries accruing to the U.S.S.R. under the Berlin Conference decisions, Poland is to deliver annually at an agreed price prescribed quantities of coal throughout the entire period of the occupation of Germany.

The Provisional Government has appointed Professor Henryk Raabe, Rector of the Marie Curie-Sklodowska University in Lublin and a prominent Socialist, to replace M. Modlewski as Polish Ambassador in Moscow, and M. Adam Ostrowski, also a Socialist and hitherto Governor of Cracow, as Minister in Stockholm. A Polish delegation to the European Inland Transport Conference, headed by the Minister of Communications, M. Rabanowski, arrived in London on the 18th August.

M. Mikolajczyk's former Cabinet and Party colleague Professor Kot, has recently arrived in Warsaw from London, accompanied by five members of the London Socialist Party group. U.N.R.R.A.'s delegation in Poland has been touring Silesia.

SOVIET UNION.

The text of the Japanese capitulation was read over the Moscow Home Service early in the morning of the 15th August and was published in the Soviet press of the same date. A statement was issued later in the day by General Antonov, Red Army Chief of Staff, to the effect that the Japanese Emperor's announcement was only a declaration of unconditional surrender, but that Japanese armed forces had not yet been ordered to cease military operations and that there had been no effective capitulation of Japan's armed forces; Soviet forces in the Far East would therefore continue their offensive operations against the Japanese until they laid down their arms. Two days later, Marshal Vasilievsky broadcast a message to the Commander-in-Chief of the Kwantung Army proposing that it should cease all operations and surrender at midday on the 20th August. Subsequently Soviet communiqués daily announced the advance of the Red Army on all three Far Eastern fronts until a communiqué on the 19th August declared that the Kwantung Army in Manchuria had ceased resistance on most sectors of the front and that the general surrender had commenced. It was announced on the 20th August from the General Staff of the Red Army that General Derevyanko had been appointed representative of the Soviet troops to General MacArthur and would arrive at his headquarters in Manila in a few days. Japan's surrender has been analysed from many angles by the Soviet press and radio. A broadcast in English from Moscow stated that the fact that the Kwantung Army had to be maintained in Manchuria played a vital rôle in China's struggle and later in the hostilities with Great Britain and the United States of America. The situation in the Pacific might have been greatly complicated had this army been at Tientsin or the Burma–India frontier. The Soviet commentator Victorov asserted that the Red Army was now coming into contact with Japanese reserves which were inaccessible even to atomic bombs.

The Soviet press acclaimed the Soviet-Polish Frontier Treaty as the consolidation of Soviet-Polish friendship. It was described as being of great international importance, and a typical expression of Soviet foreign policy which, incidentally, removed obstacles between the two peoples and guarded the interests of the Soviet Union and of peace frontiers claimed to be even more favourable to Poland than those decided at Yalta. (See also under "Poland.")

Commenting on the Soviet-Chinese Treaty, *Izvestiya* (15th August) assured its readers that the "alliance will undoubtedly become a most important factor determining a stable peace in the Far East." (See under "Far East.")

On the 20th August the U.S.S.R. Supreme Council Præsidium ratified the United Nations Charter, signed in San Francisco on the 26th June, 1945.

The current number of *New Times* (No. 5) contains an article entitled "After the Failure of the Simla Conference," which blames His Majesty's Government for the breakdown of the recent negotiations. "Many Indian observers," says the author, "are inclined to believe that the Simla Conference was on the whole only an election stunt of the British Conservatives." It was moreover stated that British interests played a notable part in encouraging the Moslem League to reject the Wavell plan. "The political atmosphere in India," concludes the article, "remains very tense." A recent article in *New Times* also commented sharply on the contrast between the living conditions for the white and native populations in India and mentioned American sympathy for the Indians.

General Eisenhower's visit to Moscow was very fully and cordially reported in the Soviet press. He was entertained to dinner by Marshal Stalin on the 13th August, gave a press conference on the following day and attended the big Physical Culture Parade on the Red Square. As reported by Moscow wireless, General Eisenhower expressed himself in the most eulogistic terms about the Soviet Union and its people. He left Moscow for Berlin accompanied by Marshal Zhukov on the 15th August.

Post-war depression in the United States is anticipated on a huge scale by *Trud* (15th August), following the cancellation of shipbuilding contracts running into millions of dollars and the closing down of a large number of war industries, although the reconversion of industry will absorb many workers. A later article in *Trud* came out strongly against some American industrialists who, it is alleged, not only do nothing to prevent unemployment, but contribute to the creation of a cheap labour reserve and have concocted the Federal Industrial Relations Act, now before the Senate, solely in the interests of employers.

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(*a*) in Eastern Galicia, an area not exceeding 30 kilom. in depth lying east of the Curzon Line and between the rivers Bug and Solokya (this area, which the Poles claim to be oil-bearing, was left in German-occupied Poland by the Ribbentrop-Molotov Line of 1939); and (*b*) in the Bialystok region, part of the Forest of Bialowieza lying east of the Curzon Line to a depth not exceeding 17 kilom., and including the towns of Niemirow, Gainowka, Jalowka and Bialowiez. A provisional frontier through East Prussia has also been agreed upon, running eastward from a point on the eastern shore of Danzig Bay, and north of Braunsberg-Goldap, to the point where the Lithuanian, Polish and East Prussian frontiers meet.

Under the Reparations Agreement, the Soviet Government relinquishes in Poland's favour all claims to German property and other assets, and also to shares in German industrial and transport enterprises throughout Polish territory, including the German territory which passes to Poland. In return for a 15 per cent. share of all reparation deliveries accruing to the U.S.S.R. under the Berlin Conference decisions, Poland is to deliver annually at an agreed price prescribed quantities of coal throughout the entire period of the occupation of Germany.

The Provisional Government has appointed Professor Henryk Raabe, Rector of the Marie Curie-Sklodowska University in Lublin and a prominent Socialist, to replace M. Modlewski as Polish Ambassador in Moscow, and M. Adam Ostrowski, also a Socialist and hitherto Governor of Cracow, as Minister in Stockholm. A Polish delegation to the European Inland Transport Conference, headed by the Minister of Communications, M. Rabanowski, arrived in London on the 18th August.

M. Mikolajczyk's former Cabinet and Party colleague Professor Kot, has recently arrived in Warsaw from London, accompanied by five members of the London Socialist Party group. U.N.R.R.A.'s delegation in Poland has been touring Silesia.

SOVIET UNION.

The text of the Japanese capitulation was read over the Moscow Home Service early in the morning of the 15th August and was published in the Soviet press of the same date. A statement was issued later in the day by General Antonov, Red Army Chief of Staff, to the effect that the Japanese Emperor's announcement was only a declaration of unconditional surrender, but that Japanese armed forces had not yet been ordered to cease military operations and that there had been no effective capitulation of Japan's armed forces; Soviet forces in the Far East would therefore continue their offensive operations against the Japanese until they laid down their arms. Two days later, Marshal Vasilievsky broadcast a message to the Commander-in-Chief of the Kwantung Army proposing that it should cease all operations and surrender at midday on the 20th August. Subsequently Soviet communiqués daily announced the advance of the Red Army on all three Far Eastern fronts until a communiqué on the 19th August declared that the Kwantung Army in Manchuria had ceased resistance on most sectors of the front and that the general surrender had commenced. It was announced on the 20th August from the General Staff of the Red Army that General Derevyanko had been appointed representative of the Soviet troops to General MacArthur and would arrive at his headquarters in Manila in a few days. Japan's surrender has been analysed from many angles by the Soviet press and radio. A broadcast in English from Moscow stated that the fact that the Kwantung Army had to be maintained in Manchuria played a vital rôle in China's struggle and later in the hostilities with Great Britain and the United States of America. The situation in the Pacific might have been greatly complicated had this army been at Tientsin or the Burma–India frontier. The Soviet commentator Victorov asserted that the Red Army was now coming into contact with Japanese reserves which were inaccessible even to atomic bombs.

The Soviet press acclaimed the Soviet-Polish Frontier Treaty as the consolidation of Soviet-Polish friendship. It was described as being of great international importance, and a typical expression of Soviet foreign policy which, incidentally, removed obstacles between the two peoples and guarded the interests of the Soviet Union and of peace frontiers claimed to be even more favourable to Poland than those decided at Yalta. (See also under "Poland.")

Commenting on the Soviet-Chinese Treaty, *Izvestiya* (15th August) assured its readers that the "alliance will undoubtedly become a most important factor determining a stable peace in the Far East." (See under "Far East.")

On the 20th August the U.S.S.R. Supreme Council Præsidium ratified the United Nations Charter, signed in San Francisco on the 26th June, 1945.

The current number of *New Times* (No. 5) contains an article entitled "After the Failure of the Simla Conference," which blames His Majesty's Government for the breakdown of the recent negotiations. "Many Indian observers," says the author, "are inclined to believe that the Simla Conference was on the whole only an election stunt of the British Conservatives." It was moreover stated that British interests played a notable part in encouraging the Moslem League to reject the Wavell plan. "The political atmosphere in India," concludes the article, "remains very tense." A recent article in *New Times* also commented sharply on the contrast between the living conditions for the white and native populations in India and mentioned American sympathy for the Indians.

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REPEAT
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SCANDINAVIA.

A proposal to replace the Swedish Minister in Copenhagen, M. Dardel, by the former Foreign Minister, M. Günther, was cancelled at the latter's own request in the face of Danish public opinion. It is probable that outside extreme Resistance circles the hostile reaction was due more to the popularity won by M. Dardel during the war than to personal animosity against M. Günther. The Swedes, however, were loud in their criticism of the Danish viewpoint, particularly when they read in their press that the Danish Government had offered the post of Minister in Stockholm to M. Svenningsen, the Director of the Danish Foreign Ministry. The Swedes, as well as the Danish Resistance Movement, pointed out that he had been far more friendly with the German authorities in Denmark than his position necessitated, and that he could hardly be sent to any Allied country. It is reported that he has refused the appointment.

At the opening of the Danish Social Democratic Party Congress on the 19th August the chairman, M. Hedtoft Hansen, reiterated that the unity of the Labour movement could only be achieved on a democratic basis. He urged the cessation of illegal strikes and acts of violence and said that, while the party's election programme would be a bold Socialist one, it would not be an ultimatum to other democratic forces in the country. It was subsequently announced that negotiations with the Communists had been broken off.

At noon on the 17th August an explosion occurred in Oslo harbour while German prisoners were transferring explosives from a warehouse to ammunition ships. Casualties are estimated at over fifty killed, chiefly among the Germans engaged, though it is feared that some British soldiers were also killed. The passing at the time of a column of German troops was not apparently connected with the incident. A joint British, American and Norwegian commission is investigating the incident.

The trial of Quisling by a Norwegian court began on the 20th August. Press reports will not be censored. Quisling is charged with breach of Norwegian military and civil law, high treason before and after the German invasion, breach of the Norwegian Constitution, murder and theft. He has pleaded not guilty.

The war guilt question in Finland is now nearing its climax. On the 13th August the Helsinki papers reported that it was the intention of the Government to present a special Bill to the Diet, in order that this question could be dealt with to the satisfaction of the victorious Powers. According to preliminary reports, the War Guilt Bill contains provisions for the establishment of an extraordinary court for the trial of the so-called "war guilty," *i.e.*, leading politicians who held office during the war period, and it also introduces retroactive criminal legislation. Both these provisions are in conflict with, and constitute amendments in, the Finnish Constitution.

These measures have been given an enthusiastic reception by the Democratic League, but there can be little doubt that the vast majority of the people view the development with anxiety and regret. The spontaneity of the great "popular demonstrations" held in Helsinki and other towns, which urged the Government, under threats of a general strike, speedily to settle the war guilt question, has been doubted, and the demonstrations are thought to be the result of organised agitation. It is certainly not Finnish public opinion which has forced the Paasikivi Government to adopt this course, and the reasons for it must, therefore, be sought in fear of outside intervention.

The Bill will be submitted to President Mannerheim on the 21st August and to the Diet on the following day, when, it will probably be made the subject of a vote of confidence.

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs announced in the House of Commons on the 20th August that His Majesty's Government had invited the Finnish Government to appoint a political representative in this country with the personal rank of Minister, and to regard the British political representative in Finland as having the personal rank of Minister in Helsingfors. For constitutional reasons that was as far as we could go at the moment until a peace treaty was made. The State Department, in Washington, have informed His Majesty's Government of the United States Government's intention to resume full diplomatic relations with Finland. The United States Government having never been at war with Finland, there need be no obstacle to this step.

LOW COUNTRIES.

The Netherlands Government has addressed a Note to the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R. and France, formally submitting the Netherlands claim to reparations from Germany. Losses and damage on an unprecedented scale had been sustained by the Netherlands; over 8 per cent. of the arable land had been flooded; over 2 per cent. laid waste through the construction of German fortified zones, minefields and airfields; and another 6 per cent. made useless for immediate cultivation by military operations. In addition, the Note refers to the vast amount of capital equipment and consumer goods looted by the Germans, and formally reiterates the unofficial demands for their immediate restoration which earlier had appeared in the Press and elsewhere (see *Summary* No. 305). Fair and equitable shares of Germany's internal and external assets and of her cargo vessels were also claimed—the latter to compensate the Dutch Merchant Navy for its heavy losses during the war. The Note again mentions the right reserved by the Netherlands Government to claim neighbouring Prussian territory by way of further compensation for German aggression. In connexion with this possible annexation of German territory, it may be noted that the Government has recently appointed a State Commission to report on this question as soon as possible.

A settlement has been reached in the Rotterdam and Amsterdam dock strikes (see last week's *Summary*). Work in both ports was resumed on the 20th August.

The Belgian Chamber of Representatives assembled on the 16th August, when the Government's draft financial Bills were debated. The new Finance Minister, M. de Voghel, declared that the Belgian franc—"at present one of the safest currencies in the world"—had been saved primarily thanks to the steps taken by the Government in October 1944. Whilst the country's economy continued to stagnate, its current expenditure had "steadily increased." The flow of imports was slow and, in addition, Belgium had contracted obligations towards her Allies in respect of certain supplies. Monetary reorganisation was progressing satisfactorily, and the Minister deprecated "the fantastic rumours about the Government's alleged intention to order further withdrawals of banknotes or even a devaluation of the franc." There would be no solution to the problem of the unfreezing of accounts until the successful completion of monetary reorganisation. In the national interest, therefore, it was essential that the present economic policy be continued. M. de Voghel then turned to the draft Bill on monetary reform which was designed to convert frozen accounts, up to a maximum of 60 per cent. into loan securities—a principle which, the Minister believed, "would greatly allay the misgivings felt about the future of these holdings." In the second part of the Bill there was provision for owners of frozen accounts to transfer up to 40 per cent. of them in banknotes to financial houses of the owners' choice, where they would be kept on deposit. Once credited with the full amount of these frozen accounts, the Treasury would issue Bonds to the financial houses concerned, interest and term to be decided by the Minister. The third part of the Bill proposed a lengthening of the validity of Treasury Bonds issued before the Liberation. There was also provision for the introduction of three new taxes: (i) a special tax on all deliveries to the enemy; (ii) a special tax on all accumulations of capital and other excess profits; and (iii) a National Solidarity Tax, to be paid by all citizens—together with several provisions affecting non-payment of taxes. In conclusion, M. de Voghel asked for a vote of confidence. The debate was resumed on the 17th.

The new Catholic Popular Party, which takes the place of the Catholic Party, met in Brussels on the 18th and the 19th August, under the chairmanship of M. Auguste de Schrijver, a former Deputy Prime Minister, who stated that the Party was founded on "national, Christian, social and democratic principles," and that it would "protect the family and all spiritual values." The Party also claims to be undenominational. A Federal Committee, consisting of twelve Walloons and twelve Flemings, was elected by secret ballot on the 19th: it includes prominent Catholics such as MM. Moyersoen and de Vleeschauwer. The meeting unanimously expressed its loyalty to King Leopold and its desire to uphold the Monarchy.

FRANCE.

General de Gaulle left Orly airfield at midnight on the 20th August to pay his promised visit to President Truman in Washington (see *Summary* No. 294). He was accompanied, among others, by M. Bidault, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, General Juin, the Chief of Staff, and MM. Palewski, Dennery

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and Alphand. The French press, which attaches great importance to the visit, expects that Germany, the Far East and economic problems are likely to be the main topics of discussion.

The King's particularly cordial message to General de Gaulle on the occasion of the end of the Japanese war was greatly appreciated in France, and the hopes that it would herald a period in which outstanding differences would be overcome and there would be still closer co-operation between the two countries have been strengthened by Mr. Bevin's references to forthcoming Franco-British conversations in his speech in the House of Commons on the 20th August.

The French Government have informed His Majesty's Government of their wish to take part in any discussions concerning the surrender of Japan and to sign the formal act of surrender. At the same time, the French press and wireless have devoted considerable attention to the problem of Indo-China, and are much concerned that the French authorities and troops should be given adequate facilities for re-establishing French control in the various territories of the Indo-Chinese Union. General Leclerc has arrived in Burma to take up his post as Supreme Commander of the French forces in the Far East.

The French Government ratified the United Nations Charter on the 14th August. A communiqué issued by Ministry for Foreign Affairs on the 18th pointed out that, after the United States, France was the second country to ratify the Charter and that the rapidity with which she had done so was a further instance of the French Government's desire to participate actively, within the framework of collective security, in the World Organisation for peace.

According to a Paris broadcast in German, on the 16th August, the French wireless and about 500 newspapers have published an appeal by the Friends of Austria for the formation of an Association of Friendship of French prisoners of war and slave workers who have returned from Austria. This organisation is to be a section of the Friends of Austria Association of which M. Herriot is President, and one of its main aims is to develop Franco-Austrian relations. The Paris broadcast service to Austria has also announced that the First Battalion of Austrian volunteers was to leave for Austria on the 18th August to do duty with the French Army of Occupation, and that a second battalion is to be formed. It pointed out that all the officers are Austrians, except the battalion commander, who is a Frenchman, and that the formation of such a unit proved France's intention to give the Austrians the greatest possible share in the administration of their own country.

On the 17th August General de Gaulle signed a decree commuting the death sentence on Pétain to life imprisonment. The ex-Marshal—for the sentence involved loss of his rank—has been confined in the Fortress of Portalet where he himself imprisoned MM. Blum and Mandel. The verdict pronounced by the High Court has met with general approval in the French press with the exception of the Communist *Humanité* which deplored the Court's recommendation to mercy.

The 37th Socialist Party Congress ended on the 15th August. A motion advocating unity of action with the Communists, as in 1936, for the purposes of the forthcoming elections, but opposing any immediate fusion between the two parties, was carried by an overwhelming majority. The motion pointed out that the conditions which the Socialist Party considers essential if fusion is to be achieved were far from being fulfilled by the Communists. One of these conditions is that both parties should "devote themselves exclusively to the service of the working world whose freedom necessitates that of the Nation," and that in consequence they should "neither be bound to or even influenced by a foreign Government and should preserve their full liberty of criticism and judgment." The Socialists' motion, however, left the door open for further negotiations about fusion, and, in spite of Communist indignation at its terms, conversations will no doubt be resumed after the elections. The Congress also adopted, by a large majority, a resolution renewing its protests against the voting arrangements made by the Government for the elections, recording its dissatisfaction with the Government on various counts, including their "sytematic postponement" of structural reforms, and declaring that it would have called upon the Socialist members of the Government to resign had it not been reluctant to weaken France on the eve of General de Gaulle's visit to the United States.

The 36th Congress of the Radical Party opened in Paris on the 20th August, under the presidency of M. Albert Sarraut. The first day's proceedings were mainly remarkable for a vigorous speech by M. Anxionnaz in praise of Republican

legality and a bicameral constitution, together with "a physical separation of the President of the Republic and the Head of the Government." M. Anxionnaz also denounced the "huge administrative police apparatus," which he alleged was daily taking a firmer grip of the nation.

(See also "Middle East.")

SWITZERLAND.

The Russian delegation to discuss the repatriation of the Russian refugees in Switzerland and the question of the treatment they received during their internment has been in Switzerland for about a fortnight. The first trainload of refugees left on the 10th August, and it was expected that the repatriation would be virtually accomplished by the 20th, though about 100 sick interned soldiers will remain until the end of the month for transport by hospital train. It would appear that, since the visits of the delegation to the internment camps, the emphasis of the Russian mission has changed over from investigation into the alleged ill-treatment to that of repatriation, and that the negotiations have been conducted throughout in an amicable spirit. Indeed, the Russian General who heads the delegation is said to have agreed that there appeared to be little legitimate ground for complaint.

In view of political developments in the Far East and the resulting uncertainty concerning the legal position of Japanese property in Switzerland, the Federal Council decided on the 14th August to freeze all Japanese accounts in Switzerland. Payment to such accounts may be effected only by deposits with the Swiss National Bank. Japanese citizens in Switzerland, however, may accept payment and dispose of their funds within the limits of their normal business transactions and their normal personal needs.

The Federal Department of Justice and Police has issued new instructions governing the activities in Switzerland of foreign political organisations, which must henceforth supply the authorities with specified particulars regarding their nature and membership. Foreign organisations of an exclusively party character are prohibited, as is the wearing of uniforms or arm-bands to indicate political allegiance. It is also laid down that foreigners may not organise parades or public assemblies of a political nature without special permission.

From the 20th August the Swiss Army ceased to be on an active service footing. General Guisan, the Commander-in-Chief, who is now retiring, took the salute at a ceremonial parade in Berne on the previous day.

Rumours persist concerning the intention of King Leopold of Belgium to take up residence in Switzerland. Professor Jacques Pirenne, one of the King's advisers, is reported to have arrived in Geneva. No official Swiss confirmation of any such plans has, however, been forthcoming.

The International Committee of the Red Cross reports that the repatriation of Italians interned in Switzerland ended on the 8th August.

The Federal Council has appointed M. Robert Kohli Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Netherlands Government in succession to M. de Pury.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

Franco Spain joined in last week's general victory celebrations with a certain uneasy *bravura*. Orders were given for the national flag to be flown for three days on all Government and municipal buildings, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs paid a courtesy call on the United States and British Embassies now in their summer quarters at San Sebastian. The press played up nobly, though one could detect a faint note of disquiet about the ostracism recently proclaimed at Potsdam. The special ties of Spain with the Philippines are duly emphasised, but the dominant theme is the triumph of Christian and Western civilisation "to which we belong" over Oriental barbarism. The peace and victory attained in present circumstances, according to *Arriba*, "is no mere episode in diplomatic and political history, but signifies a revolutionary metamorphosis of the nations' life, and therein resides for Spain, by natural right, *her* peace and, indeed, *her* victory" [*sic*]. Spanish writers are ever faithful to the idiom of the traditional jurisprudence associated with the names of Vitoria and Suarez, and the Falange had maintained with the Far Eastern partner of the Axis the Serrano Súñer (in a press interview) to justify the seizure of Tangier in 1940 (see *Summary* No. 66).

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Such glib Podsnappery is all very well. But this attitude to the Japanese barbarians, we should remember, dates only from March of this year, when the press suddenly launched an anti-Japanese campaign on account of outrages against Spanish nationals and property in the Philippines. (It was on the 11th April that diplomatic relations were broken off.) Until then General Franco and the Falange had maintained with the Far Eastern partner of the Axis the ties of a common ideology—and Spain had cheerfully assumed charge of Japanese interests throughout Latin America.

Dr. Salazar, punctilious as ever, lost no time in congratulating the ambassadors of the United Nations on the victory, and the *Official Gazette* of the 15th August promptly published an order freezing all Japanese State and private assets. In Lisbon they have much more reason than in Madrid for rejoicing at the end of the war in the Far East, because of the Portuguese possessions which were directly involved. The invasion of Portuguese Timor by Japanese troops took place on the 20th February, 1942, and the colony has been occupied ever since, while in Macao, which was never invaded by the Japanese, Portuguese sovereignty has been precarious. On the 17th August the Portuguese Ministry for Foreign Affairs were able to announce that the Japanese Minister reported his Government's agreement to a suggestion that the Japanese should surrender to the Governor of Timor, that the Governor should assume full administrative authority over the territory and that communications with Portugal should be restored as soon as possible, if necessary by way of Macao. Behind this anodyne official statement lies a flurry of excited anticipation.

For three and a half years the Portuguese Government have had to swallow their pride and patiently wait, but they have never abandoned the idea that their good relations with the United States and Great Britain would make possible a restoration of the *status quo ante*. Their concern was to be in at the finish. When, therefore, the hour of Japan's doom struck, a fortnight ago, the Portuguese Government asked urgently for facilities for two Portuguese sloops to be allowed to proceed towards Timor so that they could at the right moment show the flag. His Majesty's Government acceded to this request, suggesting, however, that the two vessels should first proceed to Colombo where they would obtain the latest naval intelligence and all facilities—a suggestion which has been warmly received in Lisbon. They have, however, intimated that Anglo-American support for the landing of Portuguese troops was not covered by the original staff conversations.

Sir Owen O'Malley presented his credentials to General Carmona at the Belem Palace on the 17th August.

ITALY.

On the 20th August the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs stated in the House of Commons that the question of the peace treaty with Italy would come before the Council of Foreign Ministers when they met in London next month. Mr. Bevin said that His Majesty's Government's intention was that the treaty should be made on fair terms, and that the Italian nation should be given the chance to start again on a basis of freedom. Although Great Britain could not forget the lives lost in the war against Italy, a policy of revenge would not be wise, particularly since many Italians had, before the end of the war, revolted against Fascism and had joined the Allies in the war against Nazism. Italy had now repudiated Fascism and, although a similar system of government must never be allowed to return, His Majesty's Government did not intend to approach the problem as if Mussolini still existed. Mr. Bevin said that he hoped that government in Italy would be re-established on the basis of free elections and that the elections for the Constituent Assembly would be held at the earliest possible moment.

As regards the elections for the Constituent Assembly, it would appear that the Left-wing parties wish them to take place before the municipal elections, while Signor Parri, the Right and Centre, would prefer to hold the municipal elections first.

The executives of the Socialist and Communist parties met on the 2nd August and formed a national liaison committee with provincial and local branches. The two parties agreed to use all their influence to ensure free elections as well as freedom of speech, freedom to hold meetings and to make propaganda. The Communist party later published a resolution calling on all parties to collaborate in a campaign against lawlessness. The resolution further explained the

necessity for disarmament and for the abandonment of partisan methods. The National Association of Italian Partisans was the only partisan organisation which should be recognised, all others should be dissolved and not be allowed to reappear under any guise whatever. *Unità* naturally applauds the initiation taken by the Communist party. *Risorgimento Liberale*, while welcoming the resolution, rather drily recalls that when it suggested the same line of action, it was labelled "revolutionary and anti-Communist."

The Council of Ministers has approved the draft decree which grants a certain measure of autonomy to the Val d'Aosta. The text has not yet been published, but according to the Press it would seem that most of the demands made by the Val d'Aosta have been met (see *Summary* No. 305 of the 8th August).

THE VATICAN.

The attitude of the Vatican to the new Polish Government will depend on that Government's attitude to the Catholic Church in Poland. If Cardinal Hlond reports favourably, the Pope will send a representative to Warsaw, and thus transfer recognition from the old to the new Government. Meanwhile the Vatican finds Dr. Papee's insistence on his rights as ambassador from Poland somewhat embarrassing.

In an address to Italian Catholic Women Workers, the Pope said that woman's true vocation was her home, and that the husband should have sufficient wages to maintain a decent household. Industrial development forced many women to work in factories. This he regretted, "but we could not turn back." Such women must receive "equal pay for equal work"; for "to exploit female labour as cheaper would injure not only the woman, but also the working man."

Finally the Pope denounced all who invented barriers between the Church and the workers, whose cause she had always championed.

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

The political situation in Hungary continues to be profoundly disturbed. The Left seems, indeed, satisfied with the position resulting from the recent Ministerial changes; the Communist leader, Révai, has declared that the Communist party "looks on the present Government as its own Government," and is willing to continue the present coalition, within which the Communist-Social Democrat alliance forms an inner fortress. The Smallholders equally profess their loyalty to the coalition. Nevertheless, continuous bickering goes on even between the party leaders, and much more among their followers, to whom their respective leaders address repeated appeals for moderation and discipline. Moderation is urged also by the Social Democrats, who, if they place their alliance with the Communists first, yet continue to recall their old pact with the Smallholders. Incidentally, the Socialists, recently entirely overshadowed by the Communists, seem to be recovering a little ground. Besides their third Ministerial portfolio, they have now secured for one of their members the important post of Secretary of State which carries responsibility for preparing the electoral law.

The question of the forthcoming elections is the chief current political issue. The Left is anxious to hold elections quickly, while the presence of the Soviet troops and authorities would give them an overwhelming advantage. Marshal Voroshilov has "advised" Zsedényi to hold the elections immediately, saying that the Allies could not recognise or make peace with the present Government. The Right is correspondingly anxious to postpone the elections or at least to ensure that they should not be held without Anglo-Saxon, as well as Soviet, control.

Dominating all is the catastrophic economic situation. All parties say that inflation must be fought, but the cost of living goes up 20–30 per cent. monthly. Wages in industry have been raised by another 40–50 per cent., but the middle classes starve. Factories still stand idle for lack of raw materials, coal and transport, although the Hungarian delegation now in Moscow hopes to obtain from the U.S.S.R. some raw materials for the textile and other factories. This will relieve unemployment, but most of the products will go back to the U.S.S.R. as reparation payments. The bread-grain harvest is now said to be even smaller than anticipated—10–11 million quintals, of which a substantial proportion

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must be reserved for seed. Moreover, shortage of labour, machines, &c., is making it hard to thresh and store even this small quantity. The peasants are holding back supplies, and already further bread shortages are reported from Budapest and the industrial centres. Other food-stuffs have never ceased to be short or extremely scarce.

The Soviet authorities have restored to Hungarian control the great Manfred Weiss works, which dominate Hungarian heavy industry.

Roumania.

Recent events both at home and abroad have had the effect as far as Roumania is concerned in throwing light on her problems. Just over a month ago the Potsdam Conference charged the Council of Foreign Ministers with the task of preparing peace treaties with Roumania and her neighbours, which would prepare the way for their admission to the United Nations. The Potsdam text states that a condition for membership of the United Nations will be the existence of "recognised democratic Governments" in these countries. The Secretary of State made it clear in the House of Commons, on the 20th August, that we did not regard the present Roumanian Government as sufficiently democratic to make possible the resumption of any form of diplomatic relations.

Subsequent happenings add strength to the statement of the Foreign Minister that "the much overworked word democracy" appears to need definition. On the 6th August the U.S.S.R. resumed diplomatic relations with Roumania. From the Soviet point of view the Communist minority Government, which was imposed on Roumania by force is a "recognised democratic Government" supported by the will of the whole people. The United States and Great Britain have not followed the Soviet lead. Their omission to do so has contributed to a crisis in Roumania. The leaders of the traditional parties who represent the great majority of the people, have been quick to get busy. No doubt their motives are mixed. They are actuated as always by a desire for friendship and alliance with Great Britain; they would like to see themselves leaders of a party in power; and they would like to strike a blow at Communism and, incidentally, at Russia. D-ii Brătianu and Maniu have had audiences of the King, who himself has indicated that he would value Anglo-American backing in replacing the present Government by one which would satisfy the Anglo-American definition of democratic.

Meanwhile, on the 18th August the United States Government presented a note to the Bulgarian authorities saying plainly that the present Bulgarian Government was not regarded as democratic (see Bulgarian *Summary*). This action may be expected to have repercussions in Roumania. The conditions in the two countries are much the same. In neither is Communism strong, but Bulgaria has not the traditional detestation of Russia and all her works which characterises Roumania.

General Susaikov who has been in Moscow has returned to Bucharest. It was anticipated that he might attempt a repetition of the violence by which Vyshinsky imposed the present Government on the country if the King decided to dismiss Groza. Susaikov's return coincided with a military demonstration in the capital which may or may not have been designed to hint at the use of force. There is some risk of the Communists provoking an outbreak of riot, and of course, explaining afterwards that the "fascist" elements were in reality to blame.

Yugoslavia.

Dr. Milan Grol resigned from the Government on the 19th August. His position, he declared in a letter to Marshal Tito, had become impossible: the new laws, which promised to perpetuate the one-party system and which he felt he could not support, had been rushed through with no time for proper discussion, although previously no meeting of the Cabinet had been held for months. His letter also drew attention to the serious economic situation which the Government had failed to alleviate.

Dr. Grol, a former Deputy of the Opposition, and twice a Minister in the Royal Government in exile, is the leader of the Democratic party, which has not joined the National Front. He returned to Belgrade in February with Dr. Shubashich and was included in the Provisional United Government of the 7th March, as Vice-Premier. There have been several indications since then that he was finding his position difficult, for he had accepted the post in the hope of exercising a moderating influence. As a member of the Legislative Committee which has been discussing the draft laws mentioned above, he has raised almost

the only dissentient voice and has abstained from voting both in the Legislative Committee and in the Temporary Parliament, as much in criticism of the summary procedure as of the substance of the laws. Up to the moment of writing his resignation has not yet affected his position as a representative of his party in the temporary National Parliament, but it is notable that a number of so-called "Democrats" within the National Front have denounced him.

The laws to which Dr. Grol referred have all been passed by the Legislative Committee, and concern the Electoral Register (see *Summary* No. 306, p. 15), the Constituent Assembly, Military Tribunals, Citizenship, and the Nationalisation of Mines. The Law for the Constituent Assembly provides for a Central Chamber and a National Chamber, the former representative of the people on the basis of one Deputy for 40,000 inhabitants, and the latter of the federal units. Each unit is to elect twenty-five Deputies; the two autonomous regions of the Vojvodina and Kosovo-Metohija fifteen and ten Deputies respectively. Serbia, therefore, in which these two regions are incorporated, will have a representation of fifty. The Law of Citizenship confers equal rights on men and women, and on legitimate and illegitimate children, and provides for the retention of her original nationality by a woman marrying a man of another nationality. Under another law Yugoslav officers and n.c.o.s imprisoned or interned abroad, who refuse to return, forfeit their citizenship. But loss of citizenship or return to Yugoslavia does not preclude any person from being charged as a traitor to his country.

The draft law for the nationalisation of the mines and for the cancellation of mining concessions was introduced to the Legislative Committee, without previous consultations with the Cabinet, by the Minister of Industry, who spoke of the detrimental political influence exercised by foreign concessionnaires, of the "inhuman" conditions of work and of the enormous profits realised, from which Yugoslavia derived no benefit. The British-owned Trepcha and French Bor mines were mentioned specifically.

The removal of the censorship on outgoing Press copy (see *Summary* No. 306, p. 15) is replaced by a much stricter control over the entry of political correspondents.

Greece.

A number of additional Government appointments were announced on the 18th August. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs has been entrusted to M. Ioannis Politis, who was Greek Minister in Rome in the period leading up to the Italian attack on Greece in October 1940, and, after his escape from Greece in the autumn of 1943, Greek representative on the Advisory Council for Italy. He is an able and ambitious man and a convinced Republican. M. Kasimatis, who remains Minister of Social Welfare, has been replaced as Minister of Justice by M. Vasilios Kyriakopoulos, Vice-President of the Supreme Court, who has already drawn up proposals for dealing with the congestion in Greek prisons and the shortage of judges. Colonel D. Makkas has been appointed Minister of Transport, with Admiral Christos Louis as Under-Secretary for Posts and Telegraphs. M. Pesmazoglou has relinquished the Under Secretaryship of Press in favour of M. Vasilios Dendramis, until recently Greek Minister in Buenos Aires, whose diplomatic experience should preserve him from the indiscretions committed by his predecessor. The President of the Council still hopes that General Merenditis will accept the War Ministry.

The references to Greek affairs in Mr. Bevin's statement in the House of Commons on the 20th August should do much to clear the air in Greece. The invitation to the Regent to pay a visit to London (which it is hoped will coincide with the meeting of Foreign Secretaries in September) will reinforce his position at a moment when he is under attack from the extremists of both Left and Right. Similarly, the reformed Government's prospects of survival have undoubtedly been increased by the statement that, while the object of British policy in Greece remained the establishment of a stable democratic Government, in His Majesty's Government's view no purpose would be served by forming a new Greek Cabinet before elections could be held; the Voulgaris administration should carry on until conditions had been created in which the Greek people could determine their future Government and Constitution. Mr. Bevin pointed out that Greece would never recover while her leaders devoted their time to incessant attempts to change the Government.

The conduct of plebiscite and elections has been removed from the arena of party politics by the announcement made on the 20th August in London, Washington and Paris that the United States, Great Britain and France have undertaken to assist in their supervision. The British statement recalls that

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Article 9 of the Varkiza agreement (see *Summary* No. 280) provided that elections and a plebiscite should be held in any case during 1945, and recorded the desire of both parties to the agreement that the Great Allied Powers should send observers; the United States and British Governments accordingly suggested, with the concurrence of the Greek Government, that supervision should be exercised jointly by themselves, the Soviet and the French Governments. Regret is expressed that the Soviet Government, owing to their opposition in principle to the supervision of national elections by foreign States, did not feel able to take part.

Soviet and French agreement is also being sought to a United States proposal for a joint American, British, Soviet and French Commission to investigate the Yugoslav allegations of frontier infringements by Greek forces and ill-treatment of the Slavophone population of Northern Greece (see *Summaries* Nos. 303, "Greece," and No. 304, "Yugoslavia"). Reports from the British military authorities in Greece do not bear out the charges of frontier infringement, and deliberate Greek provocation is intrinsically improbable since there is at present only one field Division in being.

Bulgaria.

The most important event in connexion with Bulgaria during the past week has been the American Note to the Bulgarian Government, which was delivered on the 13th August. After referring to paragraph 10 of the Potsdam communiqué, the Note mentioned the coming elections and the desire of the United States Government to resume diplomatic relations with a Government representative of the democratic elements in Bulgaria; but, it stated, there was evidence that a minority group in power were using methods of force and intimidation in such a way as to exclude from effective participation in the elections a large part of the electorate. Any Government established thereby would hardly be representative. The text was broadcast by the Bulgarian wireless on the 17th and a statement on similar lines was published in the American press of the 18th.

The Bulgarian Prime Minister replied with a declaration to the Bulgarian press, in which he referred to the American Note, to M. Petkov's letter of the 26th July asking for international supervision of the elections and to a subsequent letter (14th August) from the Opposition leaders to the Regents, in which the former announced their decision to withdraw their candidature on account of their conviction that, in spite of M. Georgiev's recent promises, the elections would not represent the free will of the people. He had also received, he said, a letter from the "dissident" Ministers threatening their resignation if the elections were not postponed. In view of all these communications, the Prime Minister explained that the decision to hold the elections had been taken in the presence and with the approval of the whole Cabinet, that measures had been taken to ensure the complete freedom of the elections and that it was obvious that certain persons were hoping to secure foreign intervention in the internal affairs of Bulgaria. The Government, therefore, would not postpone the elections and appealed to the electorate to support the Fatherland Front.

The Ministers concerned—MM. Pavlov, Darzhanski, Cheshmedzhiev and Stoyanov—resigned on the evening of the 15th and were subsequently replaced by MM. Obbov (Minister without Portfolio and Agriculture), Stefan Tonchev (Railways)—both are Agrarians—and Georgi Popov (Social Affairs)—a Social Democrat. Professor Cholakov, Minister of Education, was placed temporarily in charge of Finance.

The American Note had a profound effect in Bulgaria and nearly resulted in the postponement of the elections. But the Communist elements in the Government, on whom the issue depended, were further encouraged on the 14th August by the decision of the Soviet Government to re-establish diplomatic relations with Bulgaria. The Bulgarian Foreign Minister, in a public speech, suggested that the Russian action might shortly be followed by a similar move on the part of Britain and America. The Prime Minister was reported to believe that His Majesty's Government did not share the views expressed in the American Note, but could be expected to follow the lead of the U.S.S.R.

Such insinuations, however, will be effectively discredited by Mr. Bevin's statement in the House of Commons on the 20th August, in which he criticised and questioned the representative character of the régimes in Bulgaria, Roumania and Hungary, and by a communication, even stronger than the American Note, which His Majesty's representative in Sofia has been instructed to deliver to the Bulgarian Government.

Turkey.

The Note addressed by the State Department to the Provisional Government of Bulgaria expressing the dissatisfaction of the United States with the arrangements for the forthcoming General Election in Bulgaria was regarded in Angora as an indication that the United States and Britain were averse to signing peace with any ex-enemy Government whose authority did not rest upon a free vote of the people. Following so closely upon President Truman's proposal regarding the international control of navigation in the Straits, the Note has tended further to allay the recent anxiety.

The Charter of the United Nations was ratified on the 15th August by a unanimous vote of the Grand National Assembly. In moving the resolution for ratification, the Foreign Minister praised the work which had been accomplished at San Francisco. He declared that the assembled delegates had shown commendable restraint and an accommodating spirit, without which no agreement would have been possible. The aim of the Turkish delegation had been to save the world from anarchy; a partly ordered world was a better place to live in than a world in a state of chaos. Turkey had signed the Charter relying on repeated assurances by the sponsoring Powers of their attachment to principles of justice and good faith.

The recognition by Turkey of the independence of the Levant States is still in abeyance (see *Summaries* No. 305, p. 17 and No. 306, p. 18). Meantime, it was reported in the Turkish Press that manifestations for the return of the Hatay to Syria were increasing in the two Republics, and the Armenians were supporting anti-Turkish activities there. His Majesty's Government take the view that normal diplomatic relations might with advantage be established between the Syrians and the Turks, without reference by either side to the question of the Hatay.

The protests of the Greek Press against the suggestion that the Dodecanese should become autonomous territory (see *Summary* No. 305, p. 17) were prominently featured in Turkish newspapers. It would appear, therefore, that the suggestion did not represent the official view. This has since been confirmed by the writer of the article, Dr. Rüstü Aras, who has stated that the suggestion was his own and that he had no desire in any way to impair Græco-Turkish relations.

It was reported in Angora that the Svilingrad–Pithion section of the railway between Istanbul and Sofia—which runs through Greek territory but has been administered by Turkey since the German occupation of Greece—will shortly be handed over to the Greek Government.

A bumper crop of sugar beet is reported from Turkey. It is estimated that the production of sugar will reach 110,000 tons, against 89,000 tons last year. This should be sufficient to cover Turkey's requirements.

The news of the surrender of Japan has brought about a general fall of prices in Turkey. Speculators and operators on the black market have been attempting to unload, but without much success, because buyers anticipate a further reduction in values. The general opinion appears to be that the end of the war will produce a large influx of goods, particularly from the United States.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

At his first press conference after the Japanese surrender, President Truman disclosed that at the Potsdam Conference the United States had proposed that as large a number of Jews as was consistent with the maintenance of civil peace should be permitted to enter Palestine. The President stated that he had discussed the question of the Jewish National State both with Mr. Churchill and with Mr. Attlee, and added "we are still discussing the question." President Truman went on to say that the United States wished to work with the British and the Arabs for a peaceful solution of the problem, but "he did not want to send 500,000 troops to keep the peace."

This announcement was followed by a statement from the Jewish Agency, which expressed its gratification at learning that the claim for the Jewish State of Palestine was now under active consideration. "Jews everywhere," the statement went on, "appreciate the American Government's recognition of the justice of the Jewish desire to bring into Palestine as many Jews as possible and to re-establish there their National State"; but it added that the suggestion that large military forces would be required in Palestine "had no relation to

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The President's words were, on the other hand, severely criticised in Cairo by Abdul Rahman Azzam, as reported by Reuter. All Arabs, he said, had '' a complete right '' to object to such a statement. '' We would like to remind President Truman,'' he went on, '' of one of the last promises made by President Roosevelt, when he put his hand in the hand of King Ibn Saud, and promised him that he would not support the Jews in Palestine.''

When the results of the British general election first became known in the Levant States, the main reaction was a belief that, in view of the known sympathy of the Labour party for Zionist ideals, the White Paper of 1939 would be modified in favour of the Jews. Fears were expressed that as a consequence a new wave of Arab terrorism might sweep over Palestine. Although some sections of the press suggested that Labour sympathy for Zionism was largely inspired by electoral considerations, and that Arab friendship was too valuable to Great Britain for her to risk losing it by adopting a pro-Jewish policy for Palestine, the Zionist question continues to cause apprehension in the minds of all, Moslems and Christians alike. There can be no doubt that any change of policy in favour of Zionism would cause very acute reaction in the Levant States.

With regard to the French, the situation, in appearance slightly easier on the surface, is, in fact, no more than an uneasy lull. Except for their discussions over the transfer of the Troupes Spéciales and of the other French-controlled services, the Syrian Government has had no contact with the French authorities. Nor will the Syrians have any dealings with the French troops or political officers, whose presence they regard as anomalous in an independent country. Now that the war with Japan is over, agitation may well increase in both States, and especially in Syria, for the complete removal of French troops from Levant territory. No Government in either State would at present resume negotiations on French desiderata. Indeed, hatred and mistrust of the French in Syria are still so deep-rooted that it is unlikely that any Syrian Government would do so for a long time, unless possibly under cover of an international conference. General Beynet himself regards any attempt to negotiate with the Syrians as hopeless, and even Count Ostrorog, who, it is believed, is anxious to improve Franco-Syrian relations, realises that some time must elapse before such an attempt could be made with any chance of success.

The Lebanese Chamber of Deputies was convened in extraordinary session on the 14th August to decide on a vote of confidence in the Government. Although the vote of confidence was passed by a majority of thirty-four to nine, the position of the Government is far from stable.

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There is little change in the situation in the Barzan area of Iraqi Kurdistan, where Mulla Mustafa has again raised the standard of revolt. The Acting Prime Minister of Iraq seems to be rather more hopeful of the outcome, one satisfactory feature, in his view, being that the insurgents have not received the support they expected from the tribes. He has given His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires an assurance that the Assyrians resident in the area will be given all possible protection.

Reports of unrest continue to be received from Northern Persia and other parts of the country, where clashes have taken place involving the Tudeh party. One incident that recently occurred in the Shiraz area was the looting and burning of the Tudeh Club. Some time ago the Tudeh headquarters were burned in similar circumstances at Yezd and Isfahan. Though there may have been provocation, these attacks on the Tudeh party by their opponents are, in view of the Russian attitude, dangerous. This latest incident, and others alleged to have occurred elsewhere, were described in violent terms by *Tass*.

On the acceptance of the Japanese offer of surrender, instructions were given by us to the Persian authorities for the immediate release of all Persian fifth columnists who had been interned on our suggestion. This we were morally bound to do the moment hostilities with Japan ceased. The only one of these mischief-makers likely to cause further trouble is the notorious Abu'l-Qasim Kashani, who was elected a member of the Majlis when he was actually on the list for arrest and a fugitive from justice. In order to upset Kashani's would-be pose as a martyr, His Majesty's Embassy is publishing a facsimile of a letter that he wrote to the Mufti of Jerusalem and Rashid Ali when they were in Germany, in which he declared that he fully shared their aims. This may also help to restrain others of a like kidney.

In accordance with article 5 of the Tripartite Treaty, the Allied occupation of Persia is due to terminate within six months of the end of the Japanese war, *i.e.*, by the middle of February 1946. In his speech in the House of Commons on the 20th August, Mr. Bevin said that the view of His Majesty's Government was that since Persia had allowed Great Britain and Russia to use her territory for the purpose of defeating the enemy, the territory should be returned as soon as the Allied purpose was accomplished. It was not the policy of His Majesty's Government to take advantage of facilities given by agreement other than for the purpose for which they were given. Neither, he believed, was it the policy of our Allies.

THE FAR EAST.

On the 10th August Japan signified her readiness to accept the terms of the Allied declaration of the 26th July, '' with the understanding that the said declaration does not comprise any demand which prejudices the prerogatives of His Majesty the Emperor as a Sovereign ruler.'' On the 11th August, after consultation with other Allied Governments, the United States Government replied that '' from the moment of surrender the authority of the Emperor and the Japanese Government to rule the State shall be subject to the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers, who will take such steps as he deems proper to execute the surrender terms,'' and that the ultimate form of government in Japan, in accordance with the Potsdam Declaration, would be established by the freely expressed will of the Japanese people. On the 14th August Japan accepted the terms as thus amplified, and on the 15th the Emperor took the unprecedented step of broadcasting in person an Imperial Rescript announcing the decision to the nation.

The original decision to offer acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration, conditional on recognition of the Emperor's sovereignty, was apparently taken by a majority vote of a '' Peace Committee '' of twenty-one members convened by the Emperor, including the Emperor's brothers, Princes Chichibu and Takamatsu, several '' Elder Statesmen,'' the Prime Minister, and the War, Navy and Foreign Ministers. The decision was thus taken, not by the Cabinet as such, but by a body created for the purpose; the mention of a majority vote shows that the opinion was not unanimous, and Tokyo radio reported that there were disturbances in the capital when the proposal to surrender was first announced. It appears that the War Minister of the Suzuki Cabinet, General Anami, opposed the surrender. On the 15th August the Suzuki Government resigned, and General Prince Naruhiko Higashikuni, son-in-law of the Emperor Meiji, uncle of the present Empress and a member of the Supreme War Council, was appointed Prime Minister by the Emperor; he took over concurrently the vital post of War Minister. General Anami committed suicide at his official residence '' to atone for his failure in accomplishing his duties as His Majesty's Minister.'' Such a suicide in Japan can be a sign either of expiation or of protest, and in this case there was probably something of the latter. The Navy Minister, Admiral Yonai—although presumably under an even darker cloud of failure (since the Navy had been nearly wiped out, whereas large parts of the Army, including the entire Home Forces were intact)—did not feel obliged to kill himself, but remained as Navy Minister in the new Cabinet.

The full list of the Higashikuni Cabinet was as follows :—

Prime Minister, War Minister : General Prince Naruhiko Higashikuni.
Navy : Admiral Mitsumasa Yonai.
Foreign and Greater East Asia : Mamoru Shigemitsu.
Home : Iwao Yamazaki.
Finance : Juichi Tsushima.
Justice : Dr. Chuzo Iwata.
Education : Tamon Maeda.
Welfare : Kenzo Matsumura.
Agriculture and Commerce : Kotaro Sengoku.
Transport : Naoto Kohiyama.
Munitions : Chikuhei Nakajima.
Without Portfolio : Prince Fumimaro Konoye.
Without Portfolio, President of Board of Information, Chief Cabinet Secretary : Taketora Ogata.
Without Portfolio : Lieut.-General Toshio Obata.

All the portfolios, except those of War and the Navy, have been given to civilians. It is expected that Prince Konoye, who has been appointed Minister without Portfolio, will act as Vice-Premier and, owing to the political

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THE FAR EAST.

On the 10th August Japan signified her readiness to accept the terms of the Allied declaration of the 26th July, '' with the understanding that the said declaration does not comprise any demand which prejudices the prerogatives of His Majesty the Emperor as a Sovereign ruler.'' On the 11th August, after consultation with other Allied Governments, the United States Government replied that '' from the moment of surrender the authority of the Emperor and the Japanese Government to rule the State shall be subject to the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers, who will take such steps as he deems proper to execute the surrender terms,'' and that the ultimate form of government in Japan, in accordance with the Potsdam Declaration, would be established by the freely expressed will of the Japanese people. On the 14th August Japan accepted the terms as thus amplified, and on the 15th the Emperor took the unprecedented step of broadcasting in person an Imperial Rescript announcing the decision to the nation.

The original decision to offer acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration, conditional on recognition of the Emperor's sovereignty, was apparently taken by a majority vote of a '' Peace Committee '' of twenty-one members convened by the Emperor, including the Emperor's brothers, Princes Chichibu and Takamatsu, several '' Elder Statesmen,'' the Prime Minister, and the War, Navy and Foreign Ministers. The decision was thus taken, not by the Cabinet as such, but by a body created for the purpose; the mention of a majority vote shows that the opinion was not unanimous, and Tokyo radio reported that there were disturbances in the capital when the proposal to surrender was first announced. It appears that the War Minister of the Suzuki Cabinet, General Anami, opposed the surrender. On the 15th August the Suzuki Government resigned, and General Prince Naruhiko Higashikuni, son-in-law of the Emperor Meiji, uncle of the present Empress and a member of the Supreme War Council, was appointed Prime Minister by the Emperor; he took over concurrently the vital post of War Minister. General Anami committed suicide at his official residence '' to atone for his failure in accomplishing his duties as His Majesty's Minister.'' Such a suicide in Japan can be a sign either of expiation or of protest, and in this case there was probably something of the latter. The Navy Minister, Admiral Yonai—although presumably under an even darker cloud of failure (since the Navy had been nearly wiped out, whereas large parts of the Army, including the entire Home Forces were intact)—did not feel obliged to kill himself, but remained as Navy Minister in the new Cabinet.

The full list of the Higashikuni Cabinet was as follows :—

Prime Minister, War Minister : General Prince Naruhiko Higashikuni.
Navy : Admiral Mitsumasa Yonai.
Foreign and Greater East Asia : Mamoru Shigemitsu.
Home : Iwao Yamazaki.
Finance : Juichi Tsushima.
Justice : Dr. Chuzo Iwata.
Education : Tamon Maeda.
Welfare : Kenzo Matsumura.
Agriculture and Commerce : Kotaro Sengoku.
Transport : Naoto Kohiyama.
Munitions : Chikuhei Nakajima.
Without Portfolio : Prince Fumimaro Konoye.
Without Portfolio, President of Board of Information, Chief Cabinet Secretary : Taketora Ogata.
Without Portfolio : Lieut.-General Toshio Obata.

All the portfolios, except those of War and the Navy, have been given to civilians. It is expected that Prince Konoye, who has been appointed Minister without Portfolio, will act as Vice-Premier and, owing to the political

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inexperience of Prince Higashikuni, will run the Cabinet politically. The latter, who is stated to have been appointed directly by the Emperor without the usual procedure of consultation with the Elder Statesmen, presumably owes his elevation to the fact that he is at once a member of a branch of the Imperial family (Higashikuni-no-Miya, created in 1906) and a leading personality in the Army, and is thus the most suitable person available for enforcing the capitulation. Nothing but the Imperial authority exercised by such a person as Prince Higashikuni could compel the Japanese Home Army to lay down its arms and admit foreign troops to Japan without a battle, and even this authority may prove insufficient, for in Japan those who most strongly assert the Emperor's supreme authority commonly claim a right of rebellion if the Emperor is, in their opinion, acting under duress or misled by evil counsel. A Toyo broadcast on the 20th August stated that acceptance of the surrender terms was "resented by a considerable portion of the military," and expressed the fear that "some of the hotheads may allow their emotions to get the better of their judgment," since "to disarm and disband while Allied troops disembark on the shores of Japan may be too much for some military officers to bear." American reconnaissance aircraft have, indeed, been attacked over Japan since the Japanese official acceptance of surrender, and it is reported from Manila that the Japanese delegates sent there to arrange the surrender at General MacArthur's headquarters emphasised the importance of disarming the Home Army quickly, for, with the country in a state of confusion, these troops constituted a "menace to the security of the Japanese homeland."

A complication which must arise as soon as Allied control is established in Japan is the question of the Meiji Constitution and the status of the Diet. The Allied Note of the 11th August referred only to "the authority of the Japanese Emperor and Government to govern the State" (which is to be subject to the orders of the Allied Supreme Commander), but said nothing about the Diet. On the other hand, the new Japanese Prime Minister has stated in his first broadcast that the Emperor's instructions are that "above all the Constitution must be observed." The Diet, as recorded in this *Summary* No. 297, only two months ago reluctantly passed the Extraordinary War Measures Act, transferring its legal powers to the Government for the duration of the war, though at the same time appointing a committee which the Government was to consult on the use it made of its abnormal authority. It may be claimed that with the end of hostilities the Diet should now resume its constitutional functions. If the Allies deal only with the Emperor and his appointed Government, and deny any rôle to the Diet, they will be in the position of actually increasing monarchical autocracy. The present House of Representatives, having been elected under strong Government pressure without independence of political parties, cannot be regarded as satisfactory from a democratic point of view, but it includes a large number of members of the old parliamentary parties, and without it there is no body at all in Japan with any legal claim to speak on behalf of the Japanese people as distinct from the Imperial Court.

The surrender of the Japanese Army, which is spread over several different countries and has been fighting on a number of different fronts, has raised some complicated problems of procedure. General MacArthur himself is taking the surrender of the forces in Japan itself and in certain areas elsewhere. The Soviet Union is taking the surrender of the Kwantung Army in Manchuria, which has a separate command from that of the Japanese forces in China (including Japanese-occupied Inner Mongolia). The Japanese China Command, under General Okamura, is to surrender to Chiang Kai-shek as Supreme Commander of the China Theatre of Operations, while the Japanese Southern armies under the supreme command of Field-Marshal Terauchi (with his headquarters at Saigon) are to surrender to Allied South-East Asia Command under Admiral Mountbatten. A special difficulty arises here over Indo-China, since it was agreed at Potsdam to allot Indo-China north of latitude 16° N. to the China Theatre for operational purposes, but this line does not correspond either to any administrative division of Indo-China or to any division between Japanese command areas. The Chinese have expressed a wish to participate at Saigon in the surrender of the Japanese forces north of latitude 16° N. We have informed the Chinese Government in reply that we shall welcome the presence at Saigon of a representative of the Generalissimo as an observer.

Within China a critical situation has arisen over the refusal of the Communist armies to obey Chiang Kai-shek's orders to them to remain in their positions. The Communists have explicitly rejected Chiang's order as

"contrary to the interests of the nation," and have issued formal orders to to their troops to take the offensive, capture Japanese troops and arms wherever possible and set up their own military administration in all territory which they can occupy. They have also addressed to the British, American and Soviet Governments a protest against the authority given to Chiang Kai-shek to receive the surrender of the Japanese forces in China; they demand the right not only to participate in the surrender in China but also to share as a separate contingent in the Allied occupation of Japan. In their offensive they claim to have captured several Japanese and puppet garrisons and to have taken a place only 50 miles from Nanking; in Shantung they claim to have captured Weihaiwei. They are reported to be driving towards Peking and Tientsin; near Taiyuan they are stated to be engaged in fighting with the troops of Yen Hsi-shan, who have held an area of Shansi throughout the Japanese occupation. The Chungking counter to the threat of this danger that the Communists will forestall the Chinese troops is apparently to order the surrendering Japanese and Nanking puppet forces to keep their arms and hold their ground until Chungking troops can take over from them. This implies that the puppets can work their passage home by resisting the Communists. The Nanking Government has conveniently dissolved itself and appointed a committee for arranging administrative transfer to the Chungking authorities.

Dr. T. V. Soong left Moscow on the 16th August after signing a treaty with the Soviet Union on the 14th. The provisions of the treaty are to be published after it has been ratified by both contracting parties.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Following a week of excited anticipation, which strained public patience to the utmost, VJ-day in America was celebrated with delirious junketing, which totally eclipsed the previous celebrations on VE-day. In San Francisco in particular the rejoicings turned to rioting, and there were many who agreed with President Truman, in proclaiming the 19th August as a day of prayer, that after two days of celebrating America needed a day of prayer.

The press and radio, however, are becoming increasingly concerned and alarmed over the "refusal of the Japanese leaders and people to accept defeat." On the whole, apart from the Left-wing press, the decision to use Hirohito, at least temporarily, is approved, though there is considerable anger at the sequence of arrogant statements emanating from Japan. On nearly all sides, however, and in conservative papers in particular, there is the utmost confidence in General MacArthur's ability to deal with any Japanese temporising and "double talk."

Nearly every newspaper has also echoed the thought expressed by Admiral Leahy that the United States is now the most powerful nation in the world. To the internationalists this is seen as a challenge to accept the responsibility for leadership in the various instruments of international collaboration to restore peace and prosperity in the world. To the nationalists, however, this new power becomes an excuse for a new brand of "America-firstism." It is perhaps significant that a sub-committee of the Home Naval Affairs Committee, after a 21,000-mile tour of inspection, recommends the retention of (and claims full title to) Pacific islands where there are American bases, many of which are under French, British (including New Zealand and Australia), Portuguese, Chilean or Dutch sovereignty. The loss of American lives in taking these bases, together with the expenditure of vast sums of money, the great dependence of the world on the United States for maintaining world peace, and the apparent preference of the natives for United States government, are cited as justification for these claims.

The "awful implications" of the atomic bomb are still discussed, and it is generally conceded that the failure of international co-operation for peace would now ultimately lead to world destruction. Misgivings, on moral grounds, of the use of the bomb continue to be expressed, and thirty-four religious and educational leaders have written already to the President condemning its use, and asking for the discontinuance of its production and the outlawing of its future employment. Meanwhile Senator Thomas (Democrat, Utah), Chairman of the Military Affairs Committee, reveals that a Bill to control all aspects of the development of atomic energy is in process of being drafted. Senator O'Mahoney (Democrat, Wyoming) has asked that the Government controls must be so devised "as to make sure that there will be no opportunity for cartel domination of the production and use of atomic energy."

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Most newspapers proclaim the sweeping removal of war-time controls and, on the surface, Americans are pleased with the way in which the task of the reconversion of industry is being handled, despite the sudden ending of the world war. In response to the public mood, war agencies are now plunging with gusto into reconversion. The War and Navy Departments announce drastic cancellation of contracts and the speed up of demobilisation, while the War Production Board have announced the removal of 210 production controls, which prevented or restricted the manufacture of many products.

Behind all this, however, there lurks the fear of vast unemployment. Mr. John Snyder, Director of Reconversion, caught the public mood when he declared that a clean stroke causes less pain than "cutting a dog's tail off an inch at a time." He himself, however, has prophesied that the present estimated million unemployed will jump to five millions in three months and eight millions by the spring, and Mr. Sidney Hillman, of the Congress of Industrial Organisation, has forecast 10 millions unemployed within the next six or eight weeks. Left-wing critics apart, there is, however, abundant faith in the capacity of the American system of private enterprise to tackle this problem successfully. Mr. Snyder, who announced the appointment of Lieut.-General Lewis Campbell, Chief of Army Ordnance, as his assistant on reconversion matters, has issued a statement covering a broad range of activities to facilitate the return to peace-time production and to prevent inflation, while the President has issued an amplification of Mr. Snyder's statement and expanded his own earlier remark that "the Government has a major responsibility to assist in the achievement of an orderly transition from war production to civilian production."

President Truman has ordered the extension of war-time labour, price and inflation controls into the reconversion period, but has given the War Labour Board permission to break the Little Steel formula on wages ceilings, provided that this does not result in price increases. In the final stages of war economy the President states that it is necessary to "assume general stability of prices and costs and the maintenance of purchasing power, which are indispensable to the shift of business enterprises from war-time to peace-time production and of individuals from war-time to peace-time employment."

The President has also announced that he intends in the near future to convene a meeting of the representatives of labour and management in order to minimise interruptions by labour disputes during the reconversion period. Meanwhile, the War Labour Board, which would be terminated soon after this proposed conference, would be given authority in all labour disputes, whether in war factories or not.

President Truman has directed the Foreign Economic Administrator, Mr. Crowley, to take steps immediately to discontinue all Lend-Lease operations and to notify foreign Governments concerned of this action. He has also directed the cancellation of all outstanding Lend-Lease contracts except where Allied Governments are prepared to take them over, or where it is in the interest of the United States to complete them. The Foreign Economic Administrator has been instructed to negotiate with Allied Governments for the possible government by them of Lend-Lease inventories now in process of delivery. The military authorities will be responsible for the procurement of Lend-Lease supplies still required for troop movements.

Mr. Joseph Grew, the Under-Secretary of State, has resigned, to the unfeigned delight of the Liberals, and in some quarters it is being predicted that he will be appointed political adviser to General MacArthur. He has been succeeded by Mr. Dean Acheson, formerly one of the six Assistant Secretaries. Two other Assistant Secretaries, Mr. Archibald MacLeish and Brigadier-General Julius Holmes, have also resigned.

(See also under "Middle East," "Far East," "France" and "Bulgaria.")

LATIN AMERICA.

The end of the Japanese war, like the end of the German war, was received with rejoicing in Latin America, and this time the Argentine Government refrained from attempts to check victory celebrations. Inevitably, therefore, these were turned into demonstrations hostile to the Government and particularly to Colonel Perón. Groups of "nationalist" thugs clashed with the demonstrators, and an attempt was made to stone Government House. Two newspaper offices were besieged. At least four persons were killed and one hundred injured, and more than 260 arrests have been made. It is indeed clear that the opposition to Colonel Perón is mounting: the Colonel was significantly absent from the great

Argentine Livestock Show, when the United States Ambassador delivered a veiled attack on the Government; and much now depends on the extent to which he can rely on the Campo de Mayo garrison. Much depends also on the extent to which the Opposition can succeed in uniting and so preventing the country falling into a state of complete disruption. Meanwhile Argentine political life seems to move in a circle rather than a spiral.

Another U-boat, U–977, has surrendered at Mar del Plata.

UNITED NATIONS.

U.N.R.R.A.: Third Session of the Council.

The principal decision of the Council of U.N.R.R.A. in the second week of its deliberations relates to the relief of displaced persons. Resolution 57, approved by the Council last September, provided that, alike in the care and repatriation of displaced persons, U.N.R.R.A. should act "in agreement with the Government of the country of which they are nationals." Under the new Resolution the condition of agreement with the relevant Government is dispensed with as regards the care of displaced persons, though maintained as regards their repatriation, which U.N.R.R.A. is charged to expedite. This new instruction to U.N.R.R.A., which is to be reviewed at the end of six months, has been the subject of acute controversy, at first within the Committee on Policy and thereafter in Plenary Meeting. After prolonged efforts to effect a compromise had failed, the resolution was put to the vote and carried by a large majority. Only the delegates of the U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Poland voted against it. The Soviet delegate entered a formal reservation in the following terms: "Authorising the Director-General to act with regard to the displaced persons without the consent of the member Governments concerned, in particular with regard to those displaced persons who do not desire to return to their homes or country of previous place of settlement, must be considered as undermining the fundamental principles of U.N.R.R.A. and leading to a position in which U.N.R.R.A. will place itself in opposition to some member Governments. Such policy will involve U.N.R.R.A. in the sphere of political activities. In view of the above, the Soviet delegation will vote against the adoption of such resolution and reserve its full rights in this matter." The United Kingdom delegation, on the other hand, contended that it was the Soviet desire to give member Governments the power to veto the grant of relief to their nationals who were not willing to be repatriated, which would really involve U.N.R.R.A. in political discrimination. In support of the new instruction the British delegates also contended that on humanitarian grounds the starving must be fed and the sick healed regardless of political affiliations; that administratively it is not practicable to investigate in concert with the relevant Governments the attitude of individuals to the question of repatriation before giving them food; that the displaced persons must, indeed, be encouraged to return—but to return of their free will, and not through coercion by the refusal of relief.

This decision with regard to displaced persons resolves one of three main issues before the Council. With the other two—the extension of relief to Italy, Austria, Korea and Formosa, and the provision of additional funds—little progress has been made. These two issues are closely related. Mr. Clayton has expressed his belief that Congressional approval could be obtained of an additional United States contribution of approximately 1 per cent. of the national income. British willingness to make a further contribution of unspecified amount has also been expressed, though it is felt that means must be devised to enable contributing countries to exercise more stringent control over expenditure. But it has been made clear that these additional contributions are conditional on the extension of relief to Italians and Austrians. A United States proposal that U.N.R.R.A. shall operate in Formosa and Korea is also before the Council. The objection has been raised that nothing in the U.N.R.R.A. agreement authorises free relief operations for the benefit of enemy and ex-enemy nationals. This issue has been raised in Plenary Session, but discussion has for the time being been deferred.

Certain constitutional changes have been accepted. Whereas the admission of new members has hitherto required the assent of the Council, the Central Committee is now empowered to admit those Governments which are signatories of the United Nations Charter. The Council itself has admitted Denmark and the Byelorussian and Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republics to membership and has included them in the Committee for Europe. Complaints of inequitable

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distribution between recipient countries have been met by enlarging the membership of the Committee on Supplies—twenty members, including Czechoslovakia and Poland, as compared with eleven hitherto—and by adding to its duties that of discussing with the Director-General "broad programmes for securing the equitable distribution of supplies." The reconstitution of the Central Committee is under consideration, while approval has been given in principle to the dissolution of certain of the Technical Committees. These Committees, composed of experts appointed by their Governments to give technical advice to the Administration regarding the areas within which the Administration would be called upon to operate, were essential in the planning of U.N.R.R.A. operations. Consultation on technical matters such as agriculture or welfare can now take place directly between U.N.R.R.A. missions and the Governments of liberated countries. The structure of Technical Committees requires adjustment to the new situation, which necessitates the creation from time to time of *ad hoc* Committees to deal with precisely defined problems such as the clearance capacity of ports.

Preparatory Commission of the United Nations.

The Executive Committee of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations held its first meeting on the 16th August, at Church House, Westminster. The Committee has appointed Mr. H. M. G. Jebb Executive Secretary. The Chairmanship is to rotate at fortnightly intervals between the representatives of the five major Powers. The task of the Commission is to make arrangements for bringing into being the new Organisation of the United Nations. The Executive Committee has approved the formation of Technical Sub-Committees to prepare reports on those aspects of the new Organisation which require priority of treatment.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 308

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
29TH AUGUST, 1945.

Copy No. 141

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

ALTHOUGH it is now more than three weeks since Field-Marshal Montgomery issued his order permitting the formation of political organisations (see *Summary* No. 305), no outstanding progress has as yet been made by any of the parties in the British zone. They are, of course, still considerably handicapped by the lack of normal communications and by the general uncertainty regarding the future. No active political campaigning can, in fact, be expected for some time, as elections are unlikely to take place before the spring and a census cannot be organised before February. In Berlin, the veteran Communist Chairman, Wilhelm Pieck, has stated that his party aims as a membership of a million throughout the Reich, although he admits that it has so far not enlisted more than 120,000 supporters in Berlin and the Russian zone. The party is known to have headquarters and an elaborate subordinate organisation at Essen and Hanover. Its secretary at Hanover, Theo Nagel (an old associate of Karl Liebknecht and one of the original founders of the party), has, however, criticised the Berlin leaders for their complete subservience to the Russians, and, like other Communists in the West, would seem to resent the domination of the national executive by former Moscow *émigrés* like Pieck and Ulbricht. Although comparatively unorganised, the Social Democrats appear to have the largest following in the British zone, especially in Hamburg, Brunswick and throughout the province of Hanover. Some of the most promising native officials installed by Military Government are members of this party. Cologne, where one of its leaders, Dr. Konrad Adenauer, officiates as Oberbürgermeister, is rapidly re-emerging as a stronghold of the Centre Party. In this city the influence of the Centre Party is apparently so dominant that the Commonists have made

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little attempt to entice it into a "united front," as they have, for example, in Westphalia. The party is still vulnerable to criticism from members of the Left, who have not forgotten that, before 1933, it managed to produce a number of chauvinist reactionaries—among them von Papen—who eventually rendered considerable service to Hitler. Attempts have been made at Remscheid to broaden the basis of the Centre Party by bringing in non-Catholics along the lines attempted by the Christian Democratic Union in Berlin. Dr. Andreas Hermes, the leader of the Christian Democratic Union, is said to be anxious to regain touch with the Centre Party leaders in the West. (He was, it will be remembered, the Centre Party's Reich Minister of Agriculture in 1920–22 and of Finance in 1922–23.)

A notable attempt to exploit politically the present administrative dismemberment of Prussia between the various Allied zones is now being made by the traditionally anti-Prussian German-Hanoverian Party, lately renamed the "Lower Saxon Territorial Party." Constituted after the war of 1866 to keep alive the traditions of Hanoverian autonomy and to resist the encroachments of Prussian bureaucracy, this party warmly approves the decision of Military Government to administer Hanover as a separate province, and is ostensibly pro-British. In its ranks, however, are a number of landed aristocrats like Baron Kramer von Glausbrueck and the President of the Landwirtschaftskammer, Baron von Reden, who have vested interests to protect.

The persistent desire on the part of what remains of the German middle class to regain the independent political representation which it enjoyed under the Weimar Republic has been revealed in a recent interview between the Chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party, Dr. Waldemar Koch, and a British representative in Berlin. At this interview, Dr. Koch admitted that his party—which apparently already has between thirty and forty district offices in Berlin alone—expected very little support from the working-class, but hoped to gain its biggest following from the professional classes, the civil service and even from the "Nationalists." Dr. Koch is himself distinctly anti-Russian and highly critical of the Communists. (He was Reich Minister of Economics for a brief period in 1918 and thereafter for some years connected with the big German electrical combines.) In a recent article in *Der Morgen* the Berlin organ of the Liberal Democratic Party, he rejected any suggestion that the Germans were collectively responsible for the war crimes of their late Nazi leaders and complained bitterly that "the end of the war, for which we have so long waited in the hope that it would bring us freedom from the tyrant, has been a sad disappointment to us, and it has also brought the end of Germany."

Attention has again been focussed on the problem of displaced persons in Western Germany with the publication on the 21st August of a warning by Field-Marshal Montgomery that he was determined to put an end to the serious crimes against the German population which have in certain instances been committed by Allied nationals awaiting repatriation. British troops, he said, had received orders to take "drastic measures" against all persons committing acts of rape, murder or looting. Similar orders have been given by General Eisenhower in the American zone. It is now estimated by the Combined Displaced Persons Executive—the inter-Allied body at Frankfurt which has replaced the Displaced Persons Division of S.H.A.E.F.—that a total of 900,000 Allied nationals may have to remain in the British, American and French zones throughout the winter, although nearly $4\frac{3}{4}$ millions have already been sent home. The latest available statistics show that there are still more than 859,000 Poles awaiting repatriation in Western Germany as a whole, although their number may be appreciably diminished as the result of negotiations between Military Government and representatives of the Polish Provisional Government (see also under "Poland").

In the Russian zone, the problem of displaced Allied nationals is overshadowed by the even greater task of accommodating the German homeless from the East whom the Poles are apparently still driving westwards in complete disregard of the Berlin decisions of the 2nd August. The seriousness with which the local German administrations working under the Soviet authorities have come to view the problem of resettling these refugees was reflected in the sudden decision to summon all heads of rural districts and municipalities in the province of Brandenburg for special discussions at Potsdam on the 26th August. They were asked to bring with them exact details of the number of refugees already settled permanently in their areas, an estimate of the number of refugees still on the move and a survey of the accommodation available for the settlement of others. The results of their deliberations are not yet available.

What was officially described as a three days' "conference of orientation" for leading United States Military Government officers was opened at Frankfurt by General Eisenhower on the 27th August. In a speech that followed the opening address of his chief, General Lucius D. Clay stated that he expected serious trouble in the American zone when the reparations programme became effective and when the Germans saw their capital assets being moved. Important problems emerging from the past three months of Military Government and from the Berlin decisions of the 2nd August are stated to have been discussed by the conference. One of the most important administrative measures to be carried out in the American zone at the moment is the compulsory registration of all German males between the ages of 14 and 65 and all females between the ages of 16 and 45, which must be completed through the local labour offices by the 10th September. The provisions of a new order excluding persons who were more than purely passive members of the Nazi party from important business, professional and academic posts—as well as from public appointments (where the emphasis of the purge has so far rested)—were published by the United States Military Government authorities on the 25th August. They forbid all active Nazis to enter academic life or the professions or to receive posts from private firms which would permit them to acquire wealth or exercise any influence in the community. Public funds are not to be made available for their maintenance, and their property is made liable to confiscation and control by Military Government.

On the 21st August, the Bavarian State Ministry of Finance issued from Munich an order imposing an "emergency levy" (*Notabgabe*) of 25 per cent. in addition to normal income-tax on all incomes over 2,160 marks a year. This levy was stated to be necessary "to prevent the collapse of the economy and finances and to enable further measures of stabilisation to be undertaken." In explaining the order over the Munich radio on the 25th August, the Bavarian Prime Minister, Dr. Schaeffer, expressed the hope that similar steps would be taken in the other German provinces. (They may, indeed, have to be taken if the Bavarian levy is maintained long enough to cause a migration of population away from the State, and if the decision of the Berlin conference of the 2nd August to pursue a "common policy of central taxation" is not to be jeopardised.) The way in which the initiative in imposing the levy has been left to the Bavarian Ministry of Finance would seem to suggest that the United States Military Government authorities are not at present inclined to dictate a uniform fiscal policy for their zone but rather to encourage the individual German *Laender* to work out their own salvation.

The first Fulda Conference of the German Catholic Bishops to be held since the Allied occupation opened on the 21st August with an address by Cardinal Archbishop Faulhaber of Munich, who appealed for a Christian revival as the most effective means of ridding Germany of all Nazi influences. An American army captain is stated to have attended the conference "as an observer of those Church affairs which have a bearing on politics." Representatives of the German Evangelical Churches were also reported on the 22nd to be meeting at Sachsenhausen, near Frankfurt-am-Main, to undertake a thorough purge of all Church officials who co-operated with the Nazis. (In those communities which were dominated by the so-called *Deutsche Christen* such collaborators were particularly numerous.)

AUSTRIA.

The four Allied Commanders-in-Chief met in Vienna on the 23rd August, on the invitation of Marshal Koniev, to discuss a number of questions which must be settled before the Allied Council for Austria is set up. Agreement was reached on measures to which immediate effect will be given. As an interim measure, each of the four occupying Powers will, from the 1st September, contribute certain supplies for the city of Vienna in proportion to the population in their respective zones. Preliminary consideration was given to the question of removing economic and other barriers between the four zones of occupation in Austria. The assurance of food supplies for Vienna for the immediate future was warmly welcomed by the Austrians, and the Mayor of Vienna, General Körner, sent a special message of thanks to the Allied Commanders.

The announcement of the decision of the U.N.R.R.A. Council to extend U.N.R.R.A. relief to Austria was similarly received in Vienna with great

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enthusiasm, although Mr. Lehmann has said that it will be some time before U.N.R.R.A. will be able to start relief work in Austria.

The serious supply situation in Vienna has led to rapid growth of the black market, and on the 26th August the Renner Government introduced stringent measures to combat this. All lorries and carts will be examined as they enter Vienna, and unless proof is produced that any food they are carrying has been acquired legally, those concerned will be prosecuted and the goods seized. Lorries will also be stopped and searched as they leave Vienna.

Radio Prague reported on the 18th August that the American military command in Austria had completed arrangements by which Austria would receive 150,000 tons of coke from Czechoslovakia in three months in exchange for 350,000 tons of Austrian iron ore. The barter arrangement was to start on the 1st September, provided the necessary transport was available.

Hans Piesch, the head of the Provincial Government in Carinthia, broadcast an appeal to Carinthians on the 24th August to use wood, thus helping to ease the fuel situation in the large towns. The efforts of the Military Government and the Provincial Government to get coal from abroad had failed, he said. Austria was producing 2,750,000 tons of lignite per annum, 2 million tons of which were used by the railways. The greater part of the remaining 750,000 tons goes to industry, and the rest to the big towns, especially Vienna. "Vienna has no gas, no industrial electric power, and no power for heating purposes; nor is there any firewood in Vienna. If we do not give every ton of coal we can save to Vienna, that city will be hit by grim disaster."

Honner, the Communist Minister of the Interior in the Renner Government, has been negotiating with the Soviet authorities for the repatriation of Austrian prisoners-of-war in Russian hands. Commissions of Austrian doctors and State police officials are now visiting Soviet prison camps, to investigate the physical condition and political outlook of prisoners. The commissions' reports will be examined by the Ministry of the Interior, and approved prisoners will then be repatriated. Nazis, officers, and volunteers will not be released. If this scheme has satisfactory results, it should help to ease the difficult labour situation.

Dr. Adolf Eigl was arrested on the night of the 22nd August by the United States Military Government of Upper Austria. Eigl has held office under the United States authorities, as *Landeshauptmann* of the Provisional Government of Upper Austria, for three and a half months, since the arrival of American troops there. It was stated that Eigl's arrest was not due to his activities during the American occupation, but is part of the programme to eliminate from office any personalities with Nazi associations. Twenty-four hours after Eigl's arrest, Dr. Anton Reibecker (or Russegger), his colleague and *Verwaltungsjurist* in the Upper Austrian administration, who had also held office under the Military Government, was arrested.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

The problem of economic reconstruction continues to occupy a major place in the chronicle of recent events. The press unceasingly emphasises the need for hard work and a measure has been adopted compelling every able-bodied citizen to participate in re-establishing the country's economic security. An interesting suggestion has been to transfer certain industries from the Border Regions into Slovakia, thereby easing the labour difficulty. Furthermore, as railways are not yet functioning properly and as a considerable proportion of Czech products are destined for Eastern Europe and the Balkans, the Danube, a ready-made trade-route close at hand, will play a more important rôle than hitherto.

M. Hromadko, chief delegate at the recent trade discussions in Moscow, appeared pleased with the progress made in adjusting economic relations between the two countries. A Trade Agreement, negotiated for 1946, will secure a market for Czech finished products and Russian raw materials.

Mgr. Fordi is expected soon to arrive in Prague to take over his new duties as Chargé d'Affaires of the Holy See. His appointment meets the desire of the Prague Government to settle outstanding religious problems before the arrival of a Papal Nuncio; the Vatican had previously take steps to secure the reappointment of Mgr. Ritter in that capacity, but Dr. Beneš carried his objection. A particular dispute is the secularisation of schools in Slovakia. This brings Slovakia into line with the rest of the republic where religious instruction has been run on a voluntary basis in the schools, but outside school hours.

The preparations for the holding of elections in Czechoslovakia have caused increasing activity behind the scenes recently. The Government-in-exile foresaw

the interim period, which is about to end, and during which the prime necessities were order and unanimity of policy among the four main political parties. The national coalition Government formed by President Beneš on his return has been supported by the local district and provincial committees. These committees sprang up under varying conditions among the underground workers, resistance movements and liberated citizens, not as a result of elections, but out of the needs of the moment. It was expected that the Provisional Assembly, which is to meet soon to consider the best method of electing a fully Constitutional Assembly, would arise out of these committees in a similar fashion. President Beneš was anxious to avoid the disturbing effects of an election at a time when the nation's energies should be wholly devoted to resettlement and rebuilding. The preponderance of the Soviet ally and the bad reputation of many of the Right-wing political groups made it easy for the more intransigent and doctrinaire of the Left-wing to penetrate the committees. It was even reported that in Slovakia former members of the Fascist Hlinka Guard had succeeded in joining local committees—after persuading their fellows that they were Communists. Since these early days the popularity of Russia has declined somewhat, and while not abandoning friendship with the Soviet Union as the cornerstone of their foreign policy, the Czechs are turning more towards the west, and the more moderate political groups are pressing for greater influence in affairs. Last month, a member of the moderate Socialist National Party suggested to the British Ambassador that the Provisional Assembly would take the form of an all-party congress with the addition of non-party representatives of the Churches, universities and so on. Now Prague Radio has come forth with a statement that democratic elections at all levels will be held early in the autumn and promises that there will be no "tricks or campaigns." Details of the Presidential Decree on elections are not yet to hand.

POLAND.

Negotiations are in progress for an *ad hoc* meeting to be held as soon as possible in Berlin between representatives of the Polish Provisional Government and the British, United States, Soviet and French authorities, to discuss at the military level detailed arrangements for the repatriation of such persons in the British zone as may now wish to return to Poland, on the understanding that the existing machinery for repatriation through the Soviet zone will be used for this purpose and that the Polish Government will specify the rate at which they are prepared to receive repatriates. The problem is indeed becoming increasingly urgent, by reason not only of the virtual completion of the repatriation of Soviet citizens in Germany and the impending approach of winter but also of the fact that a far greater number of displaced Poles (so far some 378,000 out of approximately 500,000 in camps in the British zone, according to recent Military Government estimates) than was at first expected is now willing to go home. In the meantime a representative of the United States group on the Control Council is understood to have reached an agreement in Warsaw with the Polish Vice-Minister for War, under which transfers of displaced persons and officer prisoners of war from the United States zone will be effected at the rate of 10,000 per diem, by way either of the Soviet zone or of Czechoslovakia; existing liaison officers in the United States zone would be offered the opportunity to declare adherence to the Polish Provisional Government.

Provisional Government propaganda continues, meanwhile, to allege conspiracy among *émigré* opposition elements to prevent the return of the Polish forces in the West, and to press for immediate recognition of the Warsaw Supreme Command's authority over Polish units abroad. In an interview broadcast on the 21st August Marshal Rola-Zymierski stated that "as soon as the National Unity Government was formed we approached the British Government, suggesting sending our officers to take over Polish units abroad. So far we have had no answer"; and on the 23rd August the Polish Military Attaché in London (Colonel Wągrowski) told a press correspondent that statistics showed some 89 per cent. of the Poles serving in the West and in the Middle East were ready to return, while many high-ranking officers in this country had told him they recognised only the authority of the Warsaw Administration. Apart, however, from the reiteration of such general assurances as that given by Marshal Rola-Zymierski on the 23rd August (that "every Polish soldier and true democrat who offers faithfully to serve democratic Poland . . . . will find the door to the Polish army open to him"), the Provisional Government has not yet made any explicit and

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comprehensive statement such as would enable those Poles who are still in doubt about their reception to make up their minds. Thus, in reply to questions in the House of Commons on the 24th August concerning the possibility of a general amnesty in Poland, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had to state that he could not give a firm reply, adding: "but I can say that this has been engaging the attention of His Majesty's Government, and that they continue discussion of that point through the normal channels."

The Provisional Government has been at pains to recommend to the public the Soviet-Polish Reparations Agreement (see last week's *Summary*). At a press conference on the 24th August M. Bierut emphasised that the Soviet Government, had they wished, could have claimed reparations from "the Western Territories joined to Poland" and, in renouncing their claim, had sustained a serious economic loss; the value of the investments alone which Poland had acquired in these territories were estimated at $9,500 million, although about $500 million should be deducted to cover material removed prior to the Berlin Conference. An agreement was also signed ceding 15 per cent. of commercial shipping to Poland from the share falling to the Soviet Union. The Polish commitments for coal deliveries would be carried out at cost price [*Note:* the "special price" fixed is understood to have been 1 dollar 22 cents per ton], and, to enable their execution, the Soviet Government would put 50,000 war prisoners at Poland's disposal.

Mr. Victor Cavendish-Bentinck presented his credentials as His Majesty's Ambassador to the Provisional Government to M. Bierut on the 24th. The Provisional Government's first Ambassador in London, M. Henryk Strasburger, arrived from Warsaw on the 22nd.

SOVIET UNION.

Generalissimo Stalin summed up the Soviet achievements in the Far East, which included the complete occupation of Manchuria and Southern Saghalien, and the occupation of the islands of Shumshu and Paramushir in the Kurile group in a special Order of the Day published on the 23rd August (a communiqué of the 26th August announced the occupation of the islands of Onekotan, Shashikotan and Matsuwa). The Mongolian Army of Marshal Choibalsan was given special mention for co-operation with Marshal Malinovsky's Trans-Baikalian Front troops in their 950 kilom. advance through the "waterless steppes of Mongolia" to Mukden, Jehol and Port Arthur. Twenty-four salvoes from 324 guns were ordered to be fired in Moscow on the 23rd August in honour of the Soviet Far Eastern troops, the Pacific fleet and of the Mongol Army. Moreover, a special tribute to the operational manœuvres of the Mongolian Mechanised Cavalry, and its mastery of modern warfare in fighting the Japanese appeared in *Krasnaya Zvezda*. Throughout the week, the Soviet press continued to recount the willingness of the Japanese to surrender, and the enthusiastic welcome given to the Red Army by the Koreans and Chinese alike. *Izvestiya* (23rd August) issued a warning against the phraseology of divine uniqueness and constitutional perfection still found in Japanese public declarations and the retention of certain ministers and ministries intimately associated with Japan's predatory record.

A hint of the Soviet Government's attitude towards the Korean *émigré* groups in Chungking and America is found in a recent review in *New Times*, of Robert Oliver's book *A Forgotten Nation* (Washington 1944). Oliver's alleged opinion that the Korean people at home cannot produce the necessary post-war leadership themselves is denounced, while the Korean exiles are described by *New Times* as "pursuing private interests which do not in the least coincide with the task of safeguarding the real independence of the Koreans" and their American sponsors as "reactionaries."

The text of the Soviet-Chinese Treaty of Friendship and Alliance was published by Moscow wireless on the 26th August (see also under "Far East"). A *Pravda* leader (27th August) hailed it as "an important stage in the development of Soviet-Chinese relations," and dwelt on the comradeship in arms of the Soviet Union and China during the "great war of liberation," when the Red Army struck a crushing blow at the Japanese, after which Japan's hopes of resisting the Allies finally collapsed." China is reminded by *Pravda* that "the Soviet State was the first great Power in the world to base its relations with her on the basis of equality of rights and respect for Chinese sovereignty," and that "the Chinese people always saw in the U.S.S.R. its true and disinterested friend." The "common vital interests" of the U.S.S.R. and China and the

defence of these interests for a period of thirty years by the Treaty, were finally stressed. But the very valuable and far-reaching economic advantages secured by the Soviet Union in Manchuria were not specially emphasised. The Soviet public has been told categorically that the Chinese National Government is regarded as the Central Government of China, and there has been little or no recent reference to Chinese communism.

British foreign policy, especially in the Balkans, was the target for considerable Soviet press and wireless comment last week, much of it being distinctly unfavourable. In the first place, Mr. Bevin's speech was criticised both directly and indirectly by frequent references to alleged dissatisfaction with it in "progressive circles" in Great Britain and elsewhere. Writing in *Krasnaya Zvezda* (24th August), Hofman said that judging from the British press reactions, Mr. Bevin's speech has been very satisfactory to the Conservatives, but by no means so to all Labour members. The British masses, continued Hofman, would expect a clearer statement from the Foreign Secretary about collaboration with the Soviet Union in destroying the remnants of Fascism in Europe and supporting countries such as Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Roumania where Fascist elements were being radically purged. Signs of Soviet anxiety regarding the effects of the British Labour victory on Socialist-Communist unity in Europe have not been lacking. In the above-mentioned article by Hofman, for example, the recent rejection of the proposal to merge the Socialist and Communist parties in France was linked up by Hofman with the realisation, in co-operation with the present French Socialist Party, of the old British plan of a Western European *bloc*.

The British attitude to the forthcoming elections in the Balkans was also the subject of much acrid comment by the Soviet press and wireless. Following the resignation of the Petkov group of so-called "traitors and reactionaries" in Bulgaria before the postponement of the elections, Moscow wireless accused this group of anti-democratic intrigues in Bulgaria and of endeavouring "to place the Bulgarian Parliamentary elections under the control of foreign Powers." On the other hand the democratic basis of the present Bulgarian Government was indignantly proclaimed. No comment accompanied the announcement that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet had granted the request of Georgi Mikhailovich Dimitroff to renounce his citizenship of the U.S.S.R. "in view of his candidature for the Bulgarian National Assembly." This step recalls another decree of the Supreme Soviet of the 22nd June, 1944, which permitted the inhabitants of Eastern Poland and Soviet citizens of Polish descent to assume Polish citizenship, a unilateral action which has since considerably affected the course of Polish politics. The Soviet press (26th August) published the Bulgarian Prime Minister's statement on the postponement of the national elections, without comment.

Izvestiya (22nd August), in a rather offensive two-column article entitled "Elections in Greece and Foreign Observers," analysed Mr. Bevin's announcement that Great Britain would send observers to supervise the forthcoming Greek elections. The article pointed out the serious political importance of this decision, its incompatibility with the sovereign independence of any country and the lack of confidence thereby shown in the ability of the people concerned to express their will freely. The refusal of the Soviet Government to participate in such electoral supervision was based, according to a *Tass* statement, on the Soviet Government's respect for other States great and small and democratic principles. *Izvestiya* described the situation in Greece on the eve of the elections as dominated by the terrorism of Greek reactionaries, making the free expression of the people's will at the elections impossible.

Up to the time of writing there has been no direct Soviet press comment on the recent American communication to Roumania. Tributes to the Groza Government and its success in improving the general economic situation (and the workers' lot) in Roumania frequently appear. Analysing Soviet-Roumanian friendship on the occasion of the presentation of credentials to King Michael by the new Soviet Minister, M. Kavtaradze, Moscow wireless was at pains at once to defend Soviet policy against current charges of interference in Roumanian affairs, and to incriminate Maniu and Bratianu as "Roumanian reactionaries, preferring to resuscitate the anti-democratic lines of past Roumanian policies": "their intention of provoking outside interference in Roumanian affairs," was also stressed. "The high moral force exercised by the U.S.S.R. regarding the peoples' rights to solve their vital problems alone cannot be contested," it was asserted (though the course of political events in Roumania since the Armistice suggests that this assertion might at least be queried).

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SCANDINAVIA.

The chief sensation at the trial of Quisling was the evidence of his activities before the occupation. According to documents, such as Rosenberg's diary, which were provided by the Allied legal authorities in Germany, and to statements obtained from prominent Germans, he worked for a German invasion of Norway from the outbreak of war, and at an interview in December 1939 he convinced Hitler of the need to forestall a British attack. Keitel and Jodl state that he constantly urged the danger of delay, and provided detailed information about Norway's military position early in April 1940. In cross examination, Quisling's replies have been evasive, the witnesses so far called for the defence have testified only to his good character in early life. Though psychiatrists appointed by the court state that he showed no signs of insanity, the trial has been postponed for another mental examination.

At the Danish Social Democratic Congress the Premier, M. Buhl, reaffirmed that his Party would oppose any attempt to bring South Slesvig under Danish administration. He admitted that difficulties existed within the Government but believed it had the strength to maintain order.

The Director of the Danish Foreign Ministry, M. Svenningsen, was appointed Minister to Stockholm on the 27th August. The Foreign Minister M. Christmas Møller, has deprecated the recent attacks made on M. Svenningsen (see last week's *Summary*).

Labour unrest continues in both Norway and Denmark. In spite of agreement on a cost of living bonus between the Danish Trade Unions and the Employers' Federation, Copenhagen is still threatened with a shortage of bread owing to a strike in the milling industry. In Norway the Unions and employers failed to reach agreement after State mediation, and a wage tribunal has been established to settle the dispute.

As in Denmark, negotiations have been broken off between the Norwegian Labour and Communist Parties, though provisional arrangements for a joint election campaign were made in July. M. Hambro has been elected chairman of the Norwegian Conservative Party and Professor Worm-Müller of the Liberal Party.

In Stockholm, the chairman, secretary and treasurer of the (Nazi) Swedish Socialist Party were sentenced on the 22nd August to heavy fines and to terms of hard labour up to twenty months for receiving illegal foreign support, and for intelligence activity.

The War Guilt Bill was presented to the Finnish Diet on the 22nd August, and provides for the trial and punishment of "any member of the Government who, in a decisive manner, contributed to Finland's entry into the war, in 1941, against the Soviet Union and Great Britain, or who during the war obstructed the attainment of peace." The Government will name the persons to be indicted for trial by the Court of War Responsibility (see last week's *Summary*). This Court, it is proposed, will consist of three Law members, appointed by the Government, and twelve members chosen by the Diet from among its own members.

All parties, with the exception of the Democratic League, strongly condemned the Bill as departing from all established principles of Finnish justice, but none had the courage to oppose the Government. Finland's delicate foreign political position, it was argued, had to be the deciding factor, over-riding all legal considerations, no matter how weighty.

The Democratic League, also withheld its support, but for diametrically opposite reasons. Certain amendments had been made in the original draft of the Bill, of which the Party could not approve, and in the opinion of the Democratic League, the proposed Law Members were entirely superfluous since the Diet included a sufficient number of eligible men with legal experience.

The Diet passed the Bill to its Constitutional Law Committee without a division, and the Committee has, in its turn, sent a request to the Supreme Court for an opinion on the Bill.

The newly-appointed Soviet Minister to Finland, M. Orlov, presented his credentials to President Mannerheim on the 26th August; and the first Deputy-Speaker of the Diet, M. Cay Sundström, has been appointed Finnish Minister to Moscow.

THE LOW COUNTRIES.

At a meeting of the Belgian Cabinet on the 24th August M. Kronacker, Minister for Imports, reporting on the results of his mission abroad, stated that in the first six months of this year 155 ships unloaded in Belgian harbours

cargoes totalling 1,144,000 tons, including 679,000 tons for civilian consumption and 465,000 tons for use by the Allied armies. At a press conference on the following day he forecast imports for civilian consumption of as much as 1,500,000 tons for the period July to September. These would include 275,000 tons of coal. In this connection M. Kronacker emphasised the vital importance of an increase in Belgium's own inadequate coal output.

Referring to the forthcoming cessation of Lend-Lease deliveries, M. Kronacker stated that Belgium was in the peculiar position of being the only European country which would be left with a deficit. Since the liberation, and up to the 18th August, 1945, Belgium had supplied the United States authorities with 165 milfion dollars worth of deliveries. On that date the total of United States shipments of Lend-Lease goods to Belgium amounted to 47·5 million dollars. At the same time, orders placed by Belgium in the United States and not yet delivered amounted to a total value of 105 million dollars, including 80 million dollars worth of industrial products and 25 million dollars worth of food-stuffs.

The debate in the Chamber on the Government's draft financial bills was concluded on the 24th August (see last week's *Summary*). The draft bill concerning the transference of blocked accounts into compulsory loan securities was adopted by 110 votes to 2; and the bill creating a special tax on the profits arising out of dealings with the enemy was adopted unanimously. The rate of interest for the compulsory loan securities was fixed at 1 per cent. for 1946, increasing progressively to reach 3·3 per cent. in 1949. At the end of a long debate these figures were adopted by 80 votes to 61, with 3 abstentions, after the Government had asked for a vote of confidence.

Professor Schermerhorn's reference, in a broadcast on the 17th August, to the desirability of releasing certain categories of political prisoners in view of the difficulties of speeding up trials and of providing decent conditions in the internment camps in the coming winter aroused vehement protests in the Left-wing press and from the Association of the Netherlands Forces of the Interior and the Communist party. In some places riots occurred when the released prisoners returned home. On the 24th, however, a statement issued by the Government Information Bureau assured the public that the high figures for releases quoted in current rumours were untrue, and that the categories referred to in the broadcast included only those cases in which it could be assumed that trial would lead either to acquittal or to terms of imprisonment so short that they would be covered by the period of internment. The whole matter would be dealt with in close co-operation with the resistance groups and the camp leaders. A similar assurance was given by Professor Schermerhorn himself, who explained that there would be a thorough investigation of each case. As *Het Parool* pointed out, the public concern was due to a misunderstanding arising out of the way in which the Prime Minister had dealt with the matter in his speech. It was now clear that the Government had never intended to make lack of camp space a criterion for release.

FRANCE.

General de Gaulle and his party reached Washington on the 22nd August and remained there until the 25th. The joint statement issued by President Truman and the General on the conclusion of the visit was not very illuminating. It said that the two Chiefs of State had had "a thorough discussion of a wide range of subjects, among them those of most immediate interest to the two Governments." At their request Mr. Byrnes and M. Bidault had also had "a full and frank discussion of political and economic questions in which the two countries are deeply interested." Finally, in the course of a further meeting, all four men had "fully recognised the fundamental harmony between French and American aims in the construction of the post-war world, and have expressed their readiness to act in accordance with this mutual understanding by establishing an even closer co-operation between the two countries." In fact, the atmosphere in which the talks were conducted seems to have been generally friendly as well as frank and both sides appear to regard the outcome with satisfaction. In particular the American authorities are understood to have welcomed the opportunity to dispel French misgivings about the United States attitude to continued French sovereignty over Indo-China and to the questions of economic aid and a possible American claim to a base at Dakar.

On the 24th August General de Gaulle gave a press conference at which his readiness to answer questions made, as it did in July 1944 (see *Summary* No. 241), an excellent impression on the journalists present. The main burden

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of his talk was a vigorous restatement and amplification of his views on Germany and the Far East. France, he said, had no wish to annex any German territory but there were parts of Germany which had long served as gateways for German aggression against France. "France now controls some of these territories and she must continue to control them and others, in particular the territory on the left bank of the Rhine." He also repeated his desire for inter-Allied control of the Ruhr, and said that, in general, French policy towards Germany would largely depend on Germany herself: the Allies would be wise not to hurry into deciding what Germany would be. In the Far East, he declared, France intended to maintain full sovereignty over Indo-China and New Caledonia. His further statement, that any arrangements for a permanent American naval base at Noumea would have to be made by the world security organisation, was no doubt in the nature of a reply to the recent demand by a group of members of the Naval Affairs Committee of the American House of Representatives that the United States should have full title to all bases it had established on Allied territory in the Pacific area (see last *Summary* under "United States"). Finally, in answer to a question, the General disclosed that President Truman had complained to him personally, as well as publicly in a press conference, of the attitude of the French press to the United States. The General raised a laugh when he commented "I must say that during the last five years I have also been struck by some articles in the United States press about French policy."

On the 27th August General de Gaulle was made an honorary citizen of New York where he had a very warm welcome. Later in the day he went to Chicago and on the following evening arrived in Canada for a brief visit as the guest of the Governor-General at Government House, Ottawa.

M. Pineau, the Minister of Food, who made an excellent impression during his recent visit to Washington, broadcast on the 23rd August about the results of his mission to North and South America. He said that the United States and Canada had undertaken to supply 150,000 tons of wheat a month to France and 200,000 tons to North Africa. The sugar position caused him great anxiety but Great Britain had agreed to make an immediate advance of 50,000 tons, to be repaid from French stocks in the Antilles. The import allocation of 200,000 tons of fats for the last six months of 1945 would enable rations to be increased from October. In addition, purchases of butter had been made in the Argentine; 60,000 tons of meat had been bought to meet the needs of the remainder of the year; and Great Britain had agreed to allocate 10 per cent. of her Argentine meat purchases to France in 1946 and for as long afterwards as was necessary. Furthermore, the import programme included many goods essential to agriculture, such as cattle food, fertilisers and insecticides, agricultural machinery and tractors, "not to mention coal." Altogether, 1 million tons of goods would arrive in France each month and this quantity would rise to 1,500,000 tons as French port facilities improved. M. Pineau concluded a guardedly optimistic broadcast with an appeal to agricultural producers to assist the Government in drawing up a programme of home production for 1946.

The abrupt termination of Lend-Lease supplies has caused a good deal of comment in France. In a broadcast relaid from Washington on the 25th August, M. Offrey, head of the Press Department of the Quai d'Orsay, who was in the United States for General de Gaulle's visit, sought to reassure his countrymen. He explained that in the agreement of February (see *Summary* No. 282), France had stipulated that most of the goods required for the rebuilding of French industries should be supplied by means of loans and not under Lend-Lease. It was therefore to be hoped that most of these goods would be delivered on the terms agreed. Goods already ordered under Lend-Lease would be forwarded as before, but there would be a different system of accounting. For those which had not yet been ordered France would "for the time being" have to pay cash. This might be inconvenient, but the essential point was that the cessation of Lend-Lease would not entail any delay in the delivery of essential supplies. There were good reasons for hoping that the new financial arrangements satisfactory to both countries would be made in the near future.

The Radical Party Congress ended on the 23rd August after some lively of Munich, M. Herriot's speech in defence of the institutions of the Third trative Presidents of the party, showed that the elders still dominate the Radical Republic—he said that although France had been freed the Republic had yet to be liberated and that he would devote himself to this task—and the election of MM. Herriot, Steeg and Mazé respectively to be Political, Honorary and Administrative Presidents of the party showed that the elders still dominate the Radical

scene, and caused certain Resistance papers to make caustic references to "old idols" and "solemn ghosts." The election to the post of Administrative President was, however, hotly contested, and M. Anxionnaz, one of the Party's leading young Resistance members, gained 247 votes against M. Mazé's 272. The programme read at the final session included a declaration of the Party's opposition to a single Assembly which "might either lead to adventure as in the past, and to the eclipse of the Republic and internal peace, or prolong the present *de facto* régime." It also expressed the wish for "a treaty of close collaboration with Britain."

SWITZERLAND.

The repatriation of the Russians interned in Switzerland is almost completed. Some delay has been caused by the reluctance of a number of them to return home, in spite of the promise of an amnesty and the assurance that none of them would be arrested on returning to Russia. Although the majority accepted these guarantees, some 300 remained unconvinced and simply refused to leave Switzerland. This creates an extremely delicate situation, for, while the Soviet Government claims the right to dispose of all its subjects with or without their consent, Switzerland is most unwilling to eject against their will persons claiming sanctuary within her frontiers.

The peaceful nature of the repatriation was further marred by an incident at Villars-sur-Ollons, where a dispute arose between an inn-keeper and a number of Russians who were awaiting repatriation. The quarrel, which is stated to have been caused by the excessive consumption of alcohol, resulted in the death of two of the Russians. A court of enquiry was set up, and the head of the Swiss delegation which has been discussing the whole question of internment and repatriation, together with the entire Russian delegation, visited the camp where the Russians were awaiting repatriation.

Other refugees are also returning home. Three thousand Yugoslavs left Switzerland between the 24th and 28th August. The repatriation of Czechs will take place on the 29th.

A society for the promotion of cultural relations between Austria and Switzerland has been founded in Zürich with the Swiss radio commentator, Professor von Salis, as its chairman.

M. Skylstad, the new Norwegian Minister to Switzerland, presented his credentials on the 24th August.

Mr. Bevin's speech on foreign policy was warmly approved by the Swiss Press, especially for the evidence it gave that the continuity of Britain's foreign policy was to be maintained.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

Spanish official circles have derived considerable relief from Mr. Bevin's statement of British foreign policy in the House of Commons on the 20th August. Characteristically they take comfort from the Foreign Secretary's refusal to countenance any action from outside that might "promote or encourage" civil war; and they conveniently ignore the plain intimation that His Majesty's Government would look favourably on some development inside Spain which would remove the Franco *cum* Falange incubus. Indeed, that part of Mr. Bevin's speech has been carefully excised from the published text, and the specific reference to a *change* of régime has been freely paraphrased by the blessed word "*evolución*."

The new Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs has seized the occasion to furnish, through the two principal Spanish press agencies, a comprehensive apologia *pro domo suo*. In the concluding passages Señor Artajo discourses on the theme of the flexible and evolutionary character of the régime, which will enable the country eventually to co-ordinate itself with the "Anglo-Saxon" systems, but he insists that Spain must be allowed to "evolve" in her own time and at her own pace, reaching final equilibrium, in accordance with the Caudillo's pledge of the 17th July, with a restoration of the traditional monarchy. (He has spoken in similar vein to a special correspondent of Reuter, with honeyed words about the present remarkable example given by Great Britain.) Hope springs eternal. . . . It remains to be seen whether real progress towards elimination of the Franco régime will now take place. The forces in favour have certainly received encouragement, and there have been some signs of a manœuvre which might produce results.

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In a speech to a Fisheries' Congress on the 23rd August at Vigo, General Franco confirmed that the next stage of evolution towards what Señor Artajo calls "new forms of popular representation and political liberty" is the holding of municipal elections. Señor Artajo told His Majesty's Ambassador the other day, in a conversation at the Minister's private villa, that these elections might be expected to take place in the late autumn. He also dropped hints that they might be used as a means of restoring the monarchy. That would indeed be to come full circle, since, it may be recalled, it was municipal elections in April 1931 —supposedly non-political—which brought about the fall of the monarchy.

Meanwhile the Republican exiles have reached at last a measure of agreement. As a result of Dr. Negrín's journey to Mexico City it has been found possible to carry out the plan which proved abortive last January (see *Summary* No. 280). A meeting of the Cortes was convened in the City Hall on the 15th August, and was attended by nearly a hundred Deputies. The Mexican Government provided every facility and arranged for extra-territorial privileges, and the diplomatic representatives of ten countries, including the U.S.S.R. and France, were present. Señor Martinez Barrio was duly installed as President of the Cortes—and this conferred on him automatically, under the 1931 Constitution, the status and authority of Acting President of the Republic. To him, then, as President, Dr. Negrín resigned the powers of his Government, whose mandate, he claimed, was derived from the last meeting of the Cortes on Spanish territory at the end of the Civil War. Señor Barrio appointed to the premiership Dr. José Giral, a political nonentity who, as a personal friend of President Azaña, headed the Cabinet which came into office—though not indeed power—at the outbreak of the military rebellion in July 1936. Giral has succeeded in forming an all-party Cabinet, which includes Indalecio Prieto and Alvaro de Albornoz, of the Committee of Liberation (J.E.L.N.), and two or three other eminently respectable Republican leaders. The Catalans are represented by José Terradellas, and the Basques by Manuel Irujo. Señor Prieto himself represents the Socialist trade unions (U.G.T.), and a place has been left for a representative of the C.N.T. (Syndicalist trade unions); but there is no Communist included. Dr. Negrín, also, is excluded. It is, in other words, a Government which makes its appeal on broad democratic principles, but one which is unlikely to arouse enthusiasm in the Soviet Union. Negrín has been temporarily worsted in his private war—part personal, part political—with Prieto.

In Lisbon the welcome given to Mr. Bevin's speech has been extremely cordial. Dr. Salazar, in conversation with His Majesty's Ambassador, characterised it as "well-thought-out, constructive and courageous." He was particularly pleased, it appears, at the warning about the need for a more careful definition of the term "democracy." The press has unreservedly endorsed Dr. Salazar's words of praise.

ERRATUM.

See last week's *Summary*. 15th line down should be replaced by the following:—

and the same principle of "natural right," it may be recalled, was invoked by

ITALY.

The Italian Government is still divided on the question of the desirability of holding the national elections for the Constituent Assembly in the near future. At a meeting of leaders of the Christian Democrat Party held at Frascati on the 26th August, Signor de Gasperi declared that the question of precedence of local over political elections or *vice versa* was a matter of opinion, and added that the British Foreign Minister thought it opportune to speed up political elections but made no mention of municipal elections, while the United States Government stressed the desirability of setting in motion the electoral machine and of beginning with the re-establishment of democracy in the Communes. Signor de Gasperi went on to say that in many Communes local elections could take place immediately, provided the Parties pledged themselves to respect the freedom of the elections and provided the Government had the strength to maintain order. The holding of municipal elections would not delay elections to the Constituent Assembly, but would create an atmosphere of democratic competition.

Signor de Gasperi has made it clear to Sir Noel Charles that he himself very much wishes the municipal elections to be held first. He does not think highly

of the political education of Italy, and fears the influence of armed Communists in keeping voters away from the polls if the political elections were held in the near future. Since the Constituent Assembly election would be the most important election ever held in Italy, Signor de Gasperi thought it desirable that it should not be held before the return from abroad of prisoners of war and internees, and he pointed out that once elections were held the powers of the Lieutenant of the Realm would automatically cease. It is reported in the press that Signor Parri has stated that, while welcoming Mr. Bevin's invitation to hold the Constituent Assembly elections as soon as possible, this could not be done until peace was concluded.

On the 23rd August the Office of the President of the Council issued a statement on the grant of autonomy to the Val d'Aosta. After explaining the measure, the communiqué added that the way to local legislation had been opened, but that general decisions on decentralisation must be made by the Constituent Assembly. It pointed out, however, that the Government was not content with generalisations on autonomy, but had shown by the action it had taken in regard to the Val d'Aosta that it would proceed to put theory into practice in areas where linguistic and ethnical differences necessitated decentralisation as a protection for minorities. The Government intended to proceed with similar plans for areas on the eastern and northern frontiers. The Cabinet had already referred to the Alto Adige and was now proceeding with consultations on regional autonomy for the whole of Venezia Tridentina, where its need was widely felt. Thus the new Italian State gave evidence of its rigorous and conscientious spirit of democracy and pacification.

Senator Federico Ricci has been appointed to succeed the late Signor Soleri as Minister of the Treasury. Senator Ricci was born in 1876, he is a trained economist with business experience, and has been greeted as a real financial expert as well as a strong anti-Fascist. As Sindaco (Mayor) of Genoa in 1922, he played an important part in putting the city's finances in order and in directing public works. He was driven from the office of Sindaco by Fascism, but continued to be an active member of the Senate, to which he had been nominated in 1922, and was noted for his courageous criticism of Fascist financial policy both in public session and in committee. Although not formally attached to the Liberal Party, he is believed to be in sympathy with that party's policy.

Il Lavoro brought out a special edition on the 25th August publishing a telegram from Signor di Vittorio, President of the Italian Trade Union delegation now in the U.S.S.R. The telegram stated that the Deputy Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Lozovsky, had informed Signor di Vittorio that the Government had decided to repatriate all Italian prisoners-of-war, totalling about 19,000, in the U.S.S.R. The repatriation would take place as quickly as transport, which would be provided by the U.S.S.R., permitted. Di Vittorio added that the prisoners were in good health and well fed.

THE VATICAN.

In an audience granted to Sir D'Arcy Osborne, the Pope warmly praised Mr. Bevin's speech; but he put no trust in the assurances of fair elections, equal rights for Poles returning home and of lasting security for the Church in Poland. He had received no word from Cardinal Hlond since he reached Poland. Sir D'Arcy Osborne pointed out that the assurances had been given to and not by His Majesty's Government, though Mr. Bevin had said in his speech that failure to carry them out could spoil Anglo-Polish relations. The Pope was convinced that the position of the Church in the Balkans could not be more serious, and he was oppressed more than ever by his fear of atheistic communism combined with Russian imperialism. Speaking recently to United States Congressmen, he said that the peace and revival of the world was impossible if a single nation was left prostrate. See also under "Czechoslovakia."

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

Mr. Bevin's assessment of Hungarian democracy was received with considerable indignation and disappointment by the Communists and Social Democrats and with discreet satisfaction elsewhere. On the 19th August, just before the speech became known, the convocation of the Provisional National Assembly had been announced for the 5th September. The Assembly, it was said, would hear statements from the Minister President and Party leaders, legalise *decrét-lois* enacted since last December (including decrees enacted in connexion

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with the Armistice, and the Land Reform) decide (perhaps) the future form of the State, and debate the draft Electoral Law for the Constituent Assembly. All concerned were anxious that the Electoral Law (which Erdei, the Minister of the Interior has pledged himself to introduce) should be passed by Parliament, not enacted by decree. The elections would probably be held on the 28th October. The Communists have said that they will, if necessary, officially ask for early elections and are resolved that these shall be free and democratic.

The anticipation of elections overshadowed the Social Democrat, Smallholder and *Bourgeois* Democrat Party Conferences, all held on the 19th–21st August. The Communists had no Congress, but Rákosi in an important speech pleaded most vigorously for working-class unity, and suggested that at the local elections for Budapest, due to be held in September, the Communists, Socialists and Trade Unions should put forward a joint list. The Socialists seem reluctant to accept this, and at their Congress, while maintaining their alliance with the Communists, and laying much greater weight on this than their pact with the Smallholders, rejected the suggestion that the two parties should fuse. In short, they felt bound to continue as partners with the Communists, for fear of giving its chance to the "reaction" (which would be worse); but they did not conceal that the partnership was often uneasy, and would not give up such independence as they still possessed. For the rest, their domestic policy was: democracy now (with reassurances to provide capital), socialism later; their foreign policy orientation towards the Soviets. The Smallholders were distinctly belligerent. They held by the original programme of the Indeepndence Front, and were willing to maintain the existing coalition, but demanded that they be treated, within it, as equal partners, with proper respect for their interests; also requiring an early end to the purge, a strong central Government, and an end to abuses and excesses from quarters which were indicated plainly enough. The future of Hungary lay in democracy, but this must be the specific Hungarian form of democracy. They welcomed Allied assurances that Hungary would keep her national independence. The Democrats insisted on their right and their wish to continue members of the Independence Front.

The towns are again short of bread, and it is now stated that the present harvest will provide only 4 million quintals of bread-grains (about one-third of the minimum needs) for domestic consumption.

Inter-Allied negotiations for revision of the Control Commission Statistics are proceeding. Some American journalists have entered Hungary.

Roumania.

The way has not yet been found out of the difficulties in which Roumania found herself as a result of the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between her and the U.S.S.R. and the decision of the British and United States Governments not to recognise her present Government.

Following the communication of the United States to Bulgaria, the State Department indicated to Roumania its willingness to re-establish relations, but with a more representative Government in accordance with the Crimea declaration, either as a result of Roumania's own initiative, or with the assistance of the Allies. The King decided to interview the leaders of the various parties, in order to ascertain their views on a change of Government which would make the way clear for Allied recognition. As a result of interviews with Bratianu, Maniu, Stirbey, Petrescu and Sraier, the King requested Dr. Groza to resign so that the Government could be reconstituted. This step the Prime Minister refused to take. The Soviet Government expressed itself in the most categorical manner against Groza's resignation. With this support the Roumanian Communists naturally felt very sure of themselves and were appropriately truculent. They had "no intention of being colonised by the Western Powers." "The opinion of the United States Government is unimportant and can be disregarded." There is no need for Anglo-American interference: Russia can look after Roumania's interests."

On the 23rd August, the anniversary of the *coup d'État* which brought the Antonescu régime to an end, the King proposed to take part in a day of national thanksgiving. But when it became evident that it was the intention of the Government to convert this occasion into an N.F.D. demonstration, and when on top of this Groza refused to accede to the King's request for his resignation, the King decided not to take part in the proceedings. The American and British representatives on the Control Commission indicated that they would not be

present. The demonstration took place on the familiar Roumanian lines, with organised applause and portraits of Stalin and others carried through the streets by the former Iron Guard rabble, now all convinced Communists. The proceedings were claimed as a spontaneous testimony to the popularity of the Government. The Military Governor of Bucarest refused to take part and was superseded by General Rascanu, the Minister of War. Fifty other officers declined to be present if the King was not, but one of these, the Commander of the Roumanian 1st Army, was browbeaten by General Rascanu into taking part. All Roumanian troops were deprived of ammunition, but the streets were filled with troops of the N.K.V.D. with tommy guns held at the ready.

Amongst the reactions to these proceedings is that of the Social Democratic party, a leftist party, but not wholeheartedly Communist, which declared that it could not agree to a Government which is not acceptable to the Three Powers, and that the Groza Government should resign. Fears are entertained for the safety of such leaders as Maniu and Bratianu. It is reported that General Radescu, the former Prime Minister who left the sanctuary of the British Legation on a guarantee that he would not be molested, has been placed under house arrest. That is the position of affairs at the moment of writing.

One of the first acts of the Soviet Government after the Armistice was to remove, without notice to the British and American members of the Control Commission, large quantities of material, mainly pipe-line and drilling equipment, from the oilfields. Protests were met by assertions that the material was war booty, by promises of further consideration, and of reference to Moscow, and by a variety of procrastinating dodges. And all the time the work of removal went serenely on, and the only point on which there was any semblance of meeting the arguments of the Anglo-Americans was that the Astra high-octane plant, which was in course of being dismantled, was allowed to remain and continue in production. Eventually, ten months after the first removals began, the Potsdam Conference decided to set up a Commission to discuss the matter. Action was to be taken within ten days. Needless to say, at the end of the ten days nothing had been done. The British and American representatives have now been nominated. In the hope of achieving some progress, the British and American representatives have agreed to aim at limiting the inquiry in the first place to certain well-defined questions. The usual complications arise over the interpretation of such expressions as "booty," "reparations," and "war trophies." The greatest difficulty is the question of what constitutes German property. When these difficulties have been surmounted, the problem of how to procure the return of the property looted from the British and American oil companies remains to be solved.

The confident hope expressed by the Potsdam Conference that representatives of the Allied press would enjoy full freedom to report to the world on developments in Roumania have not yet been realised.

Yugoslavia.

In its session from the 10th to the 26th August the Temporary Parliament achieved much legislation. As Kardelj truly said, "No Parliament of Yugoslavia has ever worked with anything like this speed." The list of Bills finally approved, 21st to 26th August, included the following:—

1. Constituent Assembly Bill, carried by 375 to 13.
2. Land Bill, carried unanimously.
3. Election of Deputies Bill, carried by 370 to 16.
4. Press Bill, carried by 358 to 17.
5. Military Courts Bill, carried unanimously.
6. Citizenship Bill, carried by 319 (4 abstained).
7. Charter of United Nations Bill, carried by acclamation.
8. Right of Association Bill, carried by 353 to 12.
9. Political Crimes Bill, carried by 326 (8 others present).
10. Organisation of Judiciary Bill, carried by 313 to 11.

The core of the minute opposition consisted of Grol and a few other courageous Serbian Democrats. They have incurred much abuse and ridicule. They opposed Bill No. 3 on the ground that the elaborate requirements for a technically valid list of candidates could be fulfilled only by the official party. They opposed Bill No. 1 on the ground that only elected representatives, and not a nominated body, could decide that the future legislature should consist of two Houses, based respectively on the principles of unity and of federation. The Government's reply

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was that since there are six Yugoslav peoples federation was essential. Bill No. 4 proclaims the freedom of the press, but adds a number of qualifications capable of very wide interpretation. It was criticised on the ground that the Government held all the available printing plant. Bill No. 6 denationalises the Yugoslavs who prefer not to return to Yugoslavia at present and provides for the nationalisation of nationals of other States, domiciled abroad, who apply. Bill No. 8 grants freedom of association, but "Fascist" or "pro-Fascist" parties can be forbidden and meetings (of which forty-eight hours' notice will be required) can be prohibited if dangerous to law and order. Concerning Bill No. 9, the Opposition asked that forced collaboration with the enemy should be distinguished from voluntary. The Government rejected the distinction.

Pijade, Vice-President of the Temporary Parliament, addressing the Front, said: "Anybody who is against the Front is against the State." And in Parliament he said that if the Constituent Assembly did not protect the gains won in the Liberation struggle, the army should be used to sweep the Assembly away.

In connexion with the Anglo-Saxon Powers' criticism of the Bulgarian and other régimes, there have been signs of official disquiet lest those Powers should also express disbelief in the independence of Yugoslavia.

The press has maintained its campaign against Allied Military Government, and has alleged much popular indignation in Venezia Giulia at A.M.G.'s dissolution, on the 15th August, of the Yugoslav-sponsored civil authorities. Incidents on the Trieste-Pola road, where Allied officers have been relieved of their arms or shot at by Yugoslav troops, have not ceased. Controversy rages between Communist and non-Communist Italian newspapers over the rumour that of the Italians who disappeared during the Yugoslav occupation of Trieste, many were thrown down a shaft at Basovizza on the Carso. A.M.G. have initiated scientific experiments with a view to rendering fertile parts of the barren Carso in the Allied-occupied zone.

Greece.

The Voulgaris Government, already strengthened by the publicly expressed support of His Majesty's Government (see *Summary* No. 307), has been further reinforced by General Merenditis's acceptance, on the 23rd August, of the post of War Minister. Both he and the new Minister of Justice have now publicly outlined their policy and programmes which should result in an accession of public confidence. General Merenditis's main task is the establishment of political impartiality as a military principle, a task which at once brings him into conflict with those members of the General Staff who, like General Ventiris, combine military efficiency with the unscrupulous promotion of the royalist cause. Their main instrument has naturally been the manipulation of officer appointments. Now, however, according to Athens radio, the War Ministry will control the army through the medium of the Supreme Military Council (which will include the head of the British Military Mission), whose main competence, and exclusive prerogative, will be the appointment of officers. The General Staff is to concern itself with the organisation and training of the army and with schemes for frontier defence. The War Ministry will supervise the revision of the active service and reserve lists of officers and vacant establishments will be filled by officers selected from both lists.

A summary of M. Kyriakopoulos's programme for clearing Greece's prisons, which received Ministerial approval on the 24th August, was broadcast the following day. More courts are to be established to try collaborators with a fixed date for the termination of their work; those imprisoned for offences committed during the E.L.A.S. rebellion are to be immediately released without trial if they have been six months in prison. Persons accused of non-political misdemeanours committed before the Varkiza agreement will, with a few exceptions, be released without trial, while those accused of crimes, other than murder, will be released on bail pending trial, and, if not brought to trial within two years, released altogether. Article 5 of the 1911 Constitution forbidding arrests without warrant, which under the Varkiza Agreement was temporarily suspended except in Athens/Piræus, is now to be in force all over Greece. The Government have found it impossible to meet the publicly expressed wish of His Majesty's Government for a general amnesty; feeling runs so high both among the relatives of those killed by E.A.M./E.L.A.S. before and during the December insurrection and among the Left-wing victims of collaborators that any more general release of prisoners would lead only to private acts of vengeance.

It is now possible to assess the reaction in Athens to Mr. Bevin's speech (see *Summary* No. 307). While all but the Communists welcomed British support against Yugoslav allegations concerning Macedonia, the Republicans are not satisfied with the promise of Anglo-United States-French supervision of the plebiscite and elections, since they claim that the electoral lists, &c., are being systematically falsified in the Royalist interest in the preparatory, unsupervised stage. The violence of the Communists' reaction is a measure of their disappointment. Zachariadis, the leader of the Greek Communist party, who is now visiting Northern Greece, went so far as to accuse the British Government of final responsibility for Right-wing terrorism and of applying a "colonial" policy to Greece; he asserted that British troops assisted "monarcho-Fascist" bands to oppress the Greek people, and reiterated his old assertion that if the British authorities in Greece so wished they could radically improve the situation in twenty-four hours. He was no doubt encouraged in this outburst by recent expressions of the Soviet attitude to Greek questions (for which see "Soviet Union").

The increasingly serious implications of the Government's inability to carry out their plans for the collection and distribution of olive oil will be dealt with in next week's *Summary*.

Bulgaria.

The first reports in Bulgaria of Mr. Bevin's speech omitted his references to the Balkans, and the full version was not published until the 22nd August. Meanwhile the British note had been presented to the Bulgarian Government. The press and wireless attributed the British and American attitude to insufficient knowledge about conditions in Bulgaria and to the "slanders" of the Petkovists. The Bulgarian Foreign Minister declared that, although the British and American notes were of great political significance, they could be regarded only as expressions of the opinions of the respective Governments. Although they implied a request for the postponement of the elections, such a demand could only be made through or by the Allied Control Commission, and unless one were received by midnight on Saturday, the 25th August, the elections would be held as arranged.

The election campaign continued unabated up to Saturday, and an official statement in the press of the 24th denied rumours of a postponement of the elections. Two of the new Ministers made speeches, as did the Organising Secretary of Zveno and two prominent Communists. A large public rally was arranged to be held in Sofia on the 22nd at which an important address from Georgi Dimitrov, whose resignation from the Supreme Soviet and relinquishment of Soviet citizenship had just been made known, was to be read and broadcast throughout Bulgaria. But when the time came it was announced that his speech could not be read "for technical reasons," and a message received from him two days later merely stressed the importance of the elections and asked for support of the Fatherland Front.

The atmosphere of melodrama was increased by the activity behind the scenes of the heads of the British and American Military Missions who had approached General Biryusov, Deputy Chairman of the Allied Control Commission. The outcome of their discussions at last was an intimation from the Bulgarian Government that they were prepared to postpone the elections, if so instructed by the Control Commission, and a note to that effect was sent from the Commission to the Government.

Shortly before midnight on the 24th, an official communiqué announced the postponement of the elections due to take place on the 26th. It was explained that the Government had come to this decision after serious consideration of the notes of Great Britain and the United States, and in view of their desire to facilitate the conclusion of peace. Fuller statements were issued afterwards by the Prime Minister and by the National Committee of the Fatherland Front, in which the latter frankly questioned the accuracy of the information supplied to the British and American Governments about conditions in Bulgaria.

An interesting sidelight is thrown on the election campaign, showing the importance attached to the military vote, by the instructions for electioneering in the Armed Forces which concluded with the warning that the efficiency of every assistant commander (political commissar) would be judged by the election results in his detachment.

For reasons of age and health, Nikola Mushanov and Atanas Burov, two former Ministers, who were sentenced as "war criminals" to one year's imprisonment in the Sofia trials last January, have been released from prison and placed under house arrest.

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Turkey.

Mr. Bevin's speech of the 20th August on foreign affairs—particularly his references to Turkey, the Balkan countries and the Middle East—has been warmly welcomed in Angora. Official circles made no attempt to conceal their satisfaction, and press comment was wholly favourable. *Ulus* observed that whatever party might be in power in Britain—whether of the Left or Right—it bore the imprint: "Made in England." Mr. Eden's declaration that he would support the foreign policy of the new Government indicated that both Conservatives and Socialists would support democracy and oppose totalitarianism.

The postponement of the elections in Bulgaria has created an excellent impression in Angora. It is regarded as a victory for a policy of sense and moderation, and as a good augury for the persistence of inter-Allied co-operation.

The collapse of the Nazi régime and Turkey's recent close association with Britain and the United States have weakened—as they were bound to weaken—the attachment of her leaders to the one-party system. The movement for the adoption of a more democratic régime continues to gain ground. The press has devoted many columns to the subject. *Ulus* has recently expressed what may perhaps be regarded as the official view. It pointed out that there was nothing in the Turkish Constitution which precluded the formation of a second political party. Indeed, the founders of the Republic had never contemplated the establishment in Turkey of a dictatorial, single-party régime; they had, on the contrary, welcomed the formation of an Opposition. If the plans for it had failed, the blame was not theirs: failure had been due to the political immaturity of Turkey at the time. *Ulus* insisted, however, that the new party should be "republican in character" and should acknowledge the "self-imposed discipline of the Turkish nation." Turkish democracy could not be accused of being an enemy of freedom if it prohibited political parties which might disrupt the country. The movement towards democracy had not been possible during the war, but the field was now clear for a further advance. The Republican Party viewed with satisfaction the return to conditions favourable to the introduction of "the characteristics of Western democracy." Referring to the freedom of the press, M. Atay quoted Atatürk's dictum that "the evils which arose out of freedom of the press could only be vanquished by freedom of the press."

In conformity with the general fall in values, the Government has reduced the prices of a number of controlled commodities and products of the State factories. *Vakit* declared that coal was the only Turkish product which, in relation with world prices, was comparatively cheap.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

Since the end of the war in the Far East, the Egyptian Government has had under consideration the abolition of the *etat de siège* (a modified form of martial law), which was proclaimed in Egypt in September 1939, and has been maintained ever since. Other matters connected with the end of the war are also being taken up by the Egyptian Government. The British expert attached to the quarantine administration in Alexandria has, for instance, been informed of the termination of his contract; while it is reported that all British members of the Egyptian police force will have to leave by the 1st September. Under the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 the European element in the police force was to have been gradually eliminated by 1941, but owing to the war the Egyptian Government agreed to retain temporarily a limited number of British officials.

The death of Ahmad Ziwar Pasha, G.C.M.G., on the 21st August, removes from the Egyptian scene a well-known figure who, after serving in various capacities in successive Ministries, became "Chef du Cabinet Royal" to King Fuad in 1934. But he soon fell out of royal favour, and retired in the summer of 1935, since when he had not been employed in any Government capacity. He was chiefly famous for his amazing indiscretions and his predilection for European society.

Another well-known Egyptian whose death was reported last week was Shaikh Mohammed Mustafa al Maraghi, who was first appointed Rector of Al Azhar in 1928. A man of high character and enlightened views, his zeal for Islamic social reform had already found expression in proposals for changes in the Sharia law, and his draft law for the reform of the Azhar University

was devised both to extend the horizon of the Azhari student, and to ensure him wider opportunities of employment on leaving the university. King Fuad, however, delayed signing the decree so long that Shaikh al Maraghi felt compelled to resign. He was reappointed Rector in April 1935, but again offered his resignation to King Farouk in 1943, as the result of Wafdist endeavours to undermine his position and to provoke unrest among the students. His resignation was, however, never formally accepted by the King, with whom he had considerable influence.

The Egyptian press reports the conclusion of a treaty of friendship between Egypt and the Yemen, providing for mutual diplomatic and consular representation at the "opportune time." If effect is given to this provision, it will be the first time that the Yemen has been permanently represented abroad, or a foreign State at Sanaa.

Considerable feeling has been aroused in Egypt by President Truman's statement on Palestine. Apart from the counter-blast issued to the local press by the Secretary-General of the Arab League (see *Summary* No. 307), Egyptian newspapers have expressed concern and indignation that the question of Palestine should have been discussed at all at the Potsdam Conference, where there were no Arab representatives present. The news has also upset Ibn Saud, who has asked the United States Legation at Jedda to clarify for his benefit the official American attitude to Zionism. In Iraq, too, sharp resentment has been expressed. The local press has protested vigorously against what it believes to be President Truman's strong support for a Jewish State, and the President's carefully balanced provisos are either overlooked or misrepresented.

The Lebanese Government resigned on the 20th August. Although, as reported in last week's *Summary*, the Chamber of Deputies recently passed a vote of confidence in the Government, the Cabinet's position was known to be unstable, and its resignation was not unexpected. On the 23rd August a new Ministry was formed, headed by Sami al Solh, a former Prime Minister who held office from July 1942 to March 1943. He is a well-meaning, impulsive, but fundamentally foolish man, whose extreme vanity makes him unreliable and a bad judge of character. On the 23rd he told the press that the foreign policy of his Government would not differ from that of its predecessor; and that he would continue to work for the "evacuation of Lebanese territory" (presumably by foreign troops), and the ratification of the United Nations Charter.

The Syrian Government has also resigned and a new Cabinet has been formed under the same Prime Minister, Faris al Khouri. The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Jamil Mardam, has been dropped, but no change of policy need be expected.

The reaction to the end of the Japanese war shown by the people of Iraq has been disappointing. The surrender of Japan, like that of Germany, has been received by the general public in Iraq with a calm that can hardly be distinguished from complete indifference. On the other hand, the Amir Zaid, who has been acting as Regent during his nephew's travels abroad, was warm in his congratulations to His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires on the Allied victory; and the Acting Prime Minister, no less than the Minister for Foreign Affairs (who has since resigned), paid eloquent and sincere tribute to Great Britain's efforts and sacrifices.

The situation in the Barzan area has not yet materially changed. Though Mulla Mustafa has gained some supporters, he has not, it is believed, succeeded in organising a substantial force. But one Iraqi column, engaged apparently in a foolish and ill-prepared venture, has already suffered 100 casualties, and there is no knowing what may happen if the many Kurds now sitting on the fence come down on the Mulla's side. We have strongly urged the Iraqi Government to concentrate on the occupation of Barzan, and not to indulge in any more of these ill-conceived diversions. It has also been made clear that in no circumstances can the Iraqi authorities count on British material assistance.

The Regent of Iraq, who has spent seven weeks in London on his way back from the United States of America and Canada, left this country on the 25th August, travelling overland to Italy. Thence he intends to proceed by sea to Turkey, where he is to pay an official visit, and after a few days at Angora he will return to Bagdad towards the end of September.

Mr. Bevin's statement in the House of Commons on the 20th August on the evacuation of Persia (see *Summary* No. 307) caused great gratification in that country; and Mr. Eden's strong support of the Secretary of State was also well received. The Shah and others have expressed satisfaction and relief at the British attitude; the only Persians who object are the small minority who expected the Labour Government in London to share the views of Moscow.

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Persian nerves recently received a shock from which the public is gradually recovering, thanks in part to the hopes for the future instilled by the speeches of Mr. Bevin and Mr. Eden. On or about the 15th August a mutiny broke out among certain Persian officers and men stationed at Meshed, seventeen officers with twenty men deserting and taking with them motor vehicles, wireless apparatus, and arms and ammunition. They later disarmed a cavalry detachment, whose officers joined them. The whole band of mutineers was allowed to pass the Russian posts on the road without let or hindrance but later they came into conflict with a Persian gendarmerie post, and lost seven officers killed, two wounded, and all their material. Three of the deserting officers, with four men, were captured later. Fearing that this mutiny, coupled with recent disorders in Azerbaijan and incitements to violence in the press, might affect the volatile population of Tehran, the Military Governor issued a notice informing the public that the military government law would henceforth be strictly applied.

THE FAR EAST.

When, on the 15th August, the Japanese Emperor read the Imperial Rescript to the nation, accepting the Potsdam Declaration, it was the first time in the history of Japan that a Japanese Emperor had spoken to the nation on the radio. The most important passages of this Imperial Rescript were those dealing with the entry of Japan into the war and the atomic bomb. On the former subject the Rescript remarked: "Indeed we declared war on America and Britain out of our sincere desire to ensure Japan's self-preservation and the stabilisation of East Asia, it being far from our thoughts either to infringe upon the sovereignty of other nations or to embark upon territorial aggrandisement." On the atomic bomb the Rescript declared: "Moreover, the enemy has begun to employ a new and most cruel bomb, the power of which to do damage is indeed incalculable, taking toll of many innocent lives. Should we continue to fight, it would not only result in an ultimate collapse and obliteration of the Japanese nation, but it would also lead to the total extinction of human civilisation." It is hard to read into either of these statements any repentance for the Japanese entry into the war or any sense of normal military defeat.

According to the Japanese estimate the two atomic bombs dropped on Japanese cities killed 90,000 people. Japanese propaganda had made the most of the devastation caused and the great loss of civilian life. It is plainly implied that Japan was not beaten in fair fight, and that the army cannot really be blamed for the collapse. Nevertheless, the fact that Japan was unable to win the war is regarded as formally a responsibility of the people as a whole, who have failed their Emperor. A Domei broadcast thus described the scene in Tokyo after the announcement of the decision to accept the Allied terms: "The Palace grounds are quiet beneath the dark clouds. Honoured with an Imperial Edict from the sublime Palace grounds, a crowd of loyal people bow to the very ground in front of the Nijubashi Bridge. Their tears flow unchecked. Alas, how can the people raise their heads. With the words 'Forgive us, oh Emperor, our efforts were not enough,' their heads bow lower and lower as their tears flow unchecked."

The formal signing of the surrender was to have taken place on the 31st August on board an American warship in Tokyo Bay, but, owing to typhoon conditions, it has now been postponed till the 2nd September. The first American airborne troops landed in Japan on the 28th August.

A Domei transmission has reported that an Extraordinary Session of the Japanese Diet is to be convened on the 22nd September. During this session, it was stated, the Government would concentrate on "bringing home to the nation the stern reality that Japan had been completely defeated." Efforts would also be made "to promote freedom of speech," and "to rally the whole nation to the herculean task of rebuilding Japan on a new basis." Prince Higashikuni has already summoned the Presidents of the House of Peers and the House of Representatives to his official residence to make preliminary arrangements for the next session of the Diet.

Japan has still a Foreign Minister and a foreign policy. The Suzuki Cabinet, desperately hoping to keep the Soviet Union neutral, had as its Foreign Minister Togo, who was considered to enjoy more favour in Moscow than any other Japanese diplomat of high standing. The Soviet Union having entered the war, the new Higashikuni Cabinet restored Shigemitsu, who had held the post under Tojo and Koiso, and who had never been *persona grata* with the Russians.

While Moscow radio on the 24th August described the Higashikuni Cabinet as composed of "the most prominent war criminals, colonisers and members of the generals' clique," Tokyo radio broadcast in Russian on the 26th a strong protest against "regrettable events in China, Sakhalin and Manchuria." It was alleged that despite the surrender of the Kwantung Army "robberies and excesses" and "brutal acts of violence on the part of Soviet soldiers" were continuing in Manchuria, and that Japanese refugees in Sakhalin had been massacred. Imperial Headquarters also protested to General MacArthur against the Russians announced intention to land airborne troops in the Hokkaido. It is not clear whether a Russian occupation of the Hokkaido has been authorised by General MacArthur as Supreme Commander or not. It has been denied in Washington that the Allied occupation of Japan itself is to be by zones as in Germany, but if the Russians occupy the Hokkaido, while other Allied forces land in southern and central Japan, zones will in fact be established.

In contrast to the tension with the Soviet Union, the Japanese Government's attitude towards China is one of cordiality, and this attitude appears to be reciprocated from Chungking to an extent which is at first sight remarkable after eight years of warfare. In his first broadcast after taking office as Prime Minister, Prince Higashikuni said: "We must among other things make a clean sweep of the deplorable relations which have existed in the past between Japan and China, and build up a new society based on close co-operation between the two countries, without their being unduly influenced by victory or defeat." On the Chungking side there seems to be an awareness of the advantages of an arrangement with the Japanese forces in China more like a partnership than a surrender. As revealed in a remarkable Chungking broadcast of the 23rd August, the Chinese know that they are taking the surrender of an army more powerful than their own, an army which is substantially unbeaten in the field, and is laying down its arms only because of events which have occurred outside China. In addition to this, Chungking also knows that it has little prospect of establishing its authority as against the Communists in the areas which have been under Japanese occupation, unless the Japanese keep the Communists out until Chungking is ready to take over. In these circumstances the surrender negotiations between the Chinese High Command, headed by General Ho Ying-chin, Chief of Staff to the Generalissimo, and representatives of General Okamura, the Japanese Commander-in-Chief in China, which began on the 21st August, seem to have resulted in a measure of that Sino-Japanese co-operation which Japan has so long professed to be seeking. It was announced in Nanking on the 25th that the Japanese forces would continue to maintain order in all occupied areas, and would "guard against the activities of undesirable elements," *i.e.*, the Chinese Communists. In Peking the Japanese military authorities have given full scope to the branch of the Chungking Ministry of Information which had previously been working underground, and have sent a sharp note to Yenan saying that the Japanese Army will take all necessary steps to prevent the Communists from "illegally" occupying such places as Peking, Tientsin and Tsingtao, and calling on them to cease trying to provoke civil war in China.

The text of the Chinese-Soviet treaty and supplementary agreements signed in Moscow on the 14th August was published on the 26th. The main treaty is one of alliance against Japan both during the war and subsequently. Article IV pledges each party not to conclude any alliance or "take part in any coalition" directed against the other. Article V binds the parties to mutual respect of sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-intervention in each other's internal affairs. In Article VI the parties agree to render each other "all possible economic aid in the post-war period." The treaty is valid for thirty years and is renewable.

The supplementary agreements cover six main points: (1) the principal railways of Manchuria—the old Chinese Eastern and South Manchurian lines—to be jointly owned by the Soviet Union and China for thirty years with a Soviet general manager; (2) Port Arthur is to be jointly used as a naval base by the Soviet Union and China, the former being responsible for its defence and the latter for civil administration subject to Soviet approval of the appointments; (3) part of the port of Dalny (Dairen) to be leased to the Soviet Union and the harbour chief to be a Soviet citizen; (4) the Soviet Union recognises Manchuria as a part of China and agrees that "the National Government of the Chinese Republic will assume all authority in civil matters" there as the territory ceases to be a zone of active military operations; (5) China agrees to recognise the independence of Outer Mongolia after a plebiscite affirming the Mongols' desire for it; (6) as

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regards "the recent events in Sinkiang," the Soviet Union declares it does not intend to interfere in China's internal affairs.

Success and failure are relative, and because of the extreme apprehension of future Soviet actions which has long prevailed in Chungking, the treaty appears to be regarded in Chinese official circles almost as a diplomatic victory. It specifies in one pasasge that the moral and material support promised by the Soviet Union are to be given to "the National Government as the Central Government of China," and this is considered a political defeat for the Chinese Communists. Taken as a whole, however, the treaty certainly belongs to the type which Chinese nationalism has hitherto denounced as unequal.

On the ground that it was covered by General MacArthur's order that Chiang Kai-shek should take surrender of all Japanese forces "within China," China proposed to nominate a representative to accept the surrender in Hong Kong, but after conversations between London and Washington, General MacArthur publicly announced on the 24th August that a British naval force under Admiral Harcourt would take Hong Kong's surrender. On the 24th August, just before the publication of the terms of the Chinese-Soviet treaty, Chiang Kai-shek made a speech to the Supreme National Defence Council in which he said that China had refrained from occupying Hong Kong in order to avoid misunderstanding between the Allies, though she would raise the whole question of Hong Kong through diplomatic channels. Referring to Indo-China, the northern half of which China is to occupy, as being within the China theatre of operations, he said that it should be given friendly help in its independence movement in the letter and spirit of the Atlantic Charter and the People's Three Principles. General Leclerc, the French representative with South-East Asia Command, has protested in strong terms against British or American acquiescence in the occupation of northern Indo-China by the Chinese, and has appealed to General de Gaulle, now visiting Washington, to intervene with the American Government. Meanwhile, if Chinese reports are correct, the Chinese have already entered French territory, and have arranged with the Japanese to occupy Hanoi in advance of Field-Marshal Terauchi's formal surrender to South-East Asia Command. A new "Government" of the Chinese-supported Annamite Revolutionary party has been formed in Annam, presumably as a result of Japanese-Chinese agreement, as the Japanese are still in control at Hue and no approval for the step has come from British or American quarters.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Lend-Lease, which was characterised by Mr. Churchill as "the most unsordid act in the history of the world," and which may prove to be one of Mr. Roosevelt's most successful innovations in creative statesmanship, has been terminated. President Truman has ordered the immediate suspension of shipments and other forms of relief under the Lend-Lease Act. The Prime Minister has stated, and this view has been fully endorsed by Mr. Churchill, that while His Majesty's Government had anticipated the end of Lend-Lease they had hoped that "the sudden cessation of this great mutual effort would not be effected without consultation and prior discussions." It is true to say that while the British have been surprised by the abruptness of the action taken, Americans as a whole are equally surprised that the British did not realise that Lend-Lease was only a war-time measure, and that the "abruptness" of its termination is due to the sudden end of the Japanese war. Our difficulties have come in for considerable notice, and there is increasing recognition of the fact that this country now faces the most serious economic future unless the United States continued to afford us assistance.

It is hoped, however, that consultations which have been suggested by Mr. Crowley, the Foreign Economic Administrator, will lead to some reconsideration of this situation and will assist the rehabilitation of our economic position, which must itself necessarily produce repercussions in the United States itself. In some quarters it has been suggested that the United States Administration might be "jerking the rug" from under the new Labour Government, thus presenting it with insurmountable economic difficulties. This view, however, has been hotly denied by the President. Lord Keynes has now left for the United States and Lord Halifax is expected to return there in a day or two. While there is, on the whole, considerable sympathy for the position in which this country, through no fault of its own, finds itself, there are also expressions of opinion that Britain is, to some extent, putting on an "act."

Interest in the King's Speech to Parliament, which was prominently reported, was a little overshadowed by the news from the Pacific. The majority of comment,

with the exception of the extremists in both camps, insisted that the Government obviously proposed to approach Socialism "slowly and circumspectly." But American fears about the implication of a Labour victory have certainly receded, and the Government's programme has been received with unconcealed relief. In the opinion of the conservative Scripps-Howard press the Socialist programme has been diluted from "fire-water to tea without lemon."

On the other hand, Mr. Bevin's speech on foreign affairs aroused widespread interest from both press and radio, and important papers such as the *New York Times* and the *New York Herald Tribune* reprinted the text in full. In general there is considerable praise for Mr. Bevin's forthright and unambiguous language, and particular pleasure has been expressed by many of the responsible middle-of-the-road papers such as the *Washington Star*, the *Baltimore Sun* and the *New York Times*, as well as by certain radio commentators, for the vigorous stand which Mr. Bevin took in favour of the freedom of the Balkans. This was felt to echo what is seen as the official United States attitude. "British commonsense," remarked Miss Dorothy Thompson, "is indestructible, and Bevin, like Left." Several newspapers made the comment that it was clear that Mr. Bevin, just Churchill, does not think a police State is progressive even if established by the as much as Mr. Churchill, had not been appointed a King's Minister to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire. But while there was considerable approval of the speech among Conservative and moderate opinion, which stressed the continuity and stability of British foreign policy, the Left wing and the Liberals were openly and deeply disappointed. These maintained that Mr. Bevin made a complete surrender to the worst part of Mr. Churchill's policy and "betrayed prejudice against the Soviet Union," while the *Daily Worker* went so far as to suggest that Mr. Bevin's address was an appeasement to American banking circles. As regards the Balkans, *P.M.* and its associates, who are a small though vociferous minority, accuse the British of playing into the hands of the Russophobes. The point most singled out for criticism by the extremists, however, was Mr. Bevin's passage on Spain, which was endorsed by President Truman, and his reference to Hong Kong—a colony which seems to have become the symbol of Britain's "ill-gotten gains." There was also disappointment at the omission of any reference to India and Palestine, concerning which Liberals had vaguely hoped for some change of British policy.

The Japanese "stalling" and the revengeful tone of the Japanese official statements and broadcasts have led to renewed uneasiness among Americans, and the general public is increasingly impatient with every sign of Japanese procrastination. The tenour of most comment has been admirably summed up by Van Devander's report of the Washington quip: "Do you think Japan's surrender is going to shorten the war?" However, concern has been considerably allayed by the nation-wide confidence in General MacArthur, by supposed indications that the delay is due to internal dissensions in Japan, and by the curt treatment accorded to the Japanese envoys in Manila. General MacArthur is being freely advised to "rub the Japs' noses in the dirt." The decision to retain the Emperor is accepted in all except Liberal circles, who draw parallels with earlier negotiations with Darlan and Badoglio.

This week has seen further changes in the State Department. On Friday Mr. Nelson Rockefeller made a speech at Boston denouncing the present Argentine Government. A day or two later, however, Mr. Rockefeller resigned his position as Assistant Secretary of State in charge of Latin American affairs, and, in his place, President Truman has appointed Mr. Spruille Braden, the United States Ambassador to Argentina. Mr. Byrnes, the Secretary of State, immediately issued a statement saying that Mr. Braden's appointment was "particularly a recognition of his accurate interpretation of the policy of this Government in its relations with the present Government of the Argentine. It would be his duty in his new post to see that the policies which he has so courageously sponsored in the Argentine are continued with unremitting vigour." Recently Mr. Braden was violently attacked in leaflets strewn in the streets of Buenos Aires, a campaign which he himself thought to have been instigated by foreign Nazi elements, and, on the face of it, his new appointment would seem to indicate that the United States attitude towards the Perón Government has considerably hardened. In place of Brigadier Holmes, who recently resigned as Assistant Secretary of State in charge of Administration, the President has announced, subject to Senate approval, the appointment of Colonel Frank McCarthy. Colonel McCarthy, who is only 33 years old, has acted as Liaison Officer between the White House and the General Staff, and in January 1944 was appointed Secretary of the General Staff. He will presumably be responsible for

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carrying out whatever recommendations for reorganisation emerge from the report which is being prepared by the Bureau of the Budget.

(For report of General de Gaulle's visit to the United States see under "France." See also under "Far East" and "Middle East".)

LATIN AMERICA.

After the recent disturbances in Buenos Aires the Argentine régime continues afloat, though there are signs that suggest the sinking ship. The Finance Minister, Dr. Irigoyen, has taken his departure, because, according to his own version, an army officer had demanded that he should sign a decree or resign. The Government has since issued an explanation vindicating the attitude of the officer, said to be the Commissioner for State Railways. Dr. Irigoyen has been succeeded by Dr. Antille, a former Senator, who, like the new Minister of the Interior, was promptly expelled from the Radical party. The Foreign Minister, Dr. Ameghino, has since tendered his resignation; and his successor is Dr. Juan Cooke, also a Radical, and indeed the most prominent political figure who has yet been willing to associate himself with the present régime.

As a sequel to demonstrations following the Agricultural Show, the police raided and searched the Rural Society's headquarters, alleging that leaflets attacking the Government had been printed there. This baiting of the eminently respectable Rural Society enables Colonel Perón to keep up his attack on the "forces of reaction" and he has again addressed and received support from his tame Trade Unions, while the Government has announced its refusal to permit an opposition meeting organised by the Socialists and has warned persons "who might go innocently" not to be "embroiled in clashes with the police which extremists may provoke." Demonstrations against Colonel Perón have been staged by lawyers at the law courts and by university students.

While the atmosphere in Argentina thus remains tense and overcharged, the régime will find little consolation in the speech delivered by Mr. Nelson Rockefeller at Boston, in which he roundly accused the Argentine Government of failure to fulfil the undertakings made at Mexico City. Still less comfort will it find in the resignation of Mr. Rockefeller as Assistant Under-Secretary of State in charge of Latin American Affairs and in the appointment in his place of Mr. Spruille Braden, who, as United States Ambassador in Buenos Aires, has won his spurs at Colonel Perón's expense. (See also under "United States.")

UNITED NATIONS.

U.N.R.R.A.: Third Session of the Council.

The third session of the Council of U.N.R.R.A., which has been meeting in London, ended on the 24th August. This third session is notable for having brought U.N.R.R.A. through a crisis which threatened an untimely termination of U.N.R.R.A.'s activities. U.N.R.R.A. is now charged with additional commitments. It has been resolved that Austria, Korea and Formosa shall be dealt with by U.N.R.R.A. as liberated areas. But more significant is the extension of relief to Italy. A programme of assistance "adequate to meet the urgent needs of the Italian population" is to be set on foot. This assumption of liability for Italian needs, though strenuously opposed by certain delegations, notably that of Yugoslavia, was in fact a condition of the provision of the additional funds which are indispensable if U.N.R.R.A. is to continue in operation. Hitherto the burden of Italian relief has fallen exclusively on the Governments of the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada; and to these Governments, themselves principal contributors to U.N.R.R.A., it has appeared only equitable that Italian relief should be included in the general scheme. The Council's agreement to this transfer accordingly smoothed the way for the resolution on additional contributions. The Council has recommended a second contribution by member Governments of approximately 1 per cent. of their national incomes; and the delegates of the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada have expressed their intention of recommending to their respective Governments compliance with the Council's recommendation. This financial resolution provides also for the more stringent control of expenditure which, as noted in the preceding *Summary*, constitutes a necessary condition of further British contribution. Henceforward programmes of operations will be subject to approval by the Central Committee, which will be advised by standing committees charged with the task of reviewing the financial situation of receiving countries.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary
No. 309

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
5TH SEPTEMBER, 1945.

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

SUPREME authority over Germany, which has been exercised *de facto* since the capitulation, was assumed *de jure* by the Governments of the United Kingdom, the United States and the Soviet Union, and by the Provisional Government of the French Republic, in a proclamation signed by the Allied Control Council at its fourth meeting in Berlin on the 30th August and broadcast to the German people at eight o'clock the same evening. This supreme authority, the proclamation stated, would be vested in the Control Council for all matters affecting Germany as a whole, but all military laws, orders and decrees issued by the Commanders-in-chief for the administration of their respective zones would remain valid in those zones.

By far the most pressing problem which has to be tackled in the Russian zone at the moment is the accommodation of the several millions of homeless and dispossessed Germans who have streamed in from the East. At the eighth meeting of the Inter-Allied Kommandantur in Berlin on the 30th August, Colonel-General Gorbatov stated that measures were being taken to accommodate the refugees. Yet the Soviet authorities have admitted that it is only in Berlin and Dresden in their zone that the German population receives fixed food rations and that elsewhere it has to fend for itself. Under such circumstances the chances of the refugees obtaining anything like regular relief and assistance would appear to be extremely slender. No confirmation has been received so far of an alleged order by the German provincial administration expelling all refugees from Saxony by the 31st August, although the local authorities may be expected to take such drastic measures if they are left to tackle the problem with only their own very limited resources. In Brandenburg the provincial President, Dr. Steinhoff, has had to forbid local authorities to expel refugees who have been settled there for some time. The situation has now been complicated by the sudden decision

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of the Soviet authorities, announced on the 30th August, to demobilise and repatriate some 412,000 German prisoners of war. These are already drifting westwards with the refugees and adding to the difficulties of feeding the population in all the Allied sectors of Berlin. Several thousand Protestant clergy are also stated to have been evicted by the Poles along with other Germans from the East, and about 100 of them have been permitted to settle in Berlin.

A hint that the British and American zones of Western Germany should be thrown open to the refugees was given in a broadcast on the 29th August by the head of the Social Affairs Department of the Berlin City Council, Ottomar Geschke, who is also a leading member of the Communist Central Committee. The Russian zone alone, Geschke said, would be insufficient to accommodate them. Complaining that "there was no clear-cut central directive how and where the refugees are to be passed on," he added that much had been left to local initiative and that the only general instruction was to send the refugees as far as possible to the northern parts of Brandenburg and to Mecklenburg. Although Geschke made no specific mention of the fact, the Military Government authorities in the British zone of Berlin are doing all that is possible to alleviate the sufferings of the refugees who pass through. The Political Directorate of the Control Council is also studying, along the lines laid down by the Berlin Conference decisions of the 2nd August, the whole question of the transfer of populations from Eastern Germany.

The tendency of the Communist Party to seize the initiative in formulating economic policy for the local German administrations in the Russian zone has again been apparent in a number of statements made on the 29th August by Walter Ulbricht, of the Communist Central Committee, on the question of reconstruction. Ulbricht said that in the new order of priorities for the rebuilding of Germany the production of coal and synthetic petrol, the repair of communications and the manufacture of building materials and agricultural equipment would come first. Employers who failed to co-operate to the best of their ability would be "weeded out" by the works councils, which were playing an active part in getting the factories back into production. Considerable divergence of views between the Communists and the other parties, despite the apparent similarity of aims which the "united front" has produced, was revealed in the various statements which were issued on the sixth anniversary of war by the German political leaders in Berlin. Only Wilhelm Pieck, the Chairman of the Communist Party, conceded that the Germans as a whole were responsible for the acts of their late Nazi leaders and that they "had to atone for the many crimes perpetrated against their neighbours." Dr. Waldemar Koch, the leader of the Liberal Democrats, made no reference to the war guilt of anyone except Hitler, and complained that the Germans "had got rid of Hitler, but Germany has been dragged into the abyss." Even Otto Grotewohl, the Social Democrat, claimed that there were "hundreds of thousands who only accepted against their will the war into which they were driven by Hitler." The Communists in Berlin are said to view with considerable antipathy, and to regard as a possible "Trotskyist" opposition, a closely-related group of anti-Nazis who call themselves the "Organisation of Soviet-German Activists" (Organisation Sowjet-Deutscher Aktivisten). This group, which professes to desire good relations with the Soviet occupying forces and pays lip-service to the Communist policy of reconstruction, is led by a hitherto obscure individual by the name of Dr. Kurt Gessen, but has apparently organised some opposition to the Nazis in the course of the war.

At its three-day conference at Frankfurt, which closed on the 29th August (see also last week's *Summary*), the United States Military Government has been able to complete much useful stocktaking, both of actual material resources, and of the experiences so far gained by the officers most intimately concerned with the administration of the American zone. Among the notable pronouncements of the conference was an intimation by the Director of the Reparations and Restitution Division of the United States Group Control Council, Colonel L. W. Jefferson, that it would be the aim of the American authorities to remove entire factory units from Germany in payment of reparations, and that "no plant would be rendered useless because one or other of the four Powers requires only specific pieces of machinery." Other spokesmen of Military Government revealed that about 25 per cent. of the German population would be dependent on some form of public relief this winter; that public utilities would have to manage on about one-third of their normal coal supplies, with no coal whatsoever for ordinary domestic consumption; and that the value of the food rations distributed in the American zone at the moment varied between 940 and 1,200

calories per person daily and could not be increased to the desired level of 2,000 calories daily without the import of 1¼ million tons of wheat to supplement this season's harvest.

The possibility of holding some form of political elections in the American zone this autumn was mooted by General Eisenhower at a press conference after the meeting of the Control Council on the 30th August. At the same time the American Commander-in-Chief intimated that the number of United States troops in Germany would be reduced before the end of winter from the present strength of approximately 2½ million to a fixed occupation force of about 400,000, and although it was impossible to estimate the probable duration of the occupation, the Americans "did not expect to stay long." Permission to organise regular political parties in preparation for the return of self-government has now been granted by the United States Military Government authorities at Frankfurt-am-Main and Stuttgart. At Stuttgart, however, membership of the parties is to be confined to persons residing within the city limits.

More information is now available on last week's Fulda Conference of the German Catholic bishops, and gives some indication of the way in which the bishops are likely to make their influence felt in post-war Germany. The Conference was attended by all bishops in the British and American zones, as well as by Bishop von Preysing of Berlin, who was flown as far as Frankfurt-am-Main in an American aircraft. One of the main items of discussion was the validity of the Concordat which the Nazis concluded with the Vatican on the 8th July, 1933, and which the bishops so far regard as binding. They would, however, appear to be satisfied if the three previous Concordats which this replaced were recognised by the Allies. The bishops requested to be allowed to pay visits to Rome. They also decided on the early reorganisation of Catholic instruction in the schools and on the immediate foundation of a new Catholic press, and considered the establishment of a relief unit (Hilfswerk) to assist the German refugees from the East and Sudetenland. The Papal Nuncio, Mgr. Cesare Orsenigo, was in attendance at the Conference, although, as is customary, he took no part in the deliberations and it has been suggested that the bishops would not object to his recall. (He was a close friend of Ribbentrop.) Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel of New Orleans, a native of Baden, has been mentioned as a possible successor.

Two notable developments during the week in the reorganisation of the German Evangelical Churches are the reappearance of Pastor Martin Niemoeller as one of the leaders of a Church Conference held at Treysa, near Marburg, between the 27th and 31st August, and the return to the American zone of Germany of the distinguished Swiss theologian Karl Barth, who led the Protestant opposition to the Nazis in 1934. During his subsequent ten years stay in Switzerland, Dr. Barth is said to have been closely associated with the Swiss branch of the "Free German" Committee. In the course of an outspoken address to the Treysa Conference, Pastor Niemoeller warned both the Allies and the Germans that there could be no real guarantee of what might happen in the Reich in another twenty years from now. "The germ of Nazism," he stated "is not one with which the Germans alone were infected. It has spread so widely that you can never eradicate it totally." The form of democracy suitable for Germany, he added, had not yet been found. "Weimar made the mistake of choosing the French form of democracy rather than the American or British."

AUSTRIA.

The Allied Council in Vienna will be established shortly. The Russians began on the 1st September to withdraw their administrative officials from the British, French and American sectors of Vienna, and to hand over the administrative headquarters in each sector. The Western Allies will now be responsible for the practical administration of their own sectors, but the distribution of food from the pool of supplies which have been arriving in Vienna under the agreement reached at the meeting of the Allied Commanders-in-Chief on the 23rd August (see last week's *Summary*) continues to be a Russian responsibility throughout Vienna. Long-term supply arrangements for Austria and the use for this purpose of supplies from Austria, Hungary and Roumania will be discussed at the forthcoming meeting of Foreign Secretaries.

M. Fierlinger, the Czechoslovak Prime Minister, speaking on the 28th August, said that Czechoslovakia intended to collaborate closely with the Austrian and Hungarian Governments. His Government desired to respect the

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rights of Austrian nationals in Czechoslovakia, and had no intention of compelling all Austrians to leave. Those Austrians with dependants, for instance, would not be compelled to go. The rights of the "representative of the Austrian Government in Prague" were being respected, and "to all intents and purposes he is already exercising the functions of a Minister." There was an Austrian consul in Brno, Moravska Ostrava was supplying coal to the Austrian railways, and Czechoslovakia would soon receive crude oil from Austria. The economic relations of the two countries, concluded M. Fierlinger, would gradually develop in conformity with their needs as close neighbours.

On the 29th August, the Cabinet Council of the Renner Government decided that people of non-Italian extraction from the part of the South Tyrol ceded to Italy in 1919, who emigrated to Austria after 1939, and who have not changed their domicile since the 27th April, 1945, and who have acquired German citizenship, should be treated, if they so request, as though they had held Austrian citizenship on the 13th March, 1938. This ruling does not apply to Nazis. On the 1st September the Viennese paper *Neues Österreich* quoted a report from the *Tiroler Tageszeitung* (published by the French Military Government of the Tyrol), of a petition to the Allied Governments by the Bishop of Brixen (Bressanone) and all parish priests of the South Tyrol, declaring that the German-speaking and Ladin population of the South Tyrol wished for the return of the province to Austria. *Neues Österreich* also reported the existence of a "League of Tyroleans in Vienna," whose slogan is "From Kufstein to the Salurner Klause, the linguistic border. We do not want the Italian-speaking part of the Tyrol." On the 2nd September Radio Vienna reported, as from Innsbruck, that there would be a South Tyrol rally on the 4th September, with demonstrations in the major district towns. Special trains would be run, and the *Landeshauptmann* and other important people would speak at Innsbruck.

A further step in the breaking down of the barriers between the zones in Austria was taken on the 1st September, when postal communications between the United States, British and French zones were resumed.

An important extension of the powers of the Communist Minister of the Interior in the Renner Government is contained in a law passed by the Provisional Government on the 29th August on the control of newsprint. A permit for the supply of newsprint must be obtained from the Minister of the Interior, who will only grant it if the periodical is "politically or economically important enough to warrant publication." This obviously gives Honner complete control of all publications wherever the writ of the Renner Government runs in Austria.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

The recently signed Presidential decree, when promulgated, will vest the legislative power for the whole of Czechoslovakia in the Provisional National Assembly. It authorises the setting-up of a Provisional Assembly with its seat in Prague and a single House of 300 members. To protect the interests of Slovakia, 100 will be Slovak; a majority of the votes of these members will be required to authorise any decision concerning the constitutional position of Slovakia. According to the decree, the Provisional Assembly will continue in office "until such time as the Constitutional National Assembly shall meet, elected by general, direct and secret elections based on the principles of proportional representation." Thus we have from the President's own desk a promise in black-and-white of return to the western democratic form of government.

The exact method of appointing members to the Provisional Assembly is still in doubt. Apart from conferring the vote upon all citizens over 18 and fixing the lower age limit for members at 21, the decree states that further regulations will be introduced concerning electors and candidates. A fear expressed is that the Communists might gain undue influence in the Provisional Assembly and prolong its life indefinitely. It is doubtful if such a plan is contemplated, all recent reports indicating that the Communist leaders have been taking a more moderate path—even to the extent of counteracting the younger Communists in U.R.O. (the Central Council of the Trade Unions). The most acceptable form of Assembly appears to be an all-party congress, each of the four political parties selecting an equal number of representatives from the already existing national committees and from such organisations as U.R.O. and the Youth Movement. The parties, if the National Socialists had their way, would be reduced to three by the disappearance of the Social Democrats, who would be forced to choose between the Socialists and the Communists. The Socialists have secured a victory

quite recently in the re-election of their chairman, Dr. Zenkl, as Lord Mayor of Prague. Undoubtedly, too, the report that Jan Masaryk intends to remain in his post as Foreign Minister is a reflection of the growing confidence felt by the non-Communist groups.

On the 20th August, the Czechoslovak Government handed a note to the Polish Government complaining about the behaviour of their authorities towards the Czech minorities in the areas of Kladsko (Glatz) Hlubčice (Loebshutz) and Ratibor—all parts of Silesia to which the Czechoslovak Government intends to lay claim at the Peace Conference. (See *Summaries* Nos. 297–303.) The fact that Potsdam confirmed the continuance of Polish civil administration in these areas does not, in the Czech view, prejudice the Czechoslovak claim. The Polish administration is accused of attempting to remove the Czech minorities, thus invalidating the Czechoslovak ethnographic argument and weakening its case at the Peace Conference. The methods used are said to be arbitrary and brutal; the plunder and maltreatment of Czech nationals under the wretched conditions obtaining have resulted in many deaths and in flight across the frontier; and, if continued, such methods would lead to the devastation and devaluation of any territory which might eventually be transferred. Prague has, in a note addressed to Mr. Nichols on the 26th August, requested the assistance of His Majesty's Government. So far, this note is the only account of the incidents affecting the Czech minorities, which, it must be remarked, are not numerous.

In a press statement at Brno last week, M. Fierlinger dealt with his Government's relations with Austria and Hungary. He claimed that only a "final, orderly and friendly" transfer of the German and Hungarian minorities would remove the causes of friction which had persisted between the wars. In the meantime, he aimed at the closest collaboration with the two countries; economic life was already reviving, as for example the export of coal from Moravská Ostrava to Austria; the rights of Austrian nationals were being fully respected, except that their claims in the industries and banks fell under the nationalisation decree; the Austrian representative in Prague was, practically speaking, already functioning as Minister.

M. Fierlinger is expected to arrive in London on the 4th September for a short visit as the guest of His Majesty's Government. His party includes Jan Masaryk, the Foreign Minister, and representatives of the Ministry of Information and the Slovak National Council. Czechoslovak film representatives are also visiting London with a view to augmenting the very small supply of British films which have so far been able to reach Prague; this is only one aspect of the lively interest which Czechoslovakia is showing in strengthening cultural relations with the west, and indicative of the serious cultural famine in Central Europe which many years of Nazi suppression and perversion have produced.

POLAND.

Trade agreements were concluded during last month with Sweden (21st August), Norway (29th August) and Denmark (30th August). Poland undertakes to supply mainly coal and coke during the period October 1945 to April 1946, and is to receive from Norway and Denmark mainly agricultural produce and fish; from Sweden mainly iron ore, pulp and machinery. Poland will receive assistance in regard to means of transport.

The system of political parties in Poland seems to be slowly evolving. There is still opposition in the Christian Democratic ("Labour") Party between M. Popiel, who went to Warsaw from London, and M. Felczak, who belongs to the Lublin group. Provisional Government circles apparently hope that those National Democrats who are ready to take part in politics will help to strengthen the Christian Democrats.

The main bulk of the Peasant Party has recently re-established its organisation, as the "Polish Peasant Party," under the leadership of MM. Witos, Mikolajczyk and Kiernik, and has issued a programme which expressly includes "full co-operation with the Government of National Unity."

This development had been preceded by several attempts to form a united Peasant Party which would also include the Peasant Group in the Lublin coalition, headed by M. Banczyk. According to the latter, such a united Peasant Party is still hoped for. The organs of the "Workers" (Communist) and (Lublin) Socialist parties have accused the Polish Peasant Party of splitting the party and the Government Coalition. Actually there is no split, as the regular Peasant Party had not given its support to M. Banczyk and the group that joined the Lublin Committee.

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It is hoped that arrangements for the repatriation of displaced persons and military personnel from western Germany will shortly come into operation. Repatriation from the Russian-occupied zone of Austria is reported to be almost complete.

SOVIET UNION.

The signature of the instrument of unconditional surrender by Japan was announced to the Soviet people by Generalissimo Stalin in a special broadcast on the 2nd September. The 3rd September was declared by a decree of the Præsidium of the Supreme Soviet to be a non-working day and a day of national celebration in the Soviet Union, as "the Day of Victory over Japan." In his broadcast Generalissimo Stalin stressed the uttter defeat of Japan by land and sea and recalled the "special accounts" his country had to settle with Japan dating from her treacherous attack on Port Arthur in 1904 to the Lake Khasan and Khalkin-Gol conflicts in 1938–39. In particular, he dwelt on the Japanese occupation of the Soviet Far East in 1918, and the advantages then gained by Japan owing to "the hostile attitude of Britain, France and the United States towards the Soviets." He claimed that, as a result of the defeat of Japan, Southern Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands would now pass to the Soviet Union to serve "not as a means of isolating the Soviet Union from the ocean and as a base for a Japanese attack on our Far East, but as a means of direct communication for the Soviet Union with the ocean and as a base for the defence of our country against Japanese aggression." In the name of the "few veterans of 1904" surviving, Lieut.-General A. A. Ignatiev, in another broadcast, hailed the destruction of predatory Japanese imperialism and the elimination of the Russian people's heavy memories of former defeat. (General Ignatiev was a young officer in the Tzarist Army during the Russo-Japanese war which he described in his recently published "A Subaltern in Old Russia".) A full account of the surrender ceremony in Tokio Bay and President Truman's speech (including his references to the atomic bomb) was broadcast on the 2nd September. Many Soviet press articles on the Far Eastern situation last week dwelt on "the ideology of the Japanese Samurai" and the necessity for the Allies to enforce complete moral and political defeat on Japan. "The voice of the Japanese people has not yet been heard" declared *Pravda* (2nd September). Articles in *Krasnaya Zvezda* described the difficulties overcome by the Soviet forces landing in the "strongly fortified Kurile Islands"; Japanese atrocities on Soviet soldiers as well as the civilian population of Korea and Manchuria were also frequently mentioned.

Criticism of the policy of His Majesty's Government as outlined in the Foreign Secretary's speech of the 20th August still figures prominently in the Soviet press. Further critical comment on the recent House of Commons debate, with special reference to Spain, South-Eastern Europe and the suggestions that the Governments of Bulgaria, Roumania and Hungary do not represent the majority of people, also appeared in *Izvestiya*. A *Tass* message from Stockholm (27th August), published in most papers, summarised a leader in the Communist daily *Ny Dag* criticising Professor Laski's attitude regarding Dmitroff's return to Bulgaria, and the Labour Government for defending Fascists . . . . "contrary to expectations." In contrast to the publicity given to British foreign policy, the Soviet press devotes little attention to British post-war economic problems apart from brief factual reporting of recent lend-lease statements. So far the internal programme of the Labour Government, including the nationalisation proposals of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, has not even been mentioned in the Soviet press. As already reported (see *Summary* No. 307), American post-war economic difficulties loom large in the Soviet press. The general impression given to the Soviet public, therefore, is that the Soviet Union alone among the Great Powers can face post-war economic problems with confidence.

The appeal for "closer bonds than correct diplomatic relations" among the Western nations which concluded the analysis of the political differences between Western and Eastern Europe in two recent articles in *The Times* on "The New Europe" (written by a correspondent, not the diplomatic observer of *The Times* as reported by the Soviet press), received very rough handling and considerable abuse from Soviet critics. The garbled version of these articles presented to the Soviet public ignored the sympathetic historical analysis of "eastward" trends in South-Eastern Europe, and accused *The Times* of acting as the mouth-piece of

the British Conservatives and preparing public opinion for the creation of a Western *bloc* to act as a new *cordon sanitaire* against the Soviet Union. Finally, the articles were said to reflect the struggle for a revision of the Potsdam and Yalta decisions, waged by certain circles in the interests of international monopolies. However unjustified, these polemics may be regarded as a further indication of Soviet anxiety about the possibility of the consolidation of progressive democratic forces in western Europe under Anglo-Saxon leadership.

Instead of the usual evening bulletin on the 29th August, Moscow wireless broadcast a list of the twenty-four war criminals to be tried at Nuremberg, with short biographical notes and a brief account of the four-Power talks which led to the formation of the War Crimes Commission. Commenting on this first list of war criminals, *Pravda* stated that it represented the three pillars of Hitlerite Germany: the Nazi Party, the generals and the plutocracy. "Punishment is not simply retribution," concluded *Pravda*, "it is justice and the peoples expect and demand its speedy relentless execution."

The spate of material concerning the alleged "capitalist-monarchist terror in Greek Macedonia" (mostly quotations from the Yugoslav press) continues to appear in the Soviet papers. *Izvestiya* (30th August) describing its special correspondent's tour in Yugoslavia mentioned a visit to "Burkes village, which has become the home of more than 4,000 anti-Fascist Greek exiles and refugees." The correspondent was asked (according to *Izvestiya*) to report the disappointment of those Greeks who had fought the ideals of the United Nations, and their gratitude to Marshal Tito for granting them sanctuary. Fifteen thousand were alleged to be in Yugoslavia and many thousands in Bulgaria.

An Albanian anti-Fascist Youth Delegation is now visiting the Soviet Union, and has left for Baku after spending two weeks in Moscow. While in Moscow this Delegation was brought in touch with a Delegation from the Democratic Delegation of Finnish Youth, also visiting Moscow at the same time.

On the resumption of diplomatic relations between the U.S.S.R. and Roumania, an agreement was concluded for tranforming the Soviet Legation in Roumania, and the Roumanian Legation in the U.S.S.R. into Embassies and to raise the Ministers to the rank of Ambassadors, according to a *Tass* message of the 28th August.

The Soviet press for the 21st August reports that by an order of the People's Commissariat for Trade, prices for foodstuffs in commercial shops in Moscow, Leningrad and other towns of the centre and north are to be reduced by an average of fifteen per cent. from the 21st August. Commercial shops are also to reduce prices on a number of other commodities from the 21st August. Enamel and aluminium kitchen utensils will be 50 per cent. cheaper, cosmetics 34 per cent., electrical appliances 26 per cent., men's shoes 20 per cent. and ready-made woollen clothes 15 to 20 per cent. In spite of these reductions, Soviet prices for food and other consumption goods in the commercial shops will remain relatively high.

SCANDINAVIA.

Dissatisfaction at the slowness of the purge in Denmark makes it increasingly doubtful whether the Coalition Government can survive in its present form until elections are held. The two Ministers representing the Dansk Samling Party have stated that they will leave the Government unless a Bill for the confiscation of war profits is introduced within a few days, and the other Ministers from the Resistance Movement are said to be pressing for such action, though they may not be prepared to resign on the issue. Recent appointments by M. Christmas Møller at the Foreign Ministry are also tending to undermine confidence in the Government.

The Danish Conservatives propose in their election programme joint Scandinavian citizenship and self-determination for the Faeroese people. M. Christmas Møller has rejoined the Conservative Party though he has refused the chairmanship.

The Danish Council in London held its final meeting on the 29th August.

Sentence of death on Quisling was demanded by the Norwegian Public Prosecutor on the 31st August. According to a document prepared by Quisling's Minister of Commerce in March 1944 and discovered by the prosecution, Germany received from Norway during the occupation goods to the value of 2,000 million kr., apart from those delivered to the army of occupation, while Norway received from Germany goods to the value of 393 million kr.

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On the 28th August, the Constitutional Law Committee of the Finnish Diet received the opinion of the Supreme Court on the War Guilt Bill. This opinion is believed to be unfavourable, and it is interesting in this connexion to note that, according to an unconfirmed report from Copenhagen, the President of the Supreme Court, M. Neovius, has resigned from his post as a protest against the unconstitutional nature of the Bill. Three days later the Committee completed the first reading of the Bill, the scope of which, reports say, it intends to enlarge. No final decision has, however, been made and no further details are available.

The British Labour Party's telegram, on the 28th August, to the Finnish Social Democratic Party was received with enthusiasm. It is easy to understand that the Social Democrats, who, in contrast to the Democratic League, do not enjoy any support from abroad, should have been pleased by this friendly gesture from the Party which recently attained power in Great Britain.

The appointments of the Minister of Communications and Public Works, M. Vuori, and the Minister of Agriculture, M. Jutila, as Finnish Ministers to the Court of St. James's, and at Washington respectively, are a little surprising. Neither is a diplomat by profession, and it can, therefore, only be assumed that as these posts are regarded as key positions by the Finns, it has been the desire of the Finnish Government to appoint men with exceptional understanding of Finland's present-day problems. In the case of M. Vouri, the thought that his appointment was influenced by the result of the British Parliamentary Elections readily presents itself to the mind.

LOW COUNTRIES.

In a statement on the first phase of the general monetary reorganisation in the Netherlands, Professor Lieftinck, the Minister of Finance, has announced that the withdrawal of the 100 fl. notes had reduced the note circulation by 1,750 million fl. At the same time the measure had caused the public to hand in to the banks hoarded notes of other denominations, the total result being a drop in circulation from about 5,000 fl. to about 2,700 million fl. (The 1939 figure was 1,000 million fl.) A larger circulation was, however, necessary in view of the fact that the price level had risen by 50 per cent. With the increase in deposits the banks had been able to purchase large amounts of Treasury paper, thus greatly strengthening the Treasury's position and enabling it not only to redeem Treasury paper directly entrusted to the Netherlands Bank amounting to 600 million fl. at the beginning of July, but also to clear an advance of 13 million fl. creating instead a credit of 309 million fl. Referring to the difference between bank note and total money circulation, the Minister pointed out that the only real reduction in the latter was represented by the value of the withdrawn notes not handed in, which, on the 20th August amounted to about 500 million fl. The national debt, the Minister stated, had risen during the war from about 5 to about 23 milliard florins.

Vice-Admiral Helfrich has been promoted to the rank of Lt.-Admiral and appointed Commander of the entire Royal Netherlands Navy in succession to Lt.-Admiral Furstner, who has been honourably discharged on his appointment as a member of the Council of State.

The position of M. Spaak, the Belgian Foreign Minister, has been greatly strengthened both at home and abroad by his success in winning the support of the opposition in the Senate debate on foreign affairs, at the conclusion of which a vote of confidence was moved by the chief opposition spokesman, M. Nothomb, was carried unanimously. Dealing first with the economic aspect of Belgium's foreign relations, M. Spaak announced that he would shortly be accompanying M. Kronacker and M. Gutt to the United States to discuss the problem of Belgium's Lend-Lease position (see last week's *Summary*). The financial negotiations with France, the Netherlands and the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg were on the point of completion. M. Spaak emphasised that Belgium's desire for close association with her neighbours in the defence of Western European security must always be considered as falling within a system of world security which provided the only real assurance of peace. The debate on the bill for the ratification of the San Francisco agreements would take place the following week. Negotiations for the establishment of a Belgian sector in the British zone of occupation in Germany were in progress. Discussing the question of reparations, M. Spaak pointed out that Belgium's case would have to be dealt with in conjunction with that of all the other Allies. A mission would shortly be leaving for Berlin to put forward Belgian claims. These would not

include any demand for large-scale annexation of German territory, but would be limited to the request for certain frontier adjustments, and for a share in the international exploitation of the Ruhr and in the electric power resources, the products of the forests and of the coal and the lignite mines adjacent to her eastern frontier.

FRANCE.

General Leclerc signed on behalf of France when the Japanese surrender was formally received by the Allied leaders in Tokyo Bay on the 2nd September. The position in Indo-China, however, appears to be causing some anxiety in France. French Indo-Chinese troops under the command of General Alessandri are accompanying the Chinese troops of occupation into northern Indo-China (see last *Summary* under "Far East"), and Admiral Thierry d'Argenlieu is shortly to arrive in the country at the head of a body of colonial administrators now waiting in Ceylon, while a French expeditionary force is also being prepared in Madagascar. But it is admitted that there is a certain amount of anti-French agitation, fostered by the Japanese, particularly in Annam. In Laos loyalty to France appears to be strengthened by the hope of regaining the provinces lost to Siam in 1941, and the French Government is taking a firm stand on this issue, which it wishes to settle directly with the Siamese Government.

General de Gaulle arrived in Ottawa from Chicago on the 28th August, and on the following day he held a press conference, had conversations with Mr. Mackenzie King and attended an official luncheon given by the Governor-General. On the 30th he arrived back in Paris by plane and later reported to the Cabinet, emphasising particularly the long discussions on economic questions and the arrangements made for the grant of long-term credits amounting to 650 million dollars by the United States and for Canadian economic assistance to France.

Official circles in France continue to be preoccupied by the German problem. M. Bidault, accepting the Foreign Secretary's invitation to the Conference of Foreign Ministers in London, has stated that the French Government considered that the problems of occupation and control of Germany should take first place on the agenda of the Conference.

After meetings called in Paris by the *Confédération Générale du Travail* (C.G.T.) it was agreed to send a delegation representing the Radical, Socialist and Communist parties and the C.G.T., led by M. Léon Jouhaux, to General de Gaulle to ask him to substitute for the proposed voting system in the general elections a more complete system of proportional representation. General de Gaulle, however, refused to receive the delegation on the ground that such a political *démarche* did not lie within the scope of activity legally allowed to the C.G.T. On the question of the referendum and the Constituent Assembly (see *Summary* No. 306) the Communists, Socialists, Radicals and *Mouvement Républicain Populaire* have now defined their attitude; only the Radicals will vote for a return to the 1875 Constitution; the Socialists and M.R.P. will vote "yes" to the second question proposing a Constituent Assembly with limited powers, but the Communists will vote against it.

The Communist Party Central Committee has passed a resolution regretting the Socialist rejection of its proposals for fusion but agreeing to united action by the two parties at the forthcoming elections (see *Summary* No. 307).

A satisfactory agreement signed on the 29th August has been reached between the British and French Governments for the restoration of the bank balances and other property previously held by the Custodian of Enemy Property and his French equivalent.

Following on M. Pineau's optimistic pronouncement of the 23rd August (see last *Summary*), the Cabinet decided on the 28th to raise the prices of potatoes, sugar-beet and wine, and to grant bonuses for quick delivery of wheat. The present system of quotas for deliveries of meat is to be abolished from the 1st October for all farmers who have met their obligations by that date, and farm meat prices will become free again. The monthly fat ration will be raised from 500 to 600 gr. from the 1st October. It is even hoped to abolish bread rationing in November. In consequence of these decisions black market prices for meat and fats are said to be falling.

(See also under "Tangier," "Middle East" and "Far East.")

ERRATA.

See last week's *Summary*. The 7th line from the bottom of page 10 should be followed by "sessions. The reappearance of M. Daladier, who indulged in a lengthy defence," and the 5th line from the bottom should be deleted.

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SWITZERLAND.

A Swiss hospital train carrying the last few hundred Russians who were too ill to go with the main body of the repatriates, left Switzerland on the 30th August. The hope was expressed that the return journey might be utilised for the repatriation of Swiss at present in Russia.

The deportation of Nazis and Fascists continues hampered, but it is by the large numbers of appeals that have been lodged against the expulsion orders. A Socialist resolution has been forwarded to the Federal Department of Justice and Police demanding the immediate internment in labour camps of those whose appeals have not yet been heard. Countess Edda Ciano, whose presence has been the subject of prolonged and vehement criticism from the Swiss Left Wing, left the country via Chiasso during the night of the 29th August. She was received at the Italian frontier by American military authorities who will hand her over to the Italian Government. This, however, has been described by the Swiss authorities as a case of repatriation rather than expulsion.

At the Swiss Abroad Congress, Federal Councillor Petitpierre, head of the Political Department, stated that the war had caused the death of 376 Swiss living abroad, while another 55 were missing; 2 had been executed in Germany, and 10 in France; 16 had died in prison. Many thousands of Swiss in Central and Eastern Europe were to-day cut off from contact with their own country. The Federal Council was occupied with the question of obtaining indemnities for the losses sustained by Swiss living abroad, but the problem was proving a very complex one. So far about 35 million Swiss francs had been spent on relief for Swiss returning from abroad.

The Swiss Relief Organisation has been active in supplying help for the stricken countries. Food has been sent to Austria, mainly for children and invalids. A consignment of food and medicines will leave in a few days for Hungary. A vessel chartered by Switzerland has left Genoa for Lisbon, where it will be loaded with food-stuffs belonging to Switzerland, which are to be conveyed to Italy for the alleviation of the population's distress. A welfare mission of the Swiss Help-for-Poland Organisation, taking with them medical equipment and supplies, left St. Margrethen on the 30th August to visit Polish prisoner-of-war camps in Austria and South Germany.

SPAIN.

General Franco has called a meeting of the Spanish Cabinet for the 7th September. Troubles there are in plenty, apart from the question of Tangier. The prolonged drought in certain regions has created serious unemployment, and evidence of growing economic distress accumulates. There is the Republican Government set up in Mexico City, which the Caudillo may affect to ignore for the moment but which casts its shadow over the future. And the new upsurge of Monarchist sentiment which is reported from the chief Spanish capitals is a sharp reminder that there are forces inside Spain capable of deciding, after the Potsdam Declaration and Mr. Bevin's statement, that the Head of the State has outlived his usefulness.

It is now known that three weeks ago General Franco took the initiative in reopening negotiations with the claimant to the Throne. First the distinguished Catalan, Señor Mateu (*de facto* Spanish representative in Paris and Ambassador-elect against the time when and if Franco-Spanish relations emerge from their present negative state) went to Lausanne with certain proposals which Don Juan, apparently, brushed aside. Then Señor J. M. Oriol Urquijo, a Basque industrialist and former Civil Governor of Bilbao, was summoned by the Caudillo and asked to convey to Don Juan a definite invitation to return to Spain so soon as satisfactory arrangements for the change-over to the Monarchy could be made. It was understood that the Falange Party would first have to be formally dissolved. The support of the army for this plan, said the message, was assured. General Franco wanted only some guarantee that his work would be continued, and that he himself be allowed to live on quietly in Spain in some honorary capacity.

The reports brought back by these two emissaries must have been somewhat chilling. Don Juan, advised by Señor Lopez Olivan, has, it appears, rejected a suggestion for a personal meeting, and has demanded a formal renunciation of their powers by Franco and his principal associates. He insists, that is to say, on a clean cut. In his laudable desire to avoid civil war Don Juan is said to be

thinking in terms of a "caretaker" Government—a military junta—which would institute within three months free elections for a Constituent Assembly combined with a plebiscite on the issue of Monarchy or Republic. Some such procedure is undoubtedly the best, if not the only, chance for establishment of a stable Monarchist régime. Whether the timorous Generals will be prepared to play that hand remains to be seen. Everything depends on them. Nothing in Franco's past behaviour, in any case, suggests that he will accept what is tantamount to dismissal.

And now, just at the right moment, Franco has secured a powerful reinforcement in the shape of a Pastoral Letter (on the occasion of the end of the war) by the Primate of Spain, Mgr. Pla y Daniel, which has an uncommonly political flavour. This document, published in all Spanish papers on the 2nd September, offers first a solemn assurance on the part of the prelates and the community of the faithful that, whatever the critics may say, the Church in Spain maintained during the war "the most perfect neutrality." Then comes a long passage regarding the political evolution of the country and the final form (*estructuración*) which the Spanish State should assume. It would be well, writes His Grace, to eliminate from the Spanish State anything that might give ground for distrust of external forms, even when the spirit was different. The country should not, however, be exposed to violent political fluctuations which would lead her to chaos, though new channels should be opened for the expression of legitimate opinions. And facilities should be given for the return to Spain of all Spaniards who would not disturb the peace of the country: past "responsibilities" should be considered as cancelled. These Christian sentiments are unexceptionable, but they do not go further than General Franco's own professions. Once again, "*mucho ruido, pocas nueces*," even though the nuts be archiepiscopal. (See also "Latin America.")

TANGIER.

The Final Act embodying the conclusions of the Paris Conference on the subject of Tangier (see *Summary* No. 306), together with an Anglo-French Agreement providing for restoration of the international status of the Zone, was signed by representatives of the four Powers—France, Great Britain, United States and the Soviet Union—on the 31st August. This Agreement contains (*a*) particulars of the proposed Interim International Administration, scheduled to come into force on the 11th October next, (*b*) an invitation to the United States and Soviet Governments to participate in the provisional régime, and (*c*) arrangements (set forth in Resolution I of the Final Act) for summoning a Conference of all the Powers signatory to the Act of Algeciras, to be held in Paris within six months from the 11th October, to consider any necessary revision of the Statute of 1923 or changes in the pattern of the International Administration on the understanding, however, that the conference will be postponed if the present Spanish régime is still in power (see last paragraph below). The signatory States not represented in the conference which has just concluded—Belgium, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and Sweden—have been duly notified of these decisions and have been informed that the Franco-British Agreement is open to their adherence. It is contemplated that the principal administrative posts under the provisional régime shall be filled by nationals of those Powers having least direct interest in the Zone.

The text of the Agreement was communicated to the Spanish Government on the 4th September. General Franco is requested to make the necessary arrangements for termination of the present régime and for transfer of all the functions of the present Spanish administration to the Committee of Control *redivivus*. Participation of the Spanish Government in the Interim Régime is assumed. His Majesty's Government regard such participation as necessary (*a*) for the sake of legal continuity—reversion to the *status quo* being a necessary preliminary to any future modification of the Statute, (*b*) because of the considerable Spanish interests in the Zone, and (*c*) for the severely practical reason that Spain has responsibility for provisioning the Zone, and, should that duty devolve on Great Britain and the United States, it would be an embarrassing addition to their supply commitments in liberated Europe.

It was not found possible, however, to obtain the concurrence of the Soviet Government in this view. The Russians have therefore inserted in the Final Act a Declaration setting out their view that Spain should not participate in the

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ITALY.

At a press conference in Rome on the 27th August, Signor Parri, the Italian Prime Minister, gave his views on the holding of elections in Italy. Signor Parri is clearly of the opinion that it would be a mistake to hold the election to the Constituent Assembly before the Peace Treaty is signed or before Italy has a satisfactory international status. Signor Parri went on to say that he, personally, felt that certain conditions were necessary before the Constituent Assembly could be summoned. Not only does Italy need to attain to international status but the technical details of an election must be thoroughly prepared, since, for the first time, all citizens above a certain age, including women, would vote. This would raise the electorate to the imposing figure of 30 millions. Moreover, a free and honest election must be guaranteed, and this could only be done if the political parties would pledge themselves to co-operate to this end. For these reasons it was extremely difficult to fix a date but, said Signor Parri, not only the Government but he personally, was pledged to hold the election to the Constituent Assembly at the earlier possible moment. Signor Cattani, the Secretary-General of the Liberal Party, in a statement to the press, raised another difficulty in the way of holding the election this autumn. Signor Cattani expressed his gratification at Mr. Bevin's statement that the problem of the repatriation of the Italian prisoners of war can be solved because, in Signor Cattani's opinion, it would be impossible to hold an election of such importance while a million young men were out of the country and because time would in any case be needed for them to get a balanced view of the situation in Italy. According to Signor Cattani the preparatory work for the holding of the election has hardly begun nor has a start been made in drafting the necessary electoral laws. This, in conjunction with the lack of communications and of public order, precluded any possibility of holding the election this autumn.

A statement issued by the United Press in Rome to the effect that His Majesty's Government would invite the Council of Foreign Ministers not to proceed with the consideration of the Italian Peace Treaty until there existed an Italian Government elected on a democratic basis has been categorically denied by the British Foreign Office.

On the 1st September Signor Parri addressed the Congress of the Committees of National Liberation held at Milan and dealt with a large number of problems. In reference to the Committees he said that he did not believe that they constituted a threat to the authority of the State, for they were mainly concerned in carrying out tasks of a provisional nature. They must recognise the limits of their powers; final responsibility belonged to the State. Co-ordination between local, provincial and regional committees was essential, and they could only carry out their tasks if they transcended Party differences. Discussion in the Congress emphasised the importance of free elections and linked with this the demand for the surrender of hidden arms before elections were held. Both points were taken up by Signor Parri, who declared that the Constituent Assembly would be the crowning point of the struggle of the National Liberation Movement, but added that he would be the first to quash an election vitiated by violent pressure or threats: "a freely-elected Constituent Assembly is a pledge of honour for the Government, for me and for the whole country."

Signor Parri also spoke of the over-centralisation of the Italian State, and said that the Government was still working with machinery inherited from Fascist and pre-Fascist days, machinery which could not be transformed overnight.

Signor Parri returned to the question of excessive centralisation in a speech which he made to a delegation from the Val d'Aosta at Turin on the 2nd September. He said that the grant of autonomy to the Val d'Aosta was

bound to evoke similar demands from other parts of Italy, and mentioned specifically Sicily, Sardinia and Venezia Tridentina. This last region had good reasons for asking for autonomy, and the Government would endeavour to ascertain its real needs.

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

The Hungarian-Soviet Trade Agreement was signed in Moscow on the 27th August. The Hungarian signatories were the Ministers of Industry (Social Democrat) and Communications (Communist). It is, however, subject to ratification. Valid for five years, it provides for a reciprocal exchange of goods to the value of 30 million dollars between September 1945 and December 1946. Hungary will receive fertilisers, raw materials for her metal industries and textile raw materials, and will supply finished textile and other products. The agreement also provides for "economic collaboration" which takes the form of most far-reaching Soviet participation in and control of Hungarian industry, oil and coal production, communications and banking.

The Soviets have announced that they will repatriate to Hungary all Hungarian prisoners of war except those who served with the S.S., &c. Some thousand prisoners "who during their captivity learned the Soviet Union's true character, so often maligned by reaction," are apparently on their way. The agreement seems also to apply to soldiers who surrendered to Tito.

The Hungarian Government has again protested to the Allies against the alleged persecution of Magyars in Slovakia, and the press of all colours contains many indignant articles on the subject.

The important municipal elections for Budapest are now announced for the 7th October. An inter-party conference secured various last-minute alterations in the draft Electoral Law, which is to serve as a basis for the law for the later national elections.

Credit for these modifications is claimed by both the Smallholders and the Communists. Generally they are in the direction of moderation: other parties besides the five in the Independence Front may, if approved by the National Committee for Hungary (to which the Bourgeois Democrats have been readmitted), put forward candidates; the enormous list of disqualifications has been drastically reduced; and the Trade Unions will apparently not have the separate representation hitherto enjoyed by them. The age-limit has, however, been lowered to 20.

In the Budapest elections the Social Democrats have, with ill-concealed reluctance and by a narrow majority vote, agreed to put forward a joint list with the Communists. This concession does not necessarily apply to the national elections. Meanwhile a considerable fraction of the Socialists continue to affirm their loyalty to their allies, the Smallholders, between whom and the Communists mutual recriminations fly daily.

The cost of living rose another 14·5 per cent. between the 10th to 20th August; but the Minister of Finance has said that there is no prospect of dangerous inflation. Potato rationing is to be introduced and there are more bitter complaints of the bread shortage. Railway communication with Vienna has been reopened.

Roumania.

No way out of the Roumanian *impasse* has yet been found. The following is an outline of the course of events during the last few days. Following on the Communist demonstrations of the 23rd August comes the news of the "discovery" of a "terrorist plot" to overthrow the Government. An enormous mass of "evidence" has come to light in an incredibly short space of time. Some of the leaders, all of them entirely unheard of people, have been arrested and have confessed. The whole business runs on familiar lines. For a long time past the ruling clique has been seeking an excuse for taking action against Bratianu, Maniu and Radescu. Radescu has not actually been placed under house arrest, but has withdrawn into seclusion of his own accord. The Roumanian Radio gives thrilling details of the activities of the "terrorists," with a promise of more to come. Roumanian methods of extorting confessions from accused persons are crude, but in this case show signs of being less so than usual.

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King asked for Groza's resignation. Dl Petrescu has now explained that while five out of nine members were originally in favour of withdrawal, the party Committee eventually decided by six votes to three that this step should not be taken while the matter was under consideration by the Allied Powers. He was in favour of trying to form a coalition Government. Dl Vişoianu, who was a member of General Sanatescu's Government, suggests a single party Government responsible solely to the King, subject to the general supervision of the Allied Control Commission and concerned only with administrative and non-political matters. Dl Durma, the Minister of Finance, has announced his resignation. He is inclined to be a "professional resigner," and has threatened resignation on previous occasions. If he really means it this time, his going would at the moment complicate the difficulties of administration.

It is reported, but it is only a report, that Tatarescu is concerned with a move to bring back the former King, Carol. It now appears that he has not been granted a residence permit for France. The Portuguese authorities have, therefore, cancelled their visa, and Carol did not sail from Rio de Janeiro on the 3rd September as he had arranged to do. It is felt by responsible quarters in Roumania that at all costs Carol should be prevented from reappearing on the scene.

Dr. Groza and Dl Tatarescu are due to arrive in Moscow on the 6th September.

It is reported from Constanţa that there has been an almost complete stoppage of unloading of U.N.R.R.A. supplies for Poland and Czechoslovakia. This is apparently due to mismanagement on the part of the Roumanian authorities. No American ships will be allowed to proceed to Constanţa for the present.

Yugoslavia.

Radio Belgrade (2nd September) announced that the Constituent Assembly will finally decide the country's form of government (*i.e.*, there will be no plebiscite on the Monarchy), and that the Assembly "will ratify all the laws passed before it was convened." [Thus the views of the Assembly have been already decided for it.] The elections for the Assembly are to take place on the 11th November. On the 1st September the register of electors was closed and had to be submitted to inspecting commissions on the 2nd. Fourteen days are allowed from the 20th September for corrections and alterations in the register. Many persons have already been disfranchised (and thereby also rendered ineligible for any representative body) by votes of public meetings or by delation, including over 14,000 in Belgrade. One of the small opposition group of Democrats in the Temporary Parliament has been disfranchised by the vote of a meeting at his town.

On the 26th August the Temporary Parliament unanimously passed a resolution claiming for Yugoslavia the whole of Venezia Giulia, together with a small portion of Udine province and the uninhabited island of Pelagosa.

The press campaign against Greece was violent. *Borba* (2nd September) said that Mr. Bevin had been misinformed about the Slavs in Greece. This, however, may have conveyed little to *Borba*'s readers, since the parts of Mr. Bevin's speech (20th August) dealing with Greco-Yugoslav relations, as well as those on Hungary, Bulgaria and Roumania, were suppressed by the Belgrade censorship. To the United States Government's proposal for an inter-Allied commission of investigation into Greco-Yugoslav frontier incidents, the Yugoslav Government replied accepting, provided that the commissioners represented France, Great Britain, the United States and the U.S.S.R., that Yugoslavia should only accept the unanimous decisions of the commission, and that the commission's main task should be to investigate the "terror of the Greek Monarcho-Fascists upon the Slav population."

The Yugoslav Government applied for visas for a delegation to the "Peace Conference" at London. It has been explained to them that the Council of Foreign Ministers is a Five Power body, and that it is for the Council to invite representatives of other Powers.

The movement of first-line troops from Slovenia to Macedonia has been reported. So have the storage near Belgrade of large quantities of oil from Russia and Roumania and the working, twenty-four hours a day, of factories with stocks of war material. Yugoslavia continues to keep so large an army mobilised as greatly to add to her economic difficulties.

The flight or "liquidation" of the German Minority in the Vojvodina, numbering over 300,000 in 1944, has left much land, which they had rendered extremely fertile, available. The Belgrade radio has said that 40,000 families,

of whom half are to come from Bosnia and Montenegro, are to be settled in the Vojvodina. It was stated that for the present the land is to be tilled collectively, and it was added that "the State expects the settlers to show the same enthusiasm as they did when fighting for their freedom."

Greece.

The Greek Government has been shaken anew by the resignation, on the 2nd September, of M. Varvaressos, Vice-President of the Council and Minister of Supply. In a statement issued the same day Admiral Voulgaris explained that, in the interests of stability and in view of the Regent's imminent departure for London, the Government would not, as in normal times, also resign, but would remain in office and find new means of carrying out M. Varvaressos's economic programme. M. Varvaressos on the 3rd September declared that he had for some time been under attack from powerful economic and industrial interests who showed themselves determined, by a concerted campaign costing millions of drachmæ, to sabotage his economic policy. He hoped that his resignation would bring this campaign to an end, and with it the suffering imposed on the Greek people by the artificial scarcities and soaring prices it had involved.

This, however, is not the whole story. It may be, though British observers are inclined to doubt it, that there has been such a conspiracy—a recent spate of hostile criticism directed against Varvaressos personally by the previously favourable Right-wing press lends some support to this hypothesis; but M. Varvaressos also contributed to his own downfall. The policy of economic control he inaugurated in June (see *Summary* No. 297), with the support of nearly all sections of the community, depended for its ultimate success first on the efficiency with which the controls were applied, and secondly on the confidence and co-operation of producers, manufacturers and public. He failed, partly for reasons outside his control, to secure the fulfilment of these conditions. Efficient Government control on the British model has seldom if ever been achieved by any Greek Government; but M. Varvaressos, instead of extending existing machinery to a more adequate scale, concentrated more and more functions in his own hands. Thus, when the commodity market was emptied, and hoarding renewed by public uneasiness during the Government crisis early in August, the Ministry of Supply found itself powerless to do more than issue warnings against the black market. Olive oil, the key commodity of Greek economy, practically disappeared from the open market, although, according to Varvaressos's own estimate, stocks in the hands of Ægean Islands producers amounted to some 18,000 tons; a Government olive oil mission to Crete collected only 200 tons. M. Varvaressos's request of the 21st August (which could not immediately be met) for 4,000 tons of oil or fats, 2,000 tons of soap, and 2,000 tons of cheese from Allied stocks was a clear admission of failure to ensure the distribution of local supplies.

M. Varvaressos also failed to secure the co-operation of Greek industrialists; how far this failure should be attributed to their resentment of his extraordinary taxation measures is difficult to guess, but he has not shown readiness to understand their difficulties, and on one occasion refused to discuss proposals put forward by leading members of the Federation of Greek Industries. Whatever the cause, the effects have been inordinate delay in the production of textiles, &c., from the raw materials imported by U.N.R.R.A., and a great scarcity of consumer goods. This in its turn, by offering the producer no return for his goods except the currency that years of inflation have taught him to distrust, has increased the tendency to hoarding.

Admiral Voulgaris hopes to meet this situation by a number of new appointments and the creation of an advisory economic council on which important industrial interests will be represented.

The appointment of M. Petros Gounarakis as Minister of the Interior has caused little comment. There have been few political developments, though the northern tour of M. Zachariadis and his entourage has not been free of incident. The Regent Archbishop is expected to leave for London this week.

Albania.

It has now been confirmed that in October 1944 Albanian military authorities occupied the small Italian island of Saseno, which lies about 10 miles west of the Albanian port of Valona.

It has been reliably reported that the Yugoslavs have one military mission in each of the following Albanian towns: Tirana, Scutari, Durazzo and Argyrokastro. The head of the Argyrokastro mission claims that his purpose is to

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repatriate Yugoslavs. It is, however, understood that there are, in fact, no stranded Yugoslavs in this area at all.

Under the agreement signed with Hoxha on the 1st August U.N.R.R.A. arranged to provide Albania with 10,000 tons of goods monthly. Complaint is made in the *F.N.C.* newspaper that this quantity is barely sufficient for the country's needs, and that by the 27th August "only 1,286 tons" had actually been delivered. In reality, the main problem is that of distribution. In a backward, mountainous country like Albania lorries make the entire difference between the success or failure of the relief programme.

Bulgaria.

The last-minute postponement of the Natonal Elections was only the most remarkable of several salutary effects which the combined stand taken up by the United States and this country quickly had upon affairs in Bulgaria. For one thing, Mme. Tsola Dragoitcheva and her associates on the National Committee of the Fatherland Front actually admitted in their public declaration on the 26th August that Bulgaria had brought some of her misfortunes upon herself. "Our country," they say, "through the fault of its former Fascist rulers, placed itself in the Hitlerite robber camp and is, consequently, a defeated country." Naturally, all the opposition elements were greatly encouraged, and already by the afternoon of the 25th a number of manifestos signed by Nikola Petkov and his adherents had been affixed in the streets of Sofia and were being read with interest. One declaration by Petkov, Stoyanov, Cheshmedzhiev, Pavlov, Bumbarov and Derzhanski explained the reasons for their resignation from the Government and contained the following passage: "It is never too late to correct mistakes. . . . . The Fatherland Front and its component political organisations will now be cleansed, the elections postponed, and the course set for the faithful execution of our programme, such as alone will really lead us to a free, independent, democratic and strong Bulgaria." The Zveno party newspaper quoted extensively from this and other similar pronouncements on the 26th and concluded: "All these free manifestations by political organisations and persons show that the country is returning to a completely normal political life." In another issue it boldly referred to Petkov as being still Secretary of the Agrarian Union, and then indicated as an afterthought that another Agrarian Union did exist with Obbov as its Secretary. At least two other Sofia newspapers began taking a similar line.

Then on the 27th it became known that, acting on instructions from Washington, Mr. Maynard Barnes, the American political representative (who had taken a prominent part in the events of the previous week), had addressed two letters, one to the Bulgarian Prime Minister and the other to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, warmly congratulating them on their decision to postpone the elections and informing them that the United States Government would welcome the immediate appointment of Lieut-General Stoichev—who was in command of the Bulgarian First Army which fought against the Germans in Hungary—as informal Bulgarian representative in the United States. Profiting by this wholly unexpected windfall, the authorities are already trying to give the impression that full diplomatic relations with America have been re-established, while press and wireless commentators are busily insinuating that most of Bulgaria's present troubles are the result of "British suspicions" or "tales started by the London Government," whereas America has "shown more goodwill." (A fortnight ago almost the very opposite was being said: see *Summary* No. 307, page 10.) Actually, all that the Bulgarian Government have done is to submit, much against their will, to a *joint* decision that they should not *for the present* hold entirely unfair elections; and even this modified success could clearly not have been obtained by either Government acting alone.

There are already signs that the Communists are preparing to resist by force any curtailment of their powers. Apparently arms and ammunition have been dumped in localities close to Sofia and also widely distributed to party members in the capital itself. Furthermore, it has been ascertained that there are at least two brigades in the Rila mountains where young Communists are given suitable training as gangsters. It is also understood from a good source that most of the principal military commands are to be taken over by Bulgarian officers who have had a long residence in Russia. When these are firmly settled in the saddle some reduction and reorganisation of the Militia may be agreed to. The inference from all this is that preparations are being made to secure the continued domination of the country by the present Communist minority in power in the best Balkan tradition.

Turkey.

The rumours which have been circulating in Angora of a possible change of Government in Turkey are regarded as premature. So long as the present unsatisfactory relations with Soviet Russia continue, it is felt that such a change might be interpreted as a submission to Russian pressure.

The Turkish Government has not yet received from the United States Government any elucidation of President Truman's suggestion regarding the international control of navigation in the Straits. It is understood that this question will be raised at the forthcoming meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers in London.

It was reported in Angora that the much criticised Article 50 of the Press Law—which gave the Government the power to suspend newspapers—is to be amended. The power is to be taken out of the hands of the Government and confided to a special tribunal, which will be established for the purpose.

There have been complaints in the press of the meagre results which have followed the signature of the trading agreement with Britain. The Ministry of Commerce was blamed for not realising that the British and American markets were not prepared to pay the prices to which Turkey had become accustomed in her former trading with Germany. The commercial journal *Birlik* pointed out that the policy of maintaining a high level of internal prices had paralysed Turkey's foreign trade and had given her a cost-of-living index which was the third highest in the world. These conditions, it declared, must be changed—even at the cost of some hardship.

The Turkish Sports Association has invited foreign athletes to compete in athletic contests to take place in Angora on the 29th and 30th September. Acceptances have been received from the United States.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

Before proceeding to this country on leave, His Majesty's Ambassador last week discussed, in a farewell talk with King Farouk, the question of social reform in Egypt—a subject in which the King still remains interested, though he has no clear ideas of how to put it into effect. In Lord Killearn's final talk with the Egyptian Prime Minister, Nokrashi Pasha raised the inevitable question of treaty revision, and insisted that the first thing to do was to remove every British soldier at once from Egyptian soil. As usual, he placed upon us the blame for all the evils from which he said Egypt was suffering. In short, Nokrashi once more proved himself a tough customer whose extreme nationalistic sentiments amount almost to an obsession.

Though treaty revision till recently held first place in the Egyptian press and among the general public, equal if not greater interest is now being shown in the question of Palestine, stimulated as it has been of late by President Truman's statement on that country; and it looks as if the Egyptian Government may be unable to resist much longer the pressure from neighbouring Arab States to take some action in defence of Palestine against Zionism.

In the United States of America also there are indications that the Palestine problem will soon become a live issue. American delegates returning to the United States from the recent Zionist conference in London have expressed confidence in the renewal of Jewish immigration into Palestine, while the American Zionist Emergency Council has vigorously denied the statement made in Cairo by the Secretary-General of the Arab League, alleging that President Roosevelt promised Ibn Saud that he would not support Zionist claims (see *Summary* No. 307). Finally, Senators Taft and Wagner have canvassed their Congressional colleagues about the possibility of producing an American equivalent of the "Balfour Declaration." What the result of this will be cannot of course be seen as yet. But while Zionism in the United States habitually creates its own counteraction, it must be remembered that the argument of military expediency, by which General Marshall last year forestalled Congressional action, will no longer avail.

The Iraqi Prime Minister too is showing concern on the subject of Palestine. In a recent interview with His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires, Hamdi Pachachi told Mr. Thompson that it was impossible to find a solution satisfactory to both sides and that, provided Jewish immigration were stopped and no more land sold to the Jews, he would like Great Britain to continue the administration of the country, in agreement with the Arab League, for the next twenty or thirty

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years. Of all the solutions proposed, the one he dreaded most was the creation of a Jewish State.

In Palestine itself the Jews no less than the Arabs, both of whom expected the change of Government in Great Britain to cause an immediate re-orientation of policy, now realise that His Majesty's Government are likely to give fresh and serious consideration to the problem, and are consequently both nervous about the future. While Arab opinion hardened as a result of President Truman's statement, Jewish opinion, which welcomed his hopes for increased immigration, resented his reference to the non-employment of American troops. Nor were the Jews pleased with the President's suggestion that the problem should be solved in co-operation with the Arabs.

There is still hope among members of the "Palestine Arab Party" that the Mufti may be allowed one day to return to Palestine. For some time there has been little fresh news of Haj Amin. Recently, however, we learnt through Fuad Hamza, former Saudi Minister to the Vichy Government, who has been visiting Paris to wind up the Saudi Legation there, that the Mufti, accompanied by Ishaq Darwish and Rasem Khalidi, is under open arrest at St. Maur. According to Fuad Hamza, the French, feeling embarrassed by the Mufti's presence, but fearing that they would incur odium with the Moslems if they handed him over to the British, were trying to induce some Arab State to offer him hospitality. If they succeeded in this, they hoped that the Arab Governments would then collectively request His Majesty's Government to allow the Mufti to proceed to the asylum selected. Fuad Hamza added that he did not think the French were getting very far in their project, and that, so far as he was concerned, he had refused either to call on the Mufti or to interest his Government in the French proposal.

Since the new Syrian Government was formed on the 26th August, it has had more than one rough passage. On the 28th August, the Chamber passed a motion, after a heated debate, declaring that the Ministry of eight members must be reduced to seven under the Constitution, and on the next day the Prime Minister took action accordingly. After an all-night debate he obtained a vote of confidence by 52 to 29 votes, but his Government is in no stronger position than its predecessor. The appointment of Michel Elian as Minister for Foreign Affairs in the place of Jamil Mardam is especially criticised.

The Amir Feisal accompanied by his eldest son and three of his brothers, after spending three weeks on an unofficial visit to this country, left by air for Cairo *en route* for Saudi Arabia on the 31st August. They seem to have enjoyed their stay here. They could not, of course, help noticing the difference between living conditions in America and England, but they were quick to appreciate the reasons for this difference.

The Iraqi Government is still taken up with the revolt of Mulla Mustafa, and is planning to make a military advance into Barzan this week. Though further delay might have been advisable in order to allow of more detailed preparation, the Ministers concerned wish, if possible, to finish off the business before the Regent's return to Iraq towards the end of this month. If they were more willing to listen to our advice in making their plans with greater care and forethought, they would perhaps be more likely to succeed in their object.

By the 29th August there was still no sign of the Russians withdrawing their troops from Tehran. We, on the other hand, have already begun to despatch our stores from the town and to arrange for the disposal of our assets there. The main body of our combatant troops will be leaving Tehran on the 15th September.

The attitude of the Russian military authorities in Northern Persia continues to cause anxiety to the Persian Government. The latter has protested to the Soviet Embassy at Tehran at the action taken by the Russians in Mazandaran, where Persian gendarmes, who had been sent to restore order, were stopped on their way by Soviet troops. Even more striking than the protest itself is the fact that the Persian Government has published it in the local press. This is the first time that the Persian Government has made a real effort to state its case to its own people. It has probably been emboldened to do so by the abolition of censorship on press telegrams, as a result of which objective messages can now be sent to the outside world. But the protest is not likely to have much effect. The occurrence at Mazandaran and similar incidents elsewhere show that liaison between the Russian Embassy and the Soviet military authorities, never very close, is now less so than ever, as the Russian Ambassador has apparently left for Moscow without appointing a Chargé d'Affaires, all the counsellors have disappeared, and the only

person left in the Embassy is a secretary who indicates, truthfully enough, that he does not know anything about anything.

Mr. R. W. G. Reed, Headmaster of Victoria College, Alexandria, died on the 20th August. He had been associated with Victoria College for thirty-four years, and had been its Headmaster since 1922. Many prominent nationals of Egypt and of other Middle Eastern countries, who had been educated at Victoria College, owed much to his influence and guidance. Latterly he became Representative of the British Council in Egypt, and did much useful work in that capacity. Tributes have been paid from many quarters to his work in the cause of Anglo-Egyptian friendship.

THE FAR EAST.

The formal signature of the overall surrender terms by Japan took place on board the U.S.S. *Missouri* in Tokyo Bay on the 2nd September. The flag flown by Commodore Perry at Uraga in 1854 and the flag flying over the Capitol in Washington at the time of the attack on Pearl Harbour were both hoisted in the *Missouri*. Mamoru Shigemitsu, the Foreign Minister and former Japanese Ambassador in London, led the delegation for the Government, and General Umezu, Chief of the Army General Staff, for Imperial Headquarters. Umezu wore uniform and signed standing; Shigemitsu wore morning dress with a top hat and sat down to sign. A British correspondent present described the Japanese delegates as looking "rather pathetic"; their only consolation was that they were able to point out that three of the Allied delegates had signed the document in the wrong place.

Although *Domei* had announced that Prince Higashikuni, the Prime Minister, would lead the delegation, he did not in fact appear. The Allies refrained from requiring the Emperor to sign the surrender, and it may have been thought in the palace that it was better for an Imperial Prince not to do so either. Higashikuni, however, issued a statement in which he said: "Our sorrow knows no bounds, especially when we come to think of the fact that the Imperial forces, with their long and glorious traditions, are about to be disarmed and disbanded. But now that the Imperial order has been issued to accept formal surrender, we loyal subjects of his Majesty must squarely face the fact of our defeat and suffer even the insufferable in conformity with the Imperial proclamation."

American marines with memories of the fanatical Japanese resistance on Saipan, Iwojima and Okinawa were somewhat disconcerted to see, on landing amid the ruins of Yokohama, the greeting in English in large letters: "Three cheers for the United States Army and Navy!" So far no incidents have occurred, except that aircraft over some parts of Japan are still liable to be shot at by anti-aircraft guns. The problem seems to be not so much to disarm the Japanese forces as to keep men with the colours for the orderly liquidation of units as required by the surrender terms. Most of the sailors of the Navy are reported to have deserted and gone home when they heard the war was over. Foreign correspondents report a feeling of general relief at the end of hostilities combined with an idea that the Emperor has graciously restored peace to mankind by a noble gesture of national self-sacrifice. The mental satisfaction of aggressive warfare appear to have been exchanged for that of voluntary martyrdom without excessive psychological dislocation.

General MacArthur as Allied Supreme Commander has gone to Tokyo and will set up his headquarters in the buildings of the American Embassy. He held a long conference with Shigemitsu in Yokohama on the 3rd September, and it seems likely the latter will be the principal medium for Allied-Japanese relations, and therefore the most important political figure in Japan in the coming period. Of the other personalities in the Cabinet, Higashikuni has had no real political or diplomatic experience and holds his position chiefly because of his Imperial lineage, while Prince Konoye, though still influential in Japanese political circles, is probably regarded as having too heavy a responsibility for Japan's past policies to be suitable for Allied confidence. In spite of his activities as Foreign Minister in 1942–45, Shigemitsu has a relatively good record and, unlike Konoye, he is a man of strong character.

General MacArthur is to create an Advisory Board of American, British, Soviet and Chinese representatives to assist him in the exercise of his authority over Japan. This is not the same thing as the Allied Control Council in

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Germany, as the latter is the ultimate authority, there being no Supreme Commander for the whole of Germany, whereas in Japan General MacArthur will retain the right of final decision, the Allied representation being only advisory.

The 88th Session of the Japanese Diet opened on the 4th September without any Allied interference. Allied journalists were invited to attend it. One motive for convoking the Diet is no doubt to impress upon the Allies that Japan has a Parliament and is trying to get back to, or advance towards, parliamentary government as soon as possible after accepting the Potsdam Declaration. But it is probable also that the Government wishes to share the burden of responsibility which it is now carrying alone, and to associate the nominal representatives of the people with its measures for carrying out the surrender terms. Actually the present House of Representatives is far from representative, as it is based on the elections of 1942, which were held without freedom of political parties and under the influence of the early victories of the Pacific war; however, it includes a number of the genuine parliamentarians of the old parties from the days of (relatively) free elections, and as the more nationalist candidates of 1942 will now be in a chastened mood, it should be capable of doing useful work. There seems to be no reason why fresh elections to the Diet should not be held in Japan as soon as new voting registers have been compiled for the bombed cities; the fact that Japan, unlike Germany, is not to be divided into occupational zones should facilitate the holding of elections on a nation-wide scale under Allied supervision.

Marshal Stalin's broadcast of 2nd September (see under "Soviet Union") stated that Southern Sakhalin and the Kuriles would pass to the Soviet Union and "from now on" would serve as a means for direct Soviet access to the ocean and as a base for defence against Japanese aggression. The Japanese are no doubt resigned to losing both territories, though they seem to have hoped to keep the Kuriles. Both Sakhalin and the Kuriles were originally no man's lands, sparsely inhabited by savage tribes; early in the nineteenth century Russia and Japan began to dispute their possession, and by a treaty of 1875 Sakhalin was recognised as Russian and the Kuriles as Japanese. As a result of the Russo-Japanese war Russia ceded the southern half of Sakhalin to Japan. The Potsdam Declaration implied that both South Sakhalin and the Kuriles would be taken away from Japan, but Stalin's speech was the first intimation to the world that the Kuriles (on which the recently published Report of the Naval Affairs Committee of the American House of Representatives proposed post-war American air bases) as well as South Sakhalin were to be annexed by the Soviet Union.

Marshal Stalin also said that "we men of the older generation have waited for forty years for this day" since the Russo-Japanese War and that Japan's career of aggression had begun with the attack on Russia in 1904. In the early days of the Soviet régime the war which resulted from the Russian military occupation of Manchuria at the beginning of the century used to be classified as one of the imperialist wars of an aggressive Tsardom, but in the new version of Russian history it is a purely defensive war in which the brave fight of the Russian people was betrayed by the incompetence and cowardice of Tsarist leadership.

Conversations have been going on in Chungking between Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese Communist leader, Mao Tse-tung, who, after two refusals, finally accepted Chiang's invitation to a conference. So far no definite result is known to have emerged from the talks, and meanwhile the date for the formal surrender of the Japanese forces, fixed for the 6th September, is approaching; if no agreement allowing Communist participation has been reached by then, Chiang's representatives will alone take the surrender. Despite Communist offensives and appeals, it does not seem that any considerable body of Japanese troops has surrendered to the Communists; the war has ended too soon for them to make contact with American forces and get lease-lend supplies, and the Soviet Union has, at least formally, disinterested itself in their cause. Their position thus seems to have greatly weakened, and Kuomintang circles are jubilant. It remains to be seen, however, just how the Soviet Union will interpret its new treaty obligation not to interfere in China's internal affairs. The Soviet Union has recognised Chungking's authority in Manchuria, but it will be up to Chungking to enforce its authority when the Soviet troops are withdrawn, and this may not be so easy if the Communists are once established there.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

President Truman's broadcast announcing that the Jepanese delegates had just signed the surrender terms came from Washington late on Saturday night, the 1st September, when it was Sunday morning, the 2nd September, in Tokyo. There was comparatively little excitement in the United States on the Sunday, which the President proclaimed as VJ-day, partly on account of the earlier unofficial celebrations, and partly because Monday, the 3rd September, was Labour Day and a public holiday anyway. Referring to a topic very much in the minds of Americans at this time, the President said, "We shall not forget Pearl Harbour. The Japanese militarists will not forget the U.S.S. *Missouri* . . . . that small piece of American soil anchored in Tokyo Harbour."

It was appropriate that the lengthy reports of Army and Navy Boards of Inquiry into the Pearl Harbour disaster should have been made public a few days earlier (on the 29th August). They have provided the expected sensation in the United States, for not only are the two field commanders, Rear-Admiral Husband E. Kimmel and Lieut.-General Walter C. Short, severely censured, but Admiral Harold Stark, Commander-in-Chief of the American Pacific Fleet at the time, and General George C. Marshall, the Army Chief-of-Staff, are criticised. Even Mr. Cordell Hull's action in delivering counter-proposals to Japan on the 26th November, 1941, is stigmatised because "it was used by the Japanese as a signal to begin the war by the attack on Pearl Harbour. To the extent that it hastened such attack it was in conflict with the efforts of the War and Navy Departments to gain time for preparations for war." The Secretary of War, Mr. Stimson, in a statement accompanying the Army report, declared that he did not agree with all the Board's conclusions, particularly the "entirely unjustified" criticism of General Marshall and the "uncalled for" comment on Mr. Hull.

In press conferences on the 29th and 30th August President Truman associated himself "wholeheartedly" with the Secretary of War's remarks. He made no mention, however, of the Navy Secretary's directions concerning the retired Admirals Stark and Kimmel, neither of whom is in future to hold "any position in the United States Navy which requires the exercise of superior judgment." The press and radio have taken up the question avidly. Advocates of a single Defence Department have gained powerful new arguments. Some newspapers, notably old enemies of the late President, such as the Patterson and Hearst groups, have tried to make political capital out of the findings, attributing ultimate responsibility to President Roosevelt and his closest advisers. The general view, however, supports Mr. Truman's conclusion that "the country is as much to blame as any individual in the final situation that developed in Pearl Harbour." It is felt that Service inquiries are insufficient, and that whether courts martial follow or not, a full-dress Congressional investigation is imperative.

American opinion is much happier about the whole Far Eastern situation than a week ago. The smooth conduct of the Occupation so far and the chaotic conditions discovered in Japan have answered those who wondered if the Japanese people realised their defeat. But with gruesome stories of ill-treatment related by rescued prisoners of war and interned civilians, there are no signs of tenderness towards the defeated developing. As regards China, the terms of the Sino-Soviet pact were hailed with expressions of immense relief. China's territorial integrity is considered to be ensured and the requirements of both the Cairo Declaration and the San Francisco Charter fulfilled. It is appreciated, especially since the Russian announcement concerning Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands, that, in the words of Mr. Sumner Welles (3rd September), "Russia is once more a major factor in the Pacific." While, with Japan defeated and Sino-Russian harmony achieved, two of the three threats to Far Eastern harmony are felt to have been removed, there is a tendency, both in Conservative and Left-wing circles, to opine that the third—the colonising mentality of the western imperial Powers—should not again be allowed to develop into a threat to security. The theme of "Asia for the Asiatics" finds support in these circles and was developed at length by Mr. Welles in the article mentioned.

There has been little adverse comment on the actual occupation of Hong Kong by British forces, though the majority of radio and press commentators, Conservative as well as Liberal, would clearly like to see the island returned to Chinese sovereignty, if only as "a gesture of British goodwill." Some radio speakers, notably Kelsey and Heatter, and a few newspapers, such as the *New York Herald Tribune*, *Washington Post*, *Kansas City Times* and *Seattle Times*,

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have given factual accounts of the British connexion with Hong Kong and conclude that the island does in fact belong to Great Britain, but even they declare that the restoring of the *status quo* would be a convenient starting-point for "the next development," an agreement between China and Britain, or, failing that, consideration by the United Nations Organisation.

Although the proclamation of VJ-Day in the United States does not officially end the war—a joint resolution of Congress will be required for that—it does, in the view of the United States Government, justify the termination of Lend-Lease. While most responsible comment deplores the "reedy, raucous note" on which it has ended, there is fairly general support for the President's action. On the other hand, a certain unease about what Mrs. Roosevelt has termed the "ungraciousness" of the procedure appears to have softened attacks on the President's subsequent hint that since "the overwhelming portion" of the American contribution of 42,000 million dollars had been "directly consumed by our Allies in this war," attempts at repayment might drive "our chief fighting partners into desperate measures." This suggestion occcurred in the last quarterly report on the operation of Lend-Lease presented to Congress on the 30th August. The Secretary of State was quick to correct any misapprehension this might cause, by deprecating "hasty generalisations" about cancellation of all Lend-Lease debts. Mr. Byrnes issued a press statement explaining that, although the United States might not seek "paper contracts to pay dollars which will not be available to our debtors," this did not mean that "there are no Lend-Lease settlements to be made." After a visit to the President, Senator Barkley, the Democratic Leader in the Senate, spoke in a similar sense; and a number of newspapers, both Democratic and Republican, are insisting that concessions must be made by Great Britain, perhaps in the form of abandoning Imperial preference and "sterling areas." It is noteworthy that influential financial papers, such as the *Wall Street Journal* and, in lesser degree, the *Journal of Commerce*, are increasingly critical of the British attitude.

It is clear that the session of Congress which opens on the 5th September is going to be a very much more stormy one than its predecessor. The honeymoon period, granted to President Truman in his difficult first days, is definitely over. Besides the Lend-Lease controversy, there are numerous critics, many of them in the President's own party, of the "reckless" way in which demobilisation and reconversion are being handled. The Full Employment Bill, which the President sponsors, has been before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee during the recess and public hearings began on the 21st August. Its chances of passing in some form early in the session are regarded as strong, since it has the support of many leading Congressmen of each party, as well as labour organisations, prominent businessmen and bankers. The *New York Times* and the National Association of Manufacturers are, however, in opposition. More uncertain is the fate of the Unemployment Compensation Scheme of the Administration, which, with its plan of levelling up rates of relief throughout the Union, guaranteeing 25 dollars a week for 26 weeks to those out of work, and opening Federal Employment Exchanges, will come into conflict with champions of States rights and free enterprise at every turn.

(For America's attitude towards Palestine, see under "Middle East." See also under "France" and "Latin America.")

LATIN AMERICA.

Despite the warning against unauthorised political meetings issued by the Argentine Government last week, the various parties have now been suffered to foregather. A meeting of the Radical Civic Union led to clashes in which Dr. Sanghiotto, a former Ambassador, and others were injured; the Radical leaders have published a statement alleging that the police attacked the meeting. The Communist rally at Luna Park was the first legal assembly of the Party for fifteen years and went off quietly. It is curious to note that this meeting was attended by Conservatives. Right-wing politicians seem to be prepared to line up against the existing régime, which increasingly resembles a *tertulia* of expelled Radicals. Meanwhile, a considerable proportion of the Argentine exiles in Uruguay have returned to their own country. On leaving Montevideo Sr. Alfredo Palacios said that the hour had come to demand that power should pass into the hands of the President of the Supreme Court, and Sr. Nudelmann supported the same idea as the only means of bringing a return to constitutional normality, adding that further delay would not only compromise the future of Argentina,

"but also the prestige of the armed forces in whose name the Government was ruling." The Supreme Court has come somewhat into evidence on its rejection of the sentences passed on General Espindola and other officers in connexion with the alleged plot of April last (see *Summary* No. 297).

Meanwhile, Dr. Cooke, the new Foreign Minister, has made a statement for the Press. Its insistence on solidarity with the United Nations suggests that Dr. Cooke may be anxious to pursue a policy of co-operation with the United States.

In Mexico, President Avila Camacho is reported to have accepted the resignation of General Lázaro Cárdenas, Secretary for National Defence. Considerable interest attaches to the attitude ex-President Cárdenas may adopt towards next year's Presidential campaign. Dr. Francisco Castillo Nájera, Mexican Ambassador to the United States, has been appointed Foreign Minister; since the resignation of Sr. Ezequiel Padilla the post has been temporarily held by Sr. Manuel Tello. Dr. Castillo, aged 59, is a doctor and former director of the Army Medical School. Between 1922 and 1935 he represented Mexico in China, Belgium, Holland and France, and became Ambassador to the United States in 1935. He has represented Mexico at the Lima Conference in 1938, and assisted Dr. Padilla at San Francisco.

The setting up of a Spanish Republican Government in exile in Mexico stands against a background of sympathetic gestures in a number of Latin-American countries. Motions in favour of a rupture of relations with General Franco's régime have been carried in the legislatures of Uruguay, Peru and Panamá. The Foreign Minister of Uruguay has intimated that his Government will probably not take this step unilaterally, though they might well do so in concert with other Latin American countries.

UNITED NATIONS.

United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation.

The First Conference of the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations is to be held on the 16th October in Canada. Invitations have been sent to the forty-four Governments represented on the United Nations Interim Commission on Food and Agriculture. This Conference is the outcome of the work of the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture which was held at Hot Springs, Virginia, in May 1943. In accordance with Resolution II of the Final Act of that Conference, a Constitution for a Permanent Food and Agriculture Organisation was drawn up by the Interim Commission in Washington and duly presented for acceptance by the Governments and authorities concerned. More than twenty nations, the minimum required to set up the Permanent Organisation, have now agreed to accept the Constitution of the Organisation and are, therefore, entitled to send official delegations to the Conference. It is expected that several other Governments will have agreed to ratify the Constitution by the time the Conference convenes. The signing of the Constitution will be the first act of the Delegates to the Conference in October, thereby bringing the Permanent Organisation into being. The new Organisation will seek to improve efficiency in production and distribution of all food and agricultural products; to raise the levels of nutrition and standards of living; to better the condition of rural populations and to contribute by these means towards an expanding world economy. The Member Nations will agree to "report to one another on measures taken and progress achieved in these fields of action."

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 349

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
3RD JULY, 1946.

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 349

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
3RD JULY, 1946.

Copy No. 143

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

ELECTIONS at the highest level since the occupation were held in the US zone on the 30th June when Constituent Assemblies for the three *Laendar* were chosen. Final results are not available but surprises are unlikely. As in rural district elections last April, the CDU was victorious in Bavaria and Wuerttemberg-Baden, while the SPD led in Hesse. Once again the KPD and LPD have not materially strengthened their position; the KPD even being beaten by the *Demokratische Volkspartei* in Wuerttemberg-Baden. KPD leaders, anticipating defeat, had criticized the elections as premature, proclaiming that "Democratic elections decreed from above do not guarantee a real democracy. . . . A democratic Constitution is no panacea for the present misery." Hesse Draft Constitution, published on the 23rd June, reveals important contrasts with that of Bavaria (see last week's *Summary*). No mention appears to be made of the controversial questions of a second chamber and a State President. There is no defined period of office for the Premier, who may be deposed by a non-confidence vote. On the other hand, it is proposed to give the Government considerable power over the Diet, as it may veto laws passed by the Diet. One article would compel "every capable person" to work. There are a number of Socialist-inspired economic clauses. Of peculiar interest is the reproduction of the sentence in the Kellogg-pact outlawing war as a means of settlement of international disputes. Further information on the complex Wuerttemberg-Baden Draft Constitution shows that the Diet alone is responsible for passing laws. A Second Chamber and a State President are envisaged, the latter having limited powers to dissolve the Diet. Most of the adverse criticisms of these preliminary constitutional plans have come from the KPD. Despite the provision that the constitutions may not interfere with the future structure of Germany the KPD is preoccupied with Bavaria's supposedly separatist tendencies and rejects its Draft Constitution as inferior to that of Weimar. The party objects particularly that German national unity is

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never mentioned and that one clause provides for the Premier to represent Bavaria externally. It also criticized the power of the Premier to appoint Ministers. The KPD opposes any second Chamber or State President.

In Saxony State the much publicized referendum on the expropriation of property belonging to "National Socialists and War Criminals" took place on the 30th June. Preliminary reports claim that in a very heavy poll about 78 per cent. voted "Yes"—in some cases less. While it was out of the question that a majority would oppose a step embodied in Military Government decrees, the percentage does not show that pattern of complete subservience exhibited in Hitler's referendums. Every assurance was given that polling would be scrupulously fair. It was preceded by a tremendous campaign to which all the main parties and anti-fascist organisations gave their public support. The Protestant Church issued a somewhat nebulous statement which might be interpreted as approval. Typical slogans were that those voting "Yes" were voting for German unity and for a peaceful future; those against were for reaction. Considerable publicity was given to certain reactionary elements who had tried to sabotage the referendum; a number of arrests were made. Kaiser (CDU) stated in private that his party supported the measure with reluctance but would be classed as "reactionaries" if they opposed it. He feared that many innocent people would lose their property and that it was a trick to secure wholesale nationalisation—this he had sought to prevent, apparently with considerable success. At the first meeting of Saxony Advisory Committee on the 25th June it was stated that confiscated property on list "B," belonging to nominal Nazis, had been returned to the owners. The Committee also stated that only suitable undertakings, like mines, would be administered directly by the State, the rest would go to such organisations as cooperatives or to private persons.

In the Soviet zone and Berlin, political activity is already overshadowed by the forthcoming elections. The SED has issued an election message in the Soviet zone, perhaps its most interesting passage being that which refers to the need for aiding the middle class. In Berlin, where the SED is now assiduously courting the SPD, the latter party is apparently very optimistic about its prospects. The actual position is not satisfactory, however, as the Berlin SPD still lacks real leadership and the existing leaders seem relatively inexperienced and over-optimistic. Fusionist campaigns are not yet making real headway in the British zone, although Pieck and Grotewohl have been given permission to attend a pro-fusion meeting in Essen. It is reported that Schumacher will shortly visit the French zone to ensure that Baden SPD leaders support the official party line of non-fusion. The political isolation of the French zone is further reflected in information that the French authorities permitted delegates to the CDU conference in Berlin to come from the East but not from the West bank of the Rhine —a distinction which aroused the deepest suspicions among the Germans—and permission was anyway granted too late to be effective. A split has occurred in the Rhenish People's Party; a section of the members have now joined with the French zone Democratic Socialist Union in support of federalism and in rejection of the separatist aims of Dr. Opitz, who himself seems to be wavering in his views. The Free Democratic Party has denied that fusion with the Lower Saxon Union has been completed and the FDP leader, Heile, who originally announced fusion has now been kicked upstairs to the position of President, instead of active chairman (see *Summary* No. 345).

A directive was issued on the 29th June to British and US zone commanders to seek agreement for the implementation of the communiqué published on the 17th May which spoke of the desirability of working towards common food ration measures in Germany. Commanders are to try for agreement on a quadripartite basis if possible, and as a minimum between the three Western occupying Powers. The first main objective will be to introduce as soon as possible uniform ration scales, but unfortunately the present directive does not commit either the United States or United Kingdom Governments to pooling their food resources for the purpose of maintaining these equal levels of issue. In the Russian zone it was announced on the 29th June that increased rations will be given to certain heavy workers, expectant mothers and sick persons. The Berlin SPD paper "Telegraf" comments with appreciation on the introduction of bread rationing in Britain.

The latest exhibition of anti-British feeling has been a series of demonstrations against the projected move of the British Control Commission HQ to Hamburg, a step which entails requisitioning a number of houses. The population of Hamburg has been warned that disorders will not be tolerated.

AUSTRIA.

The new control machinery agreement for Austria was signed at the Allied Council meeting on the 28th June, and was handed to the Austrian Chancellor. The main effect of the new agreement is the widening of the Government's legislative and executive power. In future the Allied Council will take measures only through the Austrian Government or other Austrian authorities "except in cases where action has to be taken in the interest of maintenance of public order or in the interest of the Allies." Laws and Government decrees will come into force automatically if the Council raises no objection within a month. The Allied Council's unanimity requirement means that all members of the Council must now agree to veto a law, whereas previously there had to be unanimous agreement to approve it. De-militarisation, the security of the Allied Forces in Austria, the question of German property, foreign trade relations, and permission to enter and leave the country are among the matters remaining under the direct authority of the Allied Council. The frontiers between the zones are abolished for the exchange of goods and all traffic restrictions within Austria are abolished. The Austrian Government is free to exchange diplomatic and consular representatives with any of the United Nations, and may also resume such relations with other Governments than those of the United Nations subject to the specific consent of the Allied Council. The administration of Vienna is to be handed over as soon as possible by the Allied Kommandatura to the Vienna Municipality. While the agreement, especially the abolition of zone barriers, is officially welcomed by the Austrians, to many of them it is only as a long overdue recognition of the fact that Austria freely elected a Government in November 1945 recognised by the four occupying powers. Austrian hopes are now centred on the proposed discussion of an Austrian treaty by the Foreign Ministers in Paris, which would settle the outstanding questions left untouched by the Control Agreement—the total withdrawal of occupation troops, the problem of German assets, the final definition of Austria's frontiers, and the restoration of her full sovereignty and independence.

In announcing the Foreign Minister's decision on the South Tyrol Herr Figl said that Austria would not give up her claim and that a statement by the Government would be issued shortly. The Tyrol Diet adopted a "solemn resolution" on the 26th June, saying that it expects that it will be Austria's foreign policy to appeal against the decision to the main Allied Powers and to the Peace Conference, and if necessary to the United Nations. It is now common knowledge that the Austrian Foreign Minister, Dr. Gruber, was approached by Dr. Bebler, the Yugoslav Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs while he was in Paris, with an offer of support to Austria on the South Tyrol question, as well as of the return of Austrian prisoners-of-war still in Yugoslav hands, if Austria would openly support the Yugoslav claim to Trieste. This the Austrian Government has refused to do.

A batch of 527 prisoners from Yugoslavia recently returned to Austria, all in very bad health. The Yugoslav Military Mission in Vienna has announced that no more prisoners will be returned "until a treaty has been concluded between Austria and Yugoslavia." There are also between two and four hundred thousand Austrian prisoners still held by the Soviet Union. It is impossible to give a reliable estimate, and it is probable that the Russians have not separated Austrian from German prisoners, except the comparatively few politically reliable men who presumably produce the "Bulletin of the Anti-Fascist Bureau of Austrian prisoners-of-war" in Russia. (The Communist *Volkstimme* puts this forward as evidence of the liberty accorded to Austrian prisoners in the Soviet Union, and supports the Soviet line that if the Austrian Government pursues a policy favourable to Russian interests they may expect sympathetic consideration in return.)

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

A month has elapsed since the elections were held and still M. Gottwald, the Communist Prime Minister designate to whom President Beneš entrusted the task of forming a new Government, is unable to reach agreement with the remaining parties concerning its composition. This delay is significant in so far as it leads one to the conclusion that the non-Communist parties, including even the Social Democrats, are at long last stiffening their resistance to the

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Communists. All parties were asked to criticise in advance the new Government's programme: hence to expect general and immediate agreement would be too optimistic. There remains, too, the tricky problem of allotting portfolios fairly and equitably, so that no party wields more ministerial power than is warrantable on a proportional basis. The Communists, however, have already gained one post-election success: M. Zapotocký, Chairman of the Central Office of the Trade Union Movement, was elected Speaker in succession to the Czech Socialist, M. David.

Although dissension exists among the Czech parties, the agreement recently concluded between the Czech and Slovak National Fronts should contribute greatly towards a settlement of one of the Republic's outstanding difficulties—a final definition of relations between Slovakia and the Central Government. This latest agreement (for the two previous agreements see *Summaries* No. 296, June 6th, 1945, and No. 341, May 1st, 1946) redefines (*a*) the legislative and executive competence of the Slovak National Council, (*b*) the powers of appointment invested in the President, and (*c*) stipulates that, on the basis of the elections, changes shall be made within two months in the composition of the Slovak Council. Finally, with a view to securing unified economic control throughout the Republic, a Supreme Accountancy Office shall be set up in Prague; its executive organ in Bratislava shall be the Supreme Control Board.

POLAND.

The Polish Provisional Government has been officially informed that the financial agreement of the 24th June, reported in the last *Summary* (for details see *Summary* No. 342) will not be ratified until His Majesty's Government has received assurances that elections in Poland, in accordance with the Yalta and Potsdam agreements of 1945, will be held this year at a given date, and that the stipulations of these agreements, concerning the actual holding of the elections, will be fulfilled. In particular the note suggests that these stipulations would not be fulfilled, if there were any indications that measures had been taken to suppress any of the existing political parties, to obstruct their usual activities, or to discriminate unfavourably against one or more of them as regards freedom of organisation, assembly or public expression.

Meantime, on the 25th June, the Polish Provisional Government was informed by the United States Government that the suspension of the agreement to transfer surplus property to Poland, had been cancelled (see *Summaries* No. 341, 342, and 346). As to the Export Import Bank Loan, however, the Department of State felt that final action on this should wait until the United States Government had received assurances that the Polish Provisional Government had fulfilled all the conditions of the agreement of April 24th, 1946, under which the credits were to be extended.

At the time of writing, no official statement on the results of the referendum of June 30th has been issued. It had been forecast that as much as 50 per cent. of the electorate might abstain from voting, partly from a feeling of distrust over the whole procedure, partly because of the underground movements' propaganda against voting, and also because of a fear of reprisals by supporters of the *Bloc*. In general, it was expected that nearly everyone would vote affirmatively on the second and third questions, relating to the new economic structure, and the Oder–Neisse frontier. As to the question on the abolition of the Senate, the leaders of the *Bloc* are credited with the conjecture that the "Ayes" would have a majority of 60 per cent.

Fractional votes are expected from the underground right-wing movements WIN ("Freedom and Independence") and NSZ ("National Armed Forces"), the former advising "Yes" to the third question only, the latter "No" to all three.

Correction.

In *Summary* No. 347, p. 5, line 20, the words "led by M. Wojcik, the general secretary," should read "led by M. Rek, the former deputy general secretary."

THE SOVIET UNION.

The Paris Conference has been in the forefront of the news during the past week, and has, on the whole, been well covered, the main emphasis being laid on the alleged efforts of the Soviet delegation to secure a fair deal for Italy,

which were said to be much appreciated by the Italians. Generally, the reports of the negotiations were mildly optimistic in tone, though the Trieste question continued to be put forward as the key to the whole situation, and no suggestion was given of any progress having been made on this matter. The French plan was described as excessively complex and as liable to create instability owing to its temporary character. (See under "The Paris Conference.") Several hints have been thrown out that the British need Trieste as a foothold in South-Eastern Europe; a very unpleasant article on the Mihailovich trial, refuting the statements of Colonels Bailey, Hudson and Macdowell actually connected their alleged activities with the present Anglo-American attitude over Trieste.

Criticism of the United States plan for the control of atomic energy and praise of the Soviet plan have continued; apparently the main Soviet observer at Bikini described himself as not greatly impressed by the results of the test. A Moscow broadcast took the line that the Bikini bomb though it had not brought Doomsday on the world, had blown up something more important than a couple of obsolete ships—it had blown up every vestige of confidence in the seriousness of American talk about atomic disarmament. In general the United States has come in for a large share of attention; attacks were maintained on the American search for bases, and the plan for inter-American military collaboration was described as an attempt to create a military *bloc* at a time when there was no threat to the American continent; such a plan would endanger the vital interests of the Latin Americans and did not correspond to the interests of universal peace and security. Reactionaries in the U.S.A. were also accused of attempting to make their country use food as a weapon to enforce American foreign policy, this charge being called forth by Mr. Dirksen's amendment to the U.N.R.R.A. allocation bill proposing that the despatch of U.N.R.R.A. supplies should be conditional on the free admission of American correspondents into the receiving country. Publicity was also given to the prosecution in Washington of the Chairman of the U.S.-Soviet Friendship Council for refusing to submit his files to the Dies Committee. The Soviet Government has rejected the American protest at the refusal to admit four American newspapermen into Roumania.

The Executive Committee of the W.F.T.U., which has just concluded its meetings in Moscow, ran into some rough waters. M. Tarasov, in the course of stormy exchanges with Sir Walter Citrine, accused the latter of supporting an American plan for dividing the W.F.T.U. into a western and an eastern grouping, the former of which would in effect, be a revival of the Amsterdam International. M. Kuznetsov, however, appeared anxious to avoid a breach and treated the British delegation with marked consideration at the official reception. At that reception, which was held in the Government Guest House, it was observed that the painting of the signature of the Anglo-Soviet alliance, which had hitherto dominated the main room, had been removed; correspondents' messages merely reporting the removal were passed, whereas those which ventured on comment have hitherto been held up. The Greek delegation never reached Moscow. The Russians have withheld a visa from the negro representative from the Gold Coast. The French delegation usually supported the Russian point of view at the sessions.

The new Swedish Minister to the U.S.S.R., M. Gunnar Högglöf, has reached Moscow. (For the Soviet-Swedish trade negotiations see under "Sweden.") The Soviet-Danish trade agreement is still being negotiated (see under "Denmark").

The Mongolian People's Republic has applied for membership of the United Nations in a telegram to Mr. Trygve Lie from Marshal Choi Balsan, the Mongolian Prime Minister. Since its establishment as a People's Republic under Soviet auspices in 1921, Outer Mongolia, closely linked as it is with the Soviet Union, has had no independent relations with other Powers; the very small number of foreign contacts are maintained through the intermediary of the Soviet Union and directly controlled by the latter. There is a Mongolian Legation in Moscow, but it is not allowed any contact with other diplomatic missions with the sole exception of the Chinese Embassy. The application seems obviously designed to increase Soviet voting strength, while many important and independent European countries, neutral and ex-enemy, are still outside the United Nations.

A bill has now been passed by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. abolishing the former Checheno-Ingush and Crimean Soviet Socialist Republics. The former Crimean A.S.S.R. is demoted to the status of a region or *krai* of the R.S.F.S.R. but no mention is made of the new status of the Checheno-Ingush territory. It was publicly admitted for the first time in the U.S.S.R. during the discussion of these measures that many Chechens and Crimean Tatars joined volunteer

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detachments set up by the Germans during the war. In view of this disloyalty to the Soviet Union the Chechens and the Crimean Tatars were transported to other districts of the U.S.S.R. The deportation of the Crimean Tatars from the Crimea, where they have been for many centuries the basic agricultural population, must result in far-reaching changes in the aspect of the country and the structure of its population. It is curious that silence is still preserved officially in the Soviet Union regarding the fate of the Kalmyks, though it was indirectly revealed by the last Soviet election lists that the Kalmyk A.S.S.R. had been abolished; a political-administrative map of the U.S.S.R. published in 1946 contains no Kalmyk national unit.

Three decrees have just been published in the Bulletin of the Supreme Soviet stating that former citizens of the Russian Empire or Soviet citizens having lost their citizenship living in France, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria can recover it by applying to their respective Soviet Legation or Embassy before the 1st November (for Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, the 1st October). There seems to be some eagerness to receive new citizens, as the decrees provide that persons failing to make application within the prescribed period may be granted Soviet citizenship "on general grounds." Meanwhile, Armenians continue to be gathered in. 1,806 have just reached Batum from Beirut and two representatives of Soviet Armenia have arrived at Braila to establish contact with the President of the Armenians of Roumania with a view to arranging repatriations.

The Five Year Plan has now been extended to Transcarpathian Ukraine; it provides, apart from agriculture, for the development of the timber and pulp industry and for the mining of brown coal. The plan made no mention of oil, though earlier reports stated that in the Bitkor [*sic*] area more oil was already being produced than before the war.

In view of the current interest in Arctic problems and development the award of Stalin prizes to two Soviet scientists for meteorological studies of the Central parts of the Arctic Basin is noteworthy. According to an interview given by the Minister for Higher Education, Kaftanov, their studies "radically change existing ideas on the general circulation of the atmosphere in the Arctic Basin." The greatest Soviet oceanologist, Vize, was also awarded a Stalin prize for his work: "The principles of Long Ice Forecasts." The award of a Stalin prize to A. P. Zhdanov for his discovery of new forms of splitting of atomic nuclei produced by cosmic rays should also be mentioned.

The U.S.S.R. Ministry of State Control has announced that following an inspection of the financial administrative activities of numbers of enterprises and institutions many gross abuses have come to light. It was disclosed that bonus money was being allocated for improper purposes, money and material appropriated by individuals, and money and bonuses unlawfully obtained. Among the worst offenders were the heads of the Russian Diesel Works, who cooked the factory accounts in such a way as to enrich themselves substantially. In this case and in several others of the same nature the guilty parties were punished by fines and dismissal. Similar financial scandals were recently revealed by *Pravda Ukrainy* (1st June) in the Ukraine. These cases of financial chicanery have been increasingly noticeable in recent months in the Soviet press. They probably reflect the present strained economic conditions in the Soviet Union and the temptation to peculation to which responsible officials are exposed and apparently succumb.

The Ministry of Trade has decreed new price reductions averaging 40 per cent. for various light industry products and consumer goods. The existing price rebates for industrial goods obtained formerly by ration books are abolished.

By decree of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Council Præsidium, the Ministry of Electrical Industry is to be divided into the Ministry of the Communication Means Industry and the Ministry of the Electrical Industry.

A series of measures (*e.g.*, scholarships, renaming of towns and institutions) have been passed, designed to perpetuate the memory of ex-President Kalinin among the Soviet peoples. Most noteworthy among them is the renaming of Königsberg as Kaliningrad.

Errata.

It was stated in error in last week's *Summary* (see "Soviet Union," p. 6) that "Detailed Anglo-Soviet trade discussions are taking place in Moscow." Page 6, line 21, of the same *Summary* should read: "an annual credit of 200,000,000 for five years."

SCANDINAVIA.

Sweden.

The Swedish Riksdag has unanimously passed a resolution authorising the Government to take the necessary steps for Sweden to join the United Nations Organisation. In moving the resolution M. Undén emphasized that application for membership implied acceptance of the United Nations' obligations without reservation and rejected any idea of Sweden seeking to re-insure herself by joining any Great Power bloc. According to a Swedish broadcast, M. Günther, Swedish Foreign Minister during the whole of the war, has been appointed Swedish envoy in Rome. It will be remembered that his appointment as Minister in Copenhagen immediately after the end of the war met with a good deal of opposition in Denmark partly because in Danish minds he was held largely responsible for Sweden's appeasement policy towards Germany. This Danish opposition finally led to his resignation from his appointment. It remains to be seen whether this renewed attempt to restore M. Günther to the diplomatic scene will be more successful.

Denmark.

M. Rasmussen announced at a Danish Press Conference on the 28th June that M. Stalin had offered to accept in the Russian Zone of Germany half of the more than 200,000 German refugees still in Denmark, provided the other half is received in the other Allied zones. It has been confirmed from Washington that the Danes have approached the State Department on the subject and that General Clay has been instructed to show himself sympathetic towards the proposal if it is raised in Berlin. It looks, however, as though once again Great Britain will be expected to shoulder the lion's share of the burden, since according to American calculations the Americans and the French together do not anticipate to be asked to accept more than 20,000 out of the approximately 100,000 refugees to be received in the Western zones. This calculation is based on the perhaps rather arbitrary assumption that they would only give refuge to those Germans who have previously been domiciled in their zones. Most of these refugees have, however, come from the east of Germany.

On the 27th of June it was said in Copenhagen that the signing of the Dano-Russian trade pact was only a matter of hours.

Finland.

According to figures supplied by SATEVA (War Reparations Commission) goods to the total value of 74,500,000 dollars were delivered to the U.S.S.R. by the end of May, leaving a balance of 12,600,000 dollars to be settled before the second term of reparations programme expires on the 19th September. While the scheduled quantities of cables, timber and wood products were exceeded, the deliveries of plant and machinery fell short by 590,000 dollars owing to the difficulty in obtaining laminations for electric motors from abroad. The next few months are regarded as critical and it is feared that Finland will not be able to complete the full quota of machinery and ships within the stipulated time.

Erratum.

Summary No. 347, p. 11, line 17, read 'future' for 'career'; line 28, read 'refute' for 'refuse.'

LOW COUNTRIES.

The Netherlands.

After five weeks of deliberation, Dr. Beel has succeeded in forming a Cabinet based on coalition between the Catholics and the Party of Labour.

The list of Ministers is as follows:—

Dr. L. J. M. Beel (Catholic): Prime Minister and Interior.
Dr. J. H. van Maarseveen (Catholic): Justice.
Dr. J. Gielen (Catholic): Education.
Lieutenant-Colonel A. H. J. L. Fievez (Catholic): War and Interim Minister of the Navy.
Dr. G. W. M. Huysmans (Catholic): Trade.
Professor P. Lieftinck (Labour): Finance.
Mr. W. Drees (Labour): Social Affairs.
Ir. H. Vos (Labour): Transport.

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Ir. S. L. Mansholt (Labour): Agriculture.
Dr. J. A. Jonkman (expected to join the Party of Labour): Minister for Overseas Territories.
Dr. E. N. van Kleffens (non-party): without portfolio.
Dr. Ir. J. A. Ringers (non-party): Reconstruction.
Baron C. G. W. H. Boetzelaer van Oosterhout (non-party): Foreign Affairs.

Indonesia.

On the 25th June, Mr. Sjarir arrived in Djokjakarta for discussions with Soekarno, Hatta and other leaders. Then, on the 29th, Soekarno suddenly broadcast the news that Mr. Sjarir had been kidnapped two days earlier by persons whom Soekarno described as "fifth columnists," in consequence of which he had himself assumed full powers. The "snatch," which apparently took place in Mr. Sjarir's hotel in Soerakarta, was carried out by armed men, believed in Batavia to be followers of Tan Malakka, the former Communist leader, and of Soebardjo, the former Republican "Minister of Foreign Affairs," both of whom are still under house arrest for conspiracy against the "Government." Mr. Sjarir's six companions—two "Ministers," a "major-general" and three advisers—were also removed. A "Government" spokesman was careful to point out that Mr. Sjarir still enjoyed the full support of Soekarno and the rest of the "Cabinet," and that the necessary steps were being taken to obtain his release. These proved successful, and all seven men were returned to Soerakarta by a detachment of the "Republican National Army," none the worse for their experience. Mr. Sjarir has since arrived at Batavia, where, after a long interval, he and Dr. van Mock will resume negotiations.

Belgium.

After an interval of five weeks [see *Summary* No. 345, 29th May, 1946], Belgium is once more faced with a serious outbreak of strikes. On the 26th June, a considerable number of men employed in the steel and metal industry in the Liége area came out on strike with demands for wage increases, the structural reform of the industry, and immediate convening of the National Labour Conference. So far, the strikes have mainly been confined to the Liége area, but within it, they have spread with great rapidity. By the evening of the 27th, no less than 50 metal works, 26 coalmines, 6 power stations, a tramway company and 14 miscellaneous works, employing a total of 35,536 men, had been affected. This total was appreciably increased during the 28th, when employees from another 27 concerns joined in. As in the previous outbreak, there are rumours of an imminent general strike. Giving these figures to journalists at a Press Conference in Brussels on the 28th, M. van Acker observed that it might be wondered why these strikes had occurred in the Liége area "rather than elsewhere." The reason was that they had been organized there. When strikes were organized, he continued, there came a moment when the workers could no longer be held back. So often, the men who engineered the strikes were the "unwitting tools" of persons who wanted to "harm the country." The Trotskyist Party (whose sponsors are known)," said M. van Acker, "has, according to my information, decided to stage strikes with a view to creating revolutionary conditions. This party has decided to arm its agitators; in addition, it will try to infiltrate into the coming National Labour Conference." He was aware that the strikers hoped to get wage increases; but he was also aware that the "majority of the workers" asked "nothing better than to remain at work." That applied to the strikers just as much as to the men still at work." The Government had issued orders for the taking over of the staffs of the concerns involved in the strikes, and had also issued appropriate instructions in regard to strike pickets. In conclusion, M. van Acker emphasised that wage increases were at the moment quite "out of the question." The fruits of the Government's price control policy were just beginning to be gathered; but much still remained to be done. Obviously, not all wage scales were fair, and those that were not had to be reviewed—but at the "right time." So long as he remained head of the Government, he would act according to his conscience, and in the best interests of the country.

FRANCE.

The decision of the Foreign Ministers' Conference on the 27th June to give to France the areas she claimed from Italy, Tenda and Briga, and the Mont-Cenis plateau (see under "The Paris Conference"), was received with

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satisfaction in France where a surprising importance has been attached to the acquisition of these two small districts.

M. Bidault presented his government to the Constituent Assembly on the 27th June and received a vote of confidence of 516 votes to 2; the *Parti Républicain de la Liberté* abstained from voting. Leaders of the Communists, Socialists and Radicals all spoke in support of the new Government, and accepted M. Bidault's insistence on the need for establishing a permanent régime, after the holding of the new referendum and the general elections, in October at the latest. The programme of the Government, which M. Bidault read to the Assembly, was unusually modest. It expressed disappointment at the failure of the efforts made to secure a still broader basis for the Government but claimed that the new Cabinet was imbued with the spirit of the Resistance movement. It declared that the main task of the Assembly was the adoption of a new constitution. The programme of the *Conseil National de la Résistance* had been put on the statute book by the last Assembly; the Government would preserve the reforms thus obtained. As for the urgent problem of wages, the Government recognised the needs of the workers and would alleviate their distress as far as the economic situation permitted. The only real solution was an increase in production, and the Government would encourage this by their execution of the nationalisation measures already passed, by the gradual removal of controls and by encouragement of the spirit of enterprise.

The immediate measures aimed at improving the position of the poorest workers were drawn up at the cabinet meeting of the 2nd July and are to be presented to the Assembly on the 4th. On the same day an economic conference will open, under the *ægis* of the Ministry of National Economy. It will include representatives of the main employers' and workers' organisations and will discuss the wider problem of wages and prices, including agricultural prices. The C.G.T. is maintaining its demand for a general 25 per cent. increase in wages and certain big unions such as the metal-workers, the state employees and the teachers (who are badly underpaid) are already stating their claims. Consequently the new Government is faced with a problem which M. Gouin's Cabinet was able to avoid, but, on the other hand, as M. Blum has pointed out, they will benefit by taking office at a time when the economic situation generally is improving and when the main body of legislation demanded by public opinion has been put through.

M. Yves Farge has accepted the Ministry of Food but has added that he will resign if he is not given the necessary powers to carry out his task.

M. André Philip, who presided the Constitutional Committee of the first Constituent Assembly until he entered the Government, has been elected president of the new Constitutional Committee. The *rapporteur* is again a member of the M.R.P., this time M. Coste-Floret, one of the leaders of the right wing of the party. This fact illustrates the stiffening of opinion that is to be expected from the M.R.P. on the constitutional question; the prospects of speedy agreement between the three main parties are therefore doubtful.

The coal situation continues to create some tension between this country and France (see *Summary* 347). The French have put forward a plea for more coking coal to meet the needs of their steel industry and for coal for domestic consumption next winter. They suggested that there should be four-Power discussions in Paris on this question but were persuaded by H.M.G. to leave out the Russians, at least for the present. Talks are planned between British, French and U.S. experts at which constructive proposals will be put forward by the U.K. delegates.

[See under "Hungary".]

SWITZERLAND.

The financial agreement concluded in Washington on the 21st May between Great Britain, France, the United States and Switzerland concerning the disposal of German assets in Switzerland (see *Summary* No. 346, 5th June) was discussed in the National Council for several successive days. The President of the Council, M. Robert Grimm, told the members that it was not a question of modifying the Agreement, but only of accepting or rejecting it. The debate was marked by much bitterness. Indignant references were made to "dictated terms," "economic pressure" and "might overriding right." One journalist described the attitude of some of the speakers as marked by a sort of fatalism which impelled them to accept the Agreement even while bitterly criticising the injustice of its

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provisions. The whole debate, he said, left "une impression de malaise et de tristesse." M. Petitpierre, head of the Political Department, on the other hand, declared that concessions had been made on both sides and that neither party had endeavoured to impose its will upon the other by force or by threats. It would be a mistake to regard the Agreement merely from the standpoint of victory or defeat.

At the close of the debate, the National Council ratified the Agreement by 142 votes to 29, with six abstentions.

The Federal Council has decided to take all possible steps to prevent a sudden crisis resulting from a reaction to what is regarded as a present phase of "over-employment." Expenditure on non-essential public works is to be stopped; and industrial organisations have been asked to recommend to their members restraint both in investment and in undertakings which would help to maintain the balance of employment at a later date.

Following on the decision of the Swiss Government to establish an independent Legation in Uruguay, M. Hans J. Gremminger, who has been Swiss Consul-General in Uruguay for many years, presented his credentials in Montevideo on the 14th May as Swiss Chargé d'Affaires.

Improvements in the food rations include the decontrolling of chocolate, sweets, honey and candied fruit, although jam, syrups and artificial honey with a high sugar content still require coupons. Goat meat may now be sold without coupons, and horseflesh is reduced to half the former rate. Since the 13th May, only two meatless days are compulsory in restaurants, instead of three.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

Basking in the (temporary) sunshine of patriotic emotion General Franco faces the future with confidence. Supporters of the régime have continued to find substantial comfort both from Mr. Bevin's defence of his policy at the Labour Party Conference and from the inconclusive outcome of the Security Council's deliberations in New York (see under "United Nations"). It is worth noting that, while the news of Mr. Bevin's statement was prominently displayed, the Spanish press refrained from any sort of effusive comment. This was, it appears, directly in accordance with instructions from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who had the wit to realise that the usual ebullience, carrying with it inevitably violent abuse of Russia, would be anything but helpful to the British Foreign Secretary. Comment on the futility of the proceedings of the Security Council was on the expected lines.

Now that the Spanish press censorship is firmly in the hands of the non-Falangist Catholic disciples of Señor Artajo, the Foreign Minister, there is some evidence of an improvement in its working. One comes across leading articles actually originating in the offices of the respective newspapers instead of the rubber-stamp specimens required by the authorities. *ABC*, in particular under its new editor, Ramón Pastor, has recovered a modicum of personality. It has come to bear unmistakably the stamp of its proprietor, the Marquis Luca de Tena, an uncompromising Monarchist, who was summarily removed from the Board of Directors in May, 1944 for championing Gil Robles against the Falange press office (see *Summary* No. 247). Nevertheless, it must be said that General Franco, who is considerably impressed by the success of Colonel Perón in Argentina, is not at present disposed to do anything to encourage the Monarchists; it was as a result of injunctions from El Pardo, apparently, that a whole section in praise of the British monarchy was excised from an admirable account of the Victory parade in London by the London correspondent of *ABC*.

All this euphoria—the adventitious result of developments in the international field which are presented as justifying General Franco's policy—has not been without its effect on the negotiations in Madrid for the expulsion of obnoxious Germans from Spain and the liquidation of German interests there. The attitude of the Spanish Government on both these matters continues to be far from satisfactory. The Spaniards are jibbing at being asked to hand over many of these Germans whom they regard as having been "incorporated into Spanish life," and, at a recent meeting on the technical level, representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were harping on the difficulty in recognising the fiat of the Allied Control Commission in face of the virtual outlawry of the Spanish Government by the United Nations. When challenged on the fact that only a small number of the Germans whose names were on H.M. Embassy's lists were removed in the s.s. "Highland Monarch" in March Señor Artajo could only say that his civil governors were doing their

best to round up these "wanted" Germans but that all this forcible repatriation was most unpopular and he was having a lot of trouble with his colleagues. With the dispatch to Bilbao early in June of a U.S. merchant vessel, the "Marine Perch," capable of taking some 950 of these Germans due for repatriation the Spanish Government were given another chance of proving their good faith in their public pronouncement of the 6th May and also the Note of protest of the 5th June, it may be recalled, they claimed to have done everything possible to facilitate the action of the British and U.S. Embassies. But this vessel sailed from Bilbao on the 9th June, with no more than 341 Germans on board, and of these only 83 altogether were on the Allies' "priority" lists, 37 of them on the first three lists presented before the departure of the "Highland Monarch" and 46 on supplementary lists presented in May. This means that out of the 734 Germans whose records as Nazi agents is particularly bad only 192 have so far been repatriated. These facts were the subject of a statement in the House of Commons by the Minister of State on the 24th June in reply to a Parliamentary Question. The Minister placed on record that H.M. Government "take a serious view of the failure of General Franco's Government to cooperate in this matter. . . ." On the question of German assets he gave notice that formal negotiations would not be opened in Madrid until an agreement with Sweden on German properties in that country had been made. The delay is unfortunate, since the Franco Government is not likely to be as compliant as it was last year when the European war ended or indeed this spring before the meetings of the Security Council.

If in Spain Monarchist stock has assuredly slumped since the beginning of the year, in Portugal it remains steady, with a tendency to rise. Reuter reported last week the arrival in Lisbon from Switzerland of Dom Duarte Nuno, the claimant to the throne of Portugal, with his wife and son; it is too early yet to say whether this journey has anything to do with Dr. Salazar's failing health.

ITALY.

On the 28th June Signor De Nicola was elected provisional President of the Italian Republic. Signor De Nicola is a Neapolitan, aged 69, a lawyer, who for thirty years was a prominent figure in South Italy. He had some ministerial experience in pre-Fascist Cabinets and was President of the Chamber of Deputies from 1919 to December 1923. After September 1943 he refused to serve in a Government under Victor Emmanuel III and played a leading part in the negotiations which resulted in Victor Emmanuel's withdrawal and the appointment of Prince Umberto as Lieutenant of the Realm. There was a strong feeling among politicians of all parties in favour of having as President a Southerner who would understand the monarchist tendencies of the South. Signor De Gasperi spoke of him to Sir Noel Charles as a man of great depth and foresight, whose advice would largely determine his own decision on the possibility of forming a Cabinet.

Agreement was reached by the Foreign Ministers on the 29th June to examine M. Bidault's plan for an autonomous territory of Trieste (see under "The Paris Conference"). In Italy, opinion remains on the whole bitterly opposed to the idea of internationalisation. Signor De Gasperi himself has continued to attack the suggestion. At a meeting of the Christian Democrat Party on the 24th June he said that if Pola and the towns of Western Istria were to be ceded to Yugoslavia and if Trieste and the rest of Venezia Giulia "were to be detached from the motherland under the guise of internationalisation, the Italian Government and people would not accept this iniquitous solution and would resist with all their strength and by all possible means." The Italian Prime Minister went on to say that Italy would submit her case to "every court including that of world opinion, which cannot permit that a war fought in the name of the liberty of people and of international justice should end in an oppressive and unjust peace." This statement corresponds very closely to that made in Paris by Herr Gruber, the Austrian Foreign Minister, who said that, in view of the rejection of Austria's claim to the entire Tyrol by the Foreign Ministers, Austria would bring her case to the notice of world opinion. Each Minister has pointed out that the ethnic question is being ignored in the case where their own nationals would form a minority.

On the 27th June the Foreign Ministers finally settled the Franco-Italian frontier in France's favour. The question of the wishes of the inhabitants of

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In general the attitude adopted by the Italian Ministers to the Paris Conference and to the Treaty has been such that Mr. Bevin has felt it necessary to point out to them and to the Italian Press that the prevalent Italian view that their Government will shortly be called upon to sign the Peace Treaty on the dotted line is a misconception. The Italians should understand that when the full Peace Conference finally meets, the Italian Government will be able to attend and to make whatever representations they like in regard to all sections of the draft Treaty. H.M. Government are anxious that the new Italian Government should shoulder their responsibilities and look forward not backward.

Signor De Gasperi admits that he is aware of the difficulties of the United Kingdom and of the U.S.A., but he is himself faced with a very difficult problem. He is the leader of the largest party in Italy and feels that he cannot go against the wishes of that party or of other parties on whom he must depend for a majority. He is afraid, on the one hand, of the Communists and of Signor Nenni and his following among the Socialists, and, on the other hand, he fears the Right wing, particularly Signor Giannini and the Uomo Qualunque people, who polled quite a heavy vote. Signor De Gasperi points out that this Party numbers more than Mussolini's Fascists did when they were creeping up, though fortunately Giannini is not of Mussolini's calibre.

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

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The press greeted with caustic comments the announcement that a new Catholic party is being formed "on the precepts of the Gospels" and ridiculed the Party's badge—a white cross—saying that it stands for conspiracy and anti-semitic demonstrations. The Roman Catholic Church is constantly attacked for "undermining the democracy"; the Corpus Christi procession arranged for the 20th June was cancelled suddenly and without explanation, probably from fear lest it might provoke hostile demonstrations. While there is a lull at the moment in the disputes between the Left-Wing *bloc* and the Smallholders' Party, it is disconcerting to learn that the Social Democrats are organising a party guard.

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The currency has lost all meaning; the Government seem to be making no special effort to curb monetary circulation, and to be basing their hopes for stabilisation on the new currency to be introduced in a few weeks' time. Meanwhile, notes bearing a face value of 10,000 billion pengö are in circulation, and the value of the taxation pengö, which a week ago was worth 22,000,000 paper pengö, has now risen to 27,000,000,000 pengö.

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aircraft from Bari with insulting remarks about Tito scribbled on its tail. The British Chargé d'Affaires promptly tendered an apology and asked the R.A.F. in Italy to investigate the matter with a view to punishing those responsible. He subsequently received an indignant Note from the Yugoslav Government demanding satisfaction.

In the Mihailovitch trial a number of secondary figures have been interrogated, without any remarkable developments.

Greece.

The hopes, aroused by the conciliatory attitude of the Greek Government, that some compromise could be reached on the plebiscite question were not realised. Debate on the plebiscite Bill continued, marred by a number of unseemly incidents, through two all-night sittings of the Chamber; towards the end of the second M. Sophoulis and his party, having tabled a protest against the Government's continued refusal to put the constitutional issue squarely before the voters, and to declare in advance that they would accept the results of the plebiscite as decisive, walked out in a body. After their departure the Bill was passed, at 6 o'clock on the 26th, by a show of hands, General Zervas voting with the majority of EPE members against it. The ghost of the Metaxas dictatorship continues to haunt the Chamber's proceedings, and the noisiest incident of the debate was provoked by the attempt of M. Tourkovasilis, the leader of the small group of extreme Royalists, to speak in praise of it.

The decision taken by the Paris Conference on the 27th June to assign the Dodecanese to Greece, with their demilitarisation as the sole condition, was received in Greece with immense enthusiasm. The Cabinet decided the next day to set up a commission to prepare to take over their administration, and according to Athens radio, an all-party Parliamentary delegation is to visit Rhodes in the near future. M. Tsaldaris told the press that, if the islands' incorporation into the Greek state were concluded in time, their inhabitants would take part in the plebiscite. [See also under "Turkey."]

By a happy accident, the news of the Foreign Ministers' decision was received while the Chamber was discussing the Government's recent decision to exchange diplomatic representatives with Italy. The exchange of letters between the two Governments took place on the 24th June; the Greek representative with the Italian Government is to be M. K. Vatikiotis, at present assistant delegate to the Allied Council for Italy, who has the personal rank of Counsellor. The Italian representative has not yet been designated. The resumption of relations has been generally welcomed in Greece, on the understanding that Greek reparation claims against Italy receive satisfaction (according to a Paris broadcast, the figures submitted to the Conference of Foreign Ministers under this heading were 800,000 dollars general reparations, 223 million dollars Italian occupation costs, and 1,855 million dollars Greek war costs, total 2,078·8 million dollars). Indeed, now the stumbling-block of the Dodecanese has been removed, there is sufficient community of interest between the two countries to make possible a new and fruitful relationship between them.

The budget for the fiscal year 1946–47 was presented to the Chamber on the 7th June, but has not yet been debated. Expenditure was estimated at 1,576,714 million drachmae, revenue at 1,401,284 million, leaving a deficit of 175,430 million drachmae. In his very long introductory speech the Finance Minister, M. Khelmis, explained the importance, from a budgetary point of view, of increasing production both in agriculture and in industry, which, he said, in Greece could only be done by stimulating private enterprise; largely for this reason, the chief source of normal revenue was to be indirect taxation. He emphasised the impossibility of meeting the costs of reconstruction, for which only 100,000 million drachmae were allotted, from normal revenue; reparations payments from Italy, Germany and Bulgaria were the only source from which these could be met.

Albania.

Although in present circumstances reliable information about Albania is hard to obtain, there is good reason to think that the following points can be vouched for:—(1) The Albanian Army remains at least partially mobilised. (2) While there has been no mention in the local press, or on the wireless, of H.M.G.'s protest about the Corfu Channel incident, it is rumoured that it was a Russian officer who gave the order to the shore batteries to fire. (3) Dissident Albanian forces are believed to be increasing their hold in remoter districts in the north and north-east. (4) In the south comparatively large numbers still attempt from time to time to cross the border into Greece.

Further confused allegations involving British army officers have been made during the trial of the 37 so-called "Fascist traitors" now going on at Tirana; but none of them can be said to amount to very much, apart from one defendant's sensational tale—which of course lacks all confirmation—to the effect that a major attached at the time to our Military Mission remarked to one of the would-be insurgents that he and his friends could hardly expect any support from the British as they had not yet achieved anything worth while. To this the reply was that they had organised the murder of a young man at Kruja. Thereupon the major is supposed to have said that it would have been more useful to assassinate Professor Malleshova or General Xoxe [Enver Hoxha's two principal supporters and colleagues]. Other defendants denied this.

The Albanian wireless and press have been eloquently silent on the subject of the indiscreet message about Albania's future relation to Yugoslavia which was sent last week from Belgrade to Sofia and is referred to below under "Bulgaria." In a statement made to the Belgrade press Enver Hoxha has once more asserted his country's "right" to membership of the United Nations and complained of the inadequacy of UNRRA supplies.

Bulgaria.

If it has really been the object of the Communists during the last few weeks to provoke the hitherto most patient and law-abiding ranks of the Opposition into open rebellion while they themselves still have a really large Russian army of occupation to succour and reinforce them—and there has certainly been every indication that this has been the case—then it can only be said that they have once more gravely miscalculated. Well led by Petkov, who has shown both sagacity and courage, the Opposition have stolidly bided their time. On the 22nd June the British and American Political Representatives at Sofia were handed by Petkov a memorandum setting out in restrained and dignified terms what may be called the Agrarian Party's Grand Remonstrance. Ten former Cabinet ministers and five other leading officials belonging to Bulgaria's most representative party subscribe their names to this document, in which the chief factors in an intolerable situation are summed up and the tyranny and oppression exercised by Communist bullies in all parts of the country are once more exposed. There is every reason to think that should the question of fresh elections be brought up again at this juncture by the Great Powers, the Opposition as a whole would be only too glad this time to take part.

In accordance with a decision taken on the 27th June by the Council of Foreign Ministers, the Bulgarian navy is to be reduced to 7,250 tons and 2,500 men, *i.e.*, roughly two-thirds of the present strength.

There are grounds for anticipating that a Russian proposal is likely to be put forward that the Bulgarian army, now believed to be about 60,000 strong, should be reduced to 30,000 men. If this were carried out, the army would on political grounds almost certainly lose its soundest elements, and it would moreover be overshadowed at once by the militia, who are thought to number about 40,000 men now and are armed with machine-guns and tanks. A law unto themselves, these Communist toughs are under the sole direction of the Minister of the Interior, and it is they, of course, who keep the countryside in the prevailing state of terror.

It will be remembered that it was because of the outspoken way in which he had written criticising the Communists for their constant interference regarding training and promotion in the army that Kristiu Pastuhov was arrested last February. His trial for fostering disaffection was concluded last week, when in spite of his good solid record as a public man and his 72 years of age he was sentenced to five years' solitary confinement, with deprivation of civic rights for a further five years. Hearings in the G. M. Dimitrov case have been resumed.

The British Political Representative reports that an organised campaign is being conducted against all Bulgarians who have anything to do with the British or the Americans. Such unwary people have their homes or premises periodically searched: they are frequently held up and questioned, and in some cases they have been flung into prison without any justification and subjected to gross indignities. Meanwhile on the 29th June Kolarov tried his best to ingratiate himself with both Mr. Bevin and Mr. Byrnes in Paris without turning a hair.

On the 25th June the Zveno paper, *Izgrev*, published a message from its Belgrade correspondent alleging that General Hoxha's visit to Marshal Tito was believed to foreshadow the impending incorporation of Albania into Yugoslavia. For spreading this "tendentious and malevolent report" the correspondent has already been expelled from the Bulgarian Journalists' Union.

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Turkey.

Although, under the treaty of Lausanne of 1923, Turkey surrendered sovereignty over the Dodecanese, she is not unnaturally interested in the fate of these islands. In recent years the Turkish Government have seemed to have themselves no territorial ambitions in the Dodecanese and to entertain no objection to the islands passing to Greece with whom their relations are so close. But the Foreign Ministers' decision on the 27th June to award the Dodecanese to Greece has prompted the Turkish Government to evince some fear with regard to Symi and Kos, which lie particularly near the Turkish coast, and Castellorizo, which, besides being close to the mainland, is a long way from the Dodecanese proper. As the Turkish Government have never objected to Greece holding Samos, Chios and Mytilene—which are also very near to Turkey—subject to demilitarisation, it may be that, as regards Symi and Kos at any rate, the Turkish Government will on reflection find that demilitarisation meets the case (see also under "Greece").

Quite apart from the question of the Dodecanese, Turkey and Greece do not see eye to eye about Imbros and Tenedos at the mouth of the Dardanelles. To the tiny Greek communities in these two islands the Turks pledged themselves under the Lausanne treaty to grant a small measure of autonomy. But the pledge has never been honoured, and now some clamour in a section of the Greek press and an official demand of the Greek Government have induced Angora to promise Athens full satisfaction.

No progress has been made with the question of the Straits. The Soviet Government is evidently anxious to inveigle the Turks into a bilateral discussion and in particular into an admission of the paramount importance of the Straits for Russia. The Turks continue to maintain that until the Russian demands for a base on the Straits and for Kars, Ardahan and Artvin are withdrawn they will not discuss the Straits. But the Soviet Government show no sign of dropping their demand for a base.

It now appears that in the municipal elections on the 26th May, although the new Democratic Party did not participate as such, individuals belonging to that party beat candidates of the dominant People's Party at various places, notably Afyon-Karahisar, Uşak, Isparta and Osmaniye in Western Anatolia. This was symptomatic of a prevailing discontent with the continued mobilisation which turns a million potential producers into consumers, with the high cost of living and with the continued restrictions on trade. The present Government seem to reckon that when the general election takes place on the 21st July this discontent may produce an Opposition of 100 in the total of 457 seats. There is no reason to doubt them when they say that they would welcome such a result as a healthy political development. But, although President Inönü has declared that the People's Party must frankly face the prospect of surrendering power in the event of defeat, there is little doubt that Party expects no such thing and would be extremely loth to be brought to it. An event which may have some influence on the elections is the announcement that Marshal Fevzi Çakmak is going to stand as a Democratic Party candidate. The Marshal is a diabetic old gentleman of 72, but as the man who was Chief of Staff during all Atatürk's time he remains one of the outstanding personalities of Turkey. His adherence to the Democratic Party might win it the support of many waverers. In particular it might serve to dispel the evil odour in which the Democratic Party has been enveloped by effusive but unsolicited Soviet support.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

Egypt.

The apathy of the Egyptian public regarding the Treaty negotiations, which had become apparent, has now been broken by a series of articles in the press expressing some anxiety at the adjournment. Ali Shamsi Pasha, in an interview with the *Ahram* published on the 25th June, said that he thought the position was very disquieting and that the present conduct of the negotiations in Cairo and London amounted to temporisation, which was not in Egypt's interest and would soon become intolerable. Hussein Heikal Pasha, in an interview given to the weekly *Akhbar al Yom*, warned Mr. Bevin that, while his difficulties are understood, the patience of peoples is limited. He criticised the failure to reduce the British garrison immediately after the end of hostilities leaving only the 10,000 troops allowed by the 1936 Treaty, who could have been restricted to the

Canal Zone, so as to create a really favourable atmosphere before negotiations were started. Public interest was now focused on the proposal for a Common Defence Committee, which had been accepted in principle, but the Egyptian negotiators would insist on total evacuation. Makram Ebeid also referred to the Defence Committee in an article in his paper, the *Kutla*, on the 29th June, but labelled it as a new attempt by His Majesty's Government to make Egypt a zone of British influence. He asked whether it meant that Egypt would be under a disguised protectorate, and said that, although Egypt preferred an alliance with Great Britain to one with any other Power, she would prefer not to make such an alliance if it carried with it any restriction on her independence. He mentioned the class of Egyptian who sees no need for such a Treaty at all and considers that the United Nations Charter does away with the necessity for a military alliance. The number of people with this view will, he thinks, increase if the negotiations fail or even if the conclusion of a Treaty on a sound basis is delayed. This article seems to have started a rumour that Makram Pasha intends to resign from the delegation, but he denied it in an interview given to the *Bourse Egyptienne*. The *Musawwar*, a weekly illustrated review, after recording his disagreement in principle with his colleagues on several major issues, asked him why he continued to negotiate. He replied: "I am fulfilling my duty to the end; at the moment of signature I shall leave my place blank!"

Palestine.

In the early hours of the 29th June the Jewish Agency's building in Jerusalem was occupied and searches were carried out in a number of offices in Tel Aviv and in settlements in various parts of the country. Five senior officials of the Jewish Agency were arrested and a large number of other persons detained for investigation. Resistance was slight, and a communiqué issued late on Saturday afternoon reported that there had been no serious incidents and practically no use of firearms. Three Jews and one British soldier were killed, and a small number of Jews was admitted to hospital for injuries.

His Excellency the High Commissioner broadcast a statement in which he pointed out that the measures previously taken to check the outrages committed by some members of the Jewish community had been restricted and localised in the hope that reason would prevail. This hope had not been realised. He went on to give a solemn warning of the Government's determination to stamp out violence and terrorism from whatever quarter they came. The occupation of the premises of the Jewish Agency was necessitated by evidence of the part it had played "in the organisation and direction of, and in co-operation with," the forces of disorder. It was not the intention at this time to proscribe or close the Agency. He ended with an appeal to all classes of the people of Palestine to co-operate in the tasks of restoring normal conditions.

The Chief Secretary, Sir John Shaw, gave a press conference at which he said that Dr. Weizmann was not amongst those detained, but that he had been received by the High Commissioner during the afternoon. He announced the imposition of a temporary censorship to prevent the despatch of inaccurate or tendentious reports.

The Times, in a leader, remarks that the evidence of the complicity of the Jewish Agency in the acts of violence is "an unhappy commentary" on the view expressed by the Anglo-American Committee that the Agency "should at once resume active co-operation in the suppression of terrorism and of illegal immigration, and in the maintenance of that law and order throughout Palestine which is essential for the good of all."

A statement was issued by the Executive of the Jewish Agency in London on the 29th June, in which the measures taken in Palestine are characterised as an act of aggression against the Jewish people, and as provocative action "which is a culmination of a policy of violating obligations undertaken under the Mandate." After an expression of the opinion that such a step could have been taken only to appease the Mufti and on the advice of his Arab and British friends in the Middle East, the statement, characteristically passing over in silence the views of the Committee, ends with what is tantamount to an admission that the action was justified: "The Jewish people and its leaders will not be intimidated and will continue the struggle for the right of Jews to enter their homeland and live as a free and independent nation in the Jewish State." A combined meeting of the Vaad Leumi (National Council) and the Inner Zionist Council was held in Jerusalem on 1st July, attended by representatives of Jewish communities throughout Palestine, including the non-Zionist

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Agudath Israel. The meeting denounced the arrests of the Jewish leaders and the desecration of the Sabbath resulting from the Government's action and declared that such a government could not expect co-operation.

The Prime Minister made a statement on the operation in the House of Commons on the 1st July and further defended the steps taken by the Government in the debate which followed.

Iraq.

On 28th June a demonstration was staged outside the British Embassy in Baghdad by a crowd of five or six hundred persons carrying banners with anti-British slogans and shouting for justice for Palestine. The police fired in the air and there was said to be some firing from the crowd. There were nine casualties of which one was fatal.

Persia.

Two communiqués issued during the past week by the Prime Minister seem to indicate that he is becoming impatient with the activities of the Tudeh party and is thinking of trying to put it in its place. The first contains a warning to landlords of villages in the Tehran district to deal fairly with their tenants but bids tenants disregard attempts being made by some political parties to persuade them to refuse payment of legal dues. Tudeh incitement to villagers to refuse to give up the landlord's share of the harvest has apparently been endangering the Government's grain-collecting plans on which the feeding of Tehran depends. The second communiqué draws attention to the abuse of the goodwill and indulgence extended by the Government to certain workers' organizations and conveys an emphatic warning that they will no longer be permitted to exceed their proper functions to the detriment of the public welfare. The Tudeh party have reacted strongly and in an article in Rahbar, have reminded Qawam as Saltaneh that he owes his present position to them and holds it at their pleasure.

The Prime Minister broadcast an important address to the nation on the 29th June. After a review of the policy pursued by his Government since its access to power he announced the formation of the "Iranian Democratic Party." The programme of the party was subsequently announced; it covers in considerable detail the aims in all fields of internal reform, and, after outlining the basis of foreign policy to be the preservation of friendly relations with all the Allies, particularly the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States of America, the intention is announced of "supervising the activities of foreign political representatives in Iran."

There are signs in Tabriz that the recent agreement does not satisfy all the local Democrats. A split in the party may result although present differences are being hushed up. The withdrawal of Pishavari appears certain to have a bad effect on the administration of the province which is already weak and muddle-headed and likely to become more so.

His Majesty's Ambassador called on the Persian Prime Minister on the 26th June and handed him an aide-memoire referring to the situation in the Anglo-Iranian oil-fields (see last *Summary*) and pointing out that His Majesty's Government hold the Persian Government responsible for ensuring that full protection is given to the company's employees and for taking immediate action against any who try to incite employees to strike or to commit acts of violence. Qawam as Saltaneh accepted full responsibility on behalf of his Government and said that he hoped that deficiencies on the company's part such as the housing at Agha Jari, would be remedied.

The report that the Provincial Council of Khuzistan had asked for privileges similar to those granted to Azerbaijan turns out, as expected, to be exaggerated. The President of the Council sent a telegraphic request without any reference to his colleagues, six of whom have now explained that they ask only for constitutional powers and certainly do not request the use of the local language (Arabic). A report of an Arab association, to be known as the Khuzistan Farmers' Union, has appeared in the press, but the Arab shaikhs, who are the leaders of the movement, which they style the "Arab Union," do not intend to change its name. They claim rights similar to those given to Azerbaijan and have announced that, while not opposed to the workers, they are against a gang of exploiters who are not workers themselves. The Tudeh are naturally somewhat alarmed at the creation of this opposition movement and have telegraphed to Tehran asking for "protection"; failure to provide it, they say, will make it necessary for them to have permission to make their

own arrangements. At the same time the Tudeh have somewhat reduced the outward signs of their activity, and, while they are trying to find out the attitude of the British Government to the Arab movement, they are issuing pamphlets amongst the Arabs warning them that it is a British anti-Tudeh measure and advising them to rely on the Tudeh to solve their difficulties.

The situation in the oil-fields has not improved in spite of the arrival of the representatives of the Government on the 24th June. Further trouble has occurred at Agha Jari and the officials of the Company were expecting a general strike on 1st July which they feared might lead to serious disorder and bloodshed. Their fears so far have not been realised.

FAR EAST.

Philippines.

On the 4th July, the Philippines take their place among the nations of the world as a free and independent Republic.

In response to an invitation from the United States Government and the Government of the Philippines, the King has been graciously pleased to appoint Lord Killearn, Special Commissioner in South-East Asia, as His Majesty's Special Ambassador to attend the proclamation of Philippine Independence, and the inauguration of His Excellency Señor Manuel Roxas as President of the Republic, and to convey His Majesty's congratulations and good wishes to President Roxas.

An invitation to appoint Delegates to attend the ceremonies was also extended to the Australian Government, which has selected Commodore J. A. Collins, R.A.N., and Mr. H. A. Peterson, the Australian Consul-General at Manila, as its Representatives. Commodore Collins will bear a special message of good wishes from the Australian Prime Minister to President Roxas.

With the declaration for independence, the present High Commissioner to the Philippines, Mr. Paul McNutt, becomes the first American Ambassador to the Republic. General MacArthur will also attend the independence ceremonies and has already arrived at Manila.

Señor Manuel Roxas was elected President on the 27th April, when he polled 958,294 votes against 822,836 votes cast for the re-election of the outgoing President, Señor Osmena. President Roxas, who enjoys the support of many of the followers of the late President Quezon, is a dynamic speaker and conducted a vigorous campaign against his 68 years old rival, who made but one election speech.

In 1916, the "Philippine Autonomy Act" stated that "it is, as it always has been, the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognise their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein." Half a century has elapsed in the endeavour, and it was not until 1934 that the first really concrete steps to fulfil this promise took shape in the "Philippine Independence Act," frequently referred to as the "Tydings–McDuffie Act."

This Act provided for the holding of a constitutional convention in the Philippines and the establishment of commonwealth status for a transitional period of ten years, on the expiry of which, on the 4th July, 1946, the Philippines were to enjoy full political and economic independence as "a separate and self-governing nation." The withdrawal of the American army on the expiration of the transitional period was specifically provided for, although the question of the continued maintenance of American naval bases after that period was held open for further consideration. The continuance of free trade between the Philippines and the United States, subject to certain quotas, until 1940 was also provided by this Act. From 1940 a gradually increasing scale of export duties, rising from 5 per cent. in 1940 to 25 per cent. in 1946, was to be imposed until the date of independence, after which payment of full taxes would be imposed.

Subsequent events, however, brought about substantial modifications to the main provisions of the Act; and, almost at the eleventh hour, two additional bills concerning Philippine trade and rehabilitation were signed by President Truman.

In 1944, President Roosevelt declared that the "Philippine Independence Act" allowed for "a situation wholly inadequate to meet the conditions of modern warfare" and that the measure approved by Congress in a restatement of its policy towards the independence of the Philippines "will permit the acquisition of air and land bases in addition to naval bases and fuelling stations" and "is most welcome to Commonwealth authorities." In recent articles the

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American Press has stressed that from a military and naval point of view United States' relations with the independent Philippine Republic will become even closer than was the case when the latter enjoyed colonial status; and General Eisenhower is reported as stating that " we shall maintain no less than 79,000 troops there after July 1, in contrast with the less than 30,000 we had prior to Pearl Harbour."

President Roosevelt had expressed the hope that the Philippines might be granted independence " the moment the power of our Japanese enemies is destroyed," and that Congress would take the necessary steps to provide such rehabilitation and trade assistance as might be required to fulfil his promise that the new Republic would be " assisted in the full repair of the ravages caused by the war." Nevertheless, when the war in the Pacific ended and the Philippines were recovered from the Japanese there were some among those in responsible positions who believed that the political and economical state of the Philippines rendered it advisable that the date of independence be postponed for a further period. Mr. Paul McNutt called for an economic re-examination of the question of Philippine independence, and warned the Filipinos against " stepping off into an uncharted sea," which, he declared, might deprive them of ever regaining their economic liberty. The Philippine Commonwealth authorities, however, vigorously opposed any suggestion to depart from the scheduled date of independence, unless, indeed, the President should choose to advance the date.

A Commission of three, headed by Senator Tydings, proceeded to the Philippines to investigate and report on rehabilitation requirements; and, on their return two new bills were presented for deliberation by Congress, namely, the " Philippine Trade Act " sponsored by Congressman Bell, and the " Philippine Rehabilitation Act," sponsored by Senator Tydings. The Trade Act provides, subject to certain quotas, for eight years of free trade between the Philippines and the United States, followed by twenty years of tariff duties, gradually increasing each year by successive equal steps until full tariff rates have been reached. The Rehabilitation Act makes provision for a grant from the United States of U.S. $500,000,000 to meet war damage payments to private persons in the Philippines and the reconstruction and rehabilitation of public property. A further provision guarantees possession to the United States of property now held or to be acquired for the Army, Navy, or other Government Agencies.

The two bills depend one upon the other and have far reaching issues. The Trade Act requires the Filipinos to amend the Constitution which was approved by President Roosevelt with the " Philippine Independence Act of 1934," and during his recent visit to the United States President Roxas is reported to have stated that the Trade Act " is, in general, acceptable to us." But the average Filipino is not quite so sure that he is prepared to alter his Constitution in order to confer on Americans exceptional privileges in their future rights in his country and, in particular, their business undertakings in the natural resources of the Philippines. Certain sections of the community have given voice to outspoken criticism in unveiled suspicion that these measures are but a preparatory step towards American exploitation of their newly found independence.

It is interesting to note that the Rehabilitation Act contains a clause requiring that " no payments in excess of $500 shall be made until an executive agreement shall have been entered into between the President of the United States and the President of the Philippines, and such agreement shall have become effective according to its terms, providing for trade relations between the United States and the Philippines," so that assistance in respect of war damage is made conditional on Philippine acceptance of American free trade requirements; and, just as for Great Britain the discontinuance of Empire preference was a *sine qua non* to the American Loan, so for the new Philippine Republic is the acceptance of what is virtually an Empire preference agreement a *sine qua non* to financial provision for war damage and rehabilitation.

The passage through Congress of these bills was attended by considerable opposition; they were amended on no less than five occasions, and there appears to have been considerable reluctance among some to involve the United States in a preferential trade agreement, while others complained that the financial provision for rehabilitation purposes was not sufficiently generous. Left Wing opposition to both bills was particularly articulate. When finally they came before President Truman for his signature on the 30th April, there was an apologetic note in his statements that he had " to-day signed the two bills which constitute the heart of the programme for Philippine Rehabilitation and Recovery," and that " we are providing for the establishment, through an executive agreement, of an unprecedented plan of preferential trade relations

with the Philippines to last for twenty-eight years . . . . This is unprecedented legislation for the United States, but the situation itself is unprecedented. We are about to grant political independence to these people. To-day we are giving them a chance to preserve and develop their nation on a temporary economic basis of trade preferences. Political independence without economic stability would be totally ineffective. I am happy to approve these two measures, which give notice to the people of the Philippines and to the entire world that we are redeeming our promises to the heroic Philippine people." By his emphasis on the " unprecedented " nature of this legislation President Truman seeks to blunt the edge of criticism from the free trade champions who are so vocal in the U.S. these days and at the same time to provide cover for attacks on Empire preferences.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Comment on international affairs has been divided between the Paris Conference, the Security Council, and the Atomic Energy Commission, and, in the absence of any sensational developments during the greater part of the week, has run on familiar lines. Discussion of the Foreign Ministers' Conference maintained its tone of unwonted sobriety and restraint. While disappointment was shown at the repeated failures to reach agreement with Russia on any major issue, particularly on Trieste, the majority of commentators remained determinedly optimistic that a general peace conference would shortly be convened. Though the *New York Herald Tribune* pointed out that prior agreement between the Big Powers was requisite if a general conference were to succeed, a number of its colleagues were more hopeful and felt that such a conference might somehow be able to solve the problems which had so far baffled the Big Four. Mr. Byrnes' ultimatum regarding a decision on the Conference date has accordingly been welcomed by most Americans who agree with the Secretary of State that the question must be finally settled " one way or the other."

The prolonged wrangling over the Evatt resolution on Spain and the confusion in which the debate terminated have increased misgivings regarding the ability of the Security Council to fulfil its role. In particular Mr. Gromyko's intemperate use of the veto brought to a climax by its application three times in one day, has made the veto problem the dominant topic in all discussion on the Council. The ranks of the original critics of the veto have been strengthened by a considerable number of Americans, who, indignant at its abuse by Russia, have apparently forgotten the earlier insistence of their own country on reserving this right. A number of more realistically minded commentators, however, have been at pains to point out that the fault lies, not in the existence of the veto but in the way it has been used by Russia to block ail agreements in which she is in a minority. The broadcaster, Mr. Vandercook, for example, sees the veto as a " kind of atomic bomb, a rare and deadly weapon " which " has been used by the Russians as casually as if it were a pea shooter." These commentators point out that it is highly improbable that the United States Senate would agree to its abolition or indeed that any of the Great Powers would be prepared to do so.

While Conservatives in general remained opposed to revision of the veto power in the Security Council they were indignant at Russia's refusal to give up her veto rights in the proposed machinery for atomic control, alleging that any nation taking this stand marked itself as suspect. A number of Liberals, however, including Mr. Swing and the *New Republic*, agreed with Mr. Lippmann in deploring the emphasis which had been given to this issue both by the Americans and the Russians, whereas the important points were the rights of inspection and the central control of atomic energy resources. Though nationalists were only too ready to treat the *Pravda* article as the final word from Russia and to abandon further efforts to achieve international control, the majority of writers were greatly relieved when Mr. Gromyko agreed to Dr. Evatt's suggestion for the establishment of a Working Committee to iron out the differences and produce a draft plan. At the same time President Truman's message to Mr. Baruch on 28th June assuring him of his full support was interpreted by some as an indication that the United States was not prepared to make material alterations in the Baruch plan.

A considerable amount of interest has been shown in the announcement of Great Britain's bread rationing programme. While, from the American point of view, the ration is regarded as an adequate one, the decision to introduce such an unpopular measure was regarded as an earnest of Britain's determination to play its full part in meeting the world food crisis. Radio speakers, in particular,

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paid tribute to British courage and generosity. This sympathetic note was struck by speakers of all political shades including some, like the left-winger Johannes Steel, usually notable for their bitter attacks on British foreign policy. At the same time great satisfaction has followed the announcement that America's grain export goal for the first half-year would be reached. A number of writers, however, thought it wise to underline President Truman's warning that "The crisis is not over. Co-operation and determined effort by the Public . . . . must be continued during the coming months of hunger abroad."

President Truman's unexpected veto of the Price Control Bill on the grounds that it would provide Government responsibility for, without Government control of, inflation, has provided the major sensation of the week. In the long drawn out struggle between the Administration and Congress on this issue the President has enjoyed the greater measure of popular support though Congress has had the backing of business circles. Thus his decision to veto the emasculated Bill, following the resignation of Mr. Chester Bowles, Director of the Office of Economic Stabilisation, has been applauded by a large body of opinion. Mr. Truman's fighting speech on this occasion is described as the best in his career and he is praised for showing both "wisdom and courage in electing to veto the Bill" (*Washington Post*, 1st July, 1946). Few people have been prepared to predict the consequences of an interim period of unrestrained price rises before Congress can (if it will) vote emergency legislation. Even business men who profess a belief that there will not be any immediate large scale rise in prices admit that food prices at least will increase. Congress has also been criticised for its compromise Bill to extend compulsory service, which is described as an "unprincipled political approach" to America's military responsibilities. Internationalists deplore the parochial attitude of Congress and its failure to provide the necessary means to enable the country to fulfil its world commitments in either the political or economic sphere. The *New York Herald Tribune* bitterly refers to "the fag end of a confused session with some Congressmen with their ears so close to the ground due to the coming election that they cannot hear anything."

LATIN AMERICA.

Argentina.

General von der Becke has now left the United States without making any statement about the result of his visit. The speculations of the United States Press include references to an Argentine request for a loan, and the omniscient Mr. Drew Pearson has affirmed that General von der Becke brought a long memorandum demanding that Argentine be licensed to manufacture all sorts of United States arms. General Perón ridiculed the suggestion of a loan by asserting that the United States owed Argentine some $600 millions (it is now reported that the United States has "unfrozen" Argentine assets to approximately this value): he added that the von der Becke mission was purely military and had resulted from information that the Inter-American Defence Committee wished for the discussions. Elsewhere, the President stated that his policy was to favour the development of the Argentine arms industry and that careful account would be taken of the question of standardization recommended by the Inter-American Defence Committee.

It seems clear that General Perón does want a settlement with the United States. Mr. Acheson's suggestion that there should be "deeds, not promises" in fulfilment of the Act of Chapultepec (see last week's *Summary*) has not called forth any protest from Buenos Aires. On the contrary, the treatment of German institutions and enterprises in Argentina has been discussed by the United States Ambassador, Mr. Messersmith, and the Argentine Foreign Minister, Dr. Bramuglia. Perón himself has declared that some Nazis have been tried, and that more will be tried. However, Perón has also taken care to point out that negotiations for a settlement are being carried on "under the direction of President Truman, Mr. Byrnes and Mr. Messersmith" on the one side, and himself and Dr. Bramuglia on the other, "without the intervention of third parties and especially of those whose past activities" had been harmful to Argentine sovereignty and Argentine–United States relations. This broadside at Mr. Braden has been accentuated by friendly references to Mr. Messersmith.

There is every reason to suppose that General Perón would take a truly Latin delight in unhorsing the perpetrator of the Blue Book, but there is no further report of a forthcoming resignation on the part of Mr. Braden: it has, however, been rumoured that if Mr. Messersmith were successful in bringing about a settlement in Buenos Aires, he might then succeed Mr. Braden in Washington.

Meanwhile General Perón has declared in an interview that too much weight should not be given to the establishment of relations with the Soviet Union (see *Summary* No. 347), and that there was no danger of "" idealogical contamination" because of Argentina's "genuinely Christian spirit." This seems destined to smooth the hackles of the large block of Catholic voters who supported Perón in the elections because the Communists where then in the other camp.

Brazil.

The reappearance of Dr. Vargas on the Brazilian scene has created a pother appropriate to the importance of the occasion. It will be recalled that, having maintained himself in power since 1930, Dr. Vargas was prevailed upon last year to consent to the holding of presidential elections, and that, having selected his War Minister, General Dutra, to be his successor, and having superintended the creation of the necessary political parties, Dr. Vargas began to wonder whether he need resign after all, and the army was constrained to see to it that he did. With Dr. Vargas out of the way, General Dutra was duly elected, though a large proportion of his presidential votes were Vargas votes, while his Social Democratic Party (PSD) was built up under Vargas' eye and the Labour Party (PTB) which also supported Dutra was originally a purely Vargas machine, incorporating the "Queremistas" or Vargas claque. Vargas himself was elected a senator for both the PSD and the Labour Party. A piquant complication is the fact that it was Vargas who, in order to split the liberal opposition, released the Communist leader, Carlos Luis Prestes, and thus originated the wave of Communist demagogy that has caused his successor many headaches and at least one sleepless night.

While General Dutra and his cabinet have been floundering in economic and political difficulties, and the new Constituent Assembly has appended three thousand amendments to a constitution drawn up largely by adherents of Dr. Vargas, the late dictator stayed at home and bided his time. Finally on the 1st June, he arrived in Rio de Janeiro to take his seat for the PSD. Greeted by a tremendous display of not unsolicited enthusiasm, Dr. Vargas may well have felt that the Brazilian in the street regretted the golden prime of good Haroun al-Rashid. He himself declared that he would give General Dutra his full support and stand aside from political struggles, though when asked about the success of Communism he took the opportunity of recommending Brazilian workers to join the Labour Party.

General Dutra and his Government can hardly have over-estimated these professions of detachment. The effect of Dr. Vargas' return to the house was in fact electric. On his first appearance the President of the Constituent Assembly happened to be absent, and Dr. Mangabeira, the Opposition leader, who was acting as deputy, took the opportunity to refuse to administer the oath. When on the 5th June Dr. Vargas took the oath, Dr. Mangabeira at once delivered a speech on the ex-dictator's misdeeds and put forward a motion approving the action taken by the armed forces in October when they secured Vargas' resignation. In the debate on this motion one member recalled the various occasions on which the ex-dictator had forcibly dissolved the Chamber and attributed Brazil's present difficulties to the selfish policy of the Vargas régime. The leader of the PSD, Sr. Nereu Ramos, sought a way out by proposing an expression of gratitude to the armed forces without reference to the occasion of the 29th October. However, the original motion against Vargas stood and was approved by 133 votes to 131. This vote is of considerable interest since it shows an important split in the PSD, 36 of whom joined with the Opposition (UDN) in favour of the motion, while 98 voted against. Needless to say, the Communists voted bodily in the Vargas interest.

It is interesting to note that no split occurred in the Labour Party. The present Minister of Labour is a member of this party, and he recently told H.M. Ambassador that he was leading an anti-Vargas wing of the party: this, it now appears, does not exist.

Since this event there has been considerable coming and going. General Dutra has expressed his confidence in Sr. Nereu Ramos, whose offer to resign has not been accepted. There has been much talk about the formation of a coalition government, in which General Dutra might bring together the anti-Vargas wing of his own party and the Opposition UDN. However, reports of interviews between General Dutra and opposition and PSD leaders have been

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denied, while the UDN press on the whole appears to have taken the line that General Dutra's difficulties are his own affair and that the UDN could only collaborate if all the Queremistas were removed from power.

Chile.

President Ríos died on the 27th June at the age of 58. His disease had been known to be incurable for a considerable time, and for the past six months his duties have been carried out by Vice-President Duhalde. A native of Arauco, Juan Antonio Ríos was for long a Radical Deputy and Senator, holding the posts of Minister of the Interior and of Justice as well as directing a number of national institutions. Elected to the Presidency in April 1942 when the first Popular Front President Sr. Aguirre Cerda died in office, President Ríos was the nominee of the Radical Party. He found, however, that there was considerable difficulty in holding together the coalition and was driven more and more to rely on cabinets of experts and technicians, renouncing the support of his own party and seeing the gradual disintegration of the Popular Front.

Since the virtual retirement of President Ríos, and the appointment of a Vice-President, Chile's internal affairs have passed through a severe crisis when the prolonged strikes engineered by the Communist Unions led to violence last February. The cabinet was then reconstructed and now consists of Socialists and technicians. Acting-President Duhalde derives no support from his own Radical Party. President Ríos' condition of health has long been public knowledge and there has been considerable jockeying for positions. It now becomes the Acting President's duty to call elections within 60 days, and there is considerable speculation about the possible candidates. Sr. Duhalde himself, it has been reported, would wish to stand if he could find a party. The parties of the Right have, according to press reports, nominated their candidates; the Conservatives, Senator Cruz Coke; the Liberals, Senator Maza; and the Agrarians, Senator Larraín. It has also been reported that Sr. Arturo Alessandri might run: Sr. Alessandri's adventurous radicalism has now mellowed into a rather militant conservatism: despite his 77 years, Sr. Alessandri is still extremely vigorous. It is reported that the Radical choice is Sr. González Videla.

UNITED NATIONS.

Security Council.

The session of the 26th June considered the work of the drafting Committee of three which had been set up (see last week's *Summary*) to try to secure an agreement on an amendment to the Polish resolution on the Spanish question. The Australian and the United Kingdom members had agreed on the following text, Dr. Lange of Poland making reservations:—

> "(1) Whereas the Security Council on the 29th April, appointed a sub-committee to investigate the situation in Spain, (2) and whereas the investigation of the sub-committee has fully confirmed the facts which led to the condemnation of the Franco régime by the Potsdam and San Francisco Conferences, the General Assembly at the first part of its first session, and by the Security Council by resolution of the date above mentioned, (3) and whereas the sub-committee was of opinion that the situation in Spain is one the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, (4) it is hereby resolved that, without prejudice to the rights of the General Assembly under the Charter, the Security Council keeps the situation in Spain under continuous observation and maintains it upon the list of matters of which it is seized, in order that it will be at all times ready to take such measures as may become necessary to maintain international peace and security. Any member of the Security Council may bring the matter up for consideration by the Council at any time."

The discussion got beyond the chairman's control, and became so confused that those present could not be certain of what votes had been taken, until they had studied the 39 foolscap pages of the verbatim report. Russia and Poland raised ceaseless objections. First, was the text an amendment of the Polish draft? The Chairman ruled that it was, and should be taken first. Dr. Lange said that it was a new motion, and after the Assistant Secretary-General (in charge of Security Council Affairs), M. Sobolev, had been asked to explain the rules of procedure, the Chairman's ruling, being challenged, was voted upon. It was upheld by 9 to 2. At this point the verbatim account becomes confused; but

it seems that the text—or draft resolution—was immediately carried, also by 9 votes to 2. M. Gromyko then declared that as he had voted against it, it was vetoed, since in his opinion the matter was one of substance where the veto operated, and not one of procedure, where it did not. The question was put to the vote, and by 9 to 1 the Council held that it was procedural; but both the Chairman and M. Gromyko maintained that proceedings in such a case were governed by a statement made by the Four Powers in San Francisco on the 7th June, 1945, that, in case of dispute, for a question to be declared procedural or of substance the concurring votes of all the five veto-carrying Powers were required. Russia had just voted against, and her veto was valid. Dr. Evatt and M. van Kleffens argued that this 'statement' did not bind the United Nations, since it was not in the Charter, and Dr. Evatt summarized the futility of the position when he said that apparently Russia by a single vote could change a matter which 9 members had found procedural into one of substance. From this point onwards, M. Gromyko, by a kind of scissors-and-paste process, tried to transform the draft resolution back into the Polish resolution which had failed to secure agreement on the 24th. He was attempting, as Sir A. Cadogan said "if I may use a vulgar expression, 'to put it across us'." The Soviet delegate wished to reinsert a date, the 1st September, by which the Council must act. More important by far, he wished to eliminate not only the Sub-Committee's conclusion—see paragraph 3 of the text above—that the Franco régime was not an immediate threat under article 39 of the Charter; but also any reference to the rights of the Assembly. He argued correctly that the Council would do nothing against the rights of the Assembly, but he considered it unnecessary to say so. The U.K., Dutch, Australian and U.S. view, on the contrary, was that the reference to the Assembly must be left in, to remind the Council to drop the question from its agenda when the Assembly was ready to deal with it, the point being that article 12 of the Charter forbids the Assembly to "make recommendations" about any dispute or situation in respect of which the Security Council is exercising the functions assigned to it.

The position at the end of the meeting was that paragraphs 1 and 2 of the Evatt–Cadogan text were adopted, paragraph 3 deleted, and the last sentence of 4 adopted. M. Gromyko vetoed Dr. Evatt's proposal to adopt the "without prejudice to the Assembly's rights" formula as a new motion. Constitutional issues of the greatest importance were raised amidst the confusion of the debate. If the veto question is not soon dealt with, it will render the Council's procedure a mockery.

Atomic Energy Commission.

At the conclusion of the meeting on the 25th June it was agreed that the Chairman, Dr. Evatt, should make proposals for setting up a Working Committee to draft the main principles of a Charter, for a World Authority to control and develop atomic energy. The Committee would study both Mr. Baruch's plan and the statements the various other members had made. In the discussion the French and the Netherlands' delegates had declared that they saw no incompatibility between the U.S. and the Soviet plans: the Egyptian delegate had approved of the Baruch plan *in toto*, and had described the veto as the concept of a master race. Dr. Evatt himself saw no reason why the veto which existed in the Security Council should appear in an Atomic Development Authority. M. Gromyko asked for the Committee which had drawn up provisional rules of procedure to re-examine them, since he had various amendments to propose. On the 27th June four of these were adopted, one modified, and three rejected. Of the rejected the most important was the proposal that decisions on substantive questions and also whether a question came under "substance or procedure," should require a two-thirds majority of members present and voting.

The Working Committe held its first meeting, in private, on the 28th June, and decided to set up a sub-Committee, called No. 1, to examine the substance of proposals, made or to be made by Governments represented on the Atomic Energy Commission, and to make recommendations to the Committee for a plan of work suitable for the Commission.

Sub-Committee No. 1, consisting of the representatives of France, Mexico, U.K., U.S.A., and U.S.S.R. met on the 1st July under Australian chairmanship. The Soviet representative wanted a convention to outlaw atomic weapons taken first; but the others held that such a convention could not be isolated from the problem of control, &c. He next maintained that the American proposal to have no veto violated the rules governing the Security Council. To this the American

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reply was that the Security Council was not affected and that America would make no agreement which could be stultified by the right of veto.

Economic and Social Council.

The Nuclear Commission on Human Rights which completed its labours on the 2t0h May, suggested among other things that an "agency of implementation" should eventually be established. The Drafting Committee of the Economic and Social Council which finished its work on the report on June 16th, felt that the international implementation in each individual country of the human rights of the citizens of that country was a matter of extreme delicacy and complication requiring further investigation before any recommendation was made. The Committee accordingly asked the Human Rights Commission to make suggestions to help the Economic and Social Council to "work out arrangements for such implementation with other appropriate organs of the United Nations." The purpose of this request was on the one hand to ensure that the matter of implementation was pursued but that, on the other hand, the whole question of the relationship between implementation and domestic jurisdiction as defined in Article 2 (7) of the Charter was fully examined before action was taken and that the position in this matter of the other organs of the United Nations, particularly the Security Council which would be responsible for enforcement action, was fully safeguarded.

2. The Drafting Committee passed one resolution which broadened the previously defined scope of the activities of the Commission on Human Rights by empowering the Commission to direct its work not only towards such specific subjects as the drafting of an International Bill of Rights, Protection of Minorities, etc., but also towards "any other matter concerning human rights not covered by the items already enumerated." This means in fact that the Commission is not in any way limited in the scope of its recommendations to the Economic and Social Council on this subject.

3. Other items of particular interest in the final resolution of the Economic and Social Council endorsing the recommendations of the Drafting Committee, were the recommendation to include a human rights paragraph in the Peace Treaties, a request to Governments to consider the desirability of establishing information groups or local human rights committees within their respective countries to collaborate with them in furthering the work of the Commission on Human Rights. The Chairman assured the Russians that no Government would be compelled to set up such groups, and the U.K. representative understood that these groups would not be in direct communication with the Commission. Finally the recommendation empowering the Commission to set up Sub-commissions on the Freedom of Information, on the Protection of Minorities and on the Prevention of Discrimination. The Sub-commission on the Freedom of Information was proposed largely at U.S. initiative; the Soviet Delegation which had opposed the recommendations regarding international treaties and the setting up of information groups took the initiative in proposing the Sub-Commissions on the Protection of Minorities and the Prevention of Discrimination.

4. The Economic and Social Council finally accepted a recommendation of the Drafting Committee to promote the Sub-Commission on the Status of Women to be a full Commission.

REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS.

The Special Committee set up under a resolution of the Economic and Social Council dated the 16th February, 1946, to make a thorough examination of the problem of refugees and displaced persons, sat in London between the 8th of April and the 1st June, 1946. It proved impossible for the Committee to arrive at unanimous conclusions and the lengthy Report of the Committee brings out clearly the wide divergences between "Western" and "Eastern" views.

2. The Special Committee did, however, recognize that the problem of refugees and displaced persons was of international importance and that an International Refugee Organisation should be set up as soon as possible. The principal points of difference were:—

(*a*) What classes of persons should qualify for aid from the I.R.O., and (equally important) from what classes of persons such aid should be withheld; and

(*b*) Whether the I.R.O. should be established as an agency under the direct control of the United Nations; or whether it should be a specialized agency, financed and controlled separately, and in the latter case, whether it should or should not be under ultimate United Nations control.

3. In its Report the Special Committee recommended that the Organisation to be set up should be a specialized agency with no special control by U.N.O. There was no satisfactory definition of the classes of persons eligible for international aid. The Slav countries led by Russia and Yugoslavia were opposed to persons who were out of sympathy with the political régimes in their countries of origin as eligible for international aid. There was also considerable disagreement on questions of organization and finance, for example whether separate budgets would be approprate for large-scale resettlement schemes. On this last point the British Delegation entered a minority report ruling that such schemes might well be among the principal tasks of the I.R.O. and must therefore be subject to the same "ratio of contribution" as "normal" operational expenditure.

4. Included with the Report was a draft Constitution. The Special Committee owing to lack of time was unable to elaborate this in detail, and in particular the question of finance was left open, though the U.K. Delegation tried hard to secure the inclusion of some form of budgetary control by the United Nations Organisation.

5. When the Report was presented to the Economic and Social Council on the 13th June many of the points of difference were again argued at considerable length but the U.K. Delegation were able to secure the amendment of what they considered some of the worst features of the Report. In particular the finance provisions of the draft Constitution were amended to allow for the possibility of the administrative budget of the I.R.O. being submitted to the United Nations Assembly for approval, which would give the necessary degree of budgetary and administrative control. The U.K. Delegation also succeeded in getting large-scale operational expenditure subjected to the same ratio of contributions as normal operational expenditure, and in each case there is to be agreement about a ceiling, so that there will now be a proper limitation of the U.K. contribution.

6. The U.K. Delegation further succeeded in securing the deletion of an objectionable clause in the draft Constitution providing for a peripatetic Commission, including members of the countries of origin to visit refugee camps, etc., in the "British and American zones in Germany" and Austria and elsewhere.

7. The Economic and Social Council having now decided to establish an International Refugee Organisation, the next step is for the Report on this subject by the Economic and Social Council to be submitted to all members of the United Nations Organisation in time for their observations before the subject comes up at the General Assembly in September. The Secretary-General has been instructed to draft such technical clauses as are necessary to complete the draft Constitution of the I.R.O. from a legal point of view. A Committee on the Finance of the new International Refugee Organisation has been set up and is to meet in London on the 5th July with the task of preparing a report before the 20th July on the provisional administrative and operational budgets for the first financial year of the Organisation and on the ratio of contributions for the members of the I.R.O. The Secretary-General of the United Nations is to transmit this Report as soon as possible thereafter to members of the United Nations.

THE PARIS CONFERENCE.

On the 25th June the Deputies met in the morning and reached agreement on various minor problems. They also drew up a long list of matters still to be decided in the Italian Treaty. These the Ministers began to discuss in the afternoon, with M. Molotov bent, as usual, on delay, so that no major political problem was reached. On the question of Compensation for damage to Allied property in Italy they made no headway, M. Molotov reiterating that compensation should be limited to a third of the damage suffered, Mr. Bevin and Mr. Byrnes pressing for full compensation. M. Molotov discerned a discrepancy between the U.S. and British drafts on Italian property in the States members of the United Nations, and thought that these should be harmonised. It was done, and this problem seemed about to be solved.

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Wednesday the 26th was a day of disappointment. In the morning the special deputies failed to agree upon a method of postponing the question of the Italian Colonies. In the early evening the Ministers met, in M. Bidault's absence, to discuss the Balkan treaties, and made no progress. It was an important meeting because it showed clearly M. Molotov's reason for insisting that the Riparian States should be left free to regulate Danube navigation, with no attempts to interfere with their sovereignty (see last week's *Summary*). The Ministers sought a formula, in which they could recommend the Danubian States to keep the Danube 'open.' M. Molotov insisted again that if the Ministers "expressed confidence," all would be well. Mr. Byrnes and Mr. Bevin, who were afraid lest the Danube become part of a closed economic area, wanted a guarantee inserted in the peace treaties, or failing that, a far stronger resolution than M. Molotov's pious hopes. To meet M. Molotov Mr. Bevin proposed a resolution of his own in the following words :—

> "The Governments of the U.S., U.K., U.S.S.R., and France consider it essential that, in the interests of world peace and world commerce, navigation on the Danube, its tributaries and the canals connected therewith, shall be maintained by the Riparian States in such a way as to be free and open on equal terms to the nationals, vessels of commerce and goods of all States in regard to all navigation matters, for example, rights of transit and transport, the use of port, harbour and navigational facilities, and the levying of tolls and dues and other similar charges. So long as Allied forces protecting lines of communication to Austria are stationed on the Danube, this principle should be operated in accordance with such navigational instructions as shall be issued by the officers commanding such forces in the respective zones of occupation. The four Governments, for their part, will accordingly act in conformity with this principle, and will also take the necessary steps to secure the adherence of all the Riparian States of the Danube to this declaration."

In the debate that followed M. Molotov objected to bringing in States not represented at the Conference. In other words, he was objecting to any attempt to tie down the Riparian States to a promise of free navigation. Mr. Bevin emphasised the extent of his concessions; but when he asked that his draft should be taken as a basis for discussion, M. Molotov said that he had not had time to study the draft. This statement would have carried more weight if the draft had not been handed to all the Ministers the day previously. No agreement was reached.

Late on Wednesday night the Ministers began a Session which ended only at 1·0 a.m. on the 27th. The subject was Trieste. M. Molotov explained that his minimum was Yugoslav sovereignty, and he suggested an autonomous district under Yugoslav sovereignty and administration, with a statute approved by the four Powers. A House of Representatives would be chosen by universal suffrage; but Yugoslavia would choose the Governor. The frontier should be the Soviet line with "minor rectifications" in Italy's favour. Mr. Bevin contented that, on the evidence available, the Western part of the Julian March was Italian. Mr. Byrnes said that if no agreement were reached the matter should be referred to the Peace Conference. No agreement had been reached when the meeting adjourned.

Thursday was a day of surprises. M. Molotov agreed to Tenda and Briga going to France. Encouraged by this, Mr. Byrnes jokingly suggested that the moment was favourable for a decision on the Dodecanese. M. Molotov reduced Mr. Byrnes almost to a state of speechless amazement when he replied at once that he withdrew his previous caveat to cession of the islands to Greece. In addition to this, the Ministers agreed to differ over compensation for United Nations property in Roumania, and to remove the transport, shipping and civil aviation clauses from the Roumanian treaty. They also agreed on the size of the Bulgarian navy. On Friday afternoon the Ministers made no appreciable progress. M. Molotov would not consent to any form of compulsory arbitration for settling disputes about property. Hope of agreement on the postponement of the Italian colonial question receded. The Russians aimed at a scheme which would give them rights of supervision in the interim period, the sovereignty being vested in the Four Powers. France, U.S. and Britain opposed this Four-Power supervision, although France thought that nominal sovereignty might be vested in the Powers. Mr. Bevin wanted a clear ruling that the present administration should continue until the final disposal was arranged.

Saturday, the 29th June may well prove to have been the turning-point of the whole Conference. M. Bidault offered his solution for the Trieste problem, and M. Molotov gave it what for him was a most friendly reception. "It was not satisfactory. It would wound the national feelings of Yugoslavia," nevertheless he would, "subject to certain amendments" consider the possibility of accepting it "as a basis." The French proposal was :—For ten years Trieste and neighbouring territory to form an autonomous area administered by the Four Powers, who, for this purpose, associate with themselves Italy and Yugoslavia : the United Nations Security Council to guarantee its integrity : a Governor, to be agreed on by Italy and Yugoslavia, or failing that, by the Four Powers : an Assembly, elected by secret ballot, on a basis of universal suffrage, to exercise the legislative power : a Council of six members nominated by the Four Powers and Italy and Yugoslavia, presided over by the Governor, to exercise the powers of government and administration : the laws and the judiciary in the territory to guarantee the rights of the inhabitants, language, schools and access to the public service : the representatives of the Four Powers on the Security Council of the United Nations to form a Control Council to which the governing council would submit a yearly report, and which would supervise the application of the Statute of Trieste : within ten years, the Four Powers to review the situation : the matter finally to be submitted to the United Nations. M. Molotov's first ideas of amendment were that the Statute should be permament, and that Czechoslovakia should be joined to the number of the responsible Powers. M. Bidault's proposal was received coldly by Mr. Byrnes but with warm congratulations from Mr. Bevin who, in view of this apparent willingness to consider a new solution, "neither Italian nor Yugoslav," was prepared to seek his Government's authority to proceed on some such lines.

At this point Mr. Byrnes made a speech, no doubt intended more for the New York Sunday press than for his fellow Ministers, demanding that a Peace Conference be called for the 20th July. He seemed to have prepared the speech before M. Molotov's new attitude had raised such fair hopes of present success. Mr. Bevin felt obliged to support Mr. Byrnes' appeal though fully aware that M. Molotov had removed its urgency. M. Molotov himself wanted to take the Trieste question a little further; but he hoped that the Conference's date would be fixed in a few days.

Beside Trieste the other subjects of Saturday's discussion seemed unimportant; yet there appeared to be a prospect of M. Molotov agreeing to a very slightly modified version of Mr. Bevin's Danube declaration, in which case the famous curtain would be penetrated. M. Molotov agreed to his three colleagues' proposals for the Italian fleet. Only on reparations was no progress made.

M. Molotov continued to dumbfound his colleagues. He began Monday's session by handing round a map, obviously made in Yugoslavia, which internationalised not even the whole of the town of Trieste. Tarvisio and Gorizia were assigned to Yugoslavia. Mr. Bevin and Mr. Byrnes answered that the proposal was impossible. M. Molotov then blandly offered to include Muggia in the area. Then, when this was rejected, he said that he would agree to the Morgan line south of Trieste. There was no response, and he asked for counter-proposals. M. Bidault at once suggested adoption of the French line in its entirety, all the territory west of the French line, and south of a line joining Duino to the French line to be internationalised. M. Molotov immediately agreed. Mr. Bevin was prepared to accept in principle the French proposal and also M. Molotov's re-drafting of M. Bidault's original Trieste "statute." Mr. Byrnes, not having recovered from the new shock M. Molotov had given him, was not prepared to go so far. It was therefore decided to study the new proposal and to resume discussions on Tuesday, the 2nd July.

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(17071)
[L 2948/2608/405]

Weekly Political Intelligence Summary
No. 351

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
17TH JULY, 1946.

Copy No. 143

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This Summary is from now onwards a more confidential document than it has been hitherto, and full weight must be given to the label SECRET. The side-lined passages especially must not be divulged to anyone other than the authorized recipients.

A Special Article on "Civil Aviation in Italy" appears on page 27.

EUROPE.

GERMANY.

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MG 26 J 4, Volume 380, pages C265471-C267260

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 351

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
17TH JULY, 1946.

Copy No. 143

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but felt it should last for at least 40 years. The Draft needed radical revision and was entirely inadequate, owing to its omission of measures for military and economic disarmament as laid down at Yalta and Potsdam. Familiar criticisms of the Western zones followed. M. Molotov then complained that the Allies had not agreed on an investigation of disarmament and that they should at once establish a procedure for eliminating those branches of German industry which formed the basis of aggressive power. He accused the American Draft of evading the task of "denazification" and "democratic reconstruction." The treaty seemed to suggest that troops might be withdrawn before these tasks were completed, a remark no doubt emphasized in view of General Eisenhower's statement to Congress on the 20th June that the occupation would last "a minimum of three years."

The Russian bombshell was then dropped. It was announced that the U.S.S.R. claimed $10,000,000,000 in reparations from Germany and that this sum was accepted as a basis of discussion by the Americans at the Yalta Conference. Moreover, M. Molotov said "obviously these reparations must include . . . . goods from current production," a claim on which the Russians have already refused to yield in the Control Council and to which they have adhered in practice for many months. This reparations demand recurred at intervals throughout the talks, and Mr. Bevin joined with Mr. Byrnes in opposing it adamantly. While it was agreed that at Yalta $10,000,000,000 in reparations had been suggested by Russia it was maintained that any such proposal was superseded by the Potsdam Agreement, which mentioned no fixed sum but said: "Payment of reparations should leave enough resources to enable the German people to subsist without external assistance . . . . the proceeds of exports from current production and stock shall be available in the first place for payment for such imports (as are approved)." Under the Russian demand this Potsdam condition could not be fulfilled, since there is a large deficit in export/import payments in the Western Zones.

Mr. Byrnes voiced his disappointment at M. Molotov's failure to appreciate the advance on American policy of 20 years ago. The suggested treaty, confined to guarantees against military rearmament was based on the Allied declaration of the 5th July, 1945, and was not intended to be exclusive of decisions reached at Yalta and Potsdam. He stressed the need for economic unity, which had not been mentioned by M. Molotov, and showed that the Americans were this year contributing $200,000,000 to the U.S. zone. In proof of willingness to meet M. Molotov's objections, he circulated a revised proposal for special deputies to consider the German problem.

The second day began well, when M. Bidault accepted Mr. Byrnes' Draft treaty as a basis for discussion, whereas, when the subject was mentioned last May French reaction was very reserved. He also accepted provisionally the idea of economic unity, even though at present this included the Ruhr and other western territories, and he was willing to discuss central administration as soon as the framework of Germany had been fixed. He made it clear that France desired a confederation rather than a federal state. Mr. Bevin in a careful exposition of U.K. policy welcomed discussions on the American draft treaty. In reply to complaints on disarmament by M. Molotov, he reminded him as Mr. Byrnes had already done, that the disarmament commission was killed by Russian objections to economic investigation. Mr. Bevin concluded with a remark which unmasked a new battery though without firing a broadside: he had received reports he said, alleging that war material was being manufactured in the Soviet zone; he did not accept these reports as accurate, but a Four Power Commission ought to investigate them and satisfy the public by refuting them. Mr. Bevin then gave an important warning on the need for economic unity. "The U.K. will co-operate on a fully reciprocal basis with the other zones, but in so far as there is no reciprocity from any particular zone, or agreement to carry out the whole of the Potsdam Protocol, my Government will be compelled to organize the British zone in such a manner that no further liability will fall on the British taxpayer." He later circulated a paper calling for equitable distribution of indigenous resources throughout Germany; those resources surplus to the approved requirements of one zone must be made available to meet deficits in another and may be exported as reparations only if there is no deficit in the balance of payments of any zone.

Despite Mr. Bevin's hard-hitting speech M. Molotov's second round opened with agreeable surprises. He agreed that the U.S. draft treaty should be examined. He at last proclaimed Russian policy on the Ruhr which, as expected, entailed desertion of the French Communists. The fashionable talk of

federalization, he said, was designed to destroy and pastoralize Germany; the Ruhr, said M. Molotov, should not be separated from Germany, but it was necessary *inter alia* to put the area under Four-Power control. He conceded that if a plebiscite showed a desire for federalism, the Allies of course would not oppose it. Precautions must be taken, including a plan for reparations—which, he insisted, had not yet been prepared, despite the agreement of the 27th March for the elimination of many industries. In a somewhat obscure statement, which will be made much of by the SED, he implied that German peacetime industry could develop "on a wider scale"—presumably above the level of the present industrial plan—provided there was inter-Allied control over German industry and the Ruhr in particular. Central administrations should be set up immediately. Characteristically, he opposed the plan for special deputies and made unacceptable proposals on the disarmament commission.

Thereafter debate declined into confused discussion described by M. Bidault as a "merry-go-round." Mr. Byrnes, whilst decrying a long occupation, stated that control and small security forces should remain for a long time. This is in line with the arrival of special constabulary in the U.S. zone who will finally take over from the occupation troops on the 1st July, 1947. Mr. Bevin killed the reports that H.M. Government would present the conference with a federal plan, by stating that the Government had an open mind on the future of the German state as between federalized and centralized solutions, but tended to favour the grant of considerable powers to provincial administrations. They would support the French views on the Saar—at the same time as other German frontier questions were settled, but Mr. Bevin objected to M. Molotov's plans for a control of German industry which singled out the Ruhr; any such control must be on the basis of reciprocity. When M. Molotov had, inevitably, rejected the proposal for equitable distribution of indigenous resources, Mr. Bevin reiterated his warning that the British zone would have to be organized on an economic basis and production ploughed back into the zone. Mr. Byrnes, hoping to avert this, suggested that Central Admnistrations would help and that they were willing for the French to administer the Saar separately until the boundaries were settled. He made the decisive statement that, failing agreement, the U.S. zone would join with any other zone as a unit pending a quadripartite solution. This would not interfere with Control Council administration. M. Molotov and M. Bidault did not comment, but Mr. Bevin gave an assurance that the proposal would receive urgent consideration.

Finally rejecting M. Molotov's interpretation of the Berlin protocol on reparations Mr. Bevin then said he would circulate a paper on the reparations question. He further reminded the Ministers that the U.K. had made a reservation when accepting the industrial plan of the 27th March, that this assumed that Germany would be treated as an economic whole. Confused arguments followed on proposals to proceed with the establishment of Central Administrations, from which it emerged that the French would agree to Central Allied offices with German executive personnel, provided the Saar was excluded, but that M. Molotov refused to commit himself on this latter question. The talks thus ended after reluctant assent to M. Molotov's proposal that the Ministers should meet again after the United Nations Assembly but without any prior study of the German problem.

The SED press has exuberantly acclaimed M. Molotov's early speeches as disproving malicious gossip about Soviet Foreign policy; other speeches are scarcely reported. Particular prominence is given to the statement on the Ruhr, but there is no comment on the reparations demands. *Spandauer Volksblatt* (SPD) is cautious, but takes the line that Germany is no less destroyed than Russia and that $10,000,000,000 seems an enormous sum.

The SED have now formulated their policy for local government, which they wish to be uniform throughout Germany. While agreeing on the need for decentralisation, they strongly criticize the separation of the legislature and the executive in the British zone and the installation of "non-party" officials, and propose to set up a single chamber for each commune. In Saxony State, court proceedings against administrations have been forbidden except in cases of personal embezzlement. In response to an appeal by the SED, substantial increases in the bread and cereal rations were granted in the Russian zone on the 14th July. This was evidently intended to accentuate the contrast with the West, as on the 12th July the British zone fat ration was cut by half, although other foodstuffs were increased. The Zonal Advisory Council has commented that it is more and more difficult to convince the population of the good-will of the occupying Power.

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A report has now been received of a speech by Schumacher in Darmstadt on the 24th June, which is well in line with recent outbursts. For the first time he publicly condemned the expulsion of Germans from the East as a greater injustice than that inflicted on the world by Hitler. This is almost verbatim the language used in the latest Pastoral of the W. German Catholic Bishops. Schumacher also said that it was useless for the KPD to ignore the question of the Eastern frontier. Separatists he chastised as "camouflaged nazis," who should be given short shrift. After speaking of the senseless destruction of Germany's peace-time industries he declared that they should prepare the future structure of the Reich as if there were no foreign troops on German soil. Following its conference in Erfurt the LDP has declared itself the first All-Reich party since the capitulation and has elected an executive committee with representatives from all zones (except the Southern part of the French zone) headed by Dr. Kuelz.

Erratum.—Last week's *Summary*, page 2, para. 2, line 23—for Hamburg read Homburg (Saar).

AUSTRIA.

The Foreign Ministers came to the discussion of Austria on the 13th July, almost at the end of their Conference, and in the short time left to them they failed to reach any agreement on the subject. Mr. Byrnes proposed that the Foreign Ministers' Deputies should be instructed to consider the draft of a Treaty with Austria. M. Molotov immediately circulated a resolution containing four points: (1) that the Council of Foreign Ministers noted that the new Control Agreement for Austria considerably extended the jurisdiction of the Austrian Government and helped to "accelerate the elimination of the remnants of Hitlerism and the final detachment of Austria from Germany as well as to consolidate further democratic order in Austria"; (2) that the Council of Foreign Ministers had observed that there was in the western zones of Austria a concentration of 437,000 aliens, "the so-called displaced persons," including Yugoslav Chetniks and Ustachis, "Fascist Anders soldiers," Russian and Ukrainian White Guards. The immediate evacuation of these aliens from Austria was imperative and urgent; (3) that the Foreign Ministers felt that the successful accomplishment of the above-mentioned tasks—*i.e.*, denazification and the evacuation of displaced persons—was necessary to make possible the transfer of full authority to the Austrian Government and the restoration of the full independence of Austria, which was the main objective of the Allied Powers in Austria; and (4) that the Foreign Ministers should instruct their Deputies to proceed without delay, after the drafting of the treaties with Germany's ex-satellites, to the preparation of a Treaty with Austria. Mr. Byrnes and Mr. Bevin tried hard to obtain agreement that the Austrian treaty should first be remitted to the Deputies for discussion, but M. Molotov continued to insist that his proposal should be considered first. Pressed by Mr. Bevin to define the meaning of his resolution more clearly, he made the familiar Soviet allegations about the slowness of denazification in Austria. Finally M. Molotov said that the most he could do would be to ask the Allied Control authority in Austria for a report on those parts of his resolution referring to denazification and displaced persons (which Mr. Bevin and Mr. Byrnes refused to accept), and when that report was available, to consider the drafting of a treaty. This is the expected Soviet attack on displaced persons—or political refugees—in the western zones of Austria (see last week's *Summary*), and is, of course, directed against the Western Allies as much as against the Austrian Government.

As it was plainly impossible to reach agreement on a treaty, Mr. Bevin raised the question of German assets in Austria just before the end of the meeting. He said that, as there was probably no time for the Council of Foreign Ministers to decide the question immediately, they should at least agree that a Four Power Commission should be appointed to go into the matter in detail and to advise the Ministers on an agreed definition. Mr. Byrnes agreed to Mr. Bevin's proposal, but M. Molotov, after an unsuccessful attempt to claim that the question was not on the agenda, could not be drawn further before the end of the meeting.

Meanwhile the question of German assets has remained the burning topic in Austria. General Clark, the United States Commander-in-Chief, sent a letter to the Soviet Commander-in-Chief on the 6th July protesting against the Soviet action (see last week's *Summary*): and one to the Austrian Chancellor on the 10th July, telling him that the United States Government proposed to hand over

all German assets in the United States zone of Austria to the Austrian Government as trustee. His letter indicates that, although the United States Government have not definitely renounced their claim to these assets, they will consider doing so as part of a general negotiation for settlement. Following the publication of a *Tass* interview with the Soviet Deputy C.-in-C., General Tsiniev, General Steele protested to General Kurasov that the definition given by General Tsiniev was not contained in any existing agreement between the Allies and that therefore its unilateral implementation would be contrary to the Control Agreement. The Soviet interpretation as published by *Tass* is that German assets are all assets in Austria which belonged to "German physical or juridical persons" until 1938; all assets which the Germans brought to Austria after the *Anschluss* or established there with German capital since that time, and assets which were bought by Germans in Austria after 1938 "at a fair sale price." This last category in particular is open to question, in view of the Nazi policy of forcing sales of Austrian property.

The Chancellor addressed a crowded meeting of the Austrian Chamber on the 10th July, protesting strongly against the Soviet action. He re-asserted the Austrian claim that the only property liable for seizure was that which was owned by Germans before 1938, claiming also that even in this category, and in all three categories named by the Russians, there were many disputable cases and that sufficient must be left to Austria for her reconstruction and the maintenance of her economic life, according to the meaning of the Moscow declaration. The House approved Herr Figl's resolution asking the House to approve the attitude of his Government in this question with only the four Communist members dissenting.

Meanwhile the British authorities in Vienna have issued an order forbidding the transfer of German property in their zone. The United States authorities have begun to hand over 280 allegedly German concerns to the Austrian Government.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

Following up the detailed election programme of the Communist Party—the only one to offer the electorate anything concrete—the Prime Minister, Klement Gottwald, opened the Constituent Assembly in Prague on the 8th July with an elaboration of his plans for the next two years. His long address dealt with two main points, the new draft constitution and the economic plan. His speech for a Communist was notable for its moderateness. He went out of his way to guarantee the maintenance of all those personal and political rights and liberties guaranteed by the Masaryk Constitution. The economic plan puts more stress upon the need for increased individual output than upon innovations. This was a call directed particularly to the Trade Unions, whose members are well aware that the pre-war level attained in the output of coal, for instance, has been achieved only by dint of a much swollen labour force, a position which cannot be sustained as increasing numbers of Germans are expelled. In the matter of foreign policy, M. Gottwald did not emphasize the Russian alliance much more than his predecessor, and expressed his country's desire for the continuance of friendly relations with the Western democracies, and for extension of the same neighbourliness in relations with Poland as with Yugoslavia. There is nothing new in his insistence—not only to the Assembly but on earlier occasions to both the British Ambassador, and to the British Parliamentary delegation now touring Czechoslovakia—upon settling the Slovak-Magyar dispute with Hungary.

There are indications, however, that the sugar-coating is not distracting the other parties from being wary of the pill they are asked to swallow. This has become particularly apparent in local politics. In both Plzeň and Olomouc, two of the largest cities of Bohemia and Moravia, the Social Democrats and National Socialists combined to defeat Communist candidates for local offices. Rowdy demonstrators were called out by the Works Councils—under Communist instigation—in order to intimidate the voters. Very strong protests were made by the two combining parties, and the Communist Party was obliged to discountenance the action. More lively incidents of this kind are to be expected.

Great public interest was aroused by the British Ambassador's recent tour of Slovakia. A warm welcome was received everywhere, and it is apparent, from both the official account and from the enthusiastic press, that Slovakia is deeply interested in her connections with the Western world. The country is described as flourishing generally, and in fairly good order; communications which were seriously disrupted are now restored, and there is comparatively little war damage

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in the towns. The Slovaks seem to have been notably impressed by the war-time broadcasts of the BBC, and are appreciative of the excellent work done by UNRRA.

(See also under "Soviet Union.")

POLAND.

The results so far published of the referendum voting (see *Summary* No. 350) show considerable discrepancy. On the 12th July, Warsaw radio gave the following official figures. Of those entitled to vote, 85·3 per cent. did so. The affirmative answers to the individual questions were: first question, 68·2 per cent.; second question, 77·3 per cent.; third question 94·2 per cent. M. Mikolajczyk is reported as having stated to foreign correspondents, on the 6th July, that negative replies to Questions 1 and 2 averaged 85 per cent. and from 55 per cent. to 65 per cent. respectively, and as having claimed, on the 13th July, a total of 2,770,351 votes for himself, as against 545,755 for the "Lublin Bloc." On the 8th July, however, the Polish Prime Minister, M. Osobka Morawski, in an interview with representatives of the foreign press, stated that the majority in favour of the "Lublin Bloc" was not less than 60 per cent., that about 15 per cent. of the votes had gone to M. Mikolajczyk's Peasant Party (PSL), and that the "reactionary underground" organisations, NSZ and WIN, had polled about 25 per cent. This calculation is based on the assumption that those who voted "No" on Question 2 and 3 did not vote for M. Mikolajczyk, but for the so-called "reactionary right-wing," and that their negative votes on Question 1 should not therefore be credited to M. Mikolajczyk.

M. Mikolajczyk has demanded that the referendum be declared invalid, and has said that his party was seriously considering an appeal to the guarantors of the Yalta agreement, in order to prevent a repetition at the forthcoming elections of the methods employed in the referendum.

The trial at Kielce of persons implicated in the "pogrom" of the 4th July, when 41 Jews were killed, has brought out the highly irrational basis of the attack on a house in which it had been rumoured that a Christian boy was being detained for "ritual murder." The incident illustrates the fact that, despite the great sympathy for Jewish sufferings which the German mass murder of the Polish Jews provoked throughout Poland, and the further fact that only some 80,000 survived in the land, anti-semitic feeling is still latent in the community. This is attributed by well-informed persons, among them no less a figure than Cardinal Hlond, to the general dislike of the present Government policy, and the association of that dislike, whether rightly or wrongly, with a number of the members of the Jewish race forming part of the government.

On the 9th July, after a trial lasting ten days, the former *Gauleiter*, Artur Greiser, was condemned to death by the Supreme National Court at Poznan (*Summary* No. 348). President Bierut has rejected his appeal against the sentence.

THE SOVIET UNION.

The Soviet press has given special prominence to reports of the negotiations at the Paris Conference to the now familiar theme of the influence of militarist circles on United States foreign policy. The line taken on the Paris Conference has been that the success achieved is due mainly to Soviet concessions in the face of Western obstinacy and that the Soviet delegation has consistently resisted attempts to turn the forthcoming Peace Conference into a "rubber stamping machine." Discussion by the Foreign Ministers of the German Peace Treaty was heralded in the press by renewed accusations against the Western Powers, on the score that they were harbouring in the Western zones Nazi administrators, military units and anti-Russian refugee organisations.

M. Molotov's statement on Germany has provided the occasion for renewed discussion of the German problem in the Soviet press and wireless. No fresh arguments have been forthcoming. *Pravda*, after extolling the success achieved in the Soviet zone in the liquidation of Fascism, the union of democratic forces and the carrying through of land reform, brought up the familiar charges that the other zones had failed to carry through either de-nazification or the destruction of German war potential. The policy of the British and Americans, however, was singled out as their chief error. The new proposals of the Western Powers did not provide, said the commentator, for any change in policy; American plans for

de-nazification were represented as a step backwards since they by-passed the main problem of setting up a democratic Government and guaranteeing reparations deliveries. *Pravda* made a special point of the illogicality of the Western nations in proposing the dismemberment of Germany while urging economic unity. A broadcast to the U.S.A. criticising the American plan for controlling German disarmament in more detail followed much the same line; the speaker observed that the American draft envisaged the possibility of ending the occupation, but how could it logically be ended before its objects had been fulfilled? Moscow broadcasts have not failed to make capital out of the recent disquieting demonstrations in Hamburg, attributing them to the British failure to comb out Nazis from the administration.

The activities of Ukrainian Nationalist organisations among displaced persons in camps in the U.S. and British zones of Germany, alluded to from time to time in Soviet statements, have now been attacked in detail by *Pravda*, in an article giving the news of the principal leaders and Regional Centres of the Ukrainian Committees. It is, in fact, true that Ukrainian nationalists are considering the present moment opportune for renewing their activities. A central Ukrainian Committee is functioning in Europe (it is believed that the headquarters are in Rome) and has actually opened up a "foreign affairs" department which issues official bulletins. *Pravda* also referred to various Baltic nationalist organisations; General Kubiliunas, Lithuanian Prime Minister under the German occupation, was said to be working in one of the Lithuanian Committees, but no confirmation is available of this assertion. Among the White Russians who were said to have formed a Russian emigré committee, Sergei Yuriev and Zhevelev were named as leaders. *Pravda* concluded on a warning note suggesting that the British and American occupation authorities were violating the Potsdam Agreement and urging that they should be called to heel by their Governments. The Soviet press has recently been giving more attention to UNRRA, although it has been careful to keep in line with the Soviet view of the world food crisis, which is that it is being used by the British and American Governments for their own political ends. The suspension of UNRRA relief to China and the protest by representatives of the organisation, both on the grounds of misuse of UNRRA assistance, were both reported prominently. At the same time the Soviet press has taken advantage of the explanation given by Mr. McDuffie for resigning from the UNRRA Mission to the Ukraine and White Russia. In an article entitled "Food Supplies and Politics," *Izvestiya* (the 10th July) published a bitter attack upon the British and American Governments.

While the recently concluded trade negotiations with Denmark were still in progress, *New Times* published some travel notes "Features of Contemporary Denmark," by Zaslavsky. This virulent publicist was more controlled than usual in describing the bourgeois basis of Danish life and the prosperity of Danish farmers. He runs true to form, however, in his gibes at Anglo-American influence in Denmark and in his fictitious description of "the hidden export drama" of Denmark—the latter bogey being presumably evoked with a view to stressing the importance for the Danish export market of coming to terms with the Soviet Union.

A belated review of the recent World Federation of Trade Unions conference appeared in *Trud* on the 9th July. The Secretary-General's declaration was quoted to show that the results were completely satisfactory and that unanimous decisions had been reached despite the original disagreement on Spain, Greece and representation at the U.N.O. Statements were also published on July the 10th on the admission of the W.F.T.U. to the Economic and Social Council and on the attitude of this W.F.T.U. to the Franco régime.

A Soviet-Czechoslovak repatriation agreement was signed on the 6th July, providing that citizens of Czechoslovakian nationality residing in Volhynia should be able to opt for citizenship of Czechoslovakia and to move to that country while people of Ukrainian, Russian or Byelorussian nationality domiciled in Czechoslovakia could opt for Soviet citizenship. The transfers were to be completed not later than the 15th November of the present year and it was emphasised in the agreement that they were to be entirely voluntary. The Volhynian Czechs here referred to are the descendants of the colonists invited into Russia by the Tsarist Government in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Much publicity was given in Moscow last week to the 25th anniversary of the Mongolian People's Revolution and to the subsequent social and economic transformation of the country, including "the elimination of feudal oppression," and to the contribution made by the Red and Mongolian Armies to smashing

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Japan and liberating Inner Mongolia. The importance of Soviet-Mongolian friendship for strengthening "peace and security in the East" was stressed in a telegram of congratulations from Generalissimo Stalin to the Mongolian Premier Choi Balsan.

The heads of the Committees for Cultural and Educational Institutions attached to the Councils of Ministers of the Dagestan, Udmurt, Chuvash, Bashkir, Mordvinian, Kabardinian and North Osetian Autonomous Republics and the Komi A.S.S.R. have met in Moscow to discuss cultural and educational work among the peoples of these Republics in their native languages and, in particular, ways and means of improving propaganda work for the new Five Year Plan. In view of the fact that there has been little or no indication hitherto of regional association between this mixed group of non-Russian peoples, this inter-Republican drive for the Five Year Plan is worth noting.

A delegation of the U.S.S.R. Red Cross Society has come to Britain to attend the session of the Council of the League of Red Cross Societies. The delegation is headed by the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Union of the U.S.S.R. Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, Dr. Sergei Kolesnikov and includes Professors Semyon Sarkissov, Georgi Rudnev and Dr. Sergei Bagotsky.

M. Mikhail Grigorievich Sergeyev has been appointed first Soviet Ambassador to the Argentine. Mr. Sergeyev has filled several posts in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and has served in Greece, Belgium and Luxembourg.

SCANDINAVIA.

Denmark.

A Danish-Russian Trade Pact, valid for two years with a provision for a possible prolongation, was signed in Moscow on the 8th July. At the same time the two countries agreed on the supply of certain consignments of goods during the period from the 1st July, 1946, to the 31st December, 1947.

The agreement is the outcome of long-drawn-out negotiations between Denmark and the U.S.S.R., during which much pressure was brought to bear on Denmark by the Soviet Union and the Danish Government was faced with conflicting opinions at home about what was most advantageous for the country. The Soviets were said to have been prepared, and to have originally offered, to take over the whole of Denmark's agricultural exportable surplus over the next six years, making payment in oil cake and gold. They also offered slightly better prices than the U.K. for butter and pork, but, according to *Aarhus Stifstidende*, these were not so high as to cover fully the production price of these commodities. While, in theory, such an offer might have been rather attractive to Danish farmers, it seemed from the outset exceedingly doubtful that the Soviets would be able to make good their promise of supplying the oil cake, thus forcing Denmark to accept payment in gold. This would have eased her currency situation, but would have left her closely bound to the Soviet economy—to the exclusion of the Western countries. In that way she would have lost her claim to special consideration with regard to certain articles in short supply and not obtainable from the U.S.S.R., *e.g.*, overseas food products, coal, textiles, rubber, etc.

From information so far available, it appears as though the agreement is nothing like as extensive as was expected. It is understood that Denmark is to supply Russia with 15,000 tons of butter at Kr. 4·71 per kilo., pork at Kr. 2·84 per kilo., some cattle, horses and quantities of cheese, as also 60 fishing cutters to a total value of Kr. 20,000,000 and other Danish industrial products to a value of about Kr. 80 million. Russia on her part is to supply certain industrial raw products, such as potash, sawn timber, veneer, cotton, raw iron, copper, silver, nickel, zinc, manganese, etc. The quantities of the Danish industrial supplies will be fixed by agreement between the individual Danish industries and Russian purchasing representatives. Prices will be those current on the world market. The Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs states that in the course of the coming months negotiations will be resumed regarding further supplies to the U.S.S.R. of butter and meat against supplies of fodder cake and corn from the Soviet Union. (See also under "Soviet Union.")

The resolution on the subject of South Schleswig passed by the Danish Rigsdag on the 10th July by 97 votes to 3 (*Dansk Samling* against), was a rather vague and on the whole innocuous compromise between the Premier's violent—and much criticised—views, and the more reasonable views of the remainder of his Government and the Rigsdag. The statement demanded (1) the greatest possible freedom for the "constantly growing" Danish-minded section of the

South Schleswig population, (2) the removal of the refugees from South Schleswig, and (3) renewed representation to the Allied Powers to afford Denmark an opportunity during the forthcoming international negotiations of safeguarding her national interests which are linked up with the future settlement of conditions in South Schleswig. During the debate the Prime Minister again tried to insist on his right to advocate an eventual revision of the frontier, while M. Rasmussen, followed by spokesmen of the other parties, including the communists, stipulated only for some mention in the resolution that the present frontier stood. Although M. Rasmussen's statement was as a whole one long complaint, it did include an appreciation of British difficulties in Germany and of the efforts she had made to meet Danish wishes in certain respects. The reason for the adverse vote of *Dansk Samling* was the defeat of an amendment put forward by them to the effect that attempts should be made at international negotiations to secure an early referendum among the resident South Schleswigian population on the future national relations of their district after the Military Government period had ceased. M. Christmas Moeller, the leader of the Conservative Party, who was particularly bitter in his criticism of the irresponsible attitude of the Prime Minister, decided to abstain from voting, though he explained that his party must naturally take its own line. According to reports received, he has since resigned the Chairmanship of his Party.

The original intention of the Danish Government to communicate the text of the resolution to the four Allied Powers was dropped after pressure had been exerted by H.M.G. on the ground that the questions raised in the resolution were the sole concern of H.M.G.

Norway.

The Foreign Minister, M. Lange, revealed in Oslo, on the 12th July, that an invitation extended by H.M. King Haakon for Mr. Churchill to visit Norway was cancelled following the latter's speech at Fulton and the criticism which it had evoked from Generalissimo Stalin. According to M. Lange, King Haakon thought that Norway's homage to Mr. Churchill might not in the circumstances have been free from elements of discord, and for this reason he wrote Mr. Churchill a letter explaining the position. The fact of the matter is, however, that it was the Norwegian Government and not King Haakon who feared that the Soviet Union might interpret the hospitality extended to Mr. Churchill as an unfriendly act. An attempt by M. Lange to have the cancellation conveyed to Mr. Churchill through official British channels was frustrated by H.M.G. The spineless attitude of the Norwegian Government is brought into sharp relief when Mr. Churchill's visit to the Netherlands is recalled and the fact considered that, as far as is known, no attempts at intimidation were made by the Soviet Union.

Iceland.

After the recent general elections in Iceland the position of the Althing remains virtually unaltered, the only change being that the Progressive Party has lost two seats to the Social-Democrats. The constitution of the Althing is, therefore, as follows:—

Independents	20
Progressives	13
Communists	10
Social-Democrats	9

The Icelandic Government has been informed that His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom will be glad to support the candidature of Iceland for admission to the United Nations at the next General Assembly if the Icelandic Government should decide to make the necessary formal application before the 15th July.

Sweden.

Sweden has revalued the krona *vis-à-vis* the £ Sterling and the American dollar by about 14 per cent., the sterling selling rate having been fixed at Kr. 14·50 as against 16·92, that of the dollar at Kr. 3·60 as compared with 4·20. M. Myrdal, the Minister of Commerce, explained that the lowering of the foreign exchange rates had long been considered, and that the wave of inflation released in the United States at the expiry of the price stabilisation law on the 1st July made it imperative to raise the value of the Swedish currency as a precautionary measure and to counteract threatening inflation at home.

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LOW COUNTRIES.

The Netherlands.

On the 10th July the Dutch Prime Minister, Dr. L. J. M. Beel, replied to questions raised in the previous day's debate in the Second Chamber on the Government's statement of policy [see last week's *Summary*]. After having related how he had set to work to form his Cabinet, Dr. Beel then gave his reasons for not having consulted the Communist Party. He had failed to find, he asserted, in the ranks of the Communists, "any real conception of the dignity of the individual or of the high value of moral standards." Turning to affairs in the N.E.I., the Prime Minister drew attention to the fact that preparations for the Imperial Round Table Conference were not yet complete: the "consequences of war" still formed an obstacle. The Malino Conference had yet to open, and the discussions with the Indonesian Republicans so far had not provided "a sound basis for co-operation." For that reason, the Cabinet was contemplating the establishment of a new administrative body, which would take the shape of a General Commission, be empowered to complete the preparations for the Round Table Conference, and be directly responsible to the States-General. In the territory of the N.E.I., the General Commission would fall within the administrative ambit of the Supreme Administration, and would work "side by side" with the Lieutenant-Governor-General, whose function is mainly concerned with general administration. With regard to the N.W.I., Dr. Beel said that the discussions with the delegations from Surinam (Dutch Guiana) and Curaçao had "run smoothly": proposals would be laid before the Chamber "in due course." Dr. Beel next dealt with the vexed question of political delinquents. Many of these had already served heavy sentences, and he thought that the time had now come when "compassion" might be exercised. Accordingly, the Cabinet planned to reduce the number of persons detained for political offences to about 25,000 by the 1st October. Those released would, however, be given their freedom "conditionally": if "other facts" subsequently "came to light," they would again be detained. In conclusion, the Prime Minister promised that nationalisation of the mines would be carried out "as soon as the present investigation proved that it was in the public interest."

Belgium.

Pending the formation of a new Cabinet, the Prince-Regent has asked M. van Acker to remain in office for the administration of current business. The executives of the two major parties, the Christian Social and Socialist Parties, have already met, after which M. van Acker received the Christian Social leader, M. de Schrijver (10th July), the attitude of whose party in the present crisis is obviously of the utmost importance. That its participation in a new Cabinet is doubtful emerges from M. de Schrijver's statement after the party executive meeting, in which he said that since his party had not been responsible for the crisis, it had "no special wish" to enter a new Cabinet. Meanwhile, M. van Acker has issued an urgent warning against the effects of undue delay in finding a solution: "All that has been obtained in the matter of price reductions is gravely threatened. Wisdom demands that the crisis be ended within a week."

FRANCE.

At the meeting of the Foreign Ministers on the 10th July M. Bidault confined himself to reiterating the French views, now well-known, on Germany, the Ruhr and the Saar (see under "Germany" and "The Paris Conference"). French opinion was greatly disappointed at the refusal of the other three Foreign Ministers to agree to the political separation of the Ruhr and the Rhineland from Germany, and the Cabinet unanimously decided to maintain the original French demands. The long-awaited revelation of the Soviet attitude towards the question of Western Germany came as a considerable shock and so far embarrassed the French Communists that the *Humanité* waited several days before making any comment and then attempted to explain away the difference of opinion by concentrating on M. Molotov's proposals for German disarmament and for four-power control of the Ruhr. Most papers were resentful of the Soviet failure to provide the diplomatic support which the Franco-Soviet Pact of 1944 had been designed to elicit, but some sympathy was shown with the British point of view. The Socialist *Populaire* was able to point to the stand made by the Socialist Party against the dismemberment of Germany, and declared that the Soviet decision had rendered impossible the maintenance of French demands.

M. Bidault did achieve one success at the Foreign Ministers' meeting; he secured acceptance of a resolution instructing the Allied Control Council in Berlin to appoint a committee of experts to draw up a report by the 10th August on "the steps to be taken to increase the German output of coal, and the general principles which should govern the apportionment of the German output as between domestic consumption and exports." M. Bidault had devoted part of his speech to the coal question, saying that since the matter was one of high policy he considered that it should be dealt with by the Foreign Ministers rather than by the Control Council in Berlin. The meeting of U.K., U.S. and French experts in Paris to discuss coal (see last *Summary*) ended inconclusively on the 9th July.

Mr. Churchill visited Metz on the 14th July to receive the honour of the town and spoke of the links between Britain and France and the need for a strong France. M. Robert Schuman, Minister of Finance, represented the Government. On the following day Mr. Churchill arrived in Paris and was entertained to dinner by M. Bidault.

The Constitutional Committee is making good progress, and the Assembly plans to start its constitutional debate at the end of this month. Some of the M.R.P. amendments in the Committee have been rejected by a combination of the Socialists, Communists and Radicals, but the most important innovations have been adopted by Socialists and M.R.P. against Communist opposition. This was the case with the decision to take control of the judiciary out of the hands of the National Assembly, and to give the President of the Republic the right of dissolution, with the consent of the Cabinet, after the first year of the Assembly's life. Socialists and M.R.P., in opposition to Communists, also agreed on the principle of safeguarding the constitutional character of laws concerned with the machinery of government. The Committee has also discussed the procedure for calling a constituent assembly of the French Union, the present Assembly not being competent to draft a constitution for the whole Union.

The economic conference mentioned in last week's *Summary* continued its work all last week and the representatives of the employers and the trade unions in the sub-committee for prices, wages and production hammered out the details of the incidence of a 25 per cent. wage increase on prices in different industries. The C.G.T. maintained its demand for a general 25 per cent. increase and threatened to call mass demonstrations of workers this week to support this claim. Finally, however, on the 13th July, an encouraging communiqué was issued by the sub-committee, stating that agreement now seemed possible and appointing three members, representing the C.G.T., the employers, and the agricultural confederation, to draw up a draft report. The committee believes that it will be possible to increase wages by 25 per cent. and to raise certain agricultural and industrial prices without substantially affecting the cost of living, by the use of various devices such as increased production of utility goods and the diversion of goods from the black market to legal channels of trade. It is generally believed that the raising of agricultural prices, combined with the increase in agricultural output this year, will prove the best means of destroying the black market. Energetic co-operation can be expected in this matter from the new Minister of Food, M. Yves Farge.

A minor cabinet crisis has been caused by the application of the social insurance plan of October 1944 which was due to enter into force on the 1st July. The details have been worked out by the Communist Minister of Labour, M. Croizat, and have roused the opposition of the M.R.P. which declares that under the new system the C.G.T. and its Communist representatives will have complete control of the social insurance funds. The M.R.P. ask that the social insurance system should not be too rigidly unified and should give room for the representation of organisations other than the C.G.T. on the boards which are to manage the insurance funds. A compromise is being worked out within the Cabinet.

SWITZERLAND.

Last January the Federal Council presented to the Federal Assembly part one of a report dealing with anti-democratic activities in Switzerland during the war. The first part concerned the activities of the German National Socialists in Switzerland and of their Swiss supporters. Parts two and three, issued in May, dealt with the Fascists and Communists respectively, and

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emphasised that, while the Italian Fascists had been active in the Italian-speaking canton of the Ticino and the Italian-speaking portion of the Grisons, they had never during the war years constituted for Switzerland so serious a threat as did the German National Socialists. In 1941 and 1942, the Italian authorities tried to form, within the existing centres of Fascist sympathisers, groups of Fascist militia which might become a "fifth column" in the event of an attack upon Switzerland by the Axis; the Fascist Political Police Organisation, "Ovra," moreover, carried out limited operations on Swiss soil, while Fascist propaganda took its cue from the National Socialists. In comparison, however, the Italian mischief was always on a minor scale. It could be stated positively that there were no longer any Fascist organisations in existence in Switzerland. The part of the report which dealt with Communist activities declared that both before and during the war the Communist movement had supported the idea that an "Imperialist" war could be converted into a civil war and used as a means of setting up the "dictatorship of the proletariat"; that Communist propaganda was intensified on the outbreak of war, especially within the army; and that the Federal Council, after taking various measures to prevent such activities, had passed a decree on the 26th November, 1940, dissolving the Communist party, whose work, however, had continued underground.

The Swiss press has made much capital out of this report on anti-democratic activities, which furnished new ammunition for their attacks on the Workers' Party. The Party's newspaper, *La Voix Ouvrière*, has found no more plausible counter-attack than the suggestion that the object of the Federal Council's report was to divert public attention from "the German-Swiss financial traffic during the war"—a reference to the recent Washington discussions on the disposal of German assets in Switzerland.

The three reports will be examined and debated by the Federal Assembly.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

On the 15th July the second *Cortes Españolas* closed for the summer recess, having achieved nothing remarkable during the nine weeks since General Franco's record inaugural speech of the 14th May. In his speech winding up the proceedings the President, Señor Esteban Bilbao, singled out for mention an amendment to the rules providing that in future members of the Cortes may put questions in writing to the Government and may expect answers from Ministers, orally or in writing. The Government, too, have shown no great signs of activity during the period, while the press has, of course, chiefly dilated on the confusion at the Security Council, making its principal theme the assumption that Spain, thanks to her present régime, is secretly regarded by the Western nations as a welcome bulwark against Communism in the Mediterranean. This dangerous nonsense is being repeated all the time throughout the Continent by Communists and anti-Communists alike.

Politically-minded Spaniards (and there are still a good number of them, despite food difficulties and torrid conditions) are all agog to know what sort of rabbit their conjurer-Caudillo will bring out of his hat on Thursday next, the 18th July, the tenth anniversary of the "Glorious Movement." So far it is known only that the occasion is to be signalized by charity benefits in the form of a considerable increase of the third-class bread ration and the release of another 3,000 political prisoners. It has not yet been officially stated that the National Council of Falange will be meeting on that day, as usual, to hear an address from its President, the head of the State. General Franco delights in getting everybody guessing. It is considered likely that he will at any rate fix a date—probably the early autumn—for the holding of the much-advertised "referendum"; the wags have given the name of *peronada* to the preliminary caperings. The electoral register for the plebiscite closed on the 6th July: originally it was understood that all adult Spaniards, male and female, with the substantial exception of the politically outlawed, should have the opportunity to express their assent, but now it seems likely that the suffrage will be confined to heads of households. Circumstantial rumours continue of the plan for installing a Council of the Realm which would act as a sort of Regency to prepare the transition to Monarchy; but all the evidence goes to show that the deadlock is complete between Don Juan and the Caudillo. The wind has not yet set in the Monarchist quarter.

At all events General Franco feels himself strong enough to penalize a distinguished representative of the House of Bourbon, who has been convicted of

black market trafficking on the grand scale. On the 26th June the Official Gazette announced the dismissal of Lieut.-General Don Francisco de Borbón y de la Torre, Duke of Seville, Captain-General of the Seventh Military Region (Valladolid). No reasons were given in the press announcements. But it is an open secret that the General had been appropriating considerable quantities of olive oil destined for the troops under his command. After the incident had been reported by the Civil Governor, it appears, the Minister of War did his best to hush it up, advising the General to resign his appointment; this, however, he refused to do, and an enquiry followed, bringing out a lot of damaging evidence. While admitting guilt, the General is said to have threatened, if proceedings were taken, to make known the extent of similar black market operations being carried out by a number of other Generals.

On the 3rd July the General Council of the T.U.C. endorsed the demand of the Executive Committee of the World Federation of Trade Unions that the Assembly of the United Nations should "take decisions favouring the restoration of democracy in Spain, breaking off diplomatic relations with the Franco régime and recognising the Giral Government."

In conjunction with the Order of the Board of Trade of the 6th July revoking the "trading with the enemy" black lists, arrangements have been made with Spain and Portugal for the partial abolition of navicerts. They will no longer be necessary for shipments between Portugal and her colonies or on Portuguese exports to liberated countries or between Spain and her colonies or territories. Navicerts will still be required, however, for the importation of controlled foodstuffs.

ITALY.

Signor De Gasperi announced the composition of his new Cabinet on the 13th July as follows:—

Prime Minister, Minister of Interior and Foreign Minister: De Gasperi (Chr. Dem.).
Minister without Portfolio: Nenni (Socialist).
Minister without Portfolio: Macrelli (Repub.).
Justice: Gullo (Communist).
Finance: Scoccimarro (Communist).
Treasury: Corbino (Independent).
War: Facchinetti (Repub.).
Navy: Micheli (Chr. Dem.).
Merchant Navy: Aldisio (Chr. Dem.).
Air: Cingolani (Chr. Dem.).
Education: Gonella (Chr. Dem.).
Public Works: Romita (Socialist).
Transport: Ferrari (Communist).
Agriculture: Segni (Chr. Dem.).
Communications: Scelba (Chr. Dem.).
Industry and Commerce: Morandi (Socialist).
Labour: D'Aragona (Socialist).
Post-War Assistance: Sereni (Communist).
Foreign Trade: Campilli (Chr. Dem.).
High Commissioner for Food: Mentasti (Chr. Dem.).
Commissioner for Public Health: Reale (Communist).

The most notable absentee is Signor Togliatti, the leader of the Communist party and Minister of Justice in the last Government. His place is taken by Signor Gullo, another Communist, who has been Minister of Agriculture since 1944. According to the press Signor Togliatti refused to take office as he wished to concentrate on party organisation. There are, however, five Communists in the Cabinet. Signor Nenni, who still hankers after Communist–Socialist fusion, is Minister without Portfolio. A press report states that Signor Nenni will act as Deputy Prime Minister and will probably take over the Ministry of Foreign Affairs after the Peace Conference. The name of Admiral De Courten, who has been Minister of the Navy ever since Marshal Badoglio's first Government in 1943, is also absent from the list. The Foreign Ministers' plans for the disposal of the Italian Fleet are believed to be the cause of his retirement as he felt his position *vis-à-vis* the Navy to be no longer tenable.

Among the new members of the Cabinet, nothing is yet known of Signor Macrelli, one of the two Ministers without Portfolio. Signor Facchinetti, the

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Minister of War is reputed to be a journalist rather than a politician. He was exiled by the Fascists and took part in the partisan movement. He was appointed President of the *Federazione Nazionale della Stampa* last February. Signor Micheli, Minister for the Navy, was elected President of the North Italian Christian Democrats in July 1945. Signor Aldisio, who takes charge of the newly created Ministry for the Merchant Navy, was Minister of the Interior in Marshal Badoglio's Government in 1944 and later in the same year was appointed High Commissioner for Sicily. He resigned this post in order to fight the elections and was returned for Palermo. Signor Cingolani, Minister for Air, took an active part in politics before the advent of Fascism. In 1944 he was appointed Deputy High Commissioner for the expropriation of illicit fortunes. Signor Gonella, Minister of Education, is a well-known journalist and a former Editor of the *Osservatore Romano*. Since June 1944 he has been editor of his Party's paper, *Il Popolo*. Signor Segni, Minister of Agriculture, was Under-Secretary for Agriculture under Bonomi and in late Government. No information is available on Signor Campilli, Minister of Foreign Trade, Signor Ferrari, Minister of Transport, or Signor D'Aragona, Minister of Labour. Signor Morandi, Minister of Industry and Commerce, is a Professor of Economics. He was imprisoned by the Fascists and took a prominent part in the liberation of Turin from the Germans. In February 1946 he was elected President of the CLN Association. Signor Sereni, Minister of Post-War Assistance, was an organiser of Communist resistance against Fascism for which he served several sentences of imprisonment. He is a member of the Communist Party Executive. Signor Reale, Commissioner for Public Health, was Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs in the second Bonomi Government and was appointed Ambassador to Poland in July 1945.

Italy's first President, Signor de Nicola, read a message to the nation at a session of the Constituent Assembly on the 15th July. The President began his message by swearing that he would fulfil his mission with the sole ideal of serving his country faithfully and loyally. Signor de Nicola then went on to say that all Italians must unite, otherwise Italy would fall, never to rise again. Those who were about to decide Italy's fate must remember, said the President, that any further humiliation to Italy's honour, independence and unity would produce "not the collapse of a nation but the eclipse of a civilisation." A sound international order, he concluded, could not be built on injustice. Signor De Gasperi also spoke indicating Italy's willingness to collaborate with regard to both her eastern and western frontiers.

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Hungary.

Left-wing politicians and press, reinforced by Moscow radio, have never ceased to urge Hungarians to prosecute the fight against "reaction" in Hungary, and they have recently found a target for their attacks in the discovery of scapegoat fascist plots, the importance of which was probably much exaggerated and the shooting of two Soviet officers reported in *Summary* No. 348. The climax of this campaign came on the 28th June, when the Russian Deputy Chairman of the Allied Control Commission, without the knowledge of his British and American colleagues, addressed to the Hungarian Government a demand on behalf of the Soviet High Command that, in view of the spread of fascism, the Hungarian Y.M.C.A., Boy Scout's Association, the Smallholders' youth organisation and certain youth organisations of the Roman Catholic Church should be suppressed or reorganised; that the tone of the Press must be changed and certain writers should not be allowed to publish articles in any Hungarian paper; that the State machinery, especially in relation to certain Under-Secretaries of State and Lord Lieutenants, should be purged; and that three deputies charged with fascist crimes should be brought to trial. Although the Hungarian Government were informed—and expressed due appreciation—that the British and American Commissioners were to protest that the order should ever have been issued without consulting them, and to ask for its suspension, they have nevertheless yielded to pressure from the Left and replied offering full satisfaction to the Soviet demands though temporising over the trial of the deputies, and the dismissal of the Under-Secretary of State for Justice. The leaders of the Smallholders' youth organisation have already been replaced and the Press reported, even before the reply was sent, that a Catholic Students' organisation and numerous other associations were dissolved and the executive of the Boy Scouts Association was reorganised. M. Nagy has reaffirmed his belief that the coalition must be maintained; M. Szakasits, the leader of the Social Democrat

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Party, shares this view, but is reported to have said at an inter-party meeting that this could only be achieved if these intermittent political crises are avoided. The National Assembly may meet in a few days' time, for, according to the press, M. D. Sulyok's new "Freedom Party" (now sanctioned by the Allied Control Commission) has presented a petition, supported by the requisite number of signatures, asking that it should be convoked.

The names of the Hungarian delegation to the Peace Conference have been announced. They include M. Gyöngyössi, the Foreign Minister, who will lead the delegation, M. Auer, Hungarian Minister in Paris, and M. Bede, Hungarian Government Representative in London.

With the complete collapse of the pengö the taxation pengö (now valued at 40,000 billion pengö) has been declared legal tender until the introduction of the new currency, but circulation of even these vouchers has at times been inadequate. Although they are also fast losing their value, they are still accepted by shopkeepers. The new currency is regarded as a panacea; measures for rationing food, clothes and soap, however, to be introduced concurrently, together with the improved harvest prospects, may increase its chances of remaining stable—and, what is particularly important, of winning the confidence of the farmers. Better weather during the harvest has raised the estimated yield of bread grain to 19,000,000 quintals—6,000,000 quintals more than the preliminary estimate. Hungary's grain stocks are almost exhausted, but the Soviet Union has come to her assistance with a loan of 3,000 tons of wheat to tide her over until the new crop is available.

It is now officially confirmed that the U.S. loan to purchase surplus war material was increased from 10 to 15 million dollars, and that Hungary may now recover property taken abroad after 15th October, 1944—not 21st January, 1945, as was first suggested.

The official Hungarian figures of war casualties assess the number of those killed in battle or died of wounds at 136,000 and those wounded in battle at 68,296. 220,000 died in concentration camps and 46,000 in air raids.

Yugoslavia.

Comment on the Trieste decision has been relatively subdued, and there have been no spontaneous demonstrations yet nor telegrams of protest from "all sections of the population." The opinions of the Press have been those of M. Kardelj, paraphrased; all agree that it is up to the Peace Conference to reverse the decision of the Foreign Ministers.

A sensational report from Rome on the 12th July about an attempt on the life of Tito seemed to have been disproved by the news of his arrival the following day at Podgorica, where he made his fourth speech of the week. Except for one or two sour remarks about Allied ingratitude, a rejection of the Trieste decision and some condemnation of Mihajlovitch and the London Government these speeches, commemorating the anniversary of his first call-to-arms in July 1941, were devoted to internal affairs. They consisted largely of Communist platitudes and promises of a rosy future, seasoned with references to unavoidable mistakes in the past and necessary restrictions in the present. That starvation had been avoided during the winter was to the credit of the "people's authorities" who had arranged for the importation of grain. Although he mentioned U.N.R.R.A. cotton he said not a word about the food supplies received from U.N.R.R.A. which, it is now clear, have so greatly helped to consolidate the régime during a period of uncertainty.

Marshal Tito also complained about the dearth of professional men; and his injunction of patience "until the coming of the rising generation" well illustrates the Government's educational policy, which is to insulate that generation from all but Communist influences. To this end unadaptable school children are liable to "educational" imprisonment and even torture, while higher education is gradually being barred to all but the privileged Partisan class.

The trial of Mihajlovitch was enlivened on the 8th July by M. Joksimovitch's fiery speech for the defence, which caused an uproar by its courageous criticism of the conduct of the trial and of the attitude of the Prosecutor. With dramatic contrast Mihajlovitch spoke for over four hours, in a manner of quiet dignity, almost of diffidence. He stressed his consistently pro-Russian attitude, his early desire for agreement with Tito, which was frustrated by their unsurmountable difference of opinion, and his lack of control over some of his subordinates. He presented himself as a man carried out of his course by the tide of events. The

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expected death sentence was pronounced on the 15th July. In the House of Commons on July 16th Mr. Bevin denied the charges, direct and implied, which have been brought against British Liaison Officers in the course of the trial.

Although *Borba* has emphasised the "objectivity" of the trial, there have been grounds for M. Joksimovitch's criticisms. "Full publicity" has meant the admission of acceptable journalists, the broadcasting of the trial only during the prosecution, and biased reporting in the Yugoslav press. "Every facility for the Defence" has amounted to limited opportunities for consultation with their clients, and then always in the presence of high Partisan officials, interruptions during the examination of witnesses and the refusal, as being irrelevant, of requests to call witnesses such as British Liaison Officers and Allied airmen.

Greece.

The first stage of the preparations for the plebiscite was passed on 12 July when, after being twice extended, the period for registration in the electoral rolls and the submission of complaints and petitions came to an end. The Observer Mission do not, however, expect to be able to express any opinion on the validity or completeness of the revised and recompiled registers until these take legal shape, *i.e.*, about the middle of August. M. Tsaldaris has told the London press that, in his personal opinion, more than 70 per cent. of the Greek people will vote for the return of the King.

On 28 June, a draft law was tabled in the Chamber for a comprehensive purge of all public services. If it becomes law, all persons employed by the State, with the exception of officers and N.C.Os of the armed and Security forces, and of officials appointed since the last elections, will be made liable to dismissal; grounds for dismissal include, as well as the less controversial ones of collaboration with the enemy, professional incompetence and moral unsuitability, participation in or assistance to the revolt of December 1944, and any subsequent activity directed against law, order, or the State. It was explained that irregularities due to the dictatorship and the occupation made it necessary to reorganise the civil service, and indeed it is essential to reduce the enormous number of redundant officials on the Government's payroll (*Vima* stated, in April, that there were over 68,000 Greek civil servants). In execution, however, the law is clearly open to political abuse and the Opposition, both inside and outside the Chamber, have not been slow to condemn it as an instrument of political blackmail, as unconstitutional, and (by the elimination of all non-royalists from the public service) a new step towards a falsified plebiscite.

The financial circumstances of nearly all civil servants have for some time been wretched, and the Government sought to win their approval of the impending purge by suggesting that only after their numbers have been reduced would any real improvement be practicable. Meanwhile, since they fear the possibly inflationary effect of an all-round increase in salaries they have announced their intention of making a free distribution to civil servants of U.N.R.R.A. food and clothing. This however has landed them in an unfortunate controversy with the U.N.R.R.A. Mission to Greece, who have in any case for some time been dissatisfied with the disparities in the distribution of goods and in standards of living. Two letters were sent to the Greek Government by the head of the Mission, Mr. Maben, complaining not only of the intended discrimination in favour of civil servants, but also of the failure of successive administrations to introduce a full rationing scheme, to embrace local as well as imported products, and of certain cases where the local authorities have withheld supplies from the families of outlaws or from villages (in Thessaly) in which conditions are unsatisfactory to the Government. M. Stephanopoulos, Minister of Economic Coordination, while agreeing to enquire into and correct the improper withholding of supplies, stated on the 11th that the Government stood by their plan for free issues to civil servants and would, if necessary, make good from home produce the U.N.R.R.A. supplies in that category. The existence of this controversy became public property from the first; on 13 July Athens radio broadcast a rather injured talk, reminding its listeners that the Greeks are proud and do not like to be constantly reminded that they are dependent on outside help, and asserting that Greece would be able to do without U.N.R.R.A. "if her enemies were compelled to make good the destruction they inflicted on her productive resources"—the usual reference to reparations.

Another international body with which the Greek Government bids fair soon to be embroiled is the WFTU. Not only did the Greek delegation to the Moscow congress (cf. *Summary* No. 349 of 3 July) which only arrived, after an unexplained delay, just before the Congress ended, tell the Executive the usual stories of "terrorism" against workmen's organisations; on 26th, a decision

of the Council of State, the highest judicial authority in Greece, declared the present executive of the Greek General Confederation of Labour to be improperly constituted. This is the more serious in view of the part played by WFTU representatives—Louis Saillant in December 1945, and a French, British and Russian delegation in March 1946—in the negotiations which produced the present Trade Union position in Greece, and in accepting the present executive, with its communist preponderance, as properly representative of the Greek trade union movement. The Greek Government are in something of a cleft stick over this matter, since they cannot offend their own supporters and contravene a legal decision by allowing the present executive to remain, nor do anything else without bringing the WFTU like a hornets' nest about their ears.

Albania.

The twenty years' treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance concluded by the Yugoslav Foreign Minister with the Albanian Government at Tirana on the 9th July bears the marks of Soviet inspiration which were to be expected in view of the subservience of each Government to Moscow. According to the published text, the two countries will concert measures to ensure their independence and integrity, to prevent any repetition of aggression, like that of the Nazis and Fascists, by a third Power intending to enslave them or to seize part of their territory. They will collaborate closely in all international action for safeguarding peace and will follow the principles of the United Nations. In case one party is attacked the other will lend military aid and all other assistance possible. Each party promises to make no other alliance and to join no coalition directed against the other. Disputes are to be settled amicably and special agreements are to deal with economic and cultural matters.

From press reports its appears that the trial of thirty-seven Albanians for treason during the war (see *Summary* 349) has resulted in the usual savage verdict: nine death sentences, five sentences to imprisonment for life, fourteen sentences to thirty years' imprisonment and two acquittals.

There have been several armed clashes on the southern frontier in the last few weeks (see "Greece" in last *Summary*). The Albanian press attributes them to regular Greek forces, but more probably they are Albanian attempts to provoke Greek counter-measures which could be exploited as Greek aggression.

Bulgaria.

The situation in Bulgaria continues to be tense. Vasil Kolarov, the speaker of the Sobranie, returned from Paris and was given a great reception. He has been formally thanked for "his brilliant defence of our national cause" and seems to have taken some trouble to make a good impression on both Mr. Bevin and Mr. Byrnes, and to have departed superficially from conventional communism to the extent of keeping his "collar on." Three leading members of the Opposition have been arrested, and it seems likely that the elmination of opposition is being undertaken in full confidence that the Government will receive Russian support for all they do.

According to the Bulgarian press the Sobranie has sanctioned an "Extraordinary Budget" amounting to 17 milliard leva. The public are reminded that Extraordinary Budgets were passed during the "Fascist Régimes" but were not used in the true interests of the people. This one is, of course, "creative" and is to be used for new power stations, railways and machinery, and for roads and buildings. The Fatherland Front can be depended on to provide the necessary funds, and, by way of adding a sting to the tail, "control must be tightened so that no income tax remains unpaid."

Good results from the harvest are anticipated, so good in fact that the peasants are suspected of concerning themselves with the problem of preventing a large part of the crop from falling into Russian hands. The army has received instructions to prevent hoarding, and it is being suggested that the idea of hoarding has been put into the heads of the peasants by enemies of the Fatherland Front. If the peasants and the enemies of the Fatherland Front are to a large extent the same people this may very well be fairly near the truth.

Turkey.

With the new Democratic Party in the field as a definite, if young, rival to the old-established People's Party, the general election of the 21st July promises to be less of a farce than Turkish elections have necessarily been during the years of the People's Party's monopoly. The local authorities have been

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particularly instructed to maintain order, but they have for so long had to regard the government as identical with the People's Party that they have some excuse if they now fail to keep a fair field. In any case an active electoral campaign is in progress, and party passion seems to translate itself rather easily into physical violence. On the 8th July M. Saracoğlu, the Prime Minister, broadcast an important election speech. After reviewing the achievements of the Turkish revolution in every field of national life since 1918, he claimed that since 1942 his own Cabinet had successfully overcome four crises—the war, finance, famine and the fuel shortage. His only reference to foreign relations was the statement—obviously intended for Moscow—that in case of need Turkey would not hesitate to shed "torrents of blood" for its existence, its alliance with Britain and its international engagements.

Some stir was caused by a report from Paris of a meeting held there under Communist auspices, which not only supported the familiar demand for the annexation to Soviet Armenia of Kars and Ardahan, but also formulated claims for the autonomy of Cilicia and of Kurdistan. The press took this up with some warmth—no doubt in the hope of making the French Government forbid the further meetings which were announced for Marseilles, Lyons and other provincial centres.

Turkey has always taken an interest in the Crimean Tatars, which incidentally can hardly have commended them to the Russian authorities. The deportation of these people (See under "Soviet Union" in *Summary* No. 349) has been fully and bitterly criticised in the Turkish press.

According to all reports this year's crops are good, and wheat, barley and rye should be available for export.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

Egypt.

On the 8th July Sidky Pasha handed to Lord Stansgate a new draft treaty prepared by the Egyptian delegation, and discussions were resumed in a more friendly and co-operative atmosphere than had prevailed previously. In a statement made to the Senate on the 15th July Sidky Pasha explained that the British Government had consented to drop the idea of a military convention for that of a joint defence board, and he expressed confidence in the speedy conclusion of the negotiations.

The local situation has been further disturbed. When the President of the Moslem Brethren visited Port Said on the 6th July to address members of the association, a large crowd of Wafdists tried to break up the meeting. Shots were fired and grenades thrown, and the Moslem Brethren were severely handled, not only by the Wafdists, but also by the police. Next day a procession of Wafdists returning from the funeral of one of their number who had been killed, developed into a Wafdist demonstration, in dispersing which the police killed one more person and injured another ten, besides suffering casualties themselves. On the night of the 10th July a grenade was thrown at some British soldiers crossing Qasr an Nil bridge at Cairo, and seven of them were injured. In two other cases bombs were thrown at members of the British forces at Alexandria, killing two and injuring others; and two grenades were thrown at a N.A.A.F.I. vehicle entering Alexandria after dark on the 11th July, but did no harm. In all these cases the perpetrators seem to have escaped.

In the early hours of the 11th July the police raided premises at Cairo, Alexandria, Port Said, Ismailia and Suez occupied by persons and organisations suspected of Communism. Nearly one hundred people were arrested, including Greeks and other foreigners. The Minister of the Interior suspended indefinitely the *Wafd-al-Misri* (the official organ of the Wafd) and seven minor reviews of a Communist complexion. Eleven organisations were also closed down, and among them were cultural associations long suspected of Communist tendencies. In explanation of this drastic action Sidky Pasha issued a statement to the effect that, since he assumed office, there had been extraordinary Communist activity directed to upsetting law and order, and to fomenting revolution. These things were contrary to an Islamic régime based on high moral values, tolerance, understanding and charity, and the Government would introduce a bill to put a stop to such abuses.

Palestine.

After a meeting of the Zionist Committee at Jerusalem on the 9th July Dr. Weizmann expressed his confidence that the Jewish people would emerge

triumphant from the present crisis. He had been asked, he said, to use a restraining influence, and he was determined to do so; but he felt obliged to say that the primary cause of the present dreadful happenings lay with those who had allowed the situation to drift. A commentary on these remarks may perhaps be found in the fact that on the 21st June an arms dump containing machine-guns, a mortar, pistols, ammunition and explosives, was discovered under the floor of a shed in the premises of the Palestine Potash Company by the Dead Sea. On the 10th July the Zionist Committee in Jerusalem decided not to co-operate with the authorities until arrested Jews had been released and "attacks" on Jewish institutions discontinued. The premises of the Jewish Agency at Jerusalem were handed back by the police on the same day.

Persia.

On the 14th July a general strike developed at all the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's refineries and oil-fields in southern Persia, and succeeded in bringing production to a temporary standstill. According to the Company's report of the strike at Agha Jari, the Tudeh ringleader, an irresponsible maniac, was in complete control there, having seized the telephone and all transport, and picketed the houses of the British staff. At Ahwaz all the Company's employees struck on the morning of the 14th July, and servants were stopped from coming to the houses of the staff by persons wearing ribbons marked "Provincial Workers' Union." The Soviet Consul is reported to have visited the Company's compound on the evening of the 13th July and, according to the police, to have offered to supply the Ahwaz Labour Union with arms if necessary. At Abadan, where the ostensible issue was Friday pay, the Tudeh declared a general strike, held processions and meetings in defiance of authority, confined Europeans to their houses, and did everything they could to provoke the Arabs, attacking their union headquarters, burning cars and so on. Firing which started on the night of the 13th July developed into a general *mêlée* between the Tudeh and the Arabs, and the Tudeh mob brutally murdered two prominent Arab merchants and their families. Thereupon the Tudeh seem to have withdrawn with their pickets to their clubs, but thousands of Arabs appeared, armed with staves and hatchets.

The whole strike was remarkably well organised. The Prime Minister, who seems to have foreseen it, gave the Governor-General full power to proclaim martial law, but troops and reliable officers were few, and the chief of police at Khorramshahr was pro-Tudeh and did nothing. Nevertheless, some reinforcements were sent from Tehran, martial law was proclaimed at Abadan, and twelve Tudeh leaders were arrested at Ahwaz. Ahwaz was quiet by the 15th July, and the Governor-General, who seems to have shown commendable energy, hoped to have Abadan under complete control soon after that.

FAR EAST.

China.

The fifteen days' truce between the Central Government and Communist forces, which was extended almost at the eleventh hour for a further period of eight days, expired on the 30th June. Whether another extension of this truce has been, or is to be, agreed upon is obscure. The Minister of Information at Nanking declared at a press conference that, although the period of truce had expired with the differences between the two parties still unsettled, negotiations towards a peaceful settlement would be continued. He added, however, that if the Communists continued their attacks on Government troops, the latter would be compelled to resist and to counter-attack for the sake of maintaining peace and order. As one of the conditions governing the expired truce bound both parties to remain in their existing positions, provided the forces of the other side did the same (which the other side seldom did), it would not appear to make a great deal of practical difference whether the so-called negotiations are pursued with, or without, an official "truce." Both in Manchuria and in China proper, particularly in the Province of Shantung, the twenty-seven days' truce period was marked by continuous and heavy fighting, which, despite the presence of American "field teams," has shown little sign of cessation.

In the north the Communists have been consolidating their positions in the Jehol, Chahar and Hopei Provinces and have declared Kushan in Shansi a military zone. In Manchuria the Communist Commander has refused to evacuate Harbin, despite American persuasive pressure. In Shantung, generally the situation is regarded as serious. Fighting on a heavy scale has continued all along the railway

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line and particularly in the Tsinan area, as the Communists have consolidated their hold on strategic points of communications. On the 20th June, Central Government forces took possession of the Changshan Islands with the object of cutting the Communists' line of communication between the Shantung Peninsula and Dairen; but the move was made too late in the day to be of real value. The threatening situation in the immediate vicinity of Tsingtao showed some slight improvement during the latter part of June, and the city itself was thought no longer to be in danger of Communist attack; this improvement was due, no doubt, more to American intervention and the presence of large numbers of United States marines coupled with the routine visit of the American fleet for the summer months, than to a desire on either side to implement the "cease fire" order. According to the *New York Times* of the 29th June, in a statement on United States policy Mr. Dean Acheson told reporters that 20,000 marines would remain in China to guard supply lines from coal-producing areas to the main coastal cities.

There is no doubt that both in Nanking and Yenan there is an increasingly tense atmosphere of mutual mistrust and recrimination. Central Government authorities are convinced that the Communists are completing plans for a nation-wide uprising and that Yenan has already appointed military leaders to conduct operations in various areas. They assert that huge stocks of ammunition have been built up at all strategic points. Communist leaders, on the other hand, maintain that the deadlock in the peace negotiations has been brought about deliberately by the Nanking officials to suit their own ends at a time when many points of difference were susceptible of solution. They are particularly incensed that in the face of such strained relations the Government should have chosen this moment to announce that the National Assembly will meet on the 12th November. The decision, they say, was made without consultation of their representative in Nanking and affords proof of the Government's set intention to continue the one-party system. The Communist press is vociferous in its accusations against the American Government, from whom, it is maintained, the Nanking Government are receiving financial, material and moral support for the conduct of civil war. This outburst obviously has reference to the bill now before Congress for American military aid to China.

Speaking on the 15th December, 1945, President Truman said: "As China moves towards peace and unity . . . . the United States would be prepared to assist the National Government in every reasonable way to rehabilitate the country . . . . and establish a military organisation capable of discharging China's national and international responsibilities for the maintenance of peace and order." And, in pursuance of this policy, the State Department introduced in Congress early in June a bill providing for United States advice and assistance to the Chinese Government in the creation of a modern, moderately-sized Chinese army for the fulfilment of obligations which may devolve upon that country under the United Nations Charter. In testifying before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Mr. Dean Acheson said that "General Marshall had recognised the compelling necessity of combining into one army the military forces operating in that country. . . . Communist forces are lacking in the type of organisation, training and equipment which would have made practicable their incorporation into the new non-political national army. Therefore, the Communist leaders have asked; and General Marshall has agreed, that their integration with the other portions be preceded by a brief period of U.S. training and by supply of minimum quantities of equipment. Any such assistance in the months ahead will hinge upon progress of the plans for amalgamation of all the armed forces." Under General Marshall's plan, the present combined Chinese forces of 325 divisions would be reduced to about 60 divisions, of which 50 would be Nationalist troops and 10 Communist groups. Mr. Acheson continued that "the heart of General Marshall's programme will be the sending to China of a United States military advisory group of about 1,000 men"; and he concluded his statement by saying that the President had stated that a disorganised and divided China would be an "undermining influence to world stability and peace" and would invite outside interference in Chinese affairs.

The American Aid to China bill also provides that "arms and ammunition, supplies and equipment and other property, except naval vessels" may be placed at China's disposal "by sale, exchange, lease, gift or transfer for cash, credit or other property."

In his press conference statement Mr. Dean Acheson mentioned the existence of a United States lend-lease agreement with China for approximately U.S. $ 58,000,000 to regularise the understanding arrived at soon after V.J. Day "that China would purchase those Lend-Lease supplies which were being

processed or were *en route* to China." And Mr. Acheson went on to say that the United States Government "has felt that some measure of economic assistance could not be held in abeyance pending agreement among the Chinese political parties to come together in a unified Government."

While Communist leaders profess admiration for General Marshall's endeavours towards a peaceful settlement, they are frankly suspicious of this gesture of generosity from the American Government. They maintain that American arms, equipment and transport are being placed at the disposal of the Central Government for use against them; they see in the bill now before Congress the prospect of substantial aid to the Nanking Government and some small benefit to the Communists only if and when unification has taken place and the Communist armed forces have been reduced to a state of impotency in a ratio of 5 to 1; Mr. Acheson has made it quite clear that if the plan for unification is not carried out, training will not be given to Communist units; and the Communists declare that they want but one thing only of the Americans, that they should withdraw their forces and leave the internal affairs of China to the Chinese. Nor have they been appeased by the statement by Mr. Dean Acheson that

> "recent press reports from China indicate a misunderstanding or misconception by various Chinese elements of our objectives and policies in affording assistance to China. The various moves taken by this Government to aid China . . . . cannot rightfully be interpreted as current support of any factional military group . . . . their purpose is to cement rather than destroy unity; to encourage the Chinese to find a solution of their internal problems by the democratic process of peaceful agreement rather than by resort to military force."

Articles criticising American policy in China have appeared in all the leading Soviet papers on the basis of Tass messages from Chicago and Shanghai. The purpose is to show that United States military aid to the Nanking Government has been the chief cause of the breaking out, continuation and expansion of large-scale civil war. Prominence is given to the argument that, if Moscow had given aid and supplies to Yenan, Washington would undoubtedly have considered this a fresh instance of intervention by the Kremlin in affairs which are not the concern of Russia; and that it is not clear whether General Marshall is in China as American intermediary or Commander of United American and National troops against Yenan.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The Anglo-American Financial Agreement, extending a "line of credit" of $3,750 million to Great Britain, was finally ratified by the House of Representatives in Washington by a vote of 219 to 155 on the 13th July. At the White House on the 15th President Truman signed the Bill making the Agreement effective. Despite the delay that has ensued since the Agreement itself was originally signed last December the final decision of Congress is gratifying for more than purely economic reasons. Regarded in its wider aspects, the relatively large majority which the Agreement secured—exceeding as it did the most sanguine predictions of the Administration leaders in the House—represents a clear endorsement of that policy which would make this country the principal political as well as business partner of the United States in the post-war world. This endorsement is all the more remarkable in that it was given by a body of men on Capitol Hill who have refused their unconditional assent to almost every other major item of legislation requested by the United States Government during the past few months.

With the shadow of the Paris Conference and, in particular, of the intransigent form of M. Molotov hanging over the House, the vote of the 13th was in many respects a political decision. Less effect had been produced in the course of the debate by the erudite economic reasoning in favour of the loan than by such dramatic utterances as the final remark of Mr. Sam Rayburn, who, stepping down from his Speaker's desk, said that he did not want Western Europe pushed towards an ideology that he despised and expressed the fear that, if the United States were "not allied to the great British democracy. . . ., somebody may be." With the thoughts of many Congressmen running along these lines, the speeches made by the loan's opponents, particularly the Anglophobe tirade of Representative Jessie Sumner of Illinois, sounded more than ever remote from reality. In

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any case the isolationists were smarting under the resounding defeat of their principal Middle Western spokesman, Senator Henrik Shipstead, at the hands of the internationalist State Governor, Mr. Edward Thye, in the Minnesota Republican primary election of the 8th July. The elimination from national politics of Mr. Shipstead, who has sat in the Upper House since 1922 and who was one of the only two Senators who voted against the United Nations Charter in 1945, represents the hardest single blow which the forces of isolationism have sustained since the war.

What seemed to be the most serious threat to the loan during the four days debate came from the efforts of the Zionist extremists to wreak vengeance upon His Majesty's Government for the arrest of the Jewish Agency leaders in Palestine. These took, *inter alia*, the form of a new crop of advertisements appealing to members of the House to "kill the loan" which were inserted in the New York newspapers by the Political Action Committee for Palestine. They coincided with the presentation by Representative Emanuel Celler, a New York Democrat, of an amendment making the loan contingent upon the immediate admission to Palestine of the 100,000 Jews and with the publication by the Chairman of the Democratic party in New York State, Mr. Paul Fitzpatrick, of a declaration that no Democratic member from his territory would vote for the loan unless the immigration proposal were previously accepted. Nevertheless, as events before the final vote proved, the Zionists overplayed their hand. Two influential members of the Congressional Advisory Board of the Political Action Committee publicly severed their connection with that body because of the unwarranted use of their names in the anti-loan campaign, and Rabbi Stephen Wise and the President of the American Jewish Committee, Mr. Joseph Proskauer, issued statements supporting the loan and thereby virtually repudiating the blackmail tactics of their fellow-Zionists. Mr. Fitzpatrick's threat remained largely a dead letter and Mr. Sol Bloom, the Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, was among those influential New York Democrats who voted for the loan.

Apart from the clear-cut decision on the British loan, the past week has been one of continued doubt and uncertainty for most Americans in both foreign and domestic politics. Almost the only positive result seen to be emerging from the Foreign Ministers' meeting was the agreement to convene the full peace conference on the 29th of this month. All hope of agreement on the future of Germany was dashed by M. Molotov's onslaught of the 9th July on Mr. Byrnes' Four-Power treaty proposal and by the ensuing clash of views between the two statesmen. Commentators saw only the most sinister implications in the Soviet Minister's counter-proposals. Coinciding as it did with the latest seizures of "Reich" property in Austria and with the systematic campaign to wreck the new Government in Hungary, his claim to $10,000 million worth of reparations from Germany was generally interpreted as the first step towards bringing the whole of Central Europe under permanent Soviet domination.

At home the failure of Congress to enact the legislation asked for by the Administration has left the price control situation as confused as ever. Nevertheless, although the outcry against Congress has been loud and sustained in the urban areas, the United States is as much a "house divided" on price control as it was on other issues when Lincoln made his classic utterance eighty-eight years ago. In those twenty-eight States where the agricultural population outnumbers the industrial, and where farmers hope to reap quick profits from a sharp rise in food prices, there is relatively little regret at the undignified demise of the Office of Price Administration. It was, in fact, the members from these States who managed to secure the exemption of farm products from the revised price control bill which the Senate passed on the 13th July and which is so remote from the original legislation requested by the President that he is expected to veto it if it is submitted for his signature in its present form.

LATIN AMERICA.

Argentina.

The entry into power of the Peronists has caused the greatest confusion in Buenos Aires. The proportion of the civil service that has been sacrificed to the requirements of political patronage seems to be greatly in excess of the usual, and while the city hums with rumours of intrigues the Government departments are reduced to the minimum of efficiency. There have been reports that the ruthless Chief of Police, General Velasco, is at the head of a group opposed to the

prevailing corruption, and that he is working with the Minister of War, General Sosa Molina, and a number of deputies. It is also reported that Perón is aware of this conspiracy and may remove the ringleaders to Patagonia, though the fact that he has not already done so suggests that he is not entirely sure of himself.

Meanwhile, there is no further news of a settlement between the State Department and Argentina. Mr. Messersmith has been ill for some days, and though the shadow of a serious operation seems to have lifted, he is less sanguine than when he arrived of inducing what he believes to be a well-disposed Colonel Perón to be firm with his more unscrupulous backers. According to Mr. Messersmith, the question of ratifying the Act of Chapultepec (see *Summary* No. 348) is to go before an ignorant and inexperienced congress without any lead from Perón himself, though the President professes to desire ratification.

An Argentine deputy has submitted to the Chamber a draft declaration calling on the Argentine Government to submit claims to the Falkland Islands to the Security Council and demanding that Great Britain should "return" them. The speaker professed admiration for the freedom of English institutions, and hoped "to see the same spirit applied to international affairs." The motion was unanimously approved, and a declaration was drafted to the respect that the Chamber "would view with pleasure that the executive power should opportunely and with due urgency address itself to the Security Council asserting the sovereign rights of the Argentine Nation over the Islas Malvinas . . . ." A subjoined article "reaffirms Argentine sovereignty over the Antarctic sector."

Chile.

Broadcast reports suggest that the right-wing candidates for the Chilean presidential election will be Dr. Cruz Coke, whose name was approved after the elimination of Sres, Alessandri, Larraín and Maza (see *Summary* No. 349). Dr. Cruz Coke was Minister of Health from January 1937 till September 1938, and was elected as Conservative Senator for Santiago in 1941. He was a delegate to the San Francisco Conference in 1945, and is president of the Chilean-British Medical Centre. His chief opponent, Sr. Gabriel González Videla, was one of creators of the Chilean Popular Front, and led it until the election of Sr. Aguirre Cerda as President. He unsuccessfully competed with the late Sr. Ríos to become Radical candidate for the Presidency, and has since been Ambassador to Brazil; he was also a delegate to the San Francisco Conference. Sr. González Videla has been associated with a number of left-wing organisations, and is president of the Chilean Society for aiding Spanish Republicans.

Guatemala.

The President of Guatemala recently gave an interview to a Mexican journalist in which he is alleged to have stated: "We shall try to obtain the return of Belize through diplomatic channels, but if we fail we shall break off relations with England when this is necessary. We cannot continue to drink toasts with an Empire which has taken our territory," and "I am awaiting the opportune moment to say to them either they return our territory or they go to London." According to *Excelsior*, President Arévalo also spoke of a Mexican claim to British Honduras and added: "We shall not fight with Mexico, but we shall insist on our rights." These rather surprising statements were reproduced in the Guatemalan semi-official *Mediodía* under a banner headline stating that Guatemala was ready to break off relations.

H.M. Minister had a special audience the following morning with the Guatemalan Minister for Foreign Affairs, who declared himself taken completely by surprise, having only read the President's statement in the press. He had already pointed out to Sr. Arévalo that the effect on present negotiations would be disastrous, and the President, while admitting that there was some truth in the report, explained that he meant that action would only be taken if negotiations failed. The Foreign Minister told Mr. Hughes Hallett that he was taking steps to have a statement published in the local newspapers to the effect that negotiations were proceeding with the possibility of success: should he not obtain the President's assent his only course would be to resign, which might cause the Government to fall.

The internal situation in Guatemala is very strained. The President has the support of Congress, but sections of the army and conservatives might well seize any opportunity to remove him.

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Mexico.

The Presidential elections took place on the 7th July. The press has declared with great satisfaction that these were the first peaceful elections that Mexico has known, and indeed, with the exception of an incident at Pachuca in which four persons were killed, it does not appear that the carnage was less than usual. While final results are not yet known, it seems virtually certain that Lic. Miguel Alemán has won an easy victory over Dr. Ezequiel Padilla—for the reasons indicated in *Summary* No. 344.

Venezuela.

The Government has given a promise that the elections for the Venezuelan presidency and Constituent Assembly (see *Summary* No. 342) will take place before the end of the year. All Venezuelans over 18, without distinction of sex or literacy restrictions, will be entitled to vote.

The four major parties which have now taken shape in Venezuela are the Government party, Democratic Action, a left-wing or moderate socialist organization; the Democratic Republican Union (URD), to a large extent built up out of ex-President Medina's Venezuelan Democratic Party; COPEI, or Committee of Political Electoral Independent Organization, a right-wing and clerical group; and the Venezuelan Communists, or *Unión Popular*. The Communists, who were permitted by General Medina to come out into the open, consist of two wings, the drawing-room and the authentic or Muscovite, the latter being prominent in the organization of the oil-workers.

In June the Government's education decree, which gave Government schools a virtual monopoly of the examination system, was vigorously opposed by COPEI and led to a strike on the part of private schools. Although the Government party indulged in rather wild recriminations, and the Communists took advantage of the opportunity to express their dislike of the clerical COPEI, the Minister of Education was at length forced to resign and the decree was duly modified.

As a number of political rallies ended in disorder and shooting, it was agreed at the end of June by all four parties that meetings should not be held until the electoral lists are ready.

UNITED NATIONS.

Security Council.

On the 10th July the Council approved the provisional rules of procedure for the Atomic Energy Commission. When the President read out the Canadians' request, as an interested party under article 31 of the Charter, to take part in the discussions without voting, the Russian delegate asked for a postponement. The President, however, called for a vote, and the Canadian request was granted by 9 votes to one (Russia), with Poland abstaining. The Russian representative then argued that substance and not procedure was involved and that his adverse vote carried a veto; to which the chairman replied that he had ruled the matter to be procedural and that M. Gromyko would have to get a majority (of which there was no prospect) in order to have the ruling reversed. General McNaughton was then invited to take his seat, and the President passed on to the next business, which was the conditions under which the International Court of Justice should be open to States not parties to the Statute. The matter was referred to the Committee of Experts.

The President, Señor Najera (Mexico) is due to retire on the 17th. In his farewell speech he mentioned the frequent Russian employment of the veto and the growing desire of the Smaller Powers for a more democratic voting procedure. He made the interesting suggestion that the Security Council was not "exercising its functions" by merely retaining the Spanish question on its Agenda, and that, consequently, the General Assembly was not debarred from proceeding to action under Article 12 of the Charter. The effect of this on Russia was felt when, into the midst of the bouquets which the delegates were offering the retiring President, M. Gromyko made the thrust that the President would be gravely mistaken if he thought his remarks would have any result.

Atomic Energy Commission.

The Working Committee decided on the 12th July to set up the following Committees: (1) Committee No. 2, to examine the problem of control in its widest sense: (2) A Legal Advisory Committee, and (3) A Scientific and Technical Committee. The Soviet Representative objected to the relationship between controls and

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the United Nations coming within the province of the Legal Committee. He also asked for a specific prohibition of the production of atomic weapons; but he was outvoted in both cases.

The General Assembly.

When the Peace Conference was fixed for the 29th July, it became obvious that the German Assembly of the United Nations would have to be postponed. The Secretary General has now circulated a proposal that the date be the 23rd September. If the postponement is accepted, the Economic and Social Council will probably put off the opening of its Third Session from the 31st August to a date in September.

The International Institute of Agriculture.

The International Institute of Agriculture, which has been established in Rome since its foundation in 1905, held its last General Assembly on the 8th and 9th July, 1946. During the war and since the liberation of Rome the Institute has been working under increasing difficulties, particularly as regards finance. With the creation of the Food and Agriculture Organisation in 1943, the undesirability of having two international bodies covering the same field became apparent; and a resolution adopted at the F.A.O. Conference at Quebec in October 1945 recommended in effect that the duties and assets of the I.I.A. and of the International Forestry Centre attached to it, should be taken over by the F.A.O. which would also assume certain powers vested in the I.I.A. under a number of international Conventions, such as those on Locust Control (1920), Plant Protection (1928) and others.

Although considerable difficulty in obtaining agreement on some of the questions involved would not have been surprising, the Assembly passed off without a hitch, and the Resolution for winding up the Institute was adopted unanimously. A Liquidation Commission of seven members was appointed, to undertake, in close collaboration with the F.A.O., the various measures needed and to report to the Permanent Committee of the Institute. This Committee will remain in being until it effects the juridical dissolution of the Institute by a formal announcement to the Governments concerned. This is expected to take place about the end of December.

A resolution thanking the Government of Italy for their hospitality to the Institute since its foundation was approved. A further resolution was introduced by the Italian Delegation requesting that the F.A.O. give careful consideration to the wish of the Italian Government that the European office of the F.A.O. might be situated in Rome. Approval of this by the Institute's Assembly does not mean, however, that the Italian desire will necessarily be gratified. The matter is solely for F.A.O. to decide.

THE PARIS CONFERENCE.

The deadlock of Monday morning, the 8th July, over the question of a procedure for the Peace Conference, yielded that afternoon to an agreement which Mr. Bevin could describe as "the first concrete manifestation in the post-war world of a common Great Power policy." For once M. Molotov revealed some of the apprehensions which held his generous impulses in prison. Could a Peace Conference procedure be right, he asked, which allowed eleven countries that did not fight Finland to outvote ten that did? This revelation enabled Mr. Bevin to find a solution to the voting problem which allayed Russian fears and yet preserved the rights of each of the 21 nations. In the Plenary Conference matters of procedure will be decided by simple majority, all else by a majority of two-thirds.

The Draft Treaties will be submitted to the Plenary Conference which will refer them for detailed examination to the appropriate Commissions. Subsequently the reports and recommendations of the Commissions will be considered by the Plenary Conference. Commissions will be set up for Italy, Roumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland, to study political and territorial clauses in the treaties; and each will consist of representatives of the drafting Four Powers,

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and of member States who were at war with the enemy in question. There will be two economic commissions, one for Italy, composed of States at war with Italy, one for the other four countries, consisting of the drafting Four and States at war with any one of the four enemies in question—an arrangement less narrow than that proposed by the Russians. On the remaining three commissions each of the 21 nations will be represented; a Military, a Legal and Drafting and a General Co-ordinating Commission. It will be recalled that Mr. Bevin had favoured 'no voting' in the commissions. His agreed wording now showed him the stout champion of the rights of minority and of individual opinion: "Should a two-thirds majority be obtained in any commission, the commission's report will be presented as a recommendation, but the minority will have the right to present its views and to ask for a decision. Should a two-thirds majority in any commission not be obained, the commission will submit two or more reports to the Conference, each member retaining his full right to present his own point of view and to request that this should be subject of a decision in the Conference." A clause which may compare favourably with the procedure at Versailles runs: "The Conference will invite Italy, Roumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland to state their views in accordance with conditions which will be laid down. The Conference may invite other countries which are not members to state their views." Finally, none of these rules bind the Conference inescapably, as the last paragraph somewhat grudgingly admits: "The Conference may decide to amend or suspend the provisions of the rules of procedure after their adoption."

The agreement, reached in principle on Monday by the Ministers, was shaped by the Deputies on Tuesday morning and ratified by the Minister on Tuesday afternoon. Invitations were sent out before lunch time on the 9th July. At the Deputies' meeting the U.K. representative, Mr. Jebb, finding the other three set on excluding China from the list of sponsors, acquiesced under protest. At the afternoon meeting the position was somewhat redeemed by Russia, who had first refused China as a sponsor, agreeing that she should share equally with the Four Powers in the chairmanship of the Conference, which, starting with France as host, will be held by the representatives of the Big Five in rotation in French alphabetical order. Tuesday afternoon's meeting also decided that any points left unsettled after the night of the 12th (and on Tuesday some twenty remained) should be included in the drafts to be circulated to the 21 Powers. The drafts cannot reach the Powers before the 18th July, and the Conference is called for the 29th. Thus ten months' firm refusal to despair have borne fruit which good will alone can bring to maturity.

The 21 nations of the Peace Conference include besides the Big Five, Australia, Belgium, Byelo-Russian S.S.R., Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Greece, India, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Union of South Africa, Ukrainian S.S.R. and Yugoslavia.

The three Ministers could have found no surer corrective to their elation at the "first common Big Power Policy" than to discuss Germany and Austria with M. Molotov, as they did from the afternoon of Tuesday the 9th until Saturday the 13th. With the German problem unsolved, it is difficult to see a speedy way to the recovery of Europe; yet M. Molotov rejected every attempt at a solution. He would not allow Mr. Byrnes' "special deputies" to examine the political and economic difficulties which he himself had raised; nor would he consent to Mr. Bevin's 'commission' arranging the proposals of the various governments on Germany, so that the Minister might see more quickly what they were to discuss. He would only agree to an unprepared meeting of the Foreign Ministers immediately after the end of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Fruitless as the discussions appeared, they did show Russia on the one hand and U.K. and U.S.A. on the other pursuing what promise to be irreconcilable policies. (For a detailed treatment see under "Germany," "Austria" and "France.")

As Mr. Bevin indicated on the 10th July, the Potsdam Agreement which he said Russia was not carrying out provided that Germany should be treated as an economic whole: that her economy should be balanced in such a way that she was no longer a financial burden to the Allies. Her resources should therefore be distributed fairly between the different zones of occupation, and the proceeds of exports be used in the first instance to pay for approved imports, no matter from what zone the exports came nor to what zone the imports were destined. Only when all imports and debts outstanding on imports had been paid did the taking of "reparations from current production cease to be excluded" by the Potsdam Agreement. The contrary was happening. The British zone was

receiving nothing from the other zones, with the result that during the current financial year their zone would cost the United Kingdom 320 million dollars. Mr. Byrnes gave the corresponding figure for his zone as 200 million. Disquieting reports were reaching Mr. Bevin of war material being manufactured in the Russian zone. All enquiry was refused even on the terms of complete reciprocity. By appearing to regard the zonal divisions as permanent, Russia was in fact cutting Europe in two. His conclusion contained the very serious warning that, failing treatment of Germany as an economic whole, the United Kingdom would be compelled to organise the British zone in such a way that no further liability would fall on the British tax-payer. In a subsequent statement he referred especially in this connection to coal.

Mr. Byrnes, besides reviving his offer of a 25-year treaty for control of Germany's disarmament said that he was ready to work the U.S. zone as a unit with any other zone or zones. He made this last proposal immediately after expressing the hope that the U.K. would not have as Mr. Bevin had said, to "plough in production in their zone, including coal, in order to increase the value of their exports."

M. Bidault favoured a confederation for Germany, wherein the various States could resist any Prussian centralising tendency. He insisted that the Saar be joined forthwith to France's economy, and urged the internationalisation of the Ruhr. In this last, he came near the point of view of the Russians, who, maintaining an exclusive economy in their zone, yet made the cool proposal that the Ruhr should be put under Four Power control, since "responsibility for it could not rest with one ally only."

According to M. Molotov's long statements, the Russian attitude seems to be that Yalta promised Russia 10 billion dollars in reparation from Germany. Mr. Bevin said that the U.K. had made no such promise; Mr. Byrnes said that the U.S. took the figure as only a basis for discussion. Russia would get these reparations from installations etc. or else from current production over a great many years. They would thus exert over their zone of Germany the economic control which H.M. Government considered them to be aiming at in Italy when they persuaded Mr. Byrnes and M. Bidault to agree to their taking so much of their Italian reparations from current production. With regard to Mr. Bevin's contention that Potsdam laid down an Economic unity for Germany, M. Molotov contended that the Russian zone was not bound to send supplies to the Western Zones, because it was not receiving reparations from the three zones as promised.

Austria (which it had been so difficult to persuade the Russians to allow on the agenda of the June–July Conference) was discussed on Saturday, the 13th. Mr. Bevin and Mr. Byrnes wished the U.K. and U.S. draft treaties with Austria remitted to the Deputies to be studied when they had concluded work on the other five treaties. M. Molotov countered with a proposal which Mr. Bevin and Mr. Byrnes could not possibly have accepted, and succeeded in preventing a decision. He also evaded Mr. Bevin's attempt which Mr. Byrnes supported, to set up a Commission to study the urgent problem of German assets in Austria, and agree upon a definition. Article two of the Russian proposal, curiously reminiscent of the agitation against the "menace" of the Polish army in Italy, described "the presence of the so-called displaced persons in the Western Zone as a danger to democratic Austria and to the neighbouring democratic States," and made discussion of the draft treaties depend on their removal.

The course of these long debates suggests that Russia's deeds and intentions are often revealed in the charges she makes against her Allies.

CIVIL AVIATION IN ITALY.

On the 18th January at the Bermuda Civil Aviation Conference, the U.S. delegation informed the U.K. delegation that T.W.A. (Trans-World Airways) were in negotiation with the Italian Government with a view to participating in the rehabilitation of their internal air services, and enquired whether U.K. interests would wish to participate also. The U.K. delegation replied that, subject to permission being granted to the Italians to operate civil air services, British interests would certainly wish to participate.

On the 31st January H.M. Ambassador in Rome asked the Italian Government for particulars of the capitalization of the proposed company and requested that no contract should be signed until H.M. Government had decided whether

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they wished to participate in the scheme. At the same time Lord Halifax informed the State Department of this *démarche;* and by February the 4th the State Department had signified to the U.S. Ambassador in Rome its acquiescence in British participation. Nevertheless, on the 11th February the T.W.A. agreement was signed; it provided for the formation of an Italian company with 40 per cent. T.W.A. participation and a monopoly of internal (and possibly external) air services.

Strong representations by H.M. Government succeeded in holding up legislation ratifying the T.W.A. contract. The State Department, while ostensibly favouring the British case, did not intervene effectively; there seems little doubt that T.W.A. pressure in Congress made it difficult for them to do so. Mr. d'Erlanger of B.O.A.C. discussed the question with the Italian Government on 10th March and with General Wilson of T.W.A. in Rome on the 23rd March. While the Italians had no objection to a British share, General Wilson proved entirely obstructive to the suggested re-draft, which provided for B.O.A.C. capital participation to the extent of 20 per cent. or half the share that T.W.A. would have if the sole participant.

On the 5th April the State Department was requested to instruct the United States Chargé d'Affaires at Rome to inform the Italian Government that the United States Government would welcome British participation in the proposed company; this course being consistent with the previous attitude of the State Department. The latter did not reply to the British *aide-mémoire* until the 13th May; it is evident that exhaustive discussion with T.W.A. took place in this interval. In its reply the State Department pointed out that it had no authority to compel a private U.S. corporation to modify a legal contract; and T.W.A. opposed the formation of a mixed Anglo-American-Italian company as being impracticable on technical grounds. The U.S. Government could not therefore accede to the request of H.M. Government but had informed T.W.A. that, provided the objectionable clause granting exclusive rights were deleted, the U.S. Government would urge the Italian Government to ratify the agreement. The Italian Government could then conclude with British European Airways an agreement setting up a mixed Anglo-Italian company to operate certain internal air routes.

In his reply of the 31st May H.M. Ambassador in Washington recalled the original suggestion made at the Bermuda Conference for mutual participation in Italian airways and the fruitless negotiations between B.O.A.C. and T.W.A. and expressed surprise and regret at the State Department's reversal of its former attitude. He maintained the belief of H.M. Government that Italian interests as well as those of friendly collaboration between the United Kingdom and the United States would have been best served by the proposal submitted in January; but felt that in the circumstances H.M. Government had no alternative to the solution suggested by the State Department. They were accordingly proposing to the Italian Government the formation of a mixed Anglo-Italian company to operate, first, certain internal air routes (some of which may be at present in the L.A.I. schedule) and secondly, certain external air routes in Europe, as soon as authority to re-open them should be granted.

Negotiations on behalf of B.O.A.C. had already been opened when the above communication was made. They were assisted by Italian labour agitation directed against the grant of a monopoly. The Italian Air Minister who, unlike the Prime Minister, had favoured T.W.A. from the first, saw the threat to his own position and became more cooperative. The agreement between B.O.A.C. acting on behalf of British European Airways (which as yet has no independent existence) and the Italian Government was signed on the 8th June. It provides for the creation of a new company, A.I.I. (*Aerolinee Italiane Internazionali*) the capital, Lire 900,000,000 being subscribed 60 per cent by the Italian Government and/or Italian persons or companies and 40 per cent. by B.O.A.C. All rights and privileges of L.A.T.I. (*Linee Aeree Transcontinentali Italiane*) are transferred to the new company. The British share is to be held in sterling in London to the credit of the company and used (i) for the purchase of aircraft, etc., in the United Kingdom insofar as equipment is not available in Italy; and (ii) thereafter to meet such sterling expenditure as may be incurred in the course of the company's operations. B.E.A. is to act as agent in the United Kingdom for A.I.I. At least 75 per cent. of personnel is to be recruited from Italian air lines operating in 1940. The Italian Government will be required to provide facilities for 10 years at minimum rates, unless subsequent International agreements require the modification of this clause. At any time after 3 years, B.E.A. have the right to require the purchase by the Italian Government of their holding. The possible participation of foreign capital is explicitly admitted.

Routes.

Of 15 intra-European routes classified in two groups (first and second importance) the company will be entitled to 3 in each group. Other external services to be definitely assigned are :—

Between Italy and British Commonwealth territory;
Between Rome and Amsterdam;
Between Italy and South America;
Between Italy and North Africa (which is understood to include Egypt);
Between Italy and Greece;
Between Italy and France (unless some alternative arrangement is desired by the French Government); and
Former Aviolinee (a F.I.A.T. interest) and Airone routes, subject to agreement with the companies, and to Italian Government permission to participate.

General Wilson had endeavoured to incorporate Aviolinee in L.A.I. (the company in which T.W.A. are participating) as far back as January and subsequently to prevent their participation in A.I.I. To this end he had threatened to use his influence to block certain dollar credits needed by F.I.A.T. He did not withdraw from this position until warned that such obstruction might result in further delay in the ratification of the T.W.A. agreement.

The traffic on the route Turin–Milan–Venice–Trieste is to be shared with L.A.I. by mutual agreement.

Both the B.E.A. agreement and the parallel one with T.W.A. were approved by the Council of Ministers in Italy on the 24th June.

The present position in Italy is as follows : L.A.I. has 40% American capital. A.I.I. has 40% British capital and is open to admit French participation as and when further capital is required. A French proposal to participate from the outset by contributing Ju. 52s did not meet with the approval of the Italian authorities.

The solution represents a compromise which T.W.A. have accepted with bad grace. They started first, in advance of any inter-Governmental discussions about the future of Italian civil aviation; they worked quickly, secretively and unscrupulously. Only the State Department's aversion to monopolies prevented them from securing exclusive rights in Italy.

B.E.A. has secured its footing in Italy on a competitive basis instead of the cooperative one which the United Kingdom originally favoured. The measure of success achieved through the representations of H.M. Government is unlikely to be easily forgotten or forgiven by T.W.A. interests.

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FOREIGN OFFICE,
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24TH JULY, 1946.

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

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The statement was received without comment by the Council, and the proposal is now being examined in London. General McNarney has already published his memorandum and in a press interview has surveyed the benefits which he expects from the scheme, including, of course, equal ration scales for which H.M. Government have negotiated for months with only partial success. Other advantages, he considered, would be free movement of German business men between the zones, more steel and increased exports. Considerable efforts have been made already to foster exports from the U.S. zone. Frankfurt Radio

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announced on the 20th July that the Chief of Military Government Foreign Trade Department is to visit the United States to make personal contact with importers, some of whom may be invited to Germany. Meanwhile U.K. efforts to maintain firm relations with other occupying Powers is shown in the announcement that the headquarters of the Control Commission in the British zone will henceforth be known as the Zonal Executive Office of the Control Commission, while Berlin will become the Main Headquarters. Further concrete evidence is that work on reparations deliveries has not yet been discontinued. The first consignment from the British zone is now being assembled and is to be sent to Russia, following the arrival of packing material from the Soviet authorities.

Meanwhile the Russian attitude continues to be mysterious. M. Molotov, in an interview with Sir Maurice Peterson, reiterated his statement at the Paris Conference that Russia would not oppose a federal solution for Germany, if Germany or any part of it voted for a Federation through a plebiscite, but Russia did not wish to impose such a solution on Germany. Moreover, the British and American views on the subject were still not clear. He then said that everyone realized the need for economic unity from the economic point of view, but that the means of achieving it were lacking and had not been explained by the British and American delegates.

The Co-ordinating Committee on the 18th July had to postpone the setting up of a committee of experts to discuss coal distribution owing to the Soviet representative's lack of instructions; this matter had been referred to the Control Council by the Foreign Ministers (see last week's *Summary* "France"). A paper on coastal shipping to be left to Germany encountered objections from the U.K. and U.S. representatives and was also deferred. At the Political Directorate meeting on the following day the Soviet representative was, for the second time, unable to approve the Draft Law for the abolition of Prussia, stating that he was still without instructions. The British representative pointed out that it was difficult to see any objection to legalizing a state of affairs which already existed and which was in accordance with the Potsdam agreement of decentralisation, the full implication of the Russian attitude, indeed, is not yet apparent.

The most important event in the British zone has been General Robertson's announcement on the 17th July that Westphalia and North Rhineland will in future form a single province. This step, taken after careful deliberation, facilitates control of the Ruhr area by enclosing it in a single administrative region, although this does not exclude the possibility of an inner area containing only the principal industries, which might come under special control. The borders of the new area and those of the former provinces—except that Lippe, already transferred to the Military Administration of Hanover, will now be permanently associated with that province. The Capital of the new province will be Duesseldorf. No *Oberpraesident* has yet been selected. As was to be expected Schumacher, when informed of the step, did not welcome any scheme which placed the Ruhr within a single *Land;* this consideration weighing more with him than any dislike of a large province. He appeared reassured, however, that the step did not entail political or economic separation and he has not yet commented publicly. Both Dr. Adenauer and Kaiser have approved the decision but are anxious that consideration should be given to ultimate reunion with South Rhineland, now in the French zone. Alterations in the boundaries between the Saar and Rhineland took place on the 19th July when parts of the *Regierungsbezirk* of Trier, including a number of *Gemeinden* in the districts of Saarburg and Wadern, were transferred by French decree to the Saar administration. Such a transfer, presumably envisaged as a permanent extension of the Saar area, had already been hinted at by General Koenig on the 21st May (see *Summary* No. 345 "France"). It is not yet clear whether the area links the Saar with the Luxembourg border, but if so it was that which was tentatively claimed by the French in 1918 in order to provide a strategic frontier. The reason now given by the French Governors, however, is that these Rhenish areas supplied labour and agriculture produce for the Saar. Such arguments could be used to support further extensions to the East, if the present move is accepted by the other occupying Powers. It is also reported that railways in the French zone have been linked with those of France by means of a liaison office which replaces the main directorate of German railways in the French zone.

The SED have now abandoned their cry for economic unity—always less shrill than their support for political amalgamation—as being likely to embarrass the Russians, and have by tactical juggling adopted the line best suited to Russian policy. Pieck, visiting Essen on the 21st July, said that economic difficulties could be mastered by an understanding across the zone frontiers rather

than by the frontiers' immediate abolition. The aim remained a united Germany with a Central Government and a decentralised administration. With an eye likewise to tactical advantage, Pieck openly faced the Eastern question on which Communists have hitherto preserved a discreet silence. The German people, he said, must resign themselves to the loss of much German territory in the East, gambled away by Hitler through his war. Grotewohl at the same meeting attacked the "disastrous party particularism" in the West, yet declared that the SED did not wish to make "three parties out of two" and that the will for a united party would come from the workers themselves. The SED and KPD have now recovered sufficiently from the shock of Russia's reparations claim to make suitable comment. The Communist "*Hamburger Volkszeitung*" faces the demand for $10,000,000,000 by admitting that every German was horrified when he heard the figure, but then points out that far greater damage was inflicted on Russia, and far more spent by Hitler on armaments, while with a proper economic and social policy the burden can be paid. A similar line is taken by Dr. Steinhoff, President of Brandenburg.

Some interesting sidelights have been thrown on Russian policy towards the CDU. After the party's interzonal conference in June the Russians invited prominent members to a lavish feast at Karlshorst calculated to impress the less stable Christian Democrats from the West. At the same time Kaiser reports that during the conference the NKVD searched the houses of several delegates from the Soviet zone, while according to Lemmer, the NKVD told a member of "*Neue Zeit*" to spy on fellow Christian Democrats including Lemmer. Kaiser states that he has presented the Russians with a list of members now languishing in the hands of the NKVD. Kaiser has apparently also raised with the Russians the question of ex-officers and soldiers returning from the West who are said to be arrested by the Russians and sent to Sachsenhausen camp, after which the officers are usually not heard of again. This has been reported from numerous independent sources. A Russian spokesman apparently explained the need for these arrests as arising from the lack of a combined Allied plan for demobilisation. The Russians, he said, therefore did not know the basis on which the Western occupying Powers released soldiers and had to take them into custody. Kaiser's attitude towards the Russians, as described by himself, is plain-spoken and courageous. In meeting with Schumacher and Adenauer he represented himself as the sole defender of Western civilisation in Berlin and criticized the failure of Western leaders to realise the dangers and importance of the position. It seems unlikely that he can retain this independent line without the Russians curtailing the CDU's activities. The meeting of Kaiser with Schumacher also seemed to show the lack of any fundamental disagreement between the two, whereas Adenauer has now definitely rejected the term "Christian Socialism" in his interpretation of his party's programme.

Two SPD officials, Scherrf and Loewenthal, who disappeared in the Russian sector of Berlin at the end of June have not been found. "*Taegliche Rundschau*" has stated that Loewenthal was arrested by the Russian authorities as a former Gestapo agent.

AUSTRIA.

The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Mr. John Hynd, has visited Austria. In a broadcast to Austrians on the 18th July, he told them of Britain's desire to help to rebuild a free and independent Austria, of her efforts to do this in spite of her own difficulties, and of British understanding of the hard task ahead of Austria. Mr. Hynd said that most of the Austrian prisoners of war from this country had already returned home, and more were returning every day. On the same day Mr. Hynd had conversations with the Austrian President and Chancellor and other members of the Government, during which all the Austrians emphasised their concern about the problems of displaced persons and of German assets in Austria.

Mr. Edwin Pauley, personal representative of President Truman, arrived in Vienna on the 15th July. He told the Press that in his opinion all industrial plant with the exception of that devoted solely to the production of arms should be retained by Austria for the reconstruction of the country. He did not agree with the Soviet view that the Zistersdorf oilfields should be taken away from Austria because of their alleged German ownership but insisted that they must be used much more for the benefit of Austria. Herr Figl complained to Mr. Hynd that Austrian workers in Zistersdorf and other concerns taken over by the Soviet

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authorities were being given large additional rations. Heavy industry workers at Zistersdorf were said to be receiving 5,000 calories, in contrast to the precarious 1,200 calorie ration of the ordinary Austrian. This is, no doubt, part of the Soviet campaign to provide evidence of "model conditions" in undertakings seized by the Soviet Union. The Communist *Volksstimme* joins with *Tass* reports broadcast from Vienna in describing Soviet financial and material help in rebuilding firms taken over by the U.S.S.R. The latest indication of the Soviet interpretation of "German assets" is contained in a letter to the Austrian Government from the Soviet Chief-of-Staff on the 16th July. This goes considerably further than the statement published by *Tass* after an interview with General Tsiniev on the 9th July (see last week's *Summary*), about which General Steele has addressed a further letter to General Kurasov. The new statement could be interpreted to include almost all property and industry which became German after 1938. Meanwhile the Austrian Government have appointed a committee to divide German assets into three catgories; assets which they consider indisputably German and to which the Soviet claim can be recognised; assets which they consider must remain Austrian; and those which are open to discussion.

The Austrian Chamber is to consider the draft Bill for the Nationalisation of Industry on the 24th July. The Bill, based on a compromise between the three parties, includes within its scope the three major joint stock banks, the coal and metal mining industries, oil production and the refining industry, locomotive and shipbuilding works, and the Danube Steamship Company. Although the Socialists and Communists have said that the draft law does not entirely satisfy them—they wished to include several other branches of industry, and have accepted only reluctantly the People's Party plan for cooperative ownership as an experimental measure in a limited number of cases—the two parties have indicated that they will vote for the law. It is notable that several industries already taken over or claimed by the Russians, such as the oil industry and the Danube Steamship Company, appear in the list.

The Austrian Chancellor handed to Mr. Hynd during his visit a copy of a report from the Ministry of Agriculture describing the latest confiscations of land in the Soviet Zone. The total amount confiscated in now almost 31,000 hectares, not including the former German army training-ground at Dollersheim. The land has all been confiscated without any official notification to the Austrian Government; what happens is simply that Russian officers appear and inform the farmer that his land is now Soviet property. Local farm administrators, acting on instructions from the Austrian Government, have refused, in spite of threats, to sign documents presented by the Russians. The Ministry of Agriculture estimates that the Russian action involves 4·6% of the potato crop in Lower Austria and 8% in the Burgenland, and from 4·5% to 20·5% of the rye, wheat, barley, oats, maize and sugar beet crops. In many cases farms had been handed back to the Austrians following earlier seizure by the Russians and now they are being taken again as the harvest is near. There is reported to be considerable unrest among the people.

The question of denazification came into prominence again when, in the discussions on the Austrian treaty in Paris, M. Molotov complained of unsatisfactory denazification as well as the alleged existence of Nazi laws and the expression of Pan-German sentiments. Figures of arrests made and the small number of convictions resulting from them—given by M. Molotov—have been denied by the Austrian Ministry of Justice, which said that between July 1945 and June 1946, 10,545 cases were started in the People's Courts in Vienna, Linz, Graz, and Innsbruck. 1,935 Nazis were indicted and 848 convicted. At present 4,230 Nazis were under arrest and proceedings had been begun against several thousand war criminals. The new Bill on denazification has been passed through its committee stage in the Austrian Parliament. It divides Nazis, except war criminals, into two categories, "guilty" and "less guilty." Those in the first category include all party officials, members of the SS, and others who held Party distinctions. They are subject to an "expiatory" levy, are barred from all leading positions in economic life or from managing their own firms. Civil Servants are liable to be dismissed without pension. Their houses may be requisitioned and they will be subject to compulsory labour. The "less guilty" Nazis, the rank-and-file of the Party members, are to receive much milder treatment. They must pay a levy, but may under certain circumstances remain in public service. They are disqualified until 30th April, 1948, from being elected to any official position.

As a result of the new Control Agreement British Military Government in Styria and Carinthia has given place to "Civil Affairs" administration.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

It is announced that a Czechoslovak delegation, headed by Prime Minister Gottwald and accompanied by Foreign Minister Masaryk, together with the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, M. Clementis is now in Moscow at the invitation of the Soviet Government. The purpose of this visit is primarily to discuss relations between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, but the delegation will also endeavour to win Soviet support for the Czechoslovak plan of expelling the Magyar minority. As a result of their victory in the recent elections, the Czech Communist Party, who have adopted a chauvinist attitude in their relations with Hungary—as with Poland—believe that they are now in a strong position to gain Russian sympathy for their claims. Their optimism has possibly been further strengthened by the alleged attitude to this problem of the Soviet Ambassador to Prague, M. Zorin. The Ambassador is said to be wholeheartedly in favour of the Czechoslovak viewpoint, maintaining that the Czechs cannot be expected to grant minority rights to the Magyars and that Hungary, in so far as she is expelling the Suabian Germans and parcelling out the large estates, can now easily absorb 200,000 Slovak Magyars. If M. Zorin's attitude is a true reflection of official Soviet policy towards this transfer of population, it would seem to be directly in contradiction with the optimism of the Hungarian Prime Minister on the occasion of his recent visit to Washington. Up to the present the Russian standpoint has been by no means clear: the Kremlin, proud of the manner in which it treats its own numerous minorities, cannot perhaps afford to favour the Czechoslovaks too much to the detriment of the Hungarian minority and has thus endeavoured to play off one party against the other. Hence the Czechoslovak Government would welcome an elucidation of Soviet policy.

Criticisms of the treatment of the Magyar minority in Slovakia continue to be voiced by Budapest Radio Station and other official Hungarian sources. The Czechs in their turn complain of the sufferings of their compatriots in Hungary. If the contending parties, as seems likely, are unable to reach a solution to this problem which is vital to the future welfare of the middle Danubian basin, the Great Powers will probably—and against their wish—have to intervene. The Hungarian paper *Magyar Nemzet* has indeed cited a B.B.C. report that the Czechoslovak Government desire provisions for the exchange of populations to be included in the peace treaty with Hungary.

POLAND.

On the 15th July, in answer to a Question in the House of Commons, Mr. Hector McNeil said there had been full and constant exchange of information between H.M. Government and the United States Government with regard to speedy implementation of the promise of free elections in Poland, and the honouring of the Yalta agreement. In a written answer to the question whether the case of Polish elections might be brought before UNO, Mr. McNeil stated that such action seemed inappropriate at present. The Polish Provisional Government had officially assured the United States Government of its intention to hold elections this year, in accordance with the Yalta declaration, and in conformity with the pledge given as the condition of recognition by the United States Government and H.M. Government. There did not seem any reason why elections should not be held as now planned, and H.M. Government were concerned at the delay.

A celebration in honour of the 14th July was held in Warsaw, at which were present M. Garreau, the French Ambassador, M. Rzymowski, the Polish Foreign Minister, and other eminent French and Polish officials. M. Garreau said that both countries were affected by the danger of a German revival, but Poland's position might be considered the happier, since her Western frontiers were fixed, whereas France's frontier with Germany had secured so far no guarantee of any kind.

In commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the Spanish Civil War (18th July), a ceremony, arranged by the Spanish-Polish Society, was opened by General Walter-Swierczewski, who, as General Walter, had commanded the International Brigade during the Spanish civil war. The other notable Polish representative was Professor Lange, Ambassador to the United States, whose efforts on behalf of Spain at the Security Council were praised by General

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Swierczewski. The Spanish participants in the ceremony were representatives of the émigré Republican Government of Dr. Giral, led on this occasion by Señor Sanchez Guerra. In his speech Señor Guerra declared that the Spanish Republic would soon be restored, and that Spain's gratitude towards Poland would be everlasting.

The Polish Democratic Party, at whose head stands M. Rzymowski, the Foreign Minister, opened its first National Congress on the 13th July. One of the leading guests was M. Gomulka, the Communist Vice-Premier, who, in accordance with present-day Polish custom, has attended the opening of other Party Congresses. M. Gomulka said that, to facilitate collaboration between the Democratic and Communist parties within the Government *bloc*, concessions would be made by each side. The Democratic party is to receive two specially created Vice-Ministers' Posts, one in the Department of Private Industry, the other in the Ministry of Education. In his speech, Vice-Minister Chajn, one of the Democratic Party's foremost members, said that Polish democracy differed both from the Western form as well as from Soviet proletarian democracy. The Polish Democratic Party, he said, took the view that there was room for private enterprise, as the State could not take over the whole of the national economy. It was on the motion of their Party that the reservation in favour of the legal claims of private enterprise was inserted in the second of the three Referendum questions.

The rift between the right and left wings of the SP (Labour Party), led by M. Popiel and M. Widy-Wirski respectively, seems now to be coming to a head. This process has been accelerated since the death of M. Felczak, the former leader of the party's left-wing, who had succeeded in maintaining a moderating influence during his lifetime.

On the 21st July, the former *Gauleiter*, Artur Greiser, was publicly hanged at Poznan in the presence of 15,000 people. The Warsaw press strongly criticised an appeal for clemency on Greiser's behalf from the Vatican. (See under the "Vatican.")

SOVIET UNION.

The line taken by *New Times* (17th July) in summing up the results of the Foreign Ministers' Conference was unusually mild. Satisfaction was expressed that agreement had been reached on the peace treaties with Roumania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Finland. The preparation of the Italian treaty was stated to have presented most difficulty because of Italy's central position in the Mediterranean and Europe and because influential circles in certain countries tended to treat Italy as at any rate a potential colony. The Peace Conference was going to be required, said the article, to solve the outstanding issues, but hope was expressed that it would be successful in its labours if the Allied Powers followed the path of collaboration for the settlement of international problems. According to *New Times* a positive solution could be found for the most complex problem of contemporary world politics—*i.e.*, Germany—only if influential circles in Anglo-Saxon countries abandoned their attempts "to use the German card in the dangerous imperialist game of force." Unlike much other Soviet criticism and pro-Soviet propaganda in regard to the Conference, this article made no attempt to claim that final success at the Conference was due to concessions from the Soviet Government nor was there any raking-up of past disagreements.

The attempt made a few days previously in *Pravda* (15th July) "to expose" what is going on behind the "velvet curtain," *i.e.*, in countries in "the British sphere," was much more uncompromising and was markedly hostile to British policy. The main points were that a state of war was still continuing in Indonesia five months after the Security Council had been told that agreement might be reached "in the near future." In India negotiations on the Indian problem had broken down "in accordance with British desires"; in Palestine disagreements between Arabs and Jews were allegedly used as an excuse for not granting independence, while Transjordan had been granted nominal "independence" but remained a British military base. British policy in Syria, Egypt, Iraq, Greece and Cyprus was described from the same standpoint so as to complete the Soviet picture of British activity in its "sphere." The article concluded with the sentence: "the heavy fall of the velvet curtain muffles the sound of shots, human groans and the murmur of discontent—muffles but cannot stifle." The Indian case has also been taken up in an attack on the recent South African legislation concerning the Indian community, which was described as a Nazi racial law.

The meaning of the "right of veto" was recently the subject of a special English commentary by Dr. Lemin on the Moscow radio. The principle did not "just emerge like Minerva from the head of Jupiter" he said; "condensed in it is the experience of the recent war." Dr. Lemin further defended the veto as a means of holding the balance between different ideologies and social orders and, in particular, as a weapon for defeating the machinations of "reactionary imperialist groups." The attacks upon the right of veto, it was asserted, are actually directed against the principle of equality and concord on which international co-operation is founded. "Attacks on the right of veto are nothing but a smoke-screen for the machinations of the enemies of peace."

The U.S.A. has come in for the major share of Soviet publicity during the past week. Ehrenburg's two lengthy articles summing up the impressions of his trip, although outspoken, could not be called unduly hostile; his somewhat impish criticisms were certainly not on the stereotyped Soviet lines. He concluded with the truism, surprising perhaps from the pen of a citizen of the U.S.S.R., that the fundamental need of the American was the raising of his spiritual level to that of his technique.

The abolition of price control in the U.S., and the consequent threat of inflation, has aroused a volume of unfavourable comment, which made the obvious point that the position of the American working class, once regarded as an object of envy to all, was rapidly deteriorating. The passing of the loan to Britain was briefly reported; it was treated as above all an indication of the weakening of the economic position of the British Empire. The main target for attack, however, has been American policy in the Far East; the anger of the Soviet Government, it seems, is being increasingly aroused by United States opposition to Russian tactical moves in that sphere.

Meanwhile there are indications of awakening Soviet interest in the Franco-Siamese dispute over the frontier between Siam and Indo-China, on which silence has hitherto been observed. On the same day that the Soviet press published the text of the Siamese appeal to the United Nations, "New Times" came out with a long article criticising Annamite ruling circles and French colonial rule in general.

There have been other signs of growing Soviet displeasure with the French in contrast to the recent wooing of France by the U.S.S.R. The important rôle played by M. Bidault at the Paris meeting has been ignored, and items generally critical of France have been reappearing in the press since the M.R.P. success at the elections and the re-entry of General de Gaulle on to the political scene. The French attitude over the Ruhr, and over Germany in general, is probably responsible for this change of front.

Moscow is lively with a series of distinguished visitors. M. Trygve Lie arrived on the 20th July, and another recent arrival is M. Gottwald, the Czechoslovak Prime Minister, who has already been received by M. Stalin (see under "Czechoslovakia"). The Persian Princess Pahlevi has been accorded the same honour, and has been decorated with the Order of the Red Banner of Labour.

A Nonconformist Minister, the Rev. Oyler Waterhouse, member of the delegation of the British-Soviet society now visiting the U.S.S.R., has broadcast an enthusiastic account of a service in the Baptist Church in Moscow. According to him, that church had a membership of 3,000, of whom about 1,200 attended the service. The church would only hold 500, but, according to Mr. Waterhouse, the Soviet Government had granted materials for extending it on favourable terms, and had acceded to the request of the congregation for permission to erect a second building. It now appears that M. Gulyaev, deputy chairman of the Russian Baptists, did after all go to Sweden accompanied by one of his colleagues, and that his community has received permission to send delegates to the World Baptist Conference which is to be held in Copenhagen in August.

A Ministry of Luxury Industries of the U.S.S.R. has just been formed with M. N. I. Pronin as Minister; its sphere will include hard and soft drinks, perfumery and cosmetics and tobacco.

M. Rud, the first Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Moldavian Republic, has been released from his duties and appointed Chairman of the Moldavian Council of Ministers in succession to M. Koval.

Academician Bogomolets, President of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, heralded as the inventor of a serum for prolonging human life to a startling length, has died at the untimely age of 66. He was widely credited with having been engaged in rejuvenating Generalissimo Stalin.

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SCANDINAVIA.

Denmark.

A stream of propaganda dealing with Great Britain's alleged complete misunderstanding of the Slesvig position and her "unfriendliness to Denmark" is emanating from that country at present. That this agitation has succeeded in persuading even more reasonably-minded Danes to take an active interest in the South Slesvig question is proved by an appeal published on the 17th July in *Berlingske Tidende*. It is addressed to the Danish Government and warns against the serious threat to Danism and the Danish frontier of the influx of the refugees into South Slesvig, promising the Government full support in all its efforts to remove the danger. The appeal is signed by leaders of all Danish political parties (excepting the Communists), the heads of the Army and Navy, the Protestant and Catholic Bishops of Copenhagen, the President of the High Court and other judges, leading businessmen and, in short, all other leaders of Danish life. It is perfectly obvious that the Danes as a whole have succeeded in deluding themselves that the South Slesvig question is one of the most important questions which face the world at present to the exclusion of all others. No attempt is noticeable to see the question from a general, European point of view or to realise the difficulties with which Great Britain is faced in endeavouring to find a home for the hundreds of thousands of refugees from the East who have arrived and are still arriving in the British Zone.

The Norwegian Foreign Minister, M. Lange, apparently also succumbed to Danish South Slesvig propaganda. In an interview with the Danish press in Copenhagen, he stated that the Norwegian Government would willingly consider the question of intervening in London on Denmark's behalf concerning the treatment of the Danish minority in South Slesvig. The removal of the pressure of the refugee population on the Danish frontier was in M. Lange's view not only a question for Denmark but for the whole of Scandinavia; but he also stated that it was in the Scandinavian interest that the Danish southern frontier should remain firm.

Sweden.

On the 14th July the Foreign Minister, M. Undén, dealt with Swedish-Norwegian relations in a speech at Eda on the Swedish-Norwegian frontier. He admitted that Sweden's policy during the war had been the cause of much ill-feeling in Norway but emphasized that the responsibility for this policy was that of the Coalition Government, representing all parties, and that no party was entitled to claim that, had it been in power, Germany would have been held more effectively in check. He also admitted that he had always championed, both during the war and now, the right of the press to publish facts as they occurred and express opinions on them, but he thought a certain discretion was desirable when the question of publishing State documents arose. In the case of Swedish-Norwegian relations, however, he favoured the publication of such material as would serve to sift out facts from idle rumours and help to clear the atmosphere.

M. Undén also dealt with Norwegian arguments that Norway was bound up with the United Nations Organisation, while in Sweden there was more speculation as to what might happen if the members of the Security Council fell out. Although not yet a member of the United Nations, Sweden was from now onwards prepared to undertake all the responsibilities which such membership would imply; but she would not join any great Power *bloc*. Consequently, in the event of a break-up of the United Nations, Sweden—and, it appeared, from Norwegian official statements, Norway too—would not be bound by undertakings to any particular group of Powers.

M. Undén also mentioned that Sweden, whose relations with her Nordic neighbours were traditionally friendly in the sphere of foreign affairs, was striving to develop similar relations with Poland and Soviet Union by a considerable increase of trade with those countries. The Coalition Government could claim the credit for having initiated conversations with the Soviet Union in June 1945.

Finland.

Sentences passed by the Supreme Military Court on Lt.-Gen. Oesch, Col. Oinonen and other Finnish officers accused of War Crimes were announced on the 19th July. All the accused were found guilty. Lt.-Gen. Oesch, who for many years was Chief of the General Staff, was directly implicated through an

order which he issued in November 1941, authorising the shooting of prisoners-of-war in certain circumstances. This order led to the execution of some thirty to forty Soviet prisoners in violation of international agreements to which Finland was a party. Lt.-Gen. Oesch and Col. Oinonen were accordingly sentenced to 12 years', and 11 years and four months' penal servitude respectively. The incidents revealed by the trial have been strongly condemned by the Finnish Press, which describes the murders as a stain on Finlands' honour.

LOW COUNTRIES.

Belgium.

The Belgian political crisis continues, notwithstanding M. van Acker's appeal to end it within a week, the various parties being preoccupied with holding meetings and issuing statements. On the 16th July, M. de Schrijver, leader of the Christian Social Party, was received by the Prince-Regent and later again by M. van Acker, with whom he stayed an hour. To journalists, who pressed him for an account of his interview with the Prime Minister, M. de Schrijver would only say that he had not been "charged with any mission, either for inquiries or for the formation of a Cabinet": the object of his interview had been merely to discuss the "political and Governmental position." Next day, however, he did receive an invitation to form a Cabinet, but declined it for what he described as "personal reasons." It was then M. van Acker's turn to be invited: he, too, refused, but on very different grounds. The radical wing of the Socialist Party had raised categorical objections to a Cabinet which should include Christian Social Ministers, and, since M. van Acker is not now prepared to lead a Cabinet in which the Christian Social Party is not represented, he had no alternative but to refuse the Prince-Regent's invitation. He resisted all attempts made by his party at its meeting on the 20th to induce him to change his mind: his decision, he said, was "irrevocable." The thankless task of trying to form a Cabinet was next given to M. Paul Struye, leader of the Senate Group of the Christian Social Party, who discussed the situation with MM. van Acker, Spaak and Buset, and with the Liberal leaders, MM. Motz, Dierck and Mundeleer on the 18th July. The Liberal Party is divided, some of its members preferring the idea of a four-party coalition, others the present three-party left-wing coalition, but re-shuffled. The Communists, on the other hand, have quite made up their minds that they will have nothing to do with a Cabinet which includes members of the Christian Social Party: indeed, it was their intransigence which determined the attitude of the radical wing of the Socialists. For that matter the Christian Social Party is none too anxious for Communist participation; but M. Struye has admitted that, if their inclusion prove to be the only way out of the difficulty, it would "obviously" be his "duty" to confer with the Communist leaders.

But after the Socialists had rejected M. Struye and repudiated M. van Acker, the Prince-Regent turned to M. Spaak (21st July). At a Press conference on the 22nd, M. Spaak sounded rather more hopeful. He is trying to form a three-party Cabinet on the lines of M. van Acker's Cabinet; but his success depends upon the Liberal attitude. He told journalists that, if everything went well, the Government would have to obtain a vote of confidence from Parliament before Sunday (28th July), to enable him to leave in time for the Peace Conference. Asked whether M. van Acker would be a member of the new Cabinet, M. Spaak replied that he was "under no obligation to assume the leadership" of the Government, and "everybody would like to see M. van Acker taking part in it."

The Liberal attitude—so eagerly awaited by M. Spaak—was made known later the same day (22nd July), but contributes little or nothing to the immediate object of resolving the crisis. By an overwhelming majority (70 votes against 2, with three abstentions) the party Executive adopted a resolution "empowering its negotiators to offer the support of the Liberal Party to any Government" which would be prepared, "without further delay, and exclusive of all other controversial matters," to deal with a number of questions demanding urgent attention—such as "war damage, assistance to war victims and *sinistrés*, financial reconstruction and the defence of the franc, a speedy return to freedom of trade and agriculture, relaxation of controls, assistance to the middle classes, defence of the legitimate rights of manual and intellectual workers, and increased production and export." Of these eight points, the first five are admitted by the resolution to have "formed part of the previous Government's policy."

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FRANCE.

Since the end of the Foreign Ministers' Conference (see under "The Paris Conference") the question of French policy towards Germany has become a burning issue in French party politics. M. Léon Blum, in the *Populaire*, pointed out with a certain malicious delight that for once the Socialists were in agreement with Moscow in opposing the dismemberment of Western Germany, while the Communists, together with the M.R.P., disagreed with the Soviet view. The Communists have so far stuck to their guns, but they insist that the divergence between French and Soviet policy is far less than that between French and British policy towards Germany. It is in any case clear that the French are anxious to avoid committing themselves to support of either side in the dispute over Germany between Russia and the West, although their interest in Ruhr coal should lead them to co-operate in plans for the economic integration of the three Western zones.

M. René Mayer, High Commissioner for German and Austrian Affairs, has resigned, and his duties have been taken over by M. Pierre Schneiter, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

A debate similar to that of the 5th July when M. Paul Reynaud's mandate was confirmed (see *Summary* No. 350) took place on the 18th July over the validity of the election of M. Daladier. Although it was generally agreed that M. Daladier's election had been quite regular, the Communists demanded his invalidation on political grounds. M. Daladier spoke for two hours defending the Munich agreement as inevitable and attacking Communist policy. He was heard in silence and received little applause, but his mandate was confirmed by 311 votes to 132. The Socialists have covered themselves against accusations that they countenance the pre-war policy of men like Daladier by tabling a bill proposing that an official enquiry be made by the High Court of Justice into political developments in France and the French Empire from 1933–45 in order to discover where the responsibility lay for the disaster of 1940. The Communists at once proposed an amendment which would have the effect of placing the conduct of the enquiry in Communist hands.

The letter sent by the Pope to the President of the *Semaines Sociales* (see under "Vatican") with its condemnation of nationalisation of industry, is significant for the effect which it may have on the relations between the Church and the M.R.P. The latter has supported the measures of nationalisation already passed in France, although it lays more emphasis on the ideas of association and co-operation, in accordance with Catholic doctrine, than do the parties of the Left.

M. Yves Farge, the new Minister of Food, secured the agreement of the Cabinet on the 13th July to the principle of making certain black market offences punishable by death. He was also authorised to apply a system of meat marketing which will allow the actual meat ration to be sold at a low price, while extra supplies may be obtained at uncontrolled prices. This system of a legalised black market may also be applied to other commodities. Already the contrast between the legal market and the black market, which is used so extensively to supplement the official rations, is disappearing in many country districts owing to the increase in the quality of foodstuffs available. M. de Menthon, Minister of National Economy, told the Finance Committee of the Assembly on the 17th July that conditions would soon allow a considerable drop in the price level.

The economic conference (see *Summaries* No. 350 and 351) completed its allotted task at the weekend and sat in full session on the 22nd July, in the presence of M. Bidault and other Ministers, to hear the report of the recommendations of its three sub-committees. The findings of the conference, which go considerably beyond what the Government had declared to be possible, were examined by the Cabinet on the 23rd July. M. Bidault, in an interview with the drafters of the report on the 16th July, had already told them that neither the Government nor private enterprise could afford to raise wages by more than 15 per cent., and that no increase could be made in the subsidies for food and other products. (These subsidies were voted for the first 6 months of 1946 at the yearly rate of 85 milliard fr.—*i.e.*, one quarter of the total budget revenue—but most are now due for renewal, and the Minister of Finance has declared that he is resolved to cut down the food subsidies.) M. Bidault said, however that purchasing power could be raised further by other means, notably through the general fall in prices which the coming harvests and the increase in industrial production would allow. Nevertheless, the economic conference, with the agreement of the employers' representatives, has recommended the 25 per cent. wage increase originally demanded by the trade unions, the increase to be calculated

on the average maximum wage and added to the existing minimum wage to give a new minimum. The other recommendations include proposals for a drive for increased efficiency in production and distribution, for increases in some industrial and agricultural prices and decreases in others. To achieve these results, however, State subsidies amounting to the enormous figure of 87 milliard fr., including 10 milliards for coal, and 11 for gas and electricity, both nationalised industries, are proposed.

The High Court of Justice began a new session at Versailles on the 8th July and is to try twelve accused, including M. Flandin and Admirals Auphan and Abrial. Jean Berthelot, Vichy Minister for Communications from 1940 to April 1942, was condemned to two years' imprisonment, but as he has been imprisoned since the liberation he is considered to have served his term and will be released. Paul Charbin, a colourless Lyons businessman, who was for a short period Vichy Minister of Food, was condemned only to 10 years' deprivation of civic rights. [See under "Germany."]

SPAIN.

A dictator is a law unto himself, and General Franco has elected to let the tenth anniversary of the *pronunciamiento* of the 18th July, 1936, pass without any fanfares or processions. The National Council of the Falange, which has met on the eve of that day for nine years, was not convoked this year, and there was no speech. For the nonce the Caudillo's view recalls Alfred de Vigny in that memorable passage of *La Mort du Loup:* "*Seul le silence est grand; tout le reste est faiblesse.*"

The Head of the State did bestir himself, however, on the 17th to preside over an official ceremony celebrating the reconstruction of Brunete, a township west of Madrid, which was the scene of one of the fiercest battles of the civil war. His architects and builders have certainly done a good job of work in the model village built on the old site—in the matter of physical reconstruction, by the way, the régime deserves all praise. And he gave a perfunctory interview to *Arriba* for its anniversary issue (all the newspapers brough out portentous special editions for the occasion!). The interview was almost entirely concerned with the heritage of economic difficulties from the civil war and the wonderful way in which—in spite of the drought which did not allow a full harvest for six years—the régime had weathered these difficulties. This progress report, which included an apologia for the swollen budget, contained nothing new and was discreetly silent on the actual figures of the recent increase in the cost of living. (The index figures published in April showed a rise from 306 to 391 in a year and a 24 points increase since January.) At a press conference following a Cabinet meeting on the 18th July the Minister of Education had something to say about the Government's determination "to fight the battle of prices in order to bring about a necessary decrease in the cost of living." The acid test for the régime, indeed, will come this autumn after the harvest has been got in; it is by no means certain that inflation can be arrested and the country gradually freed from the tentacles of the black market.

It should perhaps be recorded that the Minister of Labour, Señor Girón de Velasco, was put up to orate on the significance of the 18th July as henceforth, by the grace of the Caudillo, "Labour Day." And, finally, it may be mentioned that the Minister of Foreign Affairs received telegrams of congratulation on the anniversary from the Foreign Ministers of Argentina, Chile, Ecuador, the Dominican Republic and El Salvador.

Despairing of finding any fellow-feeling among the nations of old Europe the "national-seminarists" *i.e.* those Catholics, like Señor Artajo, who have hitched their waggon to General Franco's star, have been busy recently wooing the Latin-American States. On the 16th July a reception in honour of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Education was held in the name of the Latin-American Diplomatic Corps at the residence of the Minister of El Salvador and was attended by one other Minister and eight Chargés d'Affaires. The propagandists have skilfully used the recent Congress at Salamanca of the International Catholic Association, *Pax Romana*, to suggest that the newly-established *Instituto de Cultura Ibero-Americana* derives from that sodality. The transparent purpose is to revive the defunct (Falange-controlled) *Consejo de Hispanidad*, under the cloak of religion. Latin-American visitors who are prepared to say nice things about the régime are much fêted these days.

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On the occasion of Independence Day for the Philippines on the 5th July a *Te Deum* was sung in the church of San Francisco, and a special exhibition was opened showing the first sketch maps of the Spanish discovery of the Isles, while the press poured out columns of glutinous verbiage. The Caudillo had seized the opportunity provided by the State Department to send out to Manila a special Embassy Extraordinary under Señor Goichoechea, and he followed it up on the day with a message of "sisterly affection" transmitted through the U.P. Agency—though he was careful on this occasion (remembering the hullabaloo following the message sent from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the quisling President Laurel in the autumn of 1943) to divest his greetings of any official character.

Another batch of 56 men and one woman accused of sabotage, the possession of arms and explosives, and murder, were tried by court martial at La Coruña last week. All were said to be active members of the Communist party. Two were given death sentences, three imprisonment for 30 years, and the others sentences from 1 to 25 years. These penalties are, of course, subject to confirmation by the Captain-General of the Military Region.

ITALY.

On the 12th July, following discussions with UNRRA in which Mr. Keeny gave his agreement in principle, an official announcement stated that the High Commissioner for Food had instructed all prefects to increase the bread ration from 200 grammes to 250 grammes and the *pasta* ration to 2 kg. monthly. The cereal position was explained by Mr. Keeny, Head of the UNRRA Mission in Italy, in a broadcast on the 15th July in which he congratulated the High Commissioner for Food and the Italian authorities on the way in which they had tackled the threatened cereal shortage and prevented a breakdown in distribution. UNRRA fully realised the importance of the larger ration both for the health of the people and as a weapon against the black market. In a previous statement on the 12th July Mr. Keeny had pointed out that the increase in the bread ration was the sole responsibility of the Italian Government.

According to Italian calculations, Italy needs 7½ million tons of wheat for all requirements until the next harvest. About 345,000 tons of wheat from the new harvest has been brought into the *Amassi* (Government pools) for the month of June, from the stocks available and the Government hope to receive 2,215,000 tons of wheat, 300,000 tons of rice and 600,000 tons of corn (presumably maize) for the full year. (These amounts of rice and corn are reckoned to be equivalent to 675,000 tons of wheat, so that if hopes are realised, the *Amassi* should produce a total wheat equivalent of 2,800,000 tons.) The estimated consumption requirements of the rationed population on the old ration scale, are about 4 million tons, and the difference between 2,800,000 tons produced by the *Amassi* and the 4 million tons required—*i.e.*, 1,200,000 tons—must be imported. A further 300,000 tons are also needed to provide a working stock for the end of the crop year (June 1947) so that, in all, 1½ million tons must be imported. To this end UNRRA have requested 750,000 tons to be delivered in 1946 as their quota and have also requested a further 250,000 tons to be paid for by Italy, from her foreign currency resources, leaving 500,000 to be found later. It is not certain to what extent the increased ration mentioned above will affect these import requirements.

The Italian Government have also proposed reducing the wheat extraction rate from 91 per cent. to 85 per cent. As this would bring the extraction rate in Italy below the present rate of 90 per cent. in the U.K., Sir Noel Charles has been instructed to make vigorous representations to the Italian Government to refrain from this step.

According to a press report Signor Nenni, Minister without Portfolio in the present Government and the Foreign Minister-designate (after the Peace Conference), has left Rome on a tour of European capitals in order to try and convince the various Foreign Ministers that Italy does not deserve such a punitive peace treaty as that drafted in Paris. Oslo is to be his starting-point and from there he will go to the Hague, Brussels and then Paris. In Paris he hopes to meet the Polish and Czech Foreign Ministers. Count Sforza is visiting the South American republics on a similar mission and by personal contacts hopes to gain as much support for Italy as possible.

THE VATICAN.

Writing to the President of the French *Semaines Sociales*, the Pope discussed the problem of nationalisation. He started from the Church's conception of the "human person as the root and end of every social life," and applied it to "the particular case which interests you at the present, the nationalisation of industry." "Nationalisation," he said, "risks accentuating the mechanical character of the life in common." The profit which it brings is, therefore, "suspect." The true ends of society are more readily attained by the creation of associations and co-operative societies. They are in accordance with the Christian doctrine of the human person. What is wanted, he concluded, to-day as never before, is a strong, living, national community which does not exclude or level legitimate autonomy, but which respects the rights of all and which tends towards that mighty community which is mankind.

The much publicised Vatican appeal on behalf of the notorious Arthur Greiser (see under "Poland") was a Christian's inevitable response to a condemned man's plea, not, as was asserted, a manifestation of pro-fascist policy. Professor Kot, Polish Ambassador to Italy, handed Greiser's appeal to the Nuncio in Rome. The Vatican at once instructed the Nuncio to make to the Polish Ambassador the following carefully worded reply:—"Herr Arthur Greiser, condemned to death, has implored by telegram the august intervention of His Holiness to obtain grace. The said gentleman, as is known, was a most bitter enemy of the Church, and he carried on severe persecution in the Wartheland. However, His Holiness, following the example of the Divine Master, who prayed on the cross for his crucifiers, having received the plea of the condemned man, addresses to the competent authorities his paternal prayer that the condemned man's life be spared."

SOUTH-EAST EUROPE.

Hungary.

The British and American Commissioners on the Allied Control Commission have protested that the instructions issued by General Sviridov to the Hungarian Government (see last week's *Summary*) constituted a violation of the statutes of the Allied Control Commission in that they were issued without the knowledge of the British and American representatives, and, moreover, they were not satisfied that the Russian allegations were justified since the Allied Control Commission had recently been informed that Hungary had fulfilled Article XV of the Armistice Terms requiring her to dissolve Fascist organisations.

There is so far no indication whether the Hungarian Government's reply, outlined in last week's *Summary*, was acceptable to the Russians. The Hungarian Minister of the Interior has continued to carry out his Government's promises of administrative reform and suspension of "reactionary" associations with such vigour that according to press reports, the Political Committee of the Smallholders' Party felt bound to protest; this may necessitate a resumption of the inter-party discussions which had resulted in some show of unity within the coalition. The Hungarian Government decided not to publish the Russian note and their reply in the press; indeed, beyond a brief announcement that a demand for disciplinary measures to tighten up public security had been made "by the Allied Control Commission," neither press nor radio gave any hint of the real reason for the reports of protracted inter-party discussions, the lists of associations suspended or the rumours of impending Cabinet changes.

It has been suggested that in issuing the demands General Sviridov was merely the mouthpiece of the Hungarian Communists who had failed to impose their terms on the Smallholders by direct methods.

The National Assembly has been convened for the 23rd July. The petition (organised by M. Sulyok's party) for its convocation to discuss the recent arrest of a Deputy has the support of at least some sections of the Smallholders' Party, and Mgr. Balogh declared that the Smallholders will insist on the Assembly having more opportunity to express itself. The Social Democrat paper, *Népszava*, however, condemns those Smallholders who signed the petition as setting themselves up in opposition to their party, and points out that the Assembly would in any event have been convoked shortly, since the special mandate to the Government to rule by decree expires on the 31st July. There has recently been considerable criticism that the Assembly was not in session when such decisive measures as stabilisation of the currency were inaugurated. The Cabinet has approved a draft Incompatibility Bill making it illegal for a deputy to hold public office.

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All parties are anxious that the new currency to be introduced on the 1st August should succeed, and they appeal for public confidence, threatening severe penalties for speculators, black-market dealers and others who sabotage the efforts to improve food supply when the harvest becomes available. Meanwhile, with the taxation pengö quoted at 20,000,000 billion pengö, it is difficult to conceive how any business at all is transacted. According to a press report, Budapest municipality is unable to allot any money to hospitals and institutions, and may not even be able to continue feeding patients.

M. Nagy has hinted in a recent speech that the Soviet Union may grant Hungary some relaxation of her reparations requirements; also it is announced that the U.S.S.R. has promised to repatriate about 25,000 Hungarian prisoners of war. [For the Magyar Minority in Slovakia, see under "Czechoslovakia."]

Roumania.

Roumania, as far as the promised election is concerned, seems to have settled down to a "cloud-cuckoo" sort of existence, completely remote from reality. The King, on the insistent demand of General Susaikov, has signed the electoral law as finally amended. D-ni Maniu and Brătianu go about tearing their hair and indulging in wordy wrath, but when tackled have no concrete proposals to make. Dl Ionescu, the Minister for Mines, is said to have announced at a meeting at Ploiești that even if the Government do not obtain a majority they intend to remain in power—if necessary by force. Peasant women are being warned, it is said, that if they vote against the Government their children may be taken away from them. Various people get worked up about details of the law, which leave the way open for intimidation and for every sort of trickery. But why all this fuss and bother? When all is said and done, the fact remains that the election issue is simplicity itself. Roumania has, and always has had, her own way of managing these affairs. All that is necessary is for the Government to decide what majority they would like and then to arrange matters so that they get it.

The Minister of Information, Professor Constantinescu-Iași, is visiting London. Apart from the round of entertainment which is usual on such occasions, he has been in touch with the Board of Education, with UNESCU and others. He held a press conference at the Roumanian Mission. The entertainment part of this function left nothing to be desired. The general attitude of the meeting was critical, but it cannot be said that the representatives of the press made the most of their opportunity. Many of the questions asked were incredibly stupid. But the audience learned that Mr. Markham, the correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor*, had been expelled from Roumania because he was acting as an election agent for the Opposition, also that all representatives of the press could obtain permits to enter Roumania without difficulty. Asked why the British and American Notes of protest at the non-fulfilment of the Moscow decisions had been withheld from publication, the Minister rather cleverly assumed that the question referred to the earlier protests on the same subject and replied that the Government delayed the publication so that the notes and the replies could be made public at the same time. Asked if it was true that there were ex-Legionaries in the Government he said that, if he could be supplied with the names, he would investigate the matter on his return to Bucarest and see that such persons were dismissed. Some of those present were anxious to obtain information about the alleged failure to prosecute persons who were guilty of anti-semitic activities.

The death is reported of D-na Maria Antonescu, the wife of the Mareșal. Proceedings were to have been taken against her in connexion with the mismanagement of Consiliul de Pratronaj. It is probable that this organisation, as indeed most public "charities" in Roumania are, was a convenient means for enriching those who had the control of it. But the reputation held by D-na Antonescu makes it extremely improbable that she would be a party to corrupt practices of this sort, and the most that can be said is that, assuming that she became aware of what was being done by her colleagues on the Directorate and the Central Committee, she did not at once sever her connexion with them. The property of the late Mareșal has been confiscated by "the State," whatever that term may stand for in such a connexion.

Yugoslavia.

Marshal Tito's attitude to the decision on Trieste is more cautious than that of M. Kardelj, the Deputy Prime Minister. "We shall defend our rights," he said at Cetinje on the 13th July, "but always, of course, within the limits of possibility." On the 17th Kardelj, in answer to a question in the National Assembly, repeated the gist of his earlier statement (see *Summary* No. 350). In

Belgrade there has at last been a "spontaneous demonstration." H.M. Chargé d'Affaires, having got wind of the arrangements beforehand, warned the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that H.M. Government would take a poor view of any "untoward incident" and was gratified to see a posse of soldiers stationed outside the Embassy during the proceedings.

An incident on the Morgan Line, in which American troops exchanged shots with Yugoslav frontier guards, causing the death of two of the latter, provoked the Yugoslav Government to protest to the U.S. Embassy in Belgrade. They accused the Americans of being the first to fire according, they hinted, to a pre-arranged plan, and they stated that the incident occurred in Zone B, whereas in fact it was due to an infringement of the Morgan Line by Yugoslav troops who had illegally entered Zone A.

The general strike in Trieste, organised in protest against the "Fascist riots," has been called off, but Yugoslav propaganda about the Fascist activities of the Allied authorities, has become, if anything, more hysterical.

Kardelj, as leader of the Yugoslav delegation to the Peace Conference, is to be accompanied by such pillars of the Yugoslav Communist Party as Mosha Pijade, Boris Kidritch, Dimitr Vlahov and Vladimir Bakaritch, as well as by the Foreign Minister and the Ambassadors in London and Washington, and some smaller fry.

Preparations have begun for an All-Slav Congress to be held in Belgrade in December. Representatives of the Slav countries held a preliminary meeting in Belgrade on the 17th July. The aims of the Congress are said to be the strengthening of the ties between the Slav countries and the continuation of the fight against Fascism. This may have some connection with Tito's promise at Cetinje of the "settlement" of relations with Bulgaria, as soon as she was released from her "special position."

This speech of Tito's, when he said some very unpleasant things about M. Joksimovitch (who defended Mihailovitch on orders, but so far exceeded his instructions as to put his heart into the job) was largely an attack on enemies who had penetrated the National Front. It is clear that chief among these "enemies" is now Dr. Dragoljub Jovanovitch the left-wing Peasant leader, who a year ago thought he could organise a "legal" opposition within the Front without getting his fingers burnt. Now his opposition to the Bill for Agricultural Cooperatives on the grounds that it is premature and against the peasants' interests, and his criticism of the Public Prosecution Bill, have earned him some sinister abuse from Mosha Pijade and the Public Prosecutor. Other enemies, according to Tito, are those who gather under the names of the Croat Peasant Party and of the Catholic Church. So, though they have got rid of Mihailovitch, the Yugoslav Government still do not feel secure.

Greece.

The visit of the Greek delegation ended on the 17th July, when the whole party left London for Paris. M. Tsaldaris intended to visit Brussels before returning to Athens, while M. Venizelos and some other members of the delegation may go on to Washington, in hopes of obtaining further credits from the Export-Import Bank. The subject of a 6,000 million dollar reconstruction loan was broached in London, but it was made clear that this would not be forthcoming from the United Kingdom. The Greeks may, however, congratulate themselves on having persuaded H.M. Government that some external financial help is essential for the work of reconstruction; the official communiqué published on the 18th stated that it was the Greek Government's intention to submit this question to the International Bank for Reconstruction, and added that "such a submission would undoubtedly merit the support of all the Allied Governments."

One very satisfactory result of the visit is that negotiations are to be put in hand immediately for the purchase by the United Kingdom of 10 million pounds of Greek tobacco, 50 per cent. for domestic consumption and 50 per cent. for the British zone in Germany. This is substantially in excess of any British yearly purchase before the war, but not of course equal to the amounts regularly sold to Germany (*e.g.*, kilogrammes 22,897,148 in 1934/5, 21,829,140 in 1935/6).

M. Papandreou arrived back in Athens on the 19th, after five weeks' absence abroad, bearing three proposals from M. Tsaldaris (whom he met in Paris) to the leaders of the Parliamentary Opposition parties; they were invited to enter the Government, to assist in forming an all-party commission to supervise the plebiscite, and to participate in the Greek delegation to the Peace Conference. According to Athens radio M. Papandreou had himself refused to join the

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Government, on the ground that, "since there is a united front in support of our national claims," this would be superfluous. The proposals are to be discussed as soon as M. Tsaldaris returns. Meanwhile, there are credible reports that prominent members of the centre and non-communist Left parties, having rejected communist overtures for a united "democratic" front, are somewhat tardily constructing their own front to campaign for the republic. There are other strong rumours, indicative of a more defeatist spirit, that M. Sophoulis and the Liberal party intend to boycott the plebiscite unless the Government shows itself more accommodating over the date, and the preparation of the registers, and succeeds in re-establishing law and order.

The UNRRA storm seems to have blown over. Mr. Maben and M. Stephanopoulos held a joint press conference on the 17th July, at which the latter reaffirmed the Government's respect for UNRRA principles, and the former denied the existence of any misunderstanding. According to the press, Mr. La Guardia, during a flying visit to Greece, stated that every complaint brought to UNRRA's notice had been taken up with the Greek Government and that matters had been put right. Athens radio has used the interval between the publication of Mr. Maben's letter and this happy ending to describe several cases of communist and EAM peculation in connection with UNRRA supplies.

The bread ration is to be increased by one-eighth on the 1st August, presumably as a result of the gathering of the harvest. No reports are yet available of the success of the Government's grain collection scheme. Prices have remained high but stable, and the gold market has been quieter than ever before; a welcome sign of returning confidence has been a steady trickle of sales of sovereigns for drachmæ to the Bank of Greece.

Bulgaria.

The Council of Ministers has increased the general bread ration to 500 grammes, for those engaged in physical labour it goes up to 750 grammes, for those engaged in heavy manual labour to 1,000 grammes and for underground workers in mines to 1,200 grammes. The new order comes into force on the 18th July. Meanwhile the supplying of food to British and American representatives serving in an official capacity in Bulgaria under the Potsdam agreement and the Armistice terms has become a problem requiring consideration by the Control Commission. By an order dated the 1st July the Bulgarians, acting on Russian instructions, have ceased to supply free food to the staff of the Political Representative. Both the American and British representatives are arranging for the time being to pay for rations supplied to them.

Atanas Noskov, the acting editor of *Svoboden Narod* (The Free People), has been arrested. He was the last survivor of the Opposition press to remain at liberty. In spite of difficulties the paper continued to appear until July 18. After a brief interval it has re-appeared, but in view of the fact that two of the editorial staff are in prison and two more in hiding, the prospects of the paper appearing regularly in the near future cannot be said to be bright.

On his return from Paris M. Kolarov, in a statement to the press, had announced that the present Government who are responsible for the ruthless suppression of all opposition—are the only force that can ensure the development of Bulgaria along the way of progress and democracy. With the help of her true friend and mighty protector, and with the moral support of the freedom-loving nations, whose sympathies towards the new Bulgaria are increasing the better they get to know her, he says, Bulgaria will surely obtain a just and honourable peace. And all this apparently in spite of "the treacherous activities of the cliques of the opposition."

This statement of Kolarov has since been repudiated by H.M. Government as a completely misleading account of the conversations in Paris. Kolarov was left in no doubt about the dissatisfaction of the British authorities at the present situation in Bulgaria, and in particular at the undemocratic measures which are being taken against the Opposition and the Opposition press.

Turkey.

The general election duly took place on the 21st July. For various reasons the People's Party lost a good deal of ground a few weeks ago, but on the eve of the poll it expected its only serious rival, the Democratic party, to get something between 80 and 120 of the 460 seats. M. Celal Bayar, the Democratic leader was reported to have said that he would be pleased with 50 seats. As leader of the People's Party President Inönü broadcast an election speech on the 17th July. Answering criticism of his being at the same time leader

of the dominant party and head of the State, he pointed out that nothing in the constitution forbade such a combination of offices. With some justification he claimed credit for the Government's policy as regards education, land distribution and forests, and he promised measures to harmonise fixed salaries with the high cost of living. Turning to foreign affairs he claimed that ever since he became President Turkish policy had been steady. But, he continued, the country was in a delicate situation, and the question of Istanbul and the Straits was likely to be raised and committees—obviously meaning the Armenians—all over the world were agitating about the Eastern provinces. But the army was strong and must not be demobilised.

The line taken by Soviet propaganda was that the People's Party was thoroughly reactionary, employed terroristic methods and had estranged the Turkish people from their true Russian friends and lined them up with the British against whom Mustafa Kemal fought the war of independence. Yalçin is perhaps not far off the mark in commenting that the whole trouble between Russia and Turkey is that Turkey will not drop her British alliance.

In an effort still further to improve relations with Greece the Turkish Government have recently agreed to redress old-standing grievances of the 80,000 Greeks of Turkish nationality who still remain in Istanbul. Two churches and a hospital which had been taken over under various pretexts have now been returned to the Greek community and Greek churches and schools have been declared free of certain taxes.

The Commander-in-Chief of the Turkish Air Force, with the Under-Secretary for Air and a number of officers, arrived in England on the 16th July on a visit to British aircraft factories. The British air service to Angora is to begin with weekly flights of which the first will arrive *via* Istanbul on the 22nd August.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

Egypt.

Two more bomb outrages occurred in Alexandria, on the 13th and 17th July, leading to the death of a British soldier and causing injuries to other members of the British forces and to civilians. On hearing of the second incident Sidky Pasha telephoned to the *Journal d'Egypte* expressing his abhorrence and promising a reward of £5,000 for information leading to the arrest of any of the culprits. But there was little doubt that the judicial authorities' regrettable release of individuals arrested in connection with earlier outrages had encouraged a notorious murder gang. Accordingly, Sir Ronald Campbell made a strong protest, and Lord Stansgate impressed on Sidky Pasha the deplorable effect which a continuation of the outrages must have on the British attitude to a new treaty. On the 21st July Sidky Pasha wrote to Sir Ronald Campbell expressing his profound indignation and regret, his conviction that the outrages did not spring from Egyptian sentiment, but from persons seeking to create disorder for political purposes, and his determination to punish the guilty in accordance with King Farouk's desire. On the night of the 21st July the police did in fact arrest eleven youths whom they believed to be the entire murder gang. They seem to belong to the Young Egypt Party. There is not much doubt that this gang has been working at the behest of those—whether Communists, Wafdists or Nationalists—who want the treaty negotiations to fail.

Sidky Pasha's promised bill against Communism was duly submitted to Parliament. It proposes additions to the penal code which forbid revolutionary societies or subversive propaganda. As Communism is already illegal under the constitution, the Prime Minister hopes to be able to check the spread of dangerous doctrines which, though contrary to Islam, have been preached since the establishment of Soviet Consuls in the Middle East, particularly by certain intellectuals and professional people who exploit the poorer classes. Account must also be taken of the effect produced on the native mind by the campaign of the Soviet press and wireless, which incessantly accuse Great Britain of seeking to dominate the Middle East with the support of local reactionary elements, and to assure her imperial communications, while ignoring Arab aspirations to freedom.

The ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, who sought refuge with King Farouk, is living at a house belonging to the King near Aboukir. He told Sidky Pasha that he was not anti-British and had no desire to cause trouble to His Majesty's Government or embarrassment to Egypt. He also expressed the intention of refraining from political activity and from affording a pretext for any such activity or propaganda.

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Palestine.

During the 17th July shops were closed and work was suspended in Jewish settlements as a protest against delay in the release of arrested Jews. On the 22nd July the retort of the Jewish extremists to the British attempt to restore order was seen in the explosion of a large bomb, which Jews had introduced into the basement of the King David Hotel at Jerusalem. A wing of the building, which contained the Government Secretariat and the Defence Security Office, was blown up, and there were many persons killed and injured, British, Arab and Jewish.

Persia.

No more disturbances occurred in Khuzistan after those recorded last week. Workmen returned to their jobs on the 17th July, and the general situation continued to improve. But, although superficially all was quiet, the Tudeh, on the one hand, seemed by no means to have given up the struggle, and, on the other hand, the Arabs were greatly excited and waiting to see whether the Government would deal faithfully with the Tudeh ringleaders. In all this a sinister part was played by Muzaffar Firuz, a notorious turncoat and double-crosser who fulfils the function of political assistant to the Prime Minister. Pretending to be acting on Qawam as Sultaneh's instructions, this individual overrode the local authorities and ordered the release of some of the arrested agitators. In general he tried to undermine the authority of the Governor-General and of the military commanders whose firm action alone prevented the disturbances from resulting in more than seventeen people being killed, and a hundred and fifty wounded This was in line with Tudeh propaganda, which was directed at obtaining the dismissal of the high officials opposed to them. As to the origin of the trouble, there is little doubt that this strike of the Company's 50,000 employees arose primarily from the Tudeh party's political ambitions, and the correctness of this view is by no means impaired by a declaration which the Soviet Ambassador saw fit to publish denying that the Soviet Union was trying to obtain a port on the Persian Gulf.

FAR EAST.

Siam.

The mystery surrounding the death of King Ananda Mahidol on the 9th June gave rise to an internal political crisis which is only now beginning to show signs of subsiding.

It is particularly unfortunate that, in a mistaken endeavour to protect the prestige of the Royal Family, the Government should have decided to assume that the King had met his death as the result of a gun accident and that they should have issued a succession of communiqués in support of this unconvincing theory. Rumours and whisperings in political circles regarding the true cause of death alternated between suicide and regicide, the latter theory becoming quickly fanned into full voice by political enemies of the Prime Minister. *Democracy*, a leading local newspaper, published an article declaring the young King to have been shot through the head and demanding the immediate resignation of the Prime Minister. Although the Commissioner of Police had issued a statement declaring that the result of investigations conducted under his supervision afforded conclusive proof of accidental death, so disquieting did the insistent and widespread rumours to the contrary become that the Government found themselves obliged to make it known that the Commissioner of Police was continuing his investigations and that a special Committee of Enquiry had been set up.

Immediately on its formation the Committee of Enquiry appointed a Medical Board to endeavour to establish the cause of death by a post-mortem examination. Report quickly spread that the verdict of this Board was "murder" and led to a revival of agitation against the Prime Minister. Finally the Government decided to take action against those bent on turning to their own political purposes the mystery surrounding the late King's death. The homes of a number of leading Democrats were searched by the police, as were those of several newspaper editors. A number of people were taken into "preventive detention" for inciting the public to a distruct calculated to undermine the stability of the Government, while others have been given a timely warning. Public opinion showed an immediate and favourable reaction to this firmer stand, and some of his erstwhile popularity returned to the Prime Minister, who earlier had expected that the situation would bring about his downfall.

On 3rd July, the Medical Board's report was published with a statement that each of the doctors concerned would be required to give evidence at a public sitting of the Committee of Enquiry. Although the conclusions arrived at were not unanimous, the majority of those serving on the Board supported the murder theory. Simultaneously with the Medical Board's report, three other official statements were published. In the first the Prime Minister declared that, although the war was over, a state of internal emergency still existed, and he appealed for public co-operation in suppressing "the evil influences of certain hostile elements that are constantly hindering the task of national reconstruction." In another statement the police promulgated an order reimposing press censorship; while a third statement contained instructions issued by the Minister of the Interior, prohibiting election agents from making use of the news of the King's death to stir up misunderstandings liable to ferment disturbances and riots in the Kingdom.

Meanwhile there has been no improvement in the strained relations with France over the disputed territories, while frontier incidents along the Mekong remain a continual source of irritation, bringing in their wake accusations and counter-accusations with monotonous regularity and similarity. Mutual recriminations have been particularly vigorous concerning "unfounded" press and radio reports of fresh incidents on both banks of the Mekong. Although probably exaggerated, there is no doubt that these incidents are occurring and that they are closely linked with the major question of the ceded territories (see *Summary* 344). On more than one occasion the Prime Minister has hinted that Siam is prepared to welcome any proposal for the peaceful settlement of the disputed territories which is not calculated to entail loss of national prestige and the risk of internal disorders, against which the Government could not hope to stand. In other words the Siamese Government are convinced that they could only return the ceded territories to France if popular opinion were satisfied that the surrender had been performed as an act of *force majeure*. This being so, Siam has now decided to make a formal appeal to the United Nations based on Article 35 of of the Charter.

On 5th July the Siamese Government issued a communiqué stating "their readiness to submit the territorial questions as well as all other issuing problems to the United Nations Organisation and to abide by whatever decision or recommendation that Organisation shall deem it expedient to make." And, on 16th July, the Siamese Minister for Foreign Affairs addressed a communication to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, stating that, under authority conveyed by the National Assembly on 17th June, the Siamese Government desire to bring the dispute between France and Siam formally to the attention of the Security Council; to accept unreservedly the obligations imposed by Article 35, paragraph 2 of the Charter of United Nations; and to request that the matter be placed upon the agenda of the Security Council. It is of interest to note that in the communiqué issued to the Siamese public the question for consideration is not confined to the "disputed territories," but embraces "territorial questions as well as all other issuing problems."

A Siamese Delegation to the United Nations is scheduled to leave Bangkok as soon as the elections are over in the early part of August. This Delegation will be headed by H.R.H. Prince Wan Waithaykorn, who was educated in this country (Marlborough and Balliol College, Oxford) and later in Paris, and who, until quite lately, acted as Legal Adviser to the Siamese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Delegation is made up of representatives of each of the more important political groups. It includes Prince Svasti and Luang Kovit Abhaiwongse, an engineer who proved his ability as Minister of Communications, has twice acted as Prime Minister since the Japanese capitulation and is at present the Leader of the Democratic Party.

Although calm prevails outwardly, there is an atmosphere of tension throughout the country which has reacted adversely on the general economic situation and brought about a serious falling off of movements of rice. Fortunately the Prime Minister, in his newly found self-confidence, has taken the situation in hand and has announced that, unless deliveries of rice to the millers are resumed immediately at the agreed price, the Government may find it necessary to requisition stocks at 10% less than the regulation price; and that all stocks of rice in the country which millers themselves are withholding will be taken over at fixed prices. It does not appear that so far the action threatened in this warning has been put into effect. But in view of the urgency to maintain the regular flow of rice if the officially sponsored schedule of deliveries

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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

With their thoughts clarified by Mr. Byrnes' outspoken broadcast of the 15th July and by the equally frank report which Senators Vandenberg and Connally delivered to the Senate on the 16th and 19th respectively, the American press and public continued during the past week to ponder the lessons of the recent Paris Conference. Commentators concentrated as before upon Germany as the crux of all efforts to reach understanding between the four main Powers, and they were for the most part in complete agreement with the observation of Senator Connally that the Foreign Ministers had "merely skirted the edges" of this major European problem during their discussions in Paris. Applauding Mr. Byrnes' decision to instruct the American representatives in Berlin to co-operate with "any one or all three" of the other interested Governments in an attempt to overcome the present *impasse* in the Allied control system, the majority saw in his determination to "secure economic co-operation between the zones or place the responsibility for the failure of the Potsdam Agreement," a possible hope that Soviet resistance to the application of a workable plan of occupation for Germany might at last be overcome.

In some quarters this partial reorientation of the State Department's policy with regard to Germany was taken as a further indication of the estrangement that is taking place between the Western Powers on the one hand and the Soviet Union on the other. For the majority, however, the signs of a growing rift had been too numerous recently for this latest development to cause undue anxiety. A more premeditated blow to Allied unity was recognised in the execution of General Mihailovitch, whose trial had been described in one representative newspaper editorial as "a propaganda demonstration in the interests of Soviet foreign policy, directed only incidentally against Mihajlovitch and his followers and primarily against Britain and the United States." In the eyes of most Americans, the Chetnik leader's real crime had been his attempts to save Yugoslavia from Communism, and for that reason no one in the United States or Great Britain could, in the opinion of the *Washington Post*, "have an easy conscience" regarding the fate that had overtaken him. A similar, though less violent affront to the democracies was detected by some in the recent removal of Marshal Zhukov from his Berlin command. Marshal Zhukov, they pointed out, had been the close associate of General Eisenhower and Field-Marshal Montgomery and was therefore "perhaps too firm a believer in co-operation with the Western Allies."

It was perhaps their growing uneasiness regarding Soviet intentions that caused those newspapers which had at one time been most vehemently opposed to the British loan to refrain (with the not unexpected exception of the *Chicago Tribune*) from violent recriminations against the 219 members of the House of Representatives who voted on the 13th July for the Anglo-American Financial Agreement. Two Middle-Western journals in this category actually decided to give the action of Congress on the loan their grudging approval in the belated recognition that it would strengthen Great Britain as a bulwark against possible Soviet aggression. On the other hand, the rejoicing of the liberal-internationalists over the success of the loan was considerably more heartfelt. Emphasising the wider significance of the favourable decision which Congress had reached, they pointed out that it carried the plan of international economic co-operation drawn up at Bretton Woods an important step forward. At the State Department also there seems to be a strong desire to see the principles inherent in the loan Agreement become paramount as soon as possible in the regulation of economic relations between the United States and other countries. For this among other possible reasons, the Assistance Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, Mr. William L. Clayton, has remained unenthusiastic regarding the Anglo-Canadian Wheat Agreement, which he feels to be at variance with the proposals for the expansion of international trade and employment transmitted to H.M. Government by the State Department when the Anglo-American Financial Agreement was signed last December. H.M. Government have, however, given the State Department an assurance, for Mr. Clayton's benefit, that the Wheat Agreement will not be discriminatory against other countries and that they will be willing to conclude similar agreements wherever wheat is offered at a competitive price.

A further significant indication of the swing of American opinion away from isolationism, which several commentators hastened to link with the vote on the British loan and the recent elimination of Senator Shipstead from national politics, was provided on the 16th July by the defeat of the inveterate isolationist, Senator Burton K. Wheeler, in the Montana primary elections. Senator Wheeler's successor as the Democratic Party candidate for the Senate next November will be a comparatively youthful internationalist, Mr. Leif Erickson, who has hitherto been a justice of the Montana supreme court. The Senator's defeat was all the more remarkable in that, despite his association with every major attempt to prevent the United States from playing a more active rôle in world affairs during the past twenty-four years, his earlier record as a liberal in domestic politics had won him the respect of many present and past members of the Senate—among them Mr. Truman himself, who for this reason had been one of those who endorsed his unsuccessful candidature last week.

The prospects of bringing some form of order out of the present confusion on price control brightened perceptibly on the 20th July, when a joint committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives agreed upon a draft bill to revive the Office of Price Administration for a further period of twelve months. This bill, which, incidentally, would leave all important foodstuffs still exempt from control until the 20th August, fell considerably short of the legislation originally requested by the Administration. Nevertheless, the President's advisers were stated to be urging him to accept it when it reached the White House for signature, as it was probably the best that Congress would be likely to agree upon in the circumstances now prevailing.

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The proposal for the institution of some form of "multilateral collective intervention" which was enunciated by Dr. Rodríguez Larreta, the Uruguayan Foreign Minister, last year, appears to have been definitely repudiated as the result of a Declaration approved unanimously on the 17th July by the representatives of all Governments accredited to the Pan American Union: this declaration included the statement that intervention by one or more States directly or indirectly and for whatever reason in the internal or external affairs of another state is inadmissible. It will be recalled that though the Uruguayan proposal was baptized "the Larreta doctrine," it was at once endosed by the United States and subsequently rejected by almost all the sister-nations. This aroused suspicions that the doctrine was the unacknowledged child of Mr. Spruille Braden, then deep in his vendetta against the Argentine Government.

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The administrative confusion in Argentina (see last week's *Summary*) shows little or no sign of abatement. Perón, despite his exhibition of dynamics when a presidential candidate, has been unimpressive during his first two months as president. Lacking political background himself, he is surrounded by a rough and unscrupulous clique who are without knowledge or ability to govern. The most enlightened member of the Government appears to be the Foreign Minister, Dr. Bramuglia, though he is not of strong character and his influence is overshadowed by that of Sr. Miranda, the director of the nationalised Central Bank. Though not a member of the cabinet, Sr. Miranda is at present the source of all authority on economic affairs; described as an ignorant know-all, he is tougher than Perón and less open-minded.

Against this background the discussions between the British Treasury Mission and the Argentine authorities are proceeding. As was anticipated, the bargaining is hard, and, owing to the peculiar circumstances prevailing in Buenos Aires, unconventional. Thus Perón's rather aggressive private address to his supporters in Congress the other day may have been intended to assist the Argentine delegation in putting over its views. More probably, however, he was only, as is his wont, speaking before thinking and he has since denied that some at least of the words attributed to him on this occasion by the Press, were ever uttered.

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were barbarously done to death when crowds stormed the presidential palace. The situation is still obscure, but a new Junta is reported to have been formed under Dr. Nestor Guillén, a judge of the Supreme Court of Justice, with the support of students' organisations and trades unions. It is said that the casualties in La Paz have been heavy, and there are also press reports of an Indian rising and bloodshed at the mining and garrison town of Oruro, the epicentre of so many revolutionary disturbances.

Bolivia, a large country with a population of 3 millions, of whom a tenth are white, a tenth *mestizos* and the rest full-blooded Indians, has staggered from one revolution to another throughout the course of her history. Since losing her only outlet to the sea to Chile, she has been landlocked, and the effects of her physical lack of balance and remoteness have been accentuated by a lop-sided economy: for foreign trade and taxation she is dependent on a number of tin-mines owned by international companies and a handful of native Croesuses. There are thus ample reasons for a national sense of frustration, rendered acute by her failure to defeat the little State of Paraguay in the futile Chaco war. The Chaco war left behind it considerable discontent, especially among the younger officers who bore the brunt of the fighting under rigorous conditions, and in recent years a good record in that war has become an indispensable condition of political advancement.

Lieut.-Colonel (then Major) Villarroel's reputation for gallantry in the field was, indeed, his only claim to prominence when he attained power as a result of the *coup d'état* of the 20th December, 1943. His friends were a gang of young officers inspired by a violent mixture of idealism and ambition, who had combined with the *Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario* (M.N.R.), an autocratic and semi-fascist minority party founded in the doubtful days of 1941 by Sr. Victor Paz Estenssoro. M.N.R. had had relations with the local Nazis: Major Villarroel's own background was less suspicious, though he was a friend of Major Elías Belmonte, the pro-German Bolivian Military Attaché in Berlin. On seizing power, the Villarroel Provisional Junta denied any pro-Axis sympathies and announced their intention to uphold the policy of the overthrown Peñaranda régime as regards the war effort and support for the United Nations. Nevertheless, for some time the régime was not recognised by any foreign Government except that of Argentina—a recognition that was more embarrassing than advantageous. When, however, M.N.R. members of the Junta resigned and elections were fixed for July 1944, the State Department sent Mr. Avra Warren to La Paz to report and he recommended that recognition should precede the holding of elections. The "elections" resulted in the return of M.N.R. as the strongest party together with a large number of "independents" supporting the Government. Major Villarroel was duly elected constitutional president, and the M.N.R. returned to the cabinet, holding at the end of 1944 five cabinet posts while the remaining four were occupied by soldiers. In November 1944 an attempted insurrection was savagely repressed; under a state of siege several well-known Bolivians were assassinated, an escaping ring-leader was murdered on Chilean soil, and there were rumours of the use of torture. This infringement of the basic rules of live-and-let-live shocked the sister-republics, and the Villarroel régime remained something of an outcast.

The M.N.R., conceived in the spirit of malaise left by the Chaco war and born in the unlucky year of 1941, was nurtured on ideas which were fast growing unpopular. One of its aims had been a campaign against the wealthy mine-owners, a good rabble-rousing policy, but hardly a practical one for a governing party in a country dependent on the mines for an estimated 70 per cent. of its revenue. In fact, the M.N.R. lost popularity more rapidly than did the President; but his continued reliance upon them proved his undoing. The opposition "anti-fascist front" abstained from the recent elections, a sure sign of trouble; and though the M.N.R. increased its representation, those returned also included a popular opposition newspaper-editor elected from "prison to parliament" and a relative of one of the victims of 1944 who demanded a full enquiry into the assassinations. Since then the temperature has steadily risen: after a recent attempt at revolt, the Government pounced on and confiscated Opposition papers, but in so doing they seem to have over-estimated their strength. An unsuccessful attempt on the life of Sr. Paz Estenssoro was followed by a students' strike. President Villarroel changed his cabinet for one entirely consisting of soldiers, but not in time to placate public feeling. Exacerbated by the brutality of certain of Villarroel's officers, the mob displayed what has been called an almost European savagery. Certainly the death of President Villarroel suspended from a lamp-post in La Paz recalls the end of Mussolini.

The "anti-fascist front" presumably counts on the support of all parties outside the Villarroel–M.N.R. combination. It is built around the Left Revolutionary Party (P.I.R.) led by Sr. José Antonio Arze, who was himself wounded in July 1944 and took refuge in the United States and Chile.

UNITED NATIONS.

Atomic Energy Commission.

Sub-Committee No. 2, whose task is to study the problem of control in all its aspects, held its first meeting on the 17th July. Captain da Motta Silva, of the Brazilian Navy, was elected Chairman. The Legal Committee met for the first time on the 18th, and Mr. Hasluck of Australia was chosen provisionally as its chairman, the Soviet delegate having questioned the wisdom of appointing as chairman the representative of a country which had so recently held the chairmanship of the Whole Commission. The Working Committee is to decide the terms of chairmanship at its next meeting. On the 19th, the Scientific and Technical Committee elected Dr. Kramers (Netherlands) chairman. It was agreed that the Committee should hold informal meetings at which members speak for themselves, and formal meetings, at which they speak for their Governments.

Economic and Social Council.

The International Health Conference has agreed upon a draft constitution for the World Health Organisation, and set up an Interim Commission pending the establishment of the World Health Organisation. The Interim Commission will be composed of delegates from 18 States, of which the U.K. is one. One of its many duties will be to convoke the first session of the W.H.O. not later than six months after the constitution comes into force. At the Commission's first meeting Dr. Chisholm (Canada) was elected Executive Secretary. At the second meeting Dr. Stampar (Yugoslavia) was elected Chairman, and three committees were appointed to examine urgent problems. The next meeting of the Commission itself will be held at Geneva in November. The various committees will begin their work immediately.

U.N.E.S.C.O.

The fifth session of the Preparatory Educational, Scientific and Cultural Commission set up by the United Nations, and commonly known as U.N.E.S.C.O., was held in the basement of the Royal Empire Society from the 5th to the 12th July. All the vigour of the President, Miss Ellen Wilkinson, the ceaseless perambulations of Dr. Julian Huxley who succeeded Sir Alfred Zimmern as Executive-Secretary, and the remarkable speed of the French and English translations were needed to get through a crowded agenda. High praise is due to the deputy secretaries, Howard Wilson (America) and Jean Thomas (France) for having evolved a sane programme out of the mass of some 140 projects put up to them by the tireless zealots of the fringe. The Conference accepted most of the priority ratings suggested by the Secretariat for the approved projects in the fields of Natural Sciences, Libraries and Museums, Social Sciences, Mass Media of Communication (press, radio, films), Fine Arts, Letters and Philosophy into which the work of U.N.E.S.C.O. has been divided. The majority of the projects will not be undertaken before U.N.E.S.C.O. is fully established in Paris as a Specialized Agency of the U.N. At present the necessary twenty acceptances of the Constitution have not yet been received. The agreement between the United Nations and U.N.E.S.C.O. was adopted unanimously, and will now go before the September session of the General Assembly of the United Nations and the General Conference of U.N.E.S.C.O. in November. According to this agreement, the Economic and Social Council must consider all applications for membership of U.N.E.S.C.O. submitted by States outside the United Nations, and U.N.E.S.C.O. must act on the Council's recommendations. I.L.O. and F.A.O. are under no such obligation.

When the question of continuing to help countries in intellectual distress with books, &c., was raised, the extraordinary generosity of private citizens and societies in U.S.A. contrasted sharply with the rigid refusal of the U.S. Government to spend a cent.

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AFTERMATH OF THE PARIS CONFERENCE.

The Foreign Ministers' Deputies and their attendant experts are working at high pressure to make ready for the Peace Conference which opens in Paris on the 29th July. The drafts of the various treaties were completed on the 18th after Russia had once more played her part as the reluctant bride. This time the difficulty was an American reservation over Hungarian reparations. Russia objected to its inclusion, and yielded only when it was decided, ingeniously if dangerously, to put the full version of it in the English and French texts, but to leave out the greater part of it in the Russian text.

M. Sobolev's proposal that the Secretary General of the United Nations should be invited to the Peace Conference as an observer, has been supported by U.S. and France. The United Kingdom does not object, and the Russian Deputy, M. Gusev, is waiting for his Government's instructions.

China, Poland and Yugoslavia have already given the names of their delegates to the Conference. The Yugoslav delegation is formidable in ability and in number. Its outstanding personalities include the Deputy Prime Minister, who will be head of the delegation, Kardelj, Bebler and Vilfan, all Communists. Flahov, the veteran Macedonian agitator, reported to have been a member of the Comintern, is also one of the party.

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AFTERMATH OF THE PARIS CONFERENCE.

The Foreign Ministers' Deputies and their attendant experts are working at high pressure to make ready for the Peace Conference which opens in Paris on the 29th July. The drafts of the various treaties were completed on the 18th after Russia had once more played her part as the reluctant bride. This time the difficulty was an American reservation over Hungarian reparations. Russia objected to its inclusion, and yielded only when it was decided, ingeniously if dangerously, to put the full version of it in the English and French texts, but to leave out the greater part of it in the Russian text.

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Germany or Europe into two camps. It is indeed hoped that Russia and France will join the scheme and that in any case union between the British and American zones will be accompanied by an increase in trade with other zones. An example of this is the recent trade agreement between the British and French zones, which provides for an exchange of goods to the value of 85 million RM.

As promised by Mr. Bevin at the Conference of Foreign Ministers HM Government have sent to the other three Powers a full statement of UK views on the treatment of Germany as an economic whole and on reparations. This does not lay down new principles but refutes the Russian interpretation of the Potsdam agreement (see *Summary* No. 351). Heated arguments on reparations and economic disarmament have again taken place in the Co-ordinating Committee as the result of Russian complaints that equipment in the Western zones scheduled for reparations was being pillaged or sold to German firms. In pleasing contrast is a report that the Russian representative on the Reparations Directive on the 26th July, after stormy meetings earlier in the month, went out of his way to be friendly; he stressed that the Allies must stick together in Berlin and not allow minor differences to cloud their relations.

Neues Deutschland, organ of the SED, on the 23rd July makes a comment on General McNarney's proposal for economic union which is interesting as a confession of the party's long term policy. "We welcome," says *Neues Deutschland* "all efforts directed towards the creation of a uniform economy in Germany." The problem was often treated as if it were merely a question of transferring food from East to West, but the fact that rations are rising in the East was due not to natural advantages but to a planned agricultural policy based on land reform. Therefore real economic unity could exist only "when the same economic principles are applied to all the zones." This is an advance on the similar threat uttered by Ulbricht reported on 21st March (see *Summary* No. 339). It seems clear that *Neues Deutschland* does not mean that economic uniformity will be achieved merely by land reform, since this is already under active consideration in the British and US zones. The paper implies that economic unity will be permitted only when the whole of German economy can be cut to the pattern dictated by the SED. Some confusion has arisen between Grotewohl and Pieck (SED) in presenting this problem to the British zone. Grotewohl, according to Hamburg Radio of the 22nd July, declared that zonal barriers should be abolished, whereas Pieck had spoken against their immediate removal (see last week's *Summary*). Pieck on his return to Berlin denied that he had said that he wished to retain the barriers, but wrote, somewhat naively, in *Taegliche Rundschau* that without the barriers they would not have been able to achieve land reform in the East. Apart from the usual call for fusion, Pieck said in Duesseldorf, that a Central Reich Government must be re-established. While no alteration could be made in reparations the SED was trying to negotiate the best possible deal for Germany. These statements, designed to impress the West with the SED's ability to form the future government of Germany, gain additional significance from a remark by *Neues Deutschland* that: "As the biggest German party, the SED realises its responsibility for the entire German Fatherland." Documentary evidence of the SED's policy for supremacy of the Party over the State is found in the district organisation of the party in one part of the Soviet zone. This organisation comprises not merely a party secretariat but a wide range of commissions concerned with such matters as administrative policy, justice, police, industry, agriculture, refugees and education, thus forming a second skeleton administration parallel with that of the State. This has a striking resemblance to the organisation of the Nazi Party, and differs completely from that of the pre-1933 SPD organisation, which was that of a purely political party.

The population of the Soviet zone does not appear to be moved by that unanimity of feeling reflected in the press. Dr. Buschmann, holder of a key position as head of the Central Administration for Trade and Industry, is reported by a press agency to have stated: "It is quite impossible for Germany ever to deliver the $10,000,000,000 worth of goods claimed by M. Molotov. This is specially true since the dismantling of factories in the Russian zone has already reached enormous proportions and new dismantling is continuing." This, if accurate, is a sensational divergence from the "official" view and contradicts Marshal Sokolovsky's statement of the 21st May that dismantling had ceased (see *Summary* No. 347). Another important official in the Soviet zone has privately told of growing antagonism towards the Soviet Military Administration among wide circles of the population. A sense of insecurity hangs over nearly all classes except the KPD. Every day, the official said, people are arrested by

the NKVD or German police, and are then generally borne off to the internment camp near Torgau; no reason is given or seems to exist for their arrest, and their relations receive no news of their fate (see *Summary* No. 347). They are denounced by NKVD spies paid from the funds of the local German authorities. These spies are said frequently to be SS men or active Nazis. The population find this hard to reconcile with the fact that purely nominal Nazis are often dismissed from their positions. Further unrest is caused by the dismantling of industries. This official, like Buschmann, stated that this was continuing, including work on factories not connected with war industries. There is apparently an increasing tendency to expropriate properties whether the owners were Nazis or not, the excuse being that they were "militarists" or "reactionaries." (Other sources claim that in Saxony a good deal of trickery has taken place by which some non-Nazis were expropriated and some Nazis retained their property.) The official stated that propaganda against the Western zones has at present little effect as sufficient numbers of Germans have arrived from the West to tell the truth. The propaganda value of food increases has been counteracted by large-scale Russian requisitioning, particularly of sugar which is sent out of the zone. Presents of food to Germans increase ill-feeling as they are given only to Communists and NKVD spies (see *Summary* No. 347). Finally the official states that there is a fear that the zone will be incorporated into the Soviet Union by means of a "demonstration" or a "request by the people."

The Co-ordinating Committee on the 23rd July agreed to set up a Committee to investigate the coal situation in Germany (see last week's *Summary*). Its terms of reference have not yet been decided. The British, French and US representatives proposed to the Co-ordinating Committee on the 27th July that a quick investigation of technical matters should be made, as agreed at Paris, and a report issued on the 17th August. The Russian representative wanted a thorough study of the coal industry, including measures of control and de-nazification. He thought a large team of investigators should begin their study with the British zone and work until October. The British representative was unable to agree to this. General Clay, however, supported by the French, said he favoured a detailed enquiry into the coal industry, which should follow the preliminary technical report. When the British were unable to give immediate assent to this suggestion, General Clay indulged without warning in a heated expostulation in which he referred to the Co-ordinating Committee as "a girl's school." This unfortunate American outburst was fully exploited by the Russian representative. American anxiety about coal is reflected in an amplified report of General McNarney's press interview on the 21st July, in which "he assumed that the British and American zones would have an equal say in the disposition of resources," which might mean more coal for the US zone.

Such hopes are hardly encouraged by the report of the Select Committee on Expenditure which has just visited the British zone. It is a grave testimony to the need of economic unity, without which the Committee could not recommend any substantial reduction in the burden of £80,000,000 annually to the British taxpayer. They did recommend, however, a temporary reduction in coal exports to help break the vicious downward spiral of lack of food, lack of consumer goods, increased costs and lowered morale. This reduction has long been advocated by Germans and British within the zone, but will provoke great controversy with the French. The Committee commented forcibly on the need for rapid completion of the process of "screening" Germans, 40,000 of whom are in internment camps without trial. The Committee recorded that the continued absence of prisoners of war is having a bad effect on German morale. The return of the first few prisoners of war from Russia is being well publicised in the SED press.

The lull in the duel between the SED and SPD has been broken by a vituperative article in *Taegliche Rundschau*, accusing SPD leaders of placing themselves in the same camp as Nazis and war criminals. Relations are not likely to be improved by the British being forced to withdraw interzonal passes issued to the SED, owing to Russian failure to provide similar facilities for the CDU and SPD.

An international delegation of the WFTU has made a confidential report on its visit to Germany. Sir Walter Citrine on the 18th July giving some account of the report, criticized the centralised type of Trade Union Organisation, such as the FDGB at present represents. This implies an interesting divergence of opinion between the Russian member of the delegation and the Russian member of the Manpower Directorate in Berlin. No such criticism was made by a Russian Trade Union delegation which recently visited the Soviet zone.

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It has now been confirmed that the area of the Rhineland incorporated in the Saar—to which reference was made in last week's *Summary*—stretches as far as the Luxembourg frontier.

(See also "France.")

AUSTRIA.

Mr. Bevin's statement on Austria in the House of Commons on the 25th July has had an extremely depressing effect on the Austrian people, especially in the Eastern zone, and an effect on the Austrian Government which was described by the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor as "shattering." The sentence in Mr. Bevin's speech: "Austria is not yet free and independent, and one does not yet know whether the Eastern part of Austria will be separated. The position is still very delicate," has come as a blow from the West to the Austrian Government, who felt that they were doing their best for Austria and were always deeply conscious of the key position of their country in Europe to-day. The recent intensification of Soviet pressure on Austria and such Soviet actions as that at Zistersdorf (see below) has increased the fears of the Austrian Government of increased Communist strength. Herr Figl told the British Diplomatic Representative in Austria that immediately after the news of Mr. Bevin's statement the Communists had run round urging everyone to join the Communist Party at once so as to be on the band-waggon before the separation of Eastern Austria took place. He added that he feared an exodus at any time now from the Soviet zone to Western and Southern Austria. Dr. Gruber, the Foreign Minister, has appealed through the British and U.S. Diplomatic Representatives for a strong public declaration to be made immediately by the Western Allies that no doubt exists concerning their desire to maintain an indivisible and independent Austria.

On the 25th July the Austrian Parliament unanimously adopted a resolution, appealing to the United Nations Organisation for permission to send a delegation to its next meeting "to acquaint the United Nations with the Austrian people's position."

Meanwhile, the Soviet attitude confirms the fears of the Austrian Government. Since the signature of the new Control agreement the Russians have shown an apparent determination not to be co-operative on important questions in the Allied Council, as well as increasing pressure on the Austrian Government.

At the beginning of the session of Parliament on the 26th at which the Nationalisation Bill was to be considered (see last week's *Summary*), the Chancellor read two Notes, one from the Soviet Commander-in-Chief in Austria, and one from the acting Soviet Political Representative. These Notes protested against the inclusion of German concerns, alleged by the Russians to be German and claimed by them, in the list of firms to be nationalised, such as the Zistersdorf oil wells and the Danube Steamship Company, and the letter of the political representative concluded with the warning that German property in Eastern Austria was controlled by the Soviet military authorities, who would "take strong action against any infringement of their orders concerning such property." After the Chancellor had read the letters Parliament adjourned for party consultations. When the debate was resumed the Communist Deputy Honner suggested that the question of the disputed concerns should be left open until a friendly agreement could be reached in direct negotiations, or that a nationalisation law should be framed to give unified treatment to all foreign interests and "to avoid the impression of a demonstration against any one Power"—(which the timing of this Bill and the firms listed in it have unfortunately done). The four Communist deputies in the Chamber supported the Bill, however, which was passed unanimously. The French occupation authorities have also protested against the nationalisation of the Länderbank in Vienna, one of the concerns listed in the Bill, on the ground that there is a large amount of French capital invested in it. (General Cherrière, the French member of the Executive Committee, has assured the Austrian Chancellor that the French Provisional Government intends to settle the question of German assets in the French Zone "in a manner favourable to Austria's reconstruction.") The Nationalisation Bill is now referred to the Allied Council, and will become law unless the four occupying Powers agree to veto it unanimously within 31 days, according to the new Control Agreement.

While the Russians remain in physical possession of some of the most important industries scheduled for nationalisation it is difficult to see what effect the new law can have on the concerns. The Communist and Soviet-controlled papers in Vienna have announced the signature of a wage increase

contract for Zistersdorf and "Soviet oil firms in Austria." *Oesterreichische Zeitung* says that it provides for wage increases up to 82 per cent. This action is considered by the Austrian Government to be a direct breach of the recent Soviet assurances that concerns operated by Soviet authorities would be subject to Austrian trade and labour legislation, and it will undoubtedly have an unbalancing effect on the Austrian economy. Other Soviet assurances that the concerns would be run for Austria's benefit—the Deputy Director of the "Soviet Oil Administration" at Zistersdorf was quoted as saying that "what the Austrian Government asks from us it gets"—are not borne out by the failure of the Soviet Government to fulfil their promises to supply oil to the Western zones of Austria. When the matter, which has always been a prickly subject, was discussed in the Allied Council on the 26th the Soviet member said that he was ready to send up to 1,300 tons to the Western Zones provided that this was regarded as a question between the Soviet authorities and the Austrian Government and that the oil question would never be raised again in the Allied Council. He said "I am ready to discuss this with the Austrian Government but I will not discuss it here now or later or ever." General Winterton had submitted a statement to the Council giving the British and American view that the Austrian Government should be given control of the oil industry and allowed to make plans for the production, distribution and export of Austrian oil. There are ample supplies of most types of oil except motor spirit, and the exportable surplus of heavier oils could be used to pay for the import of the motor spirit necessary.

The Bill on the treatment of National Socialists was passed unanimously on the 24th July. The Chancellor, Dr. Schaerf (representing the Minister of Justice) and the Under-Secretary for the Interior appeared before the Allied Council on the 26th to make statements on denazification. The Soviet member said that he did not consider the position satisfactory, but it was agreed that when the new Austrian law had been studied by the Allied Commission the question would be discussed again at the next meeting of the Allied Council on the 9th August. General Steele's suggestion that it would now be useful for the Council to submit a short interim report on denazification to the Council of Foreign Ministers was rejected by the Soviet High Commissioner in the absence of instructions from his Government.

Dr. Schaerf, the Austrian Vice-Chancellor and a Socialist leader, has made several speeches in recent months underlining points of discord between the parties. At a Socialist conference in Styria on the 23rd July he said that the present Government could rather be termed a "proportional Government" than a "Coalition Government," for there was no question of extensive co-operation between ministers of the three parties. Communist delegates often voted in the Chamber against a measure which had received Communist approval in the Council of Ministers. Although he attacked the Communists Dr. Schaerf said that the decisive opponent in internal affairs was the People's Party. He said that in the next election returned prisoners-of-war and re-enfranchised National Socialists might play a decisive part, and gave the interesting figure that the Socialist Party's strength in Vienna was only 44 per cent. of its 1932 strength in Vienna, although the Party was gaining strength in the provinces—if such a trend was maintained it would lessen the unhappy gulf between Red Vienna and the Catholic provinces of Austria between the wars.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

One of the principal objectives of the new Czechoslovakia's foreign policy is, in effect, the erection of a *cordon sanitaire* which will contribute towards European security in the event of renewed German aggression. In her quest for such security Czechoslovakia has already concluded treaties of friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, and it now seems probable that a further link in the chain of protective agreements will soon be forged by the conclusion of a similar pact with France. In the summer of 1944 the French and Czechoslovak Governments issued a joint statement to the effect that, as soon as an opportune moment arrived, those political agreements which in the past helped to cement the traditional friendship between the two nations would be readapted to meet post-war conditions. Prime Minister Gottwald in a recent interview with representatives of the *Agence France-Presse* has intimated that this declaration should now be translated into concrete form. The conclusion of such a pact would indeed be a logical sequel to the Franco-Soviet Agreement, and such a new bond in conjunction with the protective agreements already entered into by Czechoslovakia and the appearance of Soviet Russia in the Danubian

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basin—a factor that will greatly influence developments in Central and Eastern Europe—should have the effect of dissipating any fears about future relations with Germany. As for Hungary, she can no longer seriously threaten Czechoslovakia's security without the aid of Germany. The one weakness in the chain is the Polish-Czechoslovak frontier dispute and its attendant psychological effects.

The reception accorded to the Czechoslovak delegation to Moscow (see last week's *Summary*) was cordial. Subjects upon which agreement was reached included: Soviet support for Czechoslovak claims against Hungary; the material and financial aid to be given by Russia in rebuilding the Republic's army; the return, without compensation, of Soviet war booty acquired in Czechoslovakia—this comprises numerous machines and factories, among them the huge synthetic oil plant at Most; the restoration of all property in the Soviet occupation zone which was formerly owned by Czechoslovaks; and the signing of an Air Agreement. A final Trade Agreement and a Railway Agreement will be concluded later. The Russians are generally satisfied with present conditions in Czechoslovakia, but some criticism has been voiced in the Soviet Press against Dr. Beneš and his contention that the Republic should serve as a "balancing factor" between East and West.

SOVIET UNION.

The inclusion of the Foreign Ministers of the three Baltic Republics in the Soviet delegation to Paris has caused some surprise and embarrassment. They have, however, been listed as members of the Russian delegation, in contrast to the delegations of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Republics which figure separately.

M. Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations, was received by Marshal Stalin on the 23rd July. Before his reception he had complained privately that none of the Soviet leaders had seemed serious about UNO and that they had tried to turn his visit mainly into a social occasion. He came away, however, having achieved the concrete result of obtaining permission to set up a United Nations Information Centre in Moscow, and with the feeling that he had received a sympathetic hearing for his complaint of excessive Soviet use of the veto on secondary matters, as also for his plea that the Russians should be better represented in United Nations activities in general. He was annoyed, however, that the Soviet leaders insisted on treating him as a Norwegian personality, and on discussing Norwegian questions with him.

As was to be expected, *Pravda* has come out strongly against the plan for unifying the British and American zones of Germany, describing the proposal as a reactionary scheme directed against the USSR and the Potsdam decisions. In contrast to the harshness of the official publicity on this subject the atmosphere in the Reparations Directorate in Berlin, hitherto stormy, has suddenly become cordial. At a party in celebration of the conclusion of the Russian month in the chair the Soviet delegate went out of his way to make protestations of friendship, asserting that the Allies must stick together in Berlin and not allow their intentions to be clouded by minor differences.

The main point of attack against the USA has been the administration of the American zone of Germany, where fascist and anti-Soviet organisations were said to be flourishing among displaced persons, in particular Poles and Ukrainians. This complements earlier attacks in *Izvestia* on similar activities in the British zone (see *Summary* No. 351) and shows Soviet awareness of the growing Ukrainian nationalist movements. It is perhaps significant that a Delegation of the Soviet Ukrainian Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries should have just left Moscow to take part in an all-Canada Ukrainian festival early in August.

The trial of the Soviet naval officer Redin on a charge of spying was another count in the indictment against the USA, the whole affair being described as "a dirty plot against democracy," no credit being given to the American authorities for his acquittal. Tass has issued a lengthy denial of President Truman's statement that American press representatives and educationists were unable to get permission to travel freely in the Soviet Union, citing in support of its thesis the recent trips of various American public figures to various parts of the USSR.

The American Embassy in Moscow have just been informed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that they must move their Naval Missions from Murmansk, Odessa, Vladivostock. This decision was not unexpected, as it is normal that the Soviet Government should desire a withdrawal of Naval Missions which are

a survival from the War and Lease-Lend. What is more discouraging is the additional proviso in the Soviet note to the effect that American representation outside Moscow should be restricted to a Consul, who must be a civilian, at Vladivostock. The Americans had asked a year ago for authorisation to open a Consulate at either Leningrad or Odessa.

The United Kingdom has had on the whole a milder handling, except in connection with policy in the Middle East. A broadcast commentary on the first year of power of the Labour Government complained of the "touching accord" between His Majesty's Government and His Majesty's Opposition on matters of foreign policy, and asserted that on the home front also the Government's popularity was being undermined by delays over nationalisation. The old attacks accusing the Western Allies of dilatoriness in opening the Second Front were revived in a long *Pravda* article, which used as a peg on which to hang the theme an obscure book by one John Dalgleish, which was alleged to give unconscious support to the unpopular conclusions of Ingersoll in "*Top Secret*."

Cordial notice has been taken in the Soviet press of the arrival of Admiral Sir Bruce Fraser for the Red Navy Day celebrations, tribute being paid to his work during the war in safeguarding Allied communications in the north.

Much publicity has been given to the statements of Mr. Silverman, M.P., and Mr. Schaffer of the British-Soviet Society on their visit to Riga, in which they praised the tempo of Latvian reconstruction. Mr. Silverman, M.P., asserted that a large majority of the British people and of M.P.'s recognised the incorporation of the Baltic States in the USSR as final and correct.

Attention has been focussed on Britain's activities in the Middle East, her strategic aims in Egypt and Palestine, and the alleged dark deeds of the Anglo-Iranian oil company being singled out for attack, but so far there has been no Soviet comment. Tass has reported the King David Hotel outrage.

It is of interest that in a lecture delivered on the 17th July, the Soviet Palestine expert Lutsky came out clearly on the side of the Arabs, making a strong attack on Zionism as a henchman of British and American imperial interests. The only solution offered was that Jews and Arabs should be left without foreign interference to decide their own fate. The Jews as such were not attacked, and it was suggested that America should admit 10,000 from Europe, though there was no hint that the USSR might follow suit. It is noteworthy that in the press reports of the lecture the speaker's support of the Arabs and condemnation of Zionism were omitted.

The groans of the Soviet customer appear to have reached official ears, for the Minister of Trade of the RSFSR has just issued a long statement complaining that the cultural standards of Soviet Trading were falling far short of requirements. He reaffirmed earlier statements by Soviet spokesmen of the proposed abolition of bread and cereal rationing in the coming autumn and of all other products in 1946–7, a consummation which hardly seems likely to be reached.

M. Lozovsky, who had been Deputy Director of the Soviet Information Bureau under M. Shcherbakov since the beginning of the war, earning great unpopularity among foreign correspondents, has now been appointed Director. He has been relieved of his post of Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs which he had held since 1936.

Patriarch Alexei has held his first press conference. His answers to questions, which were mainly concerned with the dreary subject of the patriotic activities of the Orthodox Church during the war, give a constrained impression. He stated that there were now 59 bishoprics (as against 66 in 1917) and mentioned as many as 89 monasteries (see also under "Czechoslovakia," "Hungary" and "Turkey").

SCANDINAVIA.

Sweden.

On the 18th July it was agreed between the Allied and the Swedish Governments that Kr. 150 million should be made available by Sweden for financing Allied purchases on Germany's behalf. This sum represents the balance of an estimated Kr. 378 million which is the liquidation value of German assets in Sweden after the deduction of certain German obligations to that country and it includes the Swedish clearing debt to Germany of about Kr. 15 million together with other German claims on Sweden.

A further 75 million kronor will be allocated by Sweden to the Inter-Allied Reparation Pool, and 50 million to the rehabilitation of non-repatriable Displaced Persons, while gold looted by the Germans, to the value of approximately

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$8,000,000, will be restored to the Allies. The 50 million kronor will be paid in cash, while the form of the other two transfers will be negotiated separately between Sweden and each recipient country.

As a *quid pro quo* the United States, for their part, undertake to release Swedish holdings blocked since 1941, and the Allied "Black Lists" have been withdrawn.

LOW COUNTRIES.

The Netherlands.

The joint session of the States-General was opened by Queen Wilhelmina in the *Ridderzaal* at The Hague on the 23rd July. In the course of her Speech from the Throne, the Queen said:—

> "We have steadily progressed along the road to this great goal [that of laying the foundations of Dutch "spiritual and material recovery"], and in our efforts to reach it, we are by no means behind other nations that have been struck by the war. Nevertheless, many and great difficulties are before us. I recommend you, as well as the entire nation, to consider them seriously and constantly. These difficulties can be conquered only if everyone dedicates himself enthusiastically to the common task.
>
> "There is an improvement in the development of events in the Netherlands Indies. The Allied Supreme Command has handed over to us the responsibility for administration of the Outer Territories. Discussions are taking place with representatives of the population of these territories with a view to meeting national desires in a loyal and peaceful manner. In Java and Sumatra, however, the conditions for such consultation are still lacking . . . . The Allied Supreme Command in these territories, and in the Riouw Archipelago, has not yet completed its task . . . . The removal of the after effects of the Japanese invasion and the return of law and order, particularly in Java and Sumatra, are necessary conditions for enabling the Netherlands to give herself entirely to her vocation: to build, together with the Indonesian peoples, a state structure for these peoples, within the frame-work of the Netherlands Kingdom, a structure in which they can freely develop their own strength and by means of which they can win their own place in the ranks of the United Nations. It is self-evident that in this Indonesian state structure, the rights and interests of all groups of the population and of minorities must be protected and looked after . . . . Pending the restoration of economic life, the monetary and trade difficulties which confront the East Indies will be surmounted only with support from the Netherlands and by close co-operation between the two parts of the Kingdom, obviously on a basis of equality . . . . In the West Indies, too, there is an urge towards a revision of the political institutions. What can already be done to satisfy that urge, without modification of the constitution, will be expedited, in order that Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles (Curaçao) may be able to start on a new basis their own life, their partnership in the Kingdom, and especially their task in their own countries . . . .
>
> "The Netherlands and Belgian Governments are aware of the fact that, with regard to a number of international problems, their interests coincide more and more, and this realization contributes towards a strengthening of the close co-operation between them . . . . The Netherlands plans to lay claim to limited frontier corrections along her eastern border.
>
> "The reconstruction of both our naval and land forces will also be continued . . . . In both services, special attention will be paid to discipline, morale and spiritual and social welfare. Revision of the conscription law and the laws governing promotion in respect of personnel of the Regular Army and of the Reserve Army will be submitted to you.
>
> "As far as material prosperity is concerned, the effort to increase national production comes first. The restoration and extension of trade and industry . . . . will be strongly encouraged. In view of this, the necessary legislation for an Advisory Planning Bureau will shortly be framed. The Government will fix their attention in particular on the industrial development of the country . . . .
>
> "Government control of [private] enterprise is to be replaced as much as possible by public corporations, so as to strengthen the sense of solidarity and responsibility among those engaged in the enterprise concerned . . . .
>
> "Great care will be taken to [ensure] a just share for all in the material prosperity of the country. A strict price-control will see to it that every

> increase in production shall relieve as much as possible the differences still existing between wages and prices . . . .
>
> "The finances of the country cause me anxiety. These are still under the influence of the war and its aftermath . . . . Without help from outside, the progress of the Kingdom would be kept within very narrow limits. I mention with gratitude the financial help so far received from abroad . . . . Even while exercising the utmost economy, the demands on the country's finances will remain heavy . . . . Supervision of investments . . . . for the time being, remains unavoidable, in order to ensure the most effective use of capital. In this matter, the Netherlands Bank—the ownership of which must be transferred into public hands—and the Reconstruction Bank will have to play an important part. The decrease of the burden of the State Debt will require special attention. Apart from the impending tax on capital increment, a capital levy will be proposed. A conversion of the Home State Loans will also help to reduce the Debt . . . .
>
> "A solution is diligently sought for the several problems connected with the prosecution of the political delinquents."

Belgium.

M. Spaak has had to leave for the Peace Conference without having been able to form a new Cabinet, as he had hoped, before the week-end [see last week's *Summary*]. At a Press conference in Brussels on the 26th July, he stated that the Christian Social Party, whose leaders he had met that morning, had "accepted his invitation to discuss his experience during the recent negotiations of the conditions under which co-operation would be possible." The object of the meeting had been to discuss the Government programme. M. Spaak also revealed that the Socialist Party which, until very recently, had insisted on the formation of a left-wing coalition Cabinet, had since changed its mind. But there is still strong Communist opposition to the proposed inclusion of the Christian Social Party. Meanwhile, King Leopold has announced, through the medium of his Secretariat in Brussels, the setting up of a commission of nine prominent Belgians, which has been ordered "to draw up an objective and circumstantial report, strictly conforming with the truth, on his attitude since 1936—the year in which Belgian neutrality and independence in the sphere of foreign affairs was announced." The statement of the King's Secretariat adds that the commission, whose existence had been a secret, held its first meeting on the 14th July.

Belgian delegates accompanying M. Spaak to the Peace Conference include MM. Fernand van Langenhove, Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, G. Kaeckenbeeck, Head of the Peace Conferences and International Organization Department, and his No. 2, Roland Lebeau, Counsellor of Legation, Walter Loridan, *Chef du Cabinet* to M. Spaak, H. de Vleeschauwer, Baron H. de Gruben, Director-General of the Political Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Professor Fernand Dehousse, of Liége University, specialist in International Law, and Belgian delegate to the Economic and Social Council of U.N.O.: an impressive team.

[For Indonesia, see under "Far East."]

FRANCE.

The Minister of Labour broadcast on the 29th July an outline of the Government proposals regarding wages. The result of the last two months' negotiations will be an average increase of 18 per cent. in the wages of factory and office workers, to take effect from the 1st July. The adjustments whereby purchasing power will be increased without serious repercussions on the Treasury and on prices include a 50 per cent. increase in family allowances. Also the amount of income exempt from tax will be increased from 40,000 fr. to 60,000 fr.

It was thought that the Cabinet would itself come to a decision on the methods by which the recommendations of the economic conference (see last week's *Summary*) and the limitations it had itself imposed on Government expenditure could be reconciled, but beyond entrusting that unenviable task to the four Ministers concerned, with the assurance that it could be done, and a note of the difficulties to be borne in mind, there was nothing to show for their many hours' deliberation, which included a session lasting almost the whole of the 23rd July and until 3 a.m. the next day. There seems to be good grounds for the assumption that the Government have agreed not to break down, whatever else they do. Both the Communists—who are said to have supported the recommended increase

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unequivocally, and who were impatient of talk of rise in prices—and the Socialists, were unhappily conscious that they were inescapably bound by their initial agreement as members of the Government to limit the increase.

The Minister of Transport has been authorised to re-classify wages of railroad workers and to arrange for an increase in fares and charges. The price fixed for this year's wheat harvest shows an increase of 60 per cent. over last year's admittedly unsatisfactory price. Taking into account the higher cost of living, it would seem to be a fair price, particularly in view of the 50 per cent. better harvest which is expected this year, and the grant of bonuses for early returns.

M. Bidault made a speech at St. Etienne on the 28th July, in which he justified to his constituents the Government's attitude in internal and external affairs. He foreshadowed a new system of priority for raw materials as part of the effort to increase production, and also a revision of prices and profit margins. From the point of view of obtaining security for the French people he referred to the Government's opposition to the idea of a German central Government " before the boundaries of Germany are marked and its organisation defined."

On the same day, the eve of the peace conference, General de Gaulle made his third speech since his retirement. The occasion was a commemorative ceremony at Bar-le-Duc in Lorraine. He spoke first of the need to " put Germany out of harm's way "; his proposals were for nine federated states—Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, Württemburg, Baden, Hesse, the Palatinate, the Rhineland and the north-western provinces, each responsible for its own administration. This, he said, with the incorporation of the Saar in the French economy, and the compensation of Poland on the western frontier for her losses in the East, would ensure peace, provided that " no one has an ulterior motive to make use of the rebirth of Germany against others." As one holding no official position, and therefore free to incur the suspicion of favouring the creation of a Western *bloc*, the General referred openly to the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. as " the only States in a position to play a capital part." For a world, he said, which tends to be divided between these two Powers, the old world, " old Europe," should provide a necessary element of balance, with an understanding between France and Britain as its basis. On the subject of an *entente* between Paris and London, he made veiled references to what he called " traditional intrigues " in the Arab States and the East, and said that, above all, the two countries must first reach an agreement on Germany, failing which France would have to reserve the right to act in her zone of occupation according to her rights and interests " as, it seems, our Allies have decided to do."

The French people await the General's declarations with more eager anticipation than any Ministerial pronouncement, and as a Presidential election campaign they could not be better timed or spaced. Some secondary meaning might be read into his closing appeal to Frenchmen to work for the " higher interests of the world "—" the future depends on us," but it is more reasonable to suppose that once more he is merely saying " This is what I stand for."

The High Court of Justice has passed the death sentence upon MM. Bonnefoy, Vichy Under-Secretary for Information, and Rochat, Secretary-General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, both of whom were tried *in absentia*. A sentence of hard labour for life was passed on M. Lagardelle, one of the founders of the Socialist party, whose enthusiasm for trades union rights suffered a sea-change while he was on the staff of the French Ambassador in Rome. At the Ministry of Labour from 1942, he was one of those responsible for the deportation of French workers to Germany. M. Cayla, late Governor of Madagascar, who was evidently prepared to continue the struggle in Africa, was given five years' hard labour. On the 24th July, a charge of civic unworthiness was brought against M. P.-E. Flandin, other charges against him having been dropped (see *Summary* No. 329). The prosecution admitted that no criminal charge could be brought, but submitted as evidence a telegram sent to Hitler after the Munich Conference and a speech made during the occupation. A letter from Mr. Churchill, and the personal testimony of Mr. Randolph Churchill to M. Flandin's helpful attitude towards the Allies, particularly over the North African landings, was followed by brilliant advocacy by his counsel, and the sentence of loss of civil rights for five years was cancelled by an immediate reprieve. As a protest against M. Flandin's acquittal the Communist jurors refused to take their place on the 30th July, but it is generally felt that the Court's decision weakens the distinction between the pro-Munich and the anti-Munich Frenchmen, and is a welcome step towards *la réconciliation française*.

M. Eirik Labonne, appointed Resident-General in Morocco four months ago, made an important speech at the opening of the Government Council at Rabat on the 22nd July. He dealt first with the economic situation—" to feed, to clothe, remain the primary and daily preoccupations of the Government "—which was to be met by the application of new methods designed to increase the productivity of the country, and by making available on an increasing scale fertilizers and sources of industrial power. He announced the floating of a loan of 5 milliard fr., 2 milliard of which would be invested in Morocco. In the political field, he said, the Government's main duty was to ensure that any necessary reforms should be introduced carefully and with respect for Moroccan traditions; instruction should proceed from the elimination of illiteracy to arrangements for higher education with access to all careers; administration needed to be decentralized, regional life encouraged and municipal reform extended. This speech aroused interest in France, where the constituent committee of the Assembly is now discussing the status of the French Union. In Rabat it had a mixed reception, two of the three electoral colleges—those representing French agriculturalists, traders and industrialists—absenting themselves from the remainder of the July session. The only definite reason given for their action was that they had not been consulted in the matter of the loan, and they have maintained discussions with the Resident-General independently.

(See also under " Germany " and " Czechoslovakia.")

SWITZERLAND.

Judging from wireless reports, the Bikini experiment has been followed with close attention in Switzerland, and there are already many indications that that nation does not intend to be left behind in atomic research. Last November a committee of specialists was set up under Government auspices to study the whole question of atomic energy in relation to Switzerland's needs. A schedule of work for the current year was drawn up, which included exploring the possibility of the existence of uranium in Switzerland. In a broadcast on the 24th July it was stated that the Federal Council had submitted to the Federal Assembly a report and a draft Bill dealing with the promotion of research work on atomic energy. A central experimental station was to be set up for this research work, and credits to assist it would be provided in the Budget. The report added that it was most unfortunate that to-day the whole question of atomic energy was so closely bound up with the Atomic Bomb, resulting in an international embargo on the use of uranium. It was hoped in Switzerland that the efforts being made in the United States to get all work connected with the development of atomic energy placed under international control would prove successful. Otherwise, the problems which would arise would be many and various.

According to reports from Zürich published in the American Press, there are no indications that the Swiss franc is to be revalued in the near future, in spite of the persistent rumours which followed such action on the part of Canada and Sweden. The President of the National Bank of Switzerland is reported to have stated that the Government, the National Bank and the Swiss people are " unanimous in rejecting the principle of trying to influence economic trends by manipulation of the value of the Swiss franc."

The supply situation has recently shown considerable improvement, both in regard to industry and the distribution of consumer goods. The Authorities have repeatedly declared their intention of abolishing as rapidly as possible the very comprehensive system of war economy controls created to supervise and direct industrial and agricultural production, the use of fuel and raw materials, and the distribution of goods in short supply. By the end of 1945, no less than 150 decrees and regulations within this category had already been rescinded.

On the 21st June, Dr. Feisst, Minister of Agriculture and Food, in an interview with the Press, stated that recent prolonged rains had seriously compromised the hay harvest, which would react unfavourably on milk production. Reserves of butter and cheese were very low, and the butter which the Allies were able to allow Switzerland to import was quite inadequate. Milk and butter rationing, could not, therefore, be abolished in the near future. Reserves of cereals were also low, so that, although this year's crop promised to be better than the last, there was no likelihood of bread rationing ending this year. The present stocks of oils and edible fats were lower than at any time during the war.

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As against this not too rosy picture, it should be remembered that the present ration of bread, fats, cereals and farinaceous foods is larger than normal pre-war consumption, and that bread, breadstuffs, cereals, fats, milk, meat, sugar and soap are the only commodities still rationed in Switzerland. There is, indeed, said to be a tendency to exchange a substantial proportion of the coupons at the end of the rationing period for larder stocks, rather than for immediate use. The price of bread, fats and milk is kept down by means of subsidies, while meat and potatoes are distributed to the poor at reduced prices to ease their difficulties under rationing.

ITALY.

After a ten days' session the Constituent Assembly has adjourned until the end of the Peace Conference. The drafting of the new constitution has been left in the hands of a special committee of 76. The Government won a vote of confidence on its foreign and home policies, the first by unanimous vote, the second by 388 out of 441 votes. The result was no longer in doubt after Signor Togliatti, the leader of the Communist Party, had made a speech in which he said that, although he himself was not in the Government, his party would support it.

Speaking of the two *blocs* in the Constituent Assembly—the Christian Democrat *bloc* and the Communist-Socialist *bloc*—Signor Togliatti said that although the latter was numerically superior, the Communists and Socialists could not, and would not, unite with sufficient solidarity to prevail in the Government. As regards foreign policy, his party had never disagreed with the Government's aims, but only about the relative importance of certain problems, and he made a general appeal to the Italian people to understand and accept the realities of Italy's situation. As regards Trieste the Communist leader proposed that Italy and Yugoslavia should reach a direct agreement. Signor Togliatti then turned to home policy. The most important point was to bring wages and salaries and also pensions into line with the cost of living. A compromise had been accepted in the " Republic " bonus while, at the same time, efforts were to be made to reduce the cost of living. The Republic bonus to which he referred is the outcome of a Cabinet decision whereby heads of families will receive 3,000 lire and others 1,500 lire in two monthly instalments in August and September. State employees, both civilians and servicemen of the three branches, are entitled to the bonus provided that they are not on active service. Dependants or prisoners-of-war and internees still abroad, as well as disabled ex-Servicemen and also persons above a certain age, are eligible together with employees of local and semi-public services, and the unemployed. Anyone earning more than 25,000 lire a month, however, is not eligible. Signor Togliatti ended his speech by a criticism of Signor Corbino's financial policy. This policy had been explained in the Constituent Assembly by Signor Corbino, Minister of the Treasury, who began by stating that, according to the figures so far available, the 1945–46 financial year closed with a deficit of 350,000 million lire. After listing the various allocations Signor Corbino pointed out that this had been accomplished without printing a single paper lire above the total monetary circulation on the 12th December, 1945. The Minister now proposed to issue Treasury Bonds in order to tide over the present financial crisis. Signor Togliatti described Signor Corbino's policy as being too conservative and advocated a change of currency which, he said, everyone had agreed on, but, in the opinion of the Minister of the Treasury, this step should not be taken until sufficient confidence in the new Government was assured.

The general strike of petrol distribution workers, which began on the 16th July, is still going on, as no agreement concerning wages has yet been reached. Since the coastal petrol storage depots have not been cleared, it may be impossible to take in the supplies which are due to arrive this month. UNRRA, in fact, threatens to divert the 10 tankers expected in July, since it will neither consider paying demurrage charges nor the delaying of the tankers until agreement is reached. Signor De Gasperi had asked the *Confederazione Generale Italiano di Lavoro* to intervene to bring about a resumption of work by the 17th July, but, either through unwillingness or inability, it refused to denounce the strike. Signor De Gasperi, as Minister of the Interior, therefore telegraphed to all prefects and military commands concerned to take over all the petrol storage depots in question. Strikers were to be ordered to resume work under civil penalty, and if this order were not obeyed military and naval personnel were to take charge in order to meet the demands of essential services, including UNRRA. This is by no means the only strike which has taken place

during the past fortnight. The press reports that three weeks ago there was a crisis in the C.G.I.L. on the issue whether the Confederation should adopt the policy of widespread strikes in order to force an increase of wages. Despite the threatened resignation of Achille Grandi, the Christian Democrat Secretary, Di Vittorio, the Communist Secretary, who sponsored this policy, won his point, the result being the present epidemic of strikes.

SOUTH-EAST EUROPE.

Hungary.

In March of this year the United States presented to Moscow a stiff note, with which H.M. Government associated themselves, complaining that Russian intervention in Hungarian economic affairs was arbitrary and excessive, prejudiced unwarrantably American interests and placed Hungary in imminent danger of complete collapse. The note went on to ask that the Allied Control Commission should draw up a programme for the economic rehabilitation of Hungary, but this proposal was firmly rejected by Russia on the ground that this was outside the scope of the Commission. The United States, dissatisfied with the negative result of this protest and concerned at the deterioration of Hungary's economic plight, has repeated her complaint in Moscow and is now invoking the reservation she made at the time of signing the Armistice to re-open the question of reparations, and at the same time renewing her suggestion that the Allied Control Commission should be appointed to advise on possible remedies. The refusal of the Soviet Union to publish this reservation was one of the reasons for deferring the publication of the texts of the Peace Treaties. Hungary seems to consider that any adjustment of reparations is a matter for settlement between Russia and herself, for it is reported that the Hungarian delegation to the Peace Conference was not briefed or documented on reparations. This is borne out by a report from Budapest radio that Hungary has obtained from Russia permission to spread payment of some of her reparations dues for 1946, 1947 and 1948 over later years at agreed rates, and has been released from her obligation to pay the stipulated 6,000,000 dollars' interest for defaulted payments. Further, Russia will accept the valuable shares of the Petrozseny mines in Transylvania (confiscated by the Roumanian Government) as payment of part of the 1946 and 1947 accounts.

On hearing the protests by the British and American Commissioners that his note to the Hungarian Government (see last week's *Summary*) was sent without their knowledge, General Sviridov could not agree that his action was incorrect, maintaining that as the demands were made on behalf of the Soviet High Command and particularly affected Soviet interests there was no need for prior consultation with his colleagues; he promised, however, to inform them if any further demands were made. When asked to explain why he had reported to the Allied Control Commission in April that the Hungarian Government had complied with Article XV of the Armistice, he said that it really did then seem that Hungary was trying to fulfil her obligations to suppress fascist organizations.

Meanwhile the purge has continued. The Minister of the Interior was taken to task by the National Assembly for excesses, and he admitted that some worthy civil servants had been unjustly dismissed, and that in some cases staffs had been so reduced as to bring administration to a standstill. He promised to rectify mistakes. Replying to protests from the Primate and Episcopate, as well as from Deputies, against the dissolution of religious associations, M. Rajk averred that no association had been dissolved without good cause. Although extensive Government changes had been expected, only the Smallholder Minister of Reconstruction, M. Antal, resigned, to be replaced by another Smallholder, M. E. Misteth, who had been Under-Secretary for Industry. Three high officials of the National Bank—the President, the General Manager and the Director of the Banking Department—are reported to have resigned also. The sudden death of the Minister for National Defence, M. Jenö Tombor, has caused another vacancy which has not yet been filled.

The Allied Control Commission has sanctioned the resumption of diplomatic relations between Hungary and Switzerland, Italy, Bulgaria and Roumania, and of trade relations with Italy, Norway, Holland and Belgium.

Roumania.

The traffic in illegal immigration to Palestine has been on the increase, and has reached proportions which have called for vigorous measures on the part

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of the British authorities. The matter is the more complicated since it has become evident that the Russian authorities in Roumania are giving this traffic every encouragement and assistance. No fewer than 440 visas for Jews to proceed to Costa Rica are alleged to have been obtained from the Costa Rican representative at Budapest. It has been ascertained on inquiry that there is no Costa Rican representative at Budapest, and the Costa Rican Government state that they will not permit the entry of these people. One of the vessels chartered for this purpose, the "Agia Anastasia"—which is at Brăila and ready to sail—is a hulk which could not remain at sea for more than a few days and certainly could not cross the Atlantic. As was the case with the ships which left recently with emigrants with Mexican visas, the destination is certainly Palestine. Colonel Borrisov, the head of the Soviet Administrative Section of the Control Commission has refused point blank to withdraw permission for the vessel to sail. He professed himself uninterested in the ultimate destination of the emigrants.

The difficulty in obtaining clearances for British aircraft operating to Bucarest is increasing. The Russians are obstructing in every way the operation of the new route *via* Vienna.

A delegation consisting of four members has left for Paris to assist Dl Franasovici who is acting as observer at the Conference.

Dl Mihai Ralea, the Minister for Arts and Religion has been appointed as Minister to Washington, and Dl Vasile Stoica as Minister to the Netherlands.

A congress of elementary school teachers has been taking place. "*Frontul Plugarilor*" (the Ploughmen's Front) has characteristically announced that the teachers have at last broken with the past and pledged themselves to serve democracy. The Minister of Education announces that since March 1945 the number of illiterates has fallen by 300,000. He did not explain how he arrived at that figure. The number of illiterates in 1940 was well over 6,000,000, so this small improvement is a step in the right direction. The Minister also announced that a sum of 6,000 million lei was available for stocking the school teachers' supply bureaux with goods and clothing. This provision may, of course, assist their willingness to "serve democracy."

The "first modern Roumanian motor road" is to be constructed between Bucarest and Braşov. To give Roumania its due, the existing road between Bucarest and Braşov is one of the very few first-class roads in Roumania—even if it was constructed in those bad old, reactionary, fascist days so unceasingly denounced.

Yugoslavia.

The text of the military agreement of the 9th June, 1945, by which Yugoslav troops were withdrawn from Trieste, was not published in Yugoslavia. Within a few days of the signature of the agreement by Marshal Tito, the Yugoslavs, attributing to it a fictitious clause concerning the retention of the Yugoslav-imposed civil authorities, had accused the Allies of breach of faith. At Dubrovnik on the 21st July this year, Tito revived this old argument and produced others based on similar false premises, in order to declare that "they" had destroyed the agreement. With reference to the Foreign Ministers' decision he implied that France had made a mockery of her traditional friendship by failing to support the Yugoslav claim; but he placed his hopes on Yugoslavia's strong delegation to the Peace Conference and her "weighty arguments." He also spoke of the treaties with the U.S.S.R., Poland, Czechoslovakia and Albania as making Yugoslavia economically independent of the Western Powers, who sought to exert political pressure by means of trade.

During his tour of Dalmatia, which, with the revival of the international tourist trade, may well become the showcase of Yugoslavia, Tito's speeches were of a distinctly bellicose nature. The main targets of his criticism were the Church (or "clerico-Fascists") and National Front dissidents. He particularly stressed that the Church must keep out of politics and that the youth of the country must be preserved from their reactionary influence. He described the Pioneers organisation (a purely Communist creation) to which this task is assigned, as having no political character. Youth, in fact, must be brought up in the pure atmosphere of "creative work" and knowledge of "our social collectivity." At Split he denounced those who would form "splinter groups" (his own words!), evidently having in mind Professor Dragoljub Jovanovitch who has just been deprived of his mandate as Deputy in the Serbian National Assembly for being too critical of recent Bills (see *Summary* No. 352).

The Yugoslav Ministry of Foreign Affairs have been informed, in firm tones, by H.M. and the U.S. Chargés d'Affaires that the unfriendly and unco-operative

attitude of the Yugoslavs over the question of air communications are completely poisoning Anglo-American relations with Yugoslavia. The U.S. spokesman went so far as to indicate that the continuation of this state of affairs would postpone indefinitely the arrival of the U.S. Ambassador in Belgrade.

The harvest, which is being gathered, promises to be good, and various concessions have been made in order to induce the farmers to deliver their surplus grain to the Government.

Greece.

A conference to discuss M. Tsaldaris's three offers to the Opposition was held on the 24th July, the day after his return to Athens. The Opposition leaders showed themselves critical of the Government's activities to date, and had their own proposals to make for the future. The chief speakers were MM. Sophoulis, Papandreou, and Kanellopoulos, who agreed in refusing to enter the Government unless it were recast on a coalition basis, with a common programme set out in advance; they likewise refused to take part in an all-party plebiscite commission unless it were given power to decide anew such questions as the date and formula of the referendum. These proposals accordingly came to nothing, since, even if M. Tsaldaris himself had been willing to consider such conditions, he was precluded from doing so by his knowledge that they would be quite unacceptable to the body of his party. M. Zervas was also present, but his comments were non-committal, perhaps because he is known to covet the Ministry of Public Order, from which, in the premier's absence, he has been trying to oust the younger Theotokis.

Discussion of the less controversial proposal for an all-party delegation to the peace conference was also unfruitful. The Opposition leaders and press have been very critical of the Government's handling of Greek national claims, and seem to have wished to dissociate themselves from responsibility for it. Nevertheless prominent personalities of the Opposition parties have finally been included in the delegation, whose members, with perhaps two exceptions, seem to have been chosen for their experience of foreign affairs rather than for political reasons. M. Tsaldaris is to lead the delegation, and its other principal members are M. Venizelos (one of the exceptions!) and three former Foreign Ministers, MM. Rendis (Liberal), Politis (Venizelist Liberal), and Dragoumis (Populist): they are supported by the Greek Ambassadors to London, Paris, and Moscow (MM. Aghnides, Raphael, and A Politis), the Greek representative on the Allied Council for Italy, M. Exindaris, M. Pipinellis, the able diplomatic adviser to H.M. the King of Greece, and—the other possible exception—rather surprisingly, the historian George Ventiris, who from his retirement in Lausanne has acted as political adviser to his two remarkable younger brothers, Nicholas, the editor of the Athens royalist daily, *Embros*, and Lt.-General Constantine Ventiris, the most controversial figure in the Greek army.

Opposition to the Government had by the 27th given way to more patriotic feelings, and at a dignified session of the Chamber spokesmen of all parties agreed that public controversy over Greek claims was harmful, there was general approval for a declaration that the whole Greek people were united in supporting the efforts which the Government and the Greek delegation were about to make to obtain satisfaction for Greece at the Peace Conference.

The question of public security occupies a place second only to national claims in the public mind. In Macedonia the gendarmerie have been placed under army command, and in a series of combined operations the two forces have killed or captured several prominent Left-wing bandits, including the ex-ELAS "Capetan Baroutas," who was responsible for the Litochori incident on the 30th March (see *Summary* No. 339) and for many murders of nationalists in western Macedonia. The activities of Left-wing and autonomist bands have showed no sign of slackening, however, and there have been more than usually credible reports of the reconstitution of ELAS; speaking to the press on the 20th, M. Theotokis stated that the number of armed bands had jumped from 66 in May to 78 in June. The most disquieting feature of the situation, and the one which is now most widely commented on in the Athens press, is the evidence which it seems to provide of a carefully prepared plan of action designed to present Greece as in a state of anarchy. Documents captured on dead or arrested bandits, presumably genuine, establish beyond doubt the connection of the Greek communist party, *via* the NOF—Macedonian Autonomy Movement—with Yugoslavia, and responsible Ministers have stated publicly that the bands operating in Greece are being supplied with arms "from abroad." It seems clear that, as long as physical or moral support from abroad is forthcoming, the Greek communists

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will not give up their present policy of trying to make the Greek Government's position untenable, however drastic the means used to suppress them. And it is equally clear that the Greek Government, as long as they are not abandoned by their Western Allies, particularly Great Britain, will not be intimidated by incipient revoluiton at home and Slav hostility abroad into throwing in their hand.

Bulgaria.

On the 19th July the Bulgarian Government announced that a plebiscite for or against the Monarchy would be held on the 8th September, and that this would be followed by elections for a Grand National Assembly on the 27th October. Bills incorporating these two decisions have been laid before the Sobranye and are sure to be passed unanimously. It was at first supposed that by the "Grand National Assembly" a mere rubber-stamp constitution-making body was meant, called together *ad hoc* and lacking any control over the executive. However, this expectation appears to be wrong: for although the full texts of the two bills have not yet been received by H.M. Government, they are now known to provide that when the Grand National Assembly first meets it will automatically take over the functions of the Sobranye (which will *ipso facto* be dissolved) and that it will retain those same functions for a period not exceeding one year, when fresh parliamentary elections are to be held. Meanwhile the anticipated Republic is to be proclaimed on or before the 15th September, when Vasil Kolarov, as Speaker of the Sobranye, will become the Acting Head of the State.

The purge of the Bulgarian army is well under way, and may by now even be completed. Unconfirmed reports allege that about one officer in every three is being dismissed, and that many have been sent to Russia.

The process of purging Sofia University and the Academy of Arts has also been begun, with a view to tightening the Communists' control over education.

Turkey.

The final result of the general election on the 21st July was: People's Party 396, Democratic Party 62 and Independents 7. President Inönü was returned for Angora, the leader of the Democratic Party (M. Celal Bayar) for Izmir (Smyrna) and Marshal Fevzi Çakmak, as an Independent, for Istanbul. There are reports that at Angora the voting was 80 per cent. for the Democratic Party, but that the Government had no intention of allowing this and therefore faked the counting. In Istanbul, where both voting and counting were perfectly fair, the Armenians and Jews voted solidly for the Democratic Party, but the Greeks' vote was split by the Government's recent concessions to the Greek community. Among the 23 Deputies elected for Istanbul there figure one Greek and one Jew, but no Armenian.

M. Celal Bayar issued a statement charging the Government with committing irregularities, especially in Angora, Izmir and three other towns. Whatever substance there may be in these accusations, it is clear that in any case the Government would have had a large majority. Although all previous general elections have been conducted in two degrees, the actual polling on this occasion appears to have been well managed all over the country. Great enthusiasm, running sometimes into violence, had been engendered on all sides, but on the day of the poll no disorders seem to have occurred. However, after the military commandant of Istanbul had warned the press to avoid inciting to disorder, two minor daily papers which were echoing criticisms from Moscow, were closed down by virtue of the "state of siege" which is still in force in the Straits area.

To suppose that these elections have been as free as those in Western countries would be a big assumption. But in any case the Opposition long desired by the leaders of Turkey for the health of the body politic has now been born. Its size proves, after all, not to be such as need alarm the People's Party thanks to whose complaisance it has come into being. But it is in great measure an artificial creation. The new Democratic Party is at one with the People's Party in matters of foreign policy, and in home affairs it takes no violent exception to the People's Party's programme. The one respect in which it seriously disagrees with the People's Party is that it challenges the privileged position which the latter had acquired by both law and practice. Whether it will develop into an effective Opposition remains to be seen. Meantime it has at any rate canalised in a constitutional direction a certain amount of discontent which had been fostered both by economic hardships and by Russian inspiration. While leaving the Government an overwhelming majority it enables them to refute accusations that they suppress all opposition.

Throughout the election campaign Soviet broadcasts decried the People's Party and backed the Democratic Party, although it had repudiated all sympathy with Moscow and probably suffered, rather than profited, from this unsought support. When all chance of a Democratic victory seemed excluded, the Moscow wireless concentrated on the theme that the elections could not represent the Turkish people's will, because the Government was reactionary—and served those very foreign countries whom Atatürk had fought—and employed the administrative machine to oppress and gag the people. Small incidents which occurred before election day were magnified and distorted to support charges of terrorism, murder, arrests, threats and general coercion, and the votes were alleged to have been given without secrecy and counted without honesty. In commenting on all this Turkish newspapers linked it up with the wider Soviet propaganda offensive in the Middle East. The main attack, they considered, was against the Arab countries, but Turkey and Greece were among the principal objectives. Russian tactics in the Arab countries consisted in fostering resentment against Great Britain and exploiting Anglo-Arab differences. The Turkish elections had seemed to offer another field for propaganda, but Russia had failed to create the trouble she had wished.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

Egypt.

During the debate in the Senate on the action taken by the Government to put down Communist activity, the President, Heikal Pasha, unexpectedly intervened with a long statement in which he challenged the right of the Government to suppress newspapers except in cases where it was necessary for the protection of social order. Sidky Pasha replied on the 23rd July promising to examine the question and to present legislation in due course to cover such cases. He said, however, that he did not consider that the Government had gone beyond the limits of their constitutional rights.

The optimism expressed by Sidky Pasha about the Treaty negotiations in his statement to the Senate on the 15th July (see *Summary* No. 351) has been followed by a period of depression. The main obstacles to agreement now are the scope and nature of the obligations of the parties in the event of an outbreak of hostilities involving either of them; the setting of a time-limit for evacuation, and the terms of the protocol regarding the Sudan. The predominant fear on the Egyptian side is that Egypt might be dragged into a war which she could otherwise avoid, but it is hoped that argument will result in a more realistic attitude and in the acceptance of provisions designed to obviate the risk of a vacuum created by premature withdrawal of British forces.

Palestine.

Proposals for the future of Palestine resulting from the Anglo-American discussions recently concluded in London, will be presented to Parliament during the week. Meanwhile the press in both countries has published articles forecasting a federal solution to be discussed with Jewish and Arab representatives at an early date. The Arab Higher Committee, through its Secretary, Dr. Hussein al Khalidi, has immediately rejected partition as a solution, and, although admitting that no invitation to a conference has been received, proclaims its refusal to sit with Jews in any discussions on Palestine. In accordance with their previous undertaking, His Majesty's Government have now issued invitations to the Governments of the States members of the Arab League to send a delegation to London to enter into negotiations on the subject of Palestine. It is hoped that conversations can take place before the session of the United Nations General Assembly in September. The Arabs of Palestine and the Jews will also be invited to send representatives.

Expressions of horror and grief at the King David Hotel outrage (now known to have caused over one hundred deaths) coming from both Jews and Arabs contain criticisms of the British policy, of which it is alleged to be a result. Azzam Pasha, the Secretary-General of the Arab League, sees an encouragement to the Arabs to use force—which the League is doing its utmost to avoid—and claims that the failure of the British Government to administer the country effectively gives the right more than ever to the Arabs to rule Palestine. Dr. Altman, head of the new Zionist Organisation and the Revisionists in Palestine, alleges that the Government's decision to pursue an anti-Zionist policy has inevitably driven Jewish youth to the conclusion that

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violence is the only means of securing justice. In his reply to a letter from Dr. Altman, expressing "profound grief" at the outrage, Sir John Shaw, the Secretary of the Palestine Government, said that, according to their own published boast, this revolting crime was perpetrated by the National Military Organisation, which is associated with the New Zionists. In the circumstances he was unable to accept expressions of regret and sympathy which emanated from the central office of the New Zionist Organisation.

In a White Paper published on the 24th July evidence is given of the implication of the Jewish Agency in the previous acts of violence in Palestine which led to the temporary closure of the Agency offices and the arrest of leading officials on the 29th June. The Jewish Agency immediately denied the authenticity of the documents quoted, and challenged the British Government to prove its responsibility for "the composition, authorising or despatch . . . . of this curious collection of telegrams, broadcasts and publications."

Iraq.

A strike of workmen of the 'Iraq Petroleum Company began at Kirkuk on the 3rd July and lasted for fourteen days. The Minister for Economy met the strike leaders on the 7th and told them that the Government would consider their demands sympathetically, but would not countenance disorder. Demonstrations which occurred on the 12th in defiance of the Mutassarif's orders resulted in clashes with the police, and five workmen were killed, in addition to a number of injured on both sides.

The Regent left England on the 23rd July. In a conversation with Mr. Bevin on the 19th July, he spoke of his Government's anxiety over Left-wing activities. The Prime Minister has also expressed his concern (see *Summary* No. 350), and has had in mind a campaign against partisan newspapers with subversive tendencies. He believes that the Kirkuk strikers were financed from Communist sources. The month of Ramadhan has now begun: fanaticism is intensified during this month of fasting, and feelings are easily aroused by agitators preaching in the mosques. Recent events give some reason to fear a further increase of political unrest in the country.

Persia.

The presence of two of His Majesty's ships in the vicinity of Abadan caused the Persian Government to address a note of protest to His Majesty's Ambassador, in which reference was made to a law of 1934 governing the entry and stay of foreign warships in the coastal waters of Persia. This law requires eight days' warning of visits other than for the purpose of oiling only. The note went on to say that the Persian Government would regard the arrival of British warships at the present time as an unfriendly act. Comments in the Tehran press on the alleged presence of British warships were unanimous in declaring that it was a breach of international regulations and an infringement of Persian sovereignty. The whole topic was dropped, however, after three days.

The situation in Khuzistan remains tense, but there have been no more incidents. The arrest at Agha Jari of one Hafiz Ullah, a Bakhtiari peasant who has been responsible for much of the trouble there, had a good effect, but the Governor-General has been much discouraged by his release in Tehran. A judicial commission of enquiry sent from Tehran to find out the cause of the casualties during the strike has done nothing to restore the situation. It contains at least one Tudeh partisan, against whose presence the Governor-General has protested to the Prime Minister. The A.I.O.C. officials are still apprehensive of further trouble.

The Governor-General of Kermanshah was unexpectedly called to Tehran on the 25th July, and it was expected that he would not return. It is feared that extremists may take advantage of his absence to create disorders in the town and amongst A.I.O.C. employees at the refinery there.

FAR EAST.

Indonesia.

Immediately following the kidnapping of Mr. Sjarir from his hotel in Solo on the 27th June it was announced at Djokjakarta that, in view of the state of emergency, unlimited powers of government had been conferred upon "President" Soekarno to last until conditions should permit the "Cabinet" and other Government Departments to resume their normal functions. A

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"Defence Council" was installed, comprising Mr. Soedirman, Indonesian "Commander-in-Chief," six other Ministers and three "representatives of the people." Both Mr. Sjarir and Mr. Sjarifoedin, his "Minister of Defence," are reported to have been present at the inaugural meeting, which was addressed by Dr. Soekarno. Commenting on the President's speech, the Republican Agency, *Antara*, is reported as stating "He (Soekarno) desires to remain Dictator only as long as is absolutely necessary . . . . The Cabinet is no longer the "Sjarir Cabinet." The President considers his Ministers to be his helpers. He intends to form a new Cabinet, which he hopes will secure him complete support."

No official announcement has appeared to the effect that Mr. Sjarir has either resigned or been removed from the "Premiership"; but on the 4th July Dr. Soekarno vouchsafed that the release of the Premier did not mean that the President would relinquish "State power" for the time being. Furthermore, at a press interview on the 10th July, Mr. Sjarir, himself, said that "as all power formally lies with Dr. Soekarno, the present Cabinet has virtually ceased to function," adding that he did not expect that Dr. Soekarno would head a new Cabinet, but would appoint him (Mr. Sjarir) to undertake the task and that, in the meantime, he would continue to negotiate with the Dutch authorities as Dr. Soekarno's "personal representative." On the 17th July, the "Free Indonesia" radio reported that Mr. Sjarir had been invited to form a Cabinet; and a week later the Indonesian paper, *Merdeka*, published an unofficial forecast of the new Cabinet, in which the future Prime Minister is not named, although Mr. Sjarir is named as continuing to hold the portfolio for Foreign Affairs. It is further reported that Mr. Sjarir and a number of others expect to sail from Batavia to Cheribon, *en route* for Djokjakarta, in the British merchantman *Empire Favour*, which is carrying a cargo of "inducement goods" required by the Indonesians in exchange for rice which the ship will take back to India.

Although it is reported that the Indonesian reply to the Dutch proposals, which was handed to Dr. van Mook by Mr. Sjarir, contained a request for a truce during the period of negotiations, the Dutch press continues to report sporadic Indonesian attacks on British and Dutch forces. Indonesian reports, on the other hand, complain of Allied aggression. *Rakjat* draws attention to the continuous inflow of Dutch reinforcements as evidence of the Dutch intention to settle the Indonesian political issue by force of arms rather than by peaceful negotiation. And on the 27th July *The Times* carried a telegram from Batavia stating that an "official" Indonesian protest had been lodged with the Allies, which contained the threat that, unless a written undertaking were given that Allied troops would cease their offensive actions, the evacuation of internees would be suspended. The telegram further reported that the Indonesians had already begun to carry their threat into practice, and that Allied Headquarters took a serious view of the matter and were taking it up with Mr. Sjarir, who was then in Batavia.

Meanwhile the Conference convened by the Dutch Government to discuss the inclusion of Borneo and the *Groote-Oost* (north-eastern part of the Archipelago) within the framework of Indonesia and to elect representatives of the territories concerned to sit at the coming Round Table Conference in the Netherlands, has taken place at Malino in the Celebes. Intense antagonism was displayed against the Conference in the Java press, as much as in political circles. The newspaper *Merdeka* dismissed the Conference as "eye-wash" and declared that all Indonesians who are not "quislings" will repudiate its decisions; while *Rakjat* in a particularly caustic comment stated that "the world which is witnessing the Indonesian struggle for full independence will not be taken in by this naïve Dutch pantomime." Nevertheless, the Conference was attended by some thirty-four Delegates claiming to represent 15 million people of the Outer Provinces. And, although a number of Delegates spoke in favour of complete independence with a possible alliance with Holland, the result of the Conference has been acclaimed as a triumph in Dutch circles. Generally speaking, it may be said that the Conference showed that the Moslem communities were behind the Republican Government, while the Christian, Chinese, Dyak, Arab, and other minorities inclined towards the security of Dutch protection.

What method was employed for the selection of the Delegates attending the Malino Conference is not clear, but when local councils already existed the Dutch allowed them a free hand. There has been some criticism of the inclusion in their number of five Sultans and nine senior officials of native rulers. The Dutch explanation is that they were the natural choice of the people.

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On the 16th July, Dr. van Mook opened the Conference with a long address in which he stressed the following points: the necessity for agreement in the preparatory stages; the need for unity and the creation of as few separate units as possible, since a small autonomous unit lacked the force and man-power to cope with its own affairs; the Dutch Government considered that the three main points essential to the work of construction are rehabilitation of the people, the formation of forces from all sections of the autonomous community which will eventually have to accept the responsibilities attached to self-government, and the economic and cultural development of Indonesia as a whole. Dr. van Mook said that he anticipated the holding of a second Conference with a greater number of Delegates, thus making it possible to select a body representative of all sections of the population of the entire territory to work out a political structure in close consultation with the "General Government Commissariat" for Borneo and the *Groote-Oost*. In concluding his address Dr. van Mook said that: "Whatever be the new organisation of Indonesia, a large measure of local and regional autonomy will be essential. The choice lies between a single State and a federal system." He added that the Netherlands Government favoured a federal system as being the less likely to result in internal discord; but that it was essential to treat Indonesia as a whole, endeavouring to instil a spirit of harmony and to prevent any single part from dominating another . . . . If, after well-organised democratic consultation, any region of Indonesia should wish to have an organisation of its own, this will be fully taken into account. The Republicans want to begin with an independent Government; the Dutch Government desire to reverse the process, believing that it is in the interest of the population that the building of the Indonesian State should take place "within the precincts of the Kingdom, wherein the Indonesians no longer take part as pupils of the Dutch, but as partners."

In the general discussion which followed Dr. van Mook's address, the Delegates are reported to have ventilated their views freely in an atmosphere unhampered by restraint.

Dr. van Mook, who had intended withdrawing almost immediately after his opening address, suddenly changed his mind and announced his intention of remaining to the end of the Conference "in view of its importance." Replying to speeches in favour of immediate independence, Dr. van Mook said that until such time as a Government had been set up which not only was recognised and obeyed throughout Indonesia, but which was also likely to endure, the Dutch Government neither would nor could abandon their responsibilities to the Indonesian people. In asserting that a five or ten years' period of transition was on the short rather than long side, Dr. van Mook proposed the appointment of a Committee of Seven Delegates for the preparation of constitutional reforms. He also urged that seats on the Committee should be reserved for representatives from Java and Sumatra, should it be found possible to reach agreement with them. The suggestion for a Government Commissariat presided over by the Chief Civil Affairs Officer and advised by the "Committee of Seven" as "Extraordinary Departmental Heads" was also adopted.

On Dr. van Mook's advice a secret session was held to determine if a transition period was necessary and, if so, for what length of time; and to outline the proposed relationship between Indonesia and Holland after expiry of the transition period. The Malino Conference was then brought to a close with the exchange of telegraphic messages of congratulation and goodwill with the Dutch Government on the 25th July, after a number of resolutions had been adopted, the more important of which are:—

The establishment of a federation embracing the whole of Indonesia under the name of the United States of Indonesia.

The proposed Federation to consist of four parts, namely Java, Sumatra, Borneo and the *Groote-Oost*. The position of the Lesser Soenda Islands, the inclusion of the self-governing territories of East Borneo in the whole of Borneo, and the position of Bangka, Billiton and Riouw to be conditional, depending on their possible inclusion with Sumatra.

To convene as soon as possible a second conference of Delegates selected from all groups of the population of Borneo and the *Groote-Oost* to deal with proposals for political reform of that territory.

Appointment of a Committee of Seven to work on plan for the political reform of Borneo, the *Groote-Oost*, Bangka, Billiton and Riouw; and to take part in discussions and the drawing up of necessary ordinances pending the formation of a temporary central parliament. (The exact significance of the use of the word "parliament" is not clear.)

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A motion comprising eight points, urging that import, export, and inter-island trade and shipping be left to private enterprise, and that support be given in these enterprises to Indonesians.

That private enterprises doing business in Indonesia, whether controlled from within or without Indonesia, be staffed by Indonesians.

Before closing the Conference expressed the hope that, for the good of a Greater Indonesia, co-operation with Mr. Sjarir and his followers might speedily be established. Most Dutch newspapers stress the conviction that it was generally agreed among the Delegates to the Conference that a period of transition is essential and that after that period continued co-operation with the Dutch will remain a necessity. It must indeed be a source of considerable satisfaction to the official world at The Hague that, in their freedom from restraint, the Delegates to the Malino Conference should so readily have grasped the wisdom of Dr. van Mook's suggestions.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Although the departure of Mr. Byrnes for Paris on the 27th July was marked by an impressive ceremony which President Truman, Senators Connally and Vandenberg and a host of other eminent Americans attended, the opening of the Peace Conference evoked little optimism in the United States as a whole. Even the liberal internationalists, who had so warmly welcomed the decision to lay the unresolved issues of the peace-making before the full gathering of the twenty-one nations engaged in the war against the Axis, were now inclined to fear that the result might in the end be an unprofitable alignment of the smaller countries behind the conflicting viewpoints of the Great Powers. Characteristic of the reserve which they thus displayed was the remark of Mr. J. Roscoe Drummond, of the *Christian Science Monitor*, that the meeting was "better than no conference at all, but not much." For their part, the conservatives and Russophobes were more firmly convinced than ever that the Conference would "only continue the Big Four feud." They therefore suggested that the most the Western Powers might hope to achieve would be to make the Russians aware for all time of their determination to face up fairly and squarely to any further Soviet policy of aggression. Commentators were generally agreed that the emphasis given to Soviet-American differences on the eve of the Conference by M. Gromyko's peremptory rejection of the American scheme for the international control of atomic energy, by Mr. Edwin Pauley's two outspoken attacks on the Soviet methods of exacting reparations in Germany and Manchuria and by the State Department's unusually vigorous protest to Moscow on the effect of Soviet depredations in Hungary, in any case hardly augured well for the development of better relations in Paris. (See also under "Soviet Union".)

The news of the bomb outrage at the King David Hotel in Jerusalem on the 22nd July inevitably brought the question of Palestine back into the forefront of press and radio discussion this week. Opinion was almost unanimous in condemning this latest criminal act of the Jewish terrorists, and President Truman's own statement of the 23rd that it might well retard the efforts that were being made to bring about a peaceful solution of the difficult Jewish problem was typical of the reproaches that were heaped upon the perpetrators. Nevertheless it remained as difficult as before to gauge the feelings of the inarticulate mass of non-Jewish Americans on the Palestine question. As was to be expected, the New York Zionists lost no time in injecting every possible element of confusion into the already disordered picture prevailing in the minds of their fellow-countrymen. Unchastened by the shock which the bomb outrage had administered to world opinion, they poured scorn on the evidence in the London White Paper linking members of the Jewish Agency with the terror in Palestine, and the American League for a Free Palestine even delighted in adding insult to injury by publishing photographs of the ruined British headquarters in Jerusalem side-by-side with what purported to be Jewish coffins in Poland under the caption: "Thank Britain for Kielce and King David Hotel." One indication of American sentiment outside the Zionist orbit was, however, provided by the forthright comments of the veteran broadcaster, H. V. Kaltenborn, who, although speaking from New York, did not hesitate even before the White Paper was issued to lay a full share of the responsibility for the bomb outrage of the 22nd on the shoulders of the Jewish Agency. A little of the prevailing attitude among the non-Jewish majority could also be judged from the unwillingness of less partial observers

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to make common cause with the Zionists against the provincial autonomy pian for Palestine drawn up by the Anglo-American experts in London.

Absorbed as they were in the situation in Palestine and in the preparations for the Paris Conference, and with the rest of their main headlines devoted to the results of the second atomic bomb test at Bikini and to the last round of the Congressional battle on price control in Washington, the newspapers tended to give little more than a passing mention to the announcement on the 25th July of the American intention to withdraw from the International Air Transport Agreement. This apparent indifference was all the more remarkable in view of the keen interest displayed in the original signing of the Agreement at Chicago in December 1944 and in the marked differences between the American and British delegations which had preceded it. According to the announcement of the 25th, the decision to withdraw had been dictated by the failure of the principal aviation Powers to agree multilaterally to the "five freedoms" specified in the Chicago Agreement and by the fact that the conclusion of bilateral arrangements had subsequently proved more satisfactory in the establishment of international air routes over which American companies could operate. Another important consideration, however, appears to have been the refusal of certain Senators to ratify (as they have since done) the International Civil Aviation Organisation—the main creation of the Chicago Conference—as long as the accompanying "five freedoms" Agreement offered foreign signatories unlimited liberty to fly their planes to American airports. In discussing the new decision with His Majesty's Civil Air Attaché in Washington, Mr. Garrison Norton, of the Office of Transport and Communications Policy of the State Department, has expressed the view that the Chicago "five freedoms" Agreement—to which His Majesty's Government have never concealed their strong aversion—had in any case been largely superseded by the decisions of the Bermuda Civil Aviation Conference and of the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organisation this year (see *Summary* No. 331). Mr. Norton nevertheless tempered this gratifying admission of a change in the American viewpoint with a hint that the air negotiations which the United Kingdom had since entered into with Argentina, Eire and Sweden were not regarded in Washington as strictly in accordance with the Bermuda principles and that the terms offered to the United States in respect to India were felt to be more restrictive than those of the Anglo-American Agreement of the 11th February of this year.

At his press conference on the 25th July and in a message to Congress of the same day, the President made it clear that it was only "with reluctance," and after being advised that it was the best measure upon which both Houses could be expected to agree, that he had signed the compromise Control Bill which might free the American public from the orgy of rising rents and prices through which it had passed since the beginning of the month. Mr. Truman objected in particular—as did the majority of American liberals—to the clauses in the new legislation transferring the control of farm produce from the Office of Price Administration to the Department of Agriculture and authorising the establishment of a three-member board to decide before the 20th August whether maximum prices for meat, poultry, cereals, tobacco and petroleum should be restored. In his message of the 25th he took the opportunity of reading to members of Congress what might be construed as a lesson on their irresponsible handling of the bulk of his legislative programme during the past six months in that he expressed his profound regret that they had not refrained "from compelling administrative changes that will make our task more difficult" and reminded them that "good government requires that a law be administered consistently in all fields where it is applicable."

LATIN AMERICA.

Argentina.

The administrative confusion, described as worse than anything previously experienced (see last week's *Summary*), continues to affect the Anglo-Argentine negotiations. For lack of guidance, the Ministers are incapable of making binding decisions, and there is a general atmosphere of uncertainty about who is empowered to do what. The Argentine Government have retreated from their (implied) intention to buy the British-owned railways, but their attempt to insist on treatment of sterling balances in isolation from other subjects before proceeding further has been successfully resisted. It unfortunately appears that one of their main objects is to profiteer at the expense of the hungry countries, for the purpose of subsidizing the local cost of living.

One thing that may upset Argentine complacency is the recent revolution in Bolivia. In Congress the Argentine opposition were quick to present a motion hailing the revolution in the name of democracy, and Radical speakers described at length those features of the fallen Bolivian régime which might provide an advantageous parallel with Argentina. Government speakers secured the postponement of the motion, arguing that the nature of the new Bolivian Government was still not clear and expressing suspicion that it might have been engineered by the Bolivian tin-magnates in league with Mr. Spruille Braden (!).

Bolivia.

The situation is now quiet. The revolutionary junta issued a declaration on the 22nd July declaring that it would respect the country's obligations and would hold elections as soon as indispensable reforms could be made in the electoral laws. Two days later the junta took the form of a Provisional Government. The President of the junta, Dr. Nestor Guillen, dean of the Superior Court of La Paz, took over the portfolios of Defence and Agriculture; Dr. Cabrera García, a magistrate, that of Interior; Dr. Aniceto Solares, those of Foreign Affairs and Education; Professor Luis Gonsálvez, those of Finance and National Economy; and Sr. Aurelio Alcoba (of PIR) those of Labour and Public Health.

The new Minister of Foreign Affairs addressd a note to all foreign missions stating that the Provisional Government would continue to maintain existing relations. The Diplomatic Body agreed that there is so far no evidence that the Provisional Government can maintain public order, and decided to request that the latter should make arrangements for the safe departure of the numerous refugees at the missions. This in itself will provide a test of the junta's power to keep order. Since the destruction of the military police in the fighting the junta has been relying on armed students to do their work.

Mexico.

The elections of the 7th July (see *Summary* No. 351) resulted in the election as president of Sr. Miguel Alemán, the candidate of the Government Party, (*Partido Revolucionario Institucional*). Sr. Alemán will take office on the 1st December for six years.

Though the elections were unusually peaceful (the Army having been given the task of guarding the polls), there is no reason to suppose that they were more honest than usual. Sr. Alemán's rival, Dr. Padilla, has denounced the results as fraudulent, but, since as he might well have lost even if they had not been fraudulent, his denunciation has not attracted much attention. Nevertheless, in the elections for Congress, the Government party may be said to have done itself unusually proud. Padilla's *Partido Democratico*, the Conservative *Acción Nacional* and the Synarchists all expected some representation, but it appears that the PRI candidates have almost all been returned. Although it was generally believed that the opposition parties had elected several representatives in the Federal District, the "results" gave the PRI handsome majorities. Since the Government, the labour bosses and business interests had agreed on the desirability of Sr. Alemán, the voting may be regarded as a formality.

Licenciado Miguel Alemán, who is forty-four years old, is the first Mexican president for some time who cannot boast the title of general. The omission is partially repaired by the fact that his father, formerly the owner of a grocery store, became a general in the Mexican revolution and was killed in the revolution of 1923. The present Sr. Alemán studied law, and was appointed a Supreme Court Judge, becoming in 1930 a Senator for Veracruz on the recommendation of Portes Gil. Still patronised by Portes Gil, Alemán was in 1936 Governor of Veracruz (where he built up a useful political machine) and in 1939 was recommended as campaign manager to Avila Camacho, on whose election to the presidency he became Minister of Interior. Sr. Alemán's record in that position was not conspicuously pro-Allied, and the escape of various German internees suggested that there might be something in a name. However, Sr. Alemán's politics are largely a matter of convenience. His election on such a broad ticket could, of course, only be achieved by the issue of rather conflicting promises, but, as long as no improvement in the general standard of Mexican public probity is looked for, these may be reconciled.

Paraguay.

Paraguay is for the moment the only country in South America with a military dictatorship, and pressure has been brought to bear on President Morínigo for a return to constitutional Government. He himself is reported to

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be seeking a compromise so that he may remain in power presiding over a cabinet in which the liberals (Colorados) and followers of Colonel Franco would be represented. There are broadcast reports that the new cabinet will be formed this week.

The only Latin American state in which an Indian language predominates, Paraguay has a population of about a million in her area of 154,000 square miles. Though, like Bolivia, she is land-locked, she has access by river to the Plate estuary, and does not therefore entertain Bolivia's ambition for a sea-port. Possibly owing to the theocratic tradition of the Jesuit reductions, the Guaranis accept a paternalistic form of Government. Thus having rejected union with the provinces of La Plata in 1811, the Paraguayans tolerated the dictatorships of Rodríguez Francia from 1813 to 1840, Carlos Antonio López from 1840 to 1862, and Francisco Salano López from 1862 till 1870, without undergoing any of the democratic or constitutional tribulations experienced in the rest of the continent. However, the military megalomania of the second López turned Paraguay into a South American Prussia, and led him into an expansionist war with Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay (1865–1870), by the end of which Paraguay's population was halved. Its territory was also considerably reduced, and would have been still further had not Brazil, having taken her cut, resisted Argentina's demands. There followed half a century of "democracy" accompanied by corruption and rebellions. An improvement occurred with the régime of President Eligio Ayala (1924 to 1928), but towards the end of his régime the question of the ill-defined Chaco boundary with Bolivia was raised, and despite attempts at arbitration by Pan American and League of Nations representatives, a series of frontier clashes degenerated into war in July 1932. By 1934 both sides were exhausted; Paraguay held most of the disputed territory and had suffered less in casualties, her Indians being more suited to jungle conditions than those of the Bolivian highlands, but she could not pursue the war into Bolivian territory, though some officers, notably Colonel Rafael Franco, were willing to try. After the truce of 1935, the moderate Paraguayan Government was overthrown and Franco brought in as provisional president. Franco proposed a sweeping reform including expropriation of land for family smallholdings and nationalisation of natural and industrial wealth. This programme proved too radical for the conservatives and too authoritarian for the liberals, and Franco was forced to resign in August 1937, after eighteen months in power.

A liberal provisional junta then governed the country until the election as president of General Estigarribia, who had been commander-in-chief during the Chaco war. In August 1940 a new constitution was promulgated, but immediately after, Estigarribia was killed in an aeroplane accident. Congress appointed the Minister of War, General Higinio Morínigo, as provisional president. Though he at first promised elections, he quickly assumed dictatorial powers, and dissolved the liberal party for "treason." He was then elected President in 1943, a feat which was much simplified by the fact that there were no other candidates.

Since then Paraguay has been governed by General Morínigo on behalf of the army, the civilian ministers remaining in office just so long as they retained the confidence of the soldiers. During 1945, the Opposition and labour movement seems to have been strengthened by the rising cost of living, and President Morínigo's invitation to Uruguayan journalists to inspect his concentration camps was hardly a success. However, difficulties for the Government have recently come from the other side, the Commanders of the Cavalry Division (Colonel Benítez Vera) and of the Air Force (Lieut.-Col. Stagni) being much more totalitarian-minded than Morínigo himself. Morínigo appointed the swashbuckling Benítez Vera to go to President Peron's inauguration, and sought in his absence to persuade the cavalry to do without their commander. Benítez Vera at once flew back and attempted to stage a revolution. When this failed, he tried to represent to Morínigo that he had only desired to restore his authority in the president's interests. This excuse was not accepted, and Benítez Vera and Stagni were compelled to go into exile. Their disappearance seems to have led to the removal of their civilian friends in the Cabinet, and, the balance being destroyed, the liberals and Franquists have now demanded representation.

UNITED NATIONS.

Atomic Energy Commission.

At a meeting of the Committee No. 2 on the 24th July, M. Gromyko made a speech strongly critical of the so-called U.S. third memorandum and amounting to a refusal to accept it as a whole or in part. The memorandum had urged

among other things that the body controlling atomic energy would need certain specified powers not given by the Charter to any organ of the United Nations. It also insisted that, while there should be no interference with the powers given to the Security Council, it would be ridiculous to exempt a possible atomic aggressor from punitive action and to leave such retribution partly to the conscience of the Power in question.

The Soviet argument was the now familiar one that the existing organs of the United Nations, and in particular the Security Council, contained all powers necessary for the control of atomic energy. The U.S. proposal to create a new authority was therefore unnecessary. It was also an attempt, by excluding atomic development from the range of domestic concerns governed by article 2, para. 7 of the Charter, to infringe the sovereignty of member States. This principle of sovereignty, he said, was of the essence of the United Nations. Any attack upon it might well destroy the organisation itself. At San Francisco it was safeguarded by the rule of the unanimity of the permanent members, or, as it is generally known, the veto.

The Chairman pointed out that the atomic bomb had not burst upon the world at the time of San Francisco. In any system of control all States must be treated alike, and none enjoy the immunity which the veto gives to the five permanent members. When the same Committee met on the 26th, M. Gromyko put forward the Soviet plan for a Convention to outlaw the use of atomic weapons, and for the destruction of existing bombs. The Netherlands representative told the sad story of broken conventions and declared that the weakness of the Soviet plan lay in placing the outlawry and destruction of bombs before the establishment of the system of control. The United States representative thought that there was no disagreement on fundamental principles between the Soviet and U.S. Governments, but that there might be some disagreement about *when* existing bombs should be destroyed.

The Commission's Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee held its first informal meeting on the 25th, and the U.K. representative, Sir George Thomson, described it as successful on the whole.

Economic and Social Council.

The Temporary sub-Commission on the Economic Reconstruction of Devastated Areas held its first meeting at the premises of the Royal Empire Society in London on the 29th July. It is the present expectation that, after sitting for a week in London, delegates will go in field parties to Eastern and Western Europe, returning to London to consider their report, which must be submitted to the Council not later than the 2nd September. Twenty Nations are represented on the sub-Commission, including (from the British Commonwealth) Australia, Canada, India, New Zealand and the United Kingdom. (See *Summary* No. 348, under "United Nations.")

The General Assembly.

The Acting Secretary-General has officially stated that the "General Assembly will be convened for the second part of the first session on the 23rd September at Flushing Meadows, New York City." As a consequence the Committee which will consider applications for membership of the United Nations has been postponed for three weeks and applications will, it is understood, be accepted up to and including August 3rd.

The Secretary-General.

Mr. Trygve Lie has been invited to attend the Peace Conference "as an honoured guest and observer" (see under "Soviet Union").

International Health Conference.

Under a resolution of the Economic and Social Council, dated 15th February 1946, a preliminary technical conference was held in Paris between the 18th March and the 5th April to prepare for an international health conference at which a World Health Organisation should be established. The proposal to hold this Conference was approved by the Economic and Social Council on the 10th June, and invitations to attend the Conference as observers were issued to sixteen States not Members of the United Nations, to three Allied Commissions, and to ten international Organisations interested in Public Health.

The International Health Conference met at New York between the 19th June and the 22nd July, to consider the report of the preliminary technical

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conference on the proposed Constitution of the World Health Organisation including the terms on which existing international health organisations should be brought within its scope, and also to consider the Economic and Social Council's resolution of the 10th June which contained certain recommendations.

That a World Health Organisation should be set up, to take over the duties, powers and facilities of existing international health bodies and, where necessary, to extend their work, has been common ground since "Health" was written into the Charter of the United Nations at San Francisco. The chief questions calling for debate have arisen over the form this organisation should take and in particular its relations to the international bodies already in existence.

International action to organise sanitary measures against the spread of plague and other infectious diseases (*e.g.* in the Mecca pilgrimage) dates from 1831, and the measures then taken at the request of the Khedive, Mohammed Ali, have developed into the present Sanitary Maritime and Quarantine Board of Egypt. Throughout the nineteenth century, many conferences were held, and in 1907 the *Office International d'Hygiène Publique* was set up in Paris. It became a clearing-house for epidemiological information on the incidence, treatment and control of plague, cholera, typhus, yellow fever and small-pox and it has also tried to get rules internationally agreed to prevent such diseases being transmitted by air passengers who may arrive before the symptoms declare themselves. One of the chief tasks of the Paris Office was the administration of the various International Sanitary Conventions; during the war it was unable to fulfil this task, but temporary protocols were signed after discussion at the UNRRA Council at Atlantic City in 1946, extending the life of the Conventions, and empowering UNRRA to administer them pending the establishment of the World Health Organization.

Alongside this *international* technical body, the Health Organisation of the League of Nations came into being in 1921. Working in close touch with the chief national health administrations, including that of the U.S.A. and with the *Office International*, it continued and expanded the principles of the *ad hoc* Epidemic Commission set up in 1920 to combat the threatened westward spread of typhus in Europe. It had a forward post in the Far East at Singapore, where an epidemiological centre was opened in 1925. The League Health Organisation also collaborated with Governments to initiate medical research and to arrange combined work by institutes throughout the world.

The *regional* centre of co-ordination and information in the field of public health for the twenty-one American Republics is the Pan-American Sanitary Bureau, which dates from 1901. Its work in the Americas is linked with that of the *Office International d'Hygiène Publique* in Paris, and with that of the League Health Organisation.

These arrangements by no means represent a complete or streamlined world organisation to deal with all the problems likely to arise. Moreover, in the nature of things, many of the diseases and the conditions affecting them which require international action are localised in certain areas, so that regional questions are bound to loom large.

Little difficulty was found in agreeing that the World Health Organisation should be a specialised agency, autonomous in its own field, with its own General Assembly and its own Director General, and that regional offices and committees of the organisation should be set up, wherever needed, but only one for each specified area. The main subjects for debate turned on the constitutional question of the degree of independence to be accorded to the regional bodies, and on the allied question of how various territories, widely different in social and political conditions, were to be represented at the centre and in the regions. This main question appeared in several forms, complicated by special circumstances in each case.

Disease knows no frontiers and medical science should recognise none; but opinions may (and do) differ as to what is proper and practicable in world and regional organisation: whether the existing organisations should retain some or all of their separate identity, how territories which have their own health problems and services are to be represented at the centre and in the regions, whether non-self-governing countries are to be represented directly or are to rely on their parent States (not necessarily in direct touch with local health matters) to speak for them, singly or in groups.

The course of the discussions may be illustrated by three examples:—

(*a*) Most of the delegations were willing to have the headquarters of the World Health Organisation in Europe, many of them favouring Paris. A decision in this sense would delight the French, who though willing to see the *Office International d'Hygiène Publique* absorbed into the World Health Organisation would welcome the prestige to be derived from Paris becoming the world's health capital. The view of the U.K. Delegation, however, was that headquarters should be near or at those of the United Nations. The question has been left open.

(*b*) The chief regional body to be brought within the ambit of the W.H.O. is the Pan-American Sanitary Bureau. A stubborn fight was put up to retain the practical independence of this body and to avoid any commitment as to when, if at all, it should be integrated in the W.H.O. The divided interest of the U.S. was revealed by the contrast between the strong regionalism of Dr. Thomas Parran, president of the Pan-American Bureau and concurrently leader of the American Delegation in New York, and the wider outlook of the State Department revealed when representations in regard to Dr. Parran's attitude were made by His Majesty's Embassy, Washington, at the request of the U.K. Delegation. The outcome of this test case was an agreement that the integration of Pan-American, as a regional body of W.H.O., should be effected "in due course" and, by implication, that the principle of regions being subordinate to the centre should be preserved.

(*c*) The Chinese delegation proposed that all colonies should be "Associate" (i.e. non-voting) members of the World Health Assembly at headquarters. The United Kingdom, whilst preferring that such territories could more effectively be represented at the regional level, supported the Chinese proposal, but pointed out certain practical difficulties. The Dominions and France strongly supported regional representation only. The Liberian delegate successfully added a rider to the effect that the representatives "*should*" be "natives" of such territories. In the end, "associate" membership was accepted.

The legal nexus between the W.H.O. and the United Nations is a further question of some moment, at least in the United Kingdom view. Much would be gained and a useful precedent set if the World Health Organisation were set up by a resolution of the U.N. Assembly. Nevertheless, the urgency of getting a world organisation to work in health matters over-rides other considerations, and this point has not been insisted on for the present.

The outcome of the International Health Conference is the approval of a Constitution for the future W.H.O. The Organisation itself has not yet been established, but an Interim Commission. to proceed at once with pressing business and to prepare for the first World Health Assembly (probably in November), has been appointed and has held its first meeting. It will next meet in Geneva in November. Meanwhile it has set up three Committees to consider urgent problems.

It is interesting to note that the U.S.S.R. attended the Conference and that throughout these discussions, the Russians have been co-operative and understanding, and have spoken strongly in favour of a single world organisation though a danger has been sensed that in the event of regional organisations being set up they might be tempted to claim Eastern Europe as the field for a regional organisation under their control.

THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

The Paris Peace Conference, that witness to the patience and persistence of the four Foreign Ministers, opened on the afternoon of Monday, the 29th July, in the Luxembourg Palace. M. Bidault, Prime Minister of France, welcomed the delegates. With that French genius for clarity, or the elimination of the inconvenient, he attributed the short life of the Versailles Treaty to the absence of Russia from the Conference table and the abstention of America from the Settlement. Both Powers were present to-day, and the United Nations were already organised. The prospects of this Second Paris Conference were bright. And yet M. Bidault's first proposal, that a Committee on procedure should meet at the same time as the Plenary Conference, at once raised the whole question of the rights of the twenty-one nations. It will be remembered that the Russians had insisted on the Foreign Ministers of the Four Powers drawing up rules to guide the procedure of the Twenty-One (see *Summary* 350 under "The Paris Conference"). For instance, recommendations from the Plenary Conference to the Big Four, who are to make the final draft of the treaties, require a two-thirds majority. Thus there was a likelihood of a big Power with its friends or satellites being able to nullify the wishes of the majority, and to hold up proceedings by a kind of veto process. At the same time, the draft rules of procedure laid it down that the Twenty-One could suspend or change the rules.

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Dr. Evatt of Australia objected to M. Bidault's proposal on the ground that procedure was so important that the chief delegates would wish to attend the committee. This they could not do if Committee and Conference sat simultaneously. Mr. Byrnes supported him, and it was agreed that the Committee should sit at 10·0 a.m., the Conference at 4·0 p.m. on the 30th. Dr. Evatt declared in strong terms his preference for voting by simple majority. He would rather have no voting at all than the two-thirds majority of the draft rules.

On the face of it, the Twenty One have only the right to discuss, and to make recommendations which the Big Four are at liberty to reject. Messrs. Bevin's and Byrnes' undertaking, given on the 8th July, to support the major decisions of the Conference of Foreign Ministers, seems to have reduced the scope of the Twenty-One still further. On the other hand, when France agreed to the Moscow decisions of December 1945 which named the Twenty-One and stated that the draft treaties should be submitted to them, Mr. Byrnes promised on behalf of the U.S., U.K. and U.S.S.R., that "no final treaty would be concluded which arbitrarily rejected the recommendations of the Conference." In the background is the principle, familiar in the constitutional history of this country, and fundamental to all responsible government, that "what touches all must be approved by all." Mr. Bevin relied on it on the 9th October 1945, when explaining the failure of the London Conference :—"the difference of view with the Soviet delegation involved" he said "a big question of principle, to what extent are the Big Three to exclude other nations from the discussion of matters of grave concern to them?" Australia and S. Africa were acting on the same principle when they had claimed, a few days earlier, on the 26th September, that nations which had shared in the war had a right to share in making the peace. It was appropriate that the Australian, Dr. Evatt, should be the first to champion the principle at the Peace Conference.

In the absence of Mr. Bevin who has been ordered a complete rest, Mr. Attlee leads the U.K. delegation. Mr. A. V. Alexander, Mr. Glenvil Hall and Mr. Hector McNeil accompany him. The French delegates under M. Bidault's lead are M. Schneiter, General Catroux, M. Massigli, M. Henri Bonnet, M. Couve de Murville and M. Alphand. Mr. Byrnes leads the American delegation, which includes Mr. Averell Harriman and Mr. Bedell Smith. On the Soviet delegation are Messrs. Molotov, Vyshinski, Gusev, Bogomolov, and Novikov, the Ambassador to U.S.A. M. Spaak leads a particularly well-equipped Belgian delegation. M. Jan Masaryk leads the Czechoslovak delegation. There are five Greek delegates, led by M. Tsaldaris. M. Kiselev, Minister of Foreign Affairs leads the ByeloRussian delegation, M. Manuilski the Ukrainian, M. Rzymowski the Polish. The Yugoslavs have as many as 137 persons all told in their delegation.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 354

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
7TH AUGUST, 1946.

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

AT the Control Council Meeting of the 30th July the French representative was unable to give any reply to the American proposal for economic union between two or more zones. Marshal Sokolovsky, although more subdued in his criticism than might have been expected, said that the proposal bore no relation to the achieving of economic unity, since this could not be brought about by splitting Germany into two or three parts. He regretted that political unity was not mentioned. The Soviet Authorities, he maintained, had always intended to achieve economic unity by means of inter-zonal collaboration and desired the growth of inter-zonal trade, thus assisting in the creation of central German administrations. The Control Council agreed to study means to increase inter-zonal trade, it being pointed out by General McNarney that this was not inconsistent with economic union of two zones. Marshal Sokolovsky's strange confusion of economic unity with mere inter-zonal barter may be read in conjunction with an article in *Pravda* International Review of the 14th July, which stated that Germany could only achieve economic unity under a central Government, the pre-conditions of which were democratisation and the creation of a central administration. This gives some idea of the likely Russian time-table in which it seems that inter-zonal trade would have to suffice until central administrations, satisfactory to the Russians, were in a position to organise the political and economic unity of Germany.

The Control Council on the 30th July decided also the terms of reference for the Coal Committee (see last week's *Summary*). The British representative stated that, while the Soviet proposals were not unreasonable, they affected the principle of the responsibility of Zone Commanders for their Zone and would thus give rise to discussion on subjects other than coal. It was finally agreed

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary
No. 354

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
7TH AUGUST, 1946.

Copy No. 143

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EUROPE.

GERMANY.

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that the Committee should issue a preliminary report for submission to the Council of Foreign Ministers by the 1st September and a final report by the 10th October. Investigations will be made on any necessary points in the Soviet proposal, but they will be based on the proposal of the other three Powers and will, in any case, be confined to technical matters. Following the Select Committee's recommendation that coal exports from the British zone should be decreased, the Zonal Economic Advisory Board has given warning that political chaos can be expected if the zone does not receive more coal. Nevertheless, His Majesty's Government have decided that, in view of political repercussions, no change in exports will be made at present, but the matter will be considered again before the October allocations are made.

Dr. Amelunxen (CDU), formerly *Oberpräsident* of Westphalia, has been appointed to the corresponding post for North-Rhineland–Westphalia. Lippe Diet on the 29th July protested against the incorporation of their state in Hanover. Comment on the new state has been mixed. The Communists, greatly indignant, refer to it as the first step towards a federal Germany, whereas Christian Democrats have so far given unanimous approval and the Social Democrats appear divided in their opinions. According to Hamburg radio, Schumacher, writing in the British zone weekly *Die Welt*, suggests that all the rest of the zone should form a single state; this is a reversal of his earlier ideas recorded in *Summaries* Nos. 350 and 352. This would entail, he says, a change in the set up of Germany, which while making the struggle for German unity extremely difficult, would make it easier than if some outsize states existed alongside those that were too small. He also declared that there was a danger in too many parliamentary institutions, since people might tire of a system in which there were too many elections. He contended that the "primitive egotism" of states would have to be counteracted by the *Reich* which in turn would have to yield some of its authority to an international order.

The Central Office for Food and Agriculture and the Central Economic Office in the British zone have been given some executive responsibilities, thus bringing them more in line with corresponding German authorities in the US zone, although even now Germans have far fewer responsibilities in the British than in the US zone. A Zonal Economic Council has been set up in the US zone composed merely of the three State Ministers of Economic Affairs. It will co-operate with the Central Economic Office in the British zone. This council, together with the Special Delegate for Food and the Special Delegate for Price Control, who have wide powers over the whole zone, increases the degree of centralisation in the US zone.

The SED offensive in the US zone has been launched by Fechner and Ulbricht, who spoke in Munich on the 29th July. A joint SPD/KPD Committee formed to organise the visit was prohibited by the military authorities, but some SPD members attended the meeting. In contrast to Pieck's statement that Germany must accept her losses in the East (see last week's *Summary*), Ulbricht declared that the party had not yet determined its attitude towards the Eastern Frontier. The Munich branch of the KPD was suspended for seven days after the meeting for repeatedly disobeying Military Government regulations. In Hesse, Hans Venedey, Minister of the Interior, has been dismissed following his expulsion from the SPD. He is in favour of fusion with the KPD.

Further details are now available of election procedure in the Russian zone. Under a new election order in Thuringia men and women will vote separately in some constituencies. It is hoped that the results will give a conclusive picture of political trends among women. This is an infringement of the principle of universal secret ballot and if extended to other groups of the population might well make nonsense of the ballot system. Prisoners of war returning from Russia are to be allowed to vote. The SED are taking full credit for this concession, thus hoping to win support from another group of the population besides those already members of the party or belonging to the Communist-controlled "non-party" organisations. An interesting indication of conditions in the zone was given by Bechler, Vice-President of Brandenburg, when welcoming the prisoners of war. He sought to forestall criticism of dismantling operations by saying that there was no unemployment and industrial production was rising daily. Prisoners would hear too frequently people in food queues grumbling at those who had achieved reconstruction, but if the harvest continues normally they could expect a good crop although they had "no horses, no tractors, nothing. Our people have had to dig the fields with spades because they had no ploughs."

German opinion on the South Schleswig problem (see *Summary* No. 347) is crystallising rapidly. The provincial leaders of the main parties are unanimous in denouncing separatist tendencies. The line generally taken by the left wing

is that inhabitants of South Schleswig who desire union with Denmark are composed of Fascists or reactionaries who seek to escape justice in Germany. The resentment felt over the food parcels, sent from Denmark to the South Schleswig Association (see below), is summed up by a Conservative resolution: "Bacon is used to catch mice, but to try to use it for enticing German citizens . . . . is an endeavour which is a slap in the face for every conception of honour." The local population, however, have not remained impervious to the attractions of the South Schleswig Association, and some party members, particularly among the SPD have joined the Association. For instance, the Flensburg branch of the SPD recently rejected a resolution against separatism which declared the 1920 frontier to be just and final.

The South Schleswig Association applied for recognition in August as the organisation protecting the interest of citizens of Danish descent. Since then considerable dispute has arisen over the terms of its statute and has not yet been resolved. The military authorities have declared that membership must be restricted to persons, or their descendants, who joined before the 1st January, 1946, or who were already members of the sixty other Danish organisations in the area. This provision, designed to prevent the infiltration of a large number of Germans who joined out of self-interest, has not yet been accepted by the Association, though non-acceptance could of course entail dissolution. Unfortunately the Association in its eagerness to extend its membership has not kept a careful check on entrants, one of whom was recently discovered to be a high-ranking SS man who had escaped from a British internment camp. The authorities have also stated that the Association must restrict itself to cultural and social activities, although members may stand as independent candidates in the local elections. This again has not proved acceptable and the Association has not yet presented its statutes to the authorities although ordered to do so by the 30h July.

The quadripartite Displaced Persons Directorate agreed on the 29th July to transfer to Germany those refugees in Denmark who previously lived within the present German frontiers. No decision has been taken on the graver problem of those Germans who came from the Eastern territories.

AUSTRIA.

In reply to a question in the House of Commons on the 2nd August, Mr. Noel-Baker made a statement on the policy of His Majesty's Government towards Austria which should help to allay the anxiety aroused in Austria by Mr. Bevin's speech on the 25th July (see last week's *Summary*). Mr. Noel-Baker emphasised that His Majesty's Government had subscribed to the Moscow Declaration of October, 1943 and to the Control Agreement signed on the 28th June, 1946, which stated that one of the primary tasks of the Allied Commission for Austria should be to "maintain the independent existence and integrity of the Austrian State and, pending the final definition of its frontiers, to ensure respect for them as they were on December 31st, 1937." His Majesty's Government had for some time done their best to secure a treaty with Austria to end the occupation and in the meantime to reduce the effect of the boundaries between the zones. They would regard as a matter of grave concern any action which might intensify the effect of the division of Austria into zones, the more so if such action "appeared likely to infringe the internal or external integrity of Austria which all the four occupying powers have agreed to maintain."

There has been a little progress on the way to Austria's goal of full sovereignty. The Allied Commanders-in-Chief have taken the title of "High Commissioners" in accordance with the new Control Agreement: the Diplomatic Representatives of the occupying powers will shortly take the position of accredited Ministers in Vienna: and it was announced on the 29th July that, except for the legal, security and education departments, more than fifty per cent. of the British Civil Affairs officers are to leave Styria. It is reported from Styria, however, that these changes have made little impression there. It is generally assumed that the situation is little changed, that the same people will carry out the same jobs though under different names, and the disappointment felt at the failure of the Foreign Ministers to reach any decision on Austria has contributed to this lack of enthusiasm.

Mr. La Guardia, Director-General of U.N.R.R.A., has had talks with the Austrian Chancellor and some of his Ministers. He announced that U.N.R.R.A. relief for Austrian industry would start soon. His statements at a press

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conference on German assets and displaced persons (he described the Communist figure of 437,000 displaced persons in U.N.R.R.A. camps as a "misprint," saying that the real number in camps was 43,700) have aroused criticism from the Red Army paper *Oesterreichische Zeitung*, which said that his remarks were "a gross refutation of the allegation that U.N.R.R.A. was non-political," and praise from the Socialist *Arbeiterzeitung*, which hailed Mr. La Guardia as a "fighter for democracy."

The Austrian Trades Union Federation has been invited to send a delegation to Moscow. The delegation, which will leave on the 20th August, will consist of four Socialist members, two People's Party, and two Communist.

An extraordinary meeting of the Allied Council was held on the 2nd August, at which General Kourasov, the Russian High Commissioner, proposed a resolution to the effect that the Allied Council considered that the Austrian Government and Parliament had infringed the new Control Agreement by their action in presenting and approving the Nationalisation Bill (see *Summaries* No. 352 and No. 353) without the previous written consent of the Allied Council. General Kourasov proposed therefore that the law should be vetoed by the Allied Council. The main Soviet argument is that as the law deals with assets claimed as German by the Russians, it deals with one of those matters reserved in the Control Agreement for direct control by the Allied Council. The French member of the Council agreed that some of the firms listed in the Bill are undoubtedly German assets, and may support the Soviet wish to veto it when the subject comes up for renewed discussion at the next meeting of the Allied Council. Under the Control Agreement, however, any law which is not constitutional comes into force thirty-one days after it has been submitted by the Austrian Government to the Allied Council, unless it is vetoed unanimously by the four members of the Council.

At the end of July the Italian Government informed His Majesty's Government that the Prefect of Bolzano had received a written statement signed by leaders of the People's Party in the South Tyrol, saying that in consequence of the Foreign Ministers' decision on the South Tyrol the People's Party would no longer request local plebiscites, would collaborate with the Italian Government in settling local problems, and had already helped in the drawing up of the autonomy plan envisaged by the Italian Government. This surprising apparent reversal of South Tyrol People's Party policy is in contrast to other reports of continued resistance to the decision of the Foreign Ministers. A large meeting of South Tyrolese was held in Innsbruck on the 31st July and adopted a resolution of protest to be sent to the Peace Conference at Paris.

The People's Party newspaper in Vienna has vigorously attacked the "one-sided and unbridled control" by Social Democrats in the Vienna Town Hall. The clash between Socialist Vienna and the mainly Christian Socialist provinces was of course one of the features of pre-Anschluss political life.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

The National Court in Prague, which observers praise as being notably impartial, has announced its verdict on the trials of some former members of the Protectorate Government. The Court's decisions are remarkable in their clemency, particularly at a time when the passing of the death sentence has become an almost daily occurrence in the capitals of Europe. The sentences passed on the 31st July, and which caused so much surprised comment, are as follows: Krejči, ex-Prime Minister and Minister of Justice, 25 years' imprisonment; Bienert, last Protectorate Premier, 3 years; Hruby, Minister of Agriculture, a life term; Kamenický, Minister of Transport, 5 years. Dr. Kalfus, Minister of Finance, was acquitted. The Communist press was quick to attack the Court for its mildness and asks: "The National Court has passed its verdict. Are the sentences really the judgment of the nation?" The Partisans' Organisation declared itself outraged by the disproportionally mild sentences and accused the examining authorities of "gross negligence in collecting incriminating evidence." Other party organs, however, accept the verdicts as proof that the Court is independent and that Czechoslovak Justice remains serenely unaffected by the opinions of the Government and the political parties, all of which expected harsher treatment.

The mixed Czechoslovak-Hungarian commission sitting at Starý Smokovec reached an agreement in the last week of July, after a month's deliberations, on problems arising out of the proposed population transfer. The transferees, both Slovak and Magyar, will be allowed to take as much of their movable property

as they desire, provided the planned economy of the State is not affected; they may take property coming under the latter qualification sufficient to last one year; immovable property will be compensated at rates valid in Czechoslovakia. A commission of financial experts will take further decisions regarding the transfer of money, jewellery and objects of historic and artistic value.

Slovakia, which is now coming more frequently into the news, has recently been toured by a group of Czech journalists who confirm that conditions in this part of the Republic are remarkably quiet, despite some clashes between the defeated Communists and the triumphant (at least in the May elections) Democrats. Particular publicity was given to an interview with the Bishop of Spiš, who is reputed to be a Hlinka sympathiser. The Bishop protested against the nationalisation of Slovak Catholic schools, a fate which has not yet overtaken their counterparts in Bohemia and Moravia, but which, according to the report of an interview between President Beneš and the Catholic Action Committee, is certain. An American report states that the Government has, under the terms of the *Modus Vivendi* governing relations with the Holy See, rejected the nomination of the Bishop of Hradec Králové as Archbishop of Prague—again chiefly on account of his opposition to the nationalising of the Catholic schools. This question is undoubtedly one of those perplexing the minds of the People's Party and contributing to its internal weakness. Criticism of Mgr. Šrámek, the Party leader, centres around his continued collaboration with the Communists and Socialists of the National Front; a Right Wing is rumoured to be developing around Dr. Adolf Procházka, former Minister of Health, and his wife who was forced to resign her mandate on account of her disagreement with Government policy.

POLAND.

There has been a noticeable sharpening of the issue between the Peasant Party of M. Mikolajczyk (P.S.L.) and the parties of the "Lublin *Bloc*."

A recent law transferred the control of all agricultural boards to country and district offices from the Ministry of Agriculture, the chief ministry allotted to the P.S.L. Three reasons were officially given for this step, according to press accounts.

(*a*) Local Governors, who have a fuller knowledge of local conditions than the Ministry of Agriculture, ought to be able to make immediate decisions without having to wait for the Ministry's sanction.
(*b*) M. Mikolajczyk, as one of the political heads of Parliament, has not had enough time for his departmental duties.
(*c*) M. Mikolajczyk is known to favour a policy of large farm holdings, detrimental to the poorer peasants.

This law was accepted by all members of the Cabinet, with the exception of the three members of the P.S.L.

Since its enactment, it has been announced that the post of Vice-Minister of Agriculture is to be occupied by M. Podedworny, a member of the satellite peasant party belonging to the "Lublin *Bloc*."

Glos Ludu, the chief Communist newspaper, gave M. Mikolajczyk a very sharp warning, that the time had come for him to choose between the democratic camp and the "forest bands" (the underground terrorist movement). By joining the latter he would be going over to foreign forces inimicable to Poland, together with the "Fascist underground" and General Anders' bands.

The *Gazeta Ludowa*, the chief newspaper of M. Mikolajczyk, accepted this challenge eagerly with the prophecy that "Interesting and hot times are coming."

The crisis in the affairs of the S.P., the Labour Party (see *Summary* No. 352) has developed further.

On the 18th July, M. Popiel, the party's leader opposed to the "Lublin *Bloc*," caused the Central Committee of the party to order a suspension of all political activity, until "a change in the political atmosphere" had occurred. The causes of this step lie in the long-standing friction between the supporters of M. Popiel and those of the late M. Felczak and his successor M. Widy-Wirski, both of whom favoured complete collaboration with the "Lublin *Bloc*." Matters came to a head shortly before the Party Congress, which was to have taken place on the 19th and 20th July.

M. Widy-Wirski, who is the Voivode of Poznania, demanded that the Congress be postponed, and that his group be given 40 per cent. of the seats in

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the Central Committee. In his demands he was supported by the Socialist Prime Minister, M. Osobka-Morawski, and, with the help of the Socialist Party's Press, published an announcement that the Labour Party's Congress was postponed.

M. Popiel protested to M. Osobska-Morawski against M. Widy-Wirski's action, but, failing to receive any satisfaction, convened the meeting of the 18th July, at which it was decided to suspend the Party's activity.

The Party's weekly newspaper, which, despite strict censorship, acted as M. Popiel's mouthpiece, ceased to appear since the crisis in the Party became apparent. Since the session of the 18th July, M. Widy-Wirski has also become Vice-Minister of Propaganda.

The end of August has also been chosen for an important session of the K.R.N. (Homeland National Council), according to its Vice-President Stanislaw Szwalbe, as reported by official Polish Press Bulletins. The Council will then be discussing the acceptance of the electoral law, and if the question is settled at this session, it may be believed that the elections themselves will be scheduled for November.

At a Press Conference for foreign correspondents held on the 24th July, the Director of the Polish Foreign Ministry's Press Department, General Grosz, is reported as having made various allegations concerning the direct subordination of the Polish underground movement to General Anders.

According to information received from persons arrested in Poland, communications with General Anders were maintained by means of centres in Czechoslovakia and at Regensburg, in the American zone of occupation in Germany.

Through the former centres, agents were said to have been sent into Poland from abroad, and also to Britain, in order to be trained as parachutists. Regensburg was described as a centre for the training of agents in sabotage to be carried out in Poland, and also as a liaison post with the Headquarters of General Anders' Second Polish Corps in Italy. Many arrests have already been made, and the trials were to begin some time in August.

According to the official Warsaw radio, a military court at Wrocław (Breslau) has already begun the trial of thirty-nine members of a secret German organisation, "Freies Deutschland." The Headquarters of the organisation was said to be in Germany, and its activity chiefly in Lower Silesia, especially in the district of Boleslawiec (Bunzlau). One of the accused Germans is reported as saying that the organisation's aims were to separate Lower Silesia from Poland by force, and to free all Germany from occupation. These aims were to be pursued by sabotage, and by creating discord between Poles and Russians.

The second anniversary of the Warsaw rising was celebrated in Poland by various civic and religious ceremonies. The official view of the tragedy, represented by President Bierut's statement as quoted in the paper *Rzeczpostpolite*, is that the heroism and gallantry of the people of Warsaw at that time must be contrasted with the reactionary policy of Bor–Komorowski and his friends. who directed a completely premature rising in order to cover their own political bankruptcy. A warning note was sounded by the Socialist paper *Robotnik:* "The lesson of the Warsaw rising is that, alongside an impetuous love of liberty, ready to stake its life, political wisdom must govern our nation."

SOVIET UNION.

The Soviet press has accorded its readers a week of comparative quiet. Reports of the Peace Conference were not pessimistic and contained no sensations, though their tone was on the whole astringent; Dr. Evatt came in for the most consistent criticism, being accused among other things of trying to drive a wedge between the U.S.S.R. and France.

Attacks against Great Britain, greatly diminished in volume, again centred around the Middle East; the old charges against the Anglo-Persian Oil Company were once more brought forward, and the activities of the British consulate at Khorramshah were said to be reminiscent of "the well-known imperialist diversionist, Colonel Lawrence."

The British Labour Party mission, headed by Mr. Laski, which recently arrived in Moscow, has been received by Generalissimo Stalin; the Soviet scientists who have just returned from the Newton celebrations in Great Britain gave a favourable account of their visit, being apparently much gratified by the popularity of Academician Vinogradov.

The delegates of the British-Soviet Society now visiting Armenia have given their views to the Soviet press; they declared that the unification of the whole

Armenian people was only possible under Soviet rule, and that Soviet Armenia would not be able to receive the hundreds of thousands of Armenians returning from all over the world without the return of the territory annexed by Turkey.

The issue by the Canadian Royal Commission of its report on the Gouzenko spycase has provided Zaslavsky with material for a long vitriolic article describing the "atmosphere of savage terror against democracy" which had been created in Canada. He was most insistent that the Commission had been unable to find evidence that Soviet agents had given directives to Canadian political workers, and alleged that far from there being a secret Comintern organisation in Canada, there was an organisation very similar to the Gestapo and provided with large funds, whose object was to undermine friendly relations between the Canadian and Soviet peoples.

The press campaign against the U.S.A. has also died down, though *Izvestia* has recently indulged in angry and childish abuse of American work in the Allied Council in Japan and of Mr. Acheson in particular, calling him "a pigheaded fascist slanderer."

Soviet-American relations have also been somewhat strained over the Hungarian situation (see under Hungary). The Soviet reply to the American note appeared in the local press several hours before it was received by the American Embassy in Moscow.

The Minister Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Mongolian People's Republic, M. Naidanhugiin Idamyab, presented his credentials to M. Shvernik on the 4th August.

The famous White Sea-Baltic Canal named after Stalin was formally reopened for navigation on Red Navy Day, the 28th July, the work of restoration having been carried out under the direction of the NKVD. The destruction was so serious that it had been doubted whether it was worth restoring the canal along its old course.

The U.S.S.R. Prosecutor's office has just announced the trial of a number of officials, for taking bribes, the convicted mainly being concerned with railways and the illegal issue of tickets.

The traitor General Vlassov, of whom little had been heard since the liberation of Prague, was hanged together with 11 of his associates on the 1st August.

SCANDINAVIA.

Denmark.

The terms of the Anglo/Danish Trade Agreement have now been settled, though not yet published. The *Daily Telegraph* of the 29th July suggested that "the Danes have accepted the British price," but unfortunately, it would be more correct to say that we had to concede most of the Danish terms. The prices now agreed upon are those submitted by the Danish Government in a memorandum handed to our representatives on the 20th July. They are 220*s.* and 150*s.* per cwt. f.o.b. for butter and bacon respectively, and 15*s.* 6*d.* and 19*s.* 6*d.* for eggs. The butter price compares with 247*s.* 7*d.* payable by the Russians under their trade pact with Denmark. Other terms which we were obliged to accept were the curtailment of the period of duration of the pact to the 30th September instead of the 31st December, 1947, and a proviso that the prices might be reconsidered for the second six months of the agreement at the request of either Government, if such request reached the other before the 1st April, 1947. This latter condition was originally unilateral in favour of Denmark and was due to a lively Danish fear of a possible world inflation in the not very distant future.

The negotiations which culminated in this none too satisfactory agreement were carried on under the shadow of the Russo/Danish negotiations, which went on simultaneously, and under the pressure exercised by the Danish farmers on a Government representing their own interests. But the influence of the exchange rate and the disparity between British and Danish price levels also exercised a restraining influence on the undoubted readiness of the Danish Government to come to a reasonable agreement with us. Moreover the desire in certain circles, which was expressed very clearly by M. Federspiel, a Member of the Resistance movement, to "make hay while the sun shines," though not shared by the Government cannot have failed to harden their determination to hold out for terms satisfactory to their ruthless taskmasters, the Danish farmers. Thus the prices now accepted, while not as high as originally demanded by the Danes, yet represent the Danish view of what would be the minimum price they could accept rather than our feeling of what we could afford to pay.

H.M.G. in consequence pointed out privately that we could not regard the Danish terms as generous but would rather describe them as grasping, in that

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they showed no appreciation of (1) the extravagant prices we had paid to the Danish farmers after the liberation; (2) the sacrifices we had made, and were still making, to assure Danish industrial supplies and hard currency necessary to obtain certain essentials; and (3) the unfairness of Danish expectations that we would bear all the cost of supporting Denmark's main industry when our own situation was directly traceable to our unparalleled war effort. The Danes contended in reply that they would actually have to bear a considerable part of the burden, a contention since borne out by press reports from Copenhagen that the Government subsidy to agriculture has had to be substantially increased. Moreover, M. Rasmussen, who, as always, showed himself most well-disposed to this country, assured our representatives that his Government fully appreciated our motive of wishing to avoid inflation and realised that uncontrolled inflation would in fact harm Danish interests no less than British.

It may be conceded, however, that, as a slight *quid pro quo*, the Danish Government have met us over the quantities involved in the Agreement. In accordance with our wishes they are prepared to determine the quantities to be delivered to the United Kingdom in 1947 in such a way as to constitute 62½ per cent. (instead of 60 per cent.) of exportable surplus up to 80,000 tons (instead of 75,000), *plus* 90 per cent. of quantity of export in excess of 80,000 tons. H.M.G. has furthermore reserved the right to make subsequent representations on the question of securing for the United Kingdom any supplies promised to third countries but subsequently not taken by them. This, we emphasized, was also in Denmark's interest as facilitating a reduction in Denmark's large and increasing sterling liabilities.

M. Rasmussen has once again raised the question of communicating the text of the Danish Rigsdag's resolution on South Schlesvig to the Four Allied Powers (see this *Summary* No. 351, pp. 8–9). H.M.G. has reiterated their contention that the matter was one for agreement between this country and Denmark alone and that the Danish step would therefore greatly embarrass H.M.G. Upon further pressure being exercised M. Rasmussen agreed to hold the matter in abeyance for two weeks. If it is remembered that the Danish Foreign Minister finds himself in this case between the upper and lower millstone in that pressure is exercised on him by ourselves and by his pertinacious Prime Minister, his attitude in this matter is deserving of great praise. Incidentally, it now appears from Danish press reports as though M. Christmas Moeller will after all for the time being remain Chairman of the Conservative Party. (See this *Summary* No. 351.)

Norway.

At a time when the Antarctic whaling season is about to begin, the Norwegian Seamen's Union has adopted an attitude towards British companies which can only be described as unreasonable. The Norwegian trade unions have refused to negotiate jointly with Norwegian and British employers as in 1939 and 1945, and will not allow their members to sign on British expeditions until certain demands have been met. These include the condition that only Norwegians should be employed on board British whale catchers. Though excluded from negotiations, British Whaling Companies are prepared to apply whatever terms are reached between the Norwegian National Whaling Board and the Norwegian Seamen's Union to Norwegian personnel on board British catchers, but it is quite obvious that H.M.G. cannot sanction any measure which discriminates against the employment of British subjects on British ships. Strong representations have accordingly been made by His Majesty's Ambassador in Oslo and to the Norwegian Chargé d'Affaires here.

Taking into consideration that Britain favoured the allocation of a German whale factory to Norway, and that this country discouraged a plan to bring Swedish interests into whaling and refused to support Dutch whaling schemes, greater understanding might have been expected from the Norwegians in return. The Norwegian Government should be able to influence the unions in question, but should they fail to do so H.M.G. will be compelled to take steps to safeguard their own position. The behaviour of the Norwegian unions is, however, to be particularly deplored at a time when the oil and fats situation is so critical and it is essential to obtain all the whale oil possible in the forthcoming season.

Finland.

Following the scoop made by the *New York Herald Tribune*, all the Helsinki papers printed the texts of the draft peace treaties on the 23rd July. Particular

prominence was, naturally, given to the Finnish Treaty. The complete absence of any alleviations in the terms of the Armistice certainly came as a great shock to most Finns, many of whom until quite recently entertained the most sanguine hopes including expectations of territorial concessions. Disillusionment is great and whatever consolation is felt is derived from the acknowledgment in the preamble that Finland has loyally fulfilled the terms of the Armistice. Though perhaps unknown to the Finnish public, similar acknowledgments were given to all the ex-satellites.

On the 2nd August Lahti Radio announced that the Finnish delegation to the Paris Conference would be headed by Prime Minister Pekkala, Foreign Minister Enckell, and Minister of the Interior, Leino. MM. Pekkala and Leino have without a doubt been delegated because of their pro-Soviet inclinations, whereas the inclusion of M. Enckell was probably dictated by the necessity of the delegation possessing an expert on foreign affairs.

During July and while the arms dumps case was still awaiting final settlement, Minister of the Interior, Leino, made another sensational revelation of the activities of Finnish "reactionaries." He contended that following the cessation of hostilities between Finland and the Soviet Union a number of Finnish citizens maintained contact with the Germans and were preparing to overthrow the Government in order to continue the war. The protagonists in this alleged villainy are an Army officer, Lt.-Col. Fabricius and a civilian, P. Forsström. The former is said to have travelled to Germany in a U-boat and later returned to Finland by air for the purpose of organising a pro-German resistance movement. M. Forsström, a leading industrialist and, incidentally, one of Field-Marshal Mannerheim's few personal friends, is accused of having aided two German agents in their escape from the Finnish State Police. Several other persons have also been detained in connexion with this affair, and, rightly or wrongly, the impression is gaining ground that the Communists, through the State Police, are ridding themselves of their opponents by having them arrested on charges which may not be fully justified. Under an emergency decree still in force, the Law for the Protection of the Republic, a person may be detained for an indefinite period without trial and many of the persons arrested a year ago as suspects in the arms dumps case are still in gaol without any indication of when their trial will begin.

THE LOW COUNTRIES.

Belgium.

M. Spaak's failure in the task of Cabinet-making has been followed by the success of M. Camille Huysmans, the well-known Socialist elder statesman and Burgomaster of Antwerp, now in his 76th year, to whom the Prince-Regent turned on the 1st August. The parties represented in M. Huysmans' Cabinet remain the same; but its personnel has slightly changed. Four new Ministers have taken the places of MM. Devèze (Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Economic Affairs), van Glabbeke (Minister of Justice), de Voghel (Minister of Finance) and de Smaele (Minister of National Re-equipment). The portfolios of Economic Affairs and Justice continue to be held by Liberals—M. Henri Liebaert (a Deputy and Ghent industrialist) and M. Albert Lilar (a Senator and Brussels University professor), those of Finance and Re-equipment by extra-parliamentary experts—M. Jean Vauthier and M. de Groote (the latter another Brussels University professor). Otherwise there is no change. The four new Ministers took the oath on the 3rd August. The wisdom of perpetuating the three-party left-wing coalition—even though (according to M. Huysmans) the new Cabinet's programme meets with the Catholic Opposition's approval—remains to be seen: as M. Huysmans has admitted, he himself favoured a four-party Government, as did M. van Acker. Some of the damage which Belgian economy has sustained in consequence of the delay is probably reflected in the sharp rise in the number of registered unemployed during the week ended the 27th July—55,234 as against 43,881 during the previous week, an increase of 11,353—after a long period of almost uninterrupted decline.

Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg.

A plot to overthrow the Luxembourg Government was discovered in time towards the end of last week. The *coup d'état*, which had been planned to take place on the 3rd August, appears to have been the work of persons who had suffered imprisonment in concentration camps and of former *résistants*. The underlying cause is stated to be the Government's alleged slowness in carrying

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out the " purge " of unpatriotic officials, a grievance claimed by the Government to be without foundation. Amongst those arrested for complicity were three army officers—one of them, a major, has since been cashiered—and a Socialist schoolteacher named Winghert, who is also a communal councillor at Schiffelingen (Schifflange) and a resistance hero. Failure to carry out the *coup d'état* did not, however, prevent some 20,000 people from demonstrating in Luxembourg City on the 4th August to demand Winghert's release: he is the only conspirator still under arrest, but is shortly to be released. According to the official inquiry, members of the present Cabinet were to be placed under arrest until a new Cabinet had been formed. At no time had the conspirators considered taking any action in respect of the Luxembourg Dynasty.

FRANCE.

The French delegation to the Paris Conference (see under " The Paris Conference ") is headed by M. Bidault and includes M. Schneiter, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs; MM. Moutet and Billoux, Ministers for Overseas France and for Reconstruction; General Catroux; MM. Massigli and Bonnet; and MM. de Murville and Alphand of the Quai d'Orsay.

The Government decision, mentioned in the last *Summary*, to increase average wages by 18%, secured the acceptance of the National Economic Conference and the C.G.T. and was published in the *Journal Officiel* on the 30th July. It is, in fact, a compromise between the original Government proposals for an average wage increase of 15% and those of the Economic Conference for a 25% increase of minimum wages averaging out at a general increase of about 20%. The new increase will be distributed in such a way as to give the lowest-paid workers a rise of as much as 35% and to give only a small increase to those who are better off. A further battle was waged over the question of the salaries of Government employees which have for some years been out of relation with the general wage-level. The Post Office workers staged an inconvenient strike on the 30th July in many parts of the country and stoppages occurred again on the 2nd August. However, on the 31st July the Cabinet decided to raise the basic wages of Government employees by 25%, with a minimum monthly increase of 1,800 fr., and to carry through after the end of this year a complete overhaul of their system of remuneration. The Constituent Assembly discussed these proposals on the 2nd August, and after sitting till 4·30 a.m. finally voted them with, however, the amendment that allowances and pensions were similarly to be increased by 25%.

Some important price increases will inevitably follow from these measures and the Government will be hard put to it in trying to control the already large budget deficit, strained as it will be by price subsidies and a heavy Government pay-roll. The price to the producers of meat, milk and wheat has already been raised, and a considerable increase in the price of electricity is awaited. The meat subsidy has been removed and M. Yves Farge is allowing butchers in Paris and elsewhere to sell extra meat at " free market " prices off the ration, in addition to the weekly meat ration which must be sold at the controlled price. Meat production is almost back to its pre-war level, the vegetable and fruit crops are good, and the harvests of sugar-beet and cereals are estimated to be 50% higher this year than last year. If the price question can be solved, these products should therefore now reach the official markets in sufficient quantities.

The Constituent Assembly on the 1st August voted unanimously for the ratification of the American loan agreements. Trade agreements have recently been signed with Eire, Sweden, Roumania, Belgium and Luxemburg, and Poland. The last, signed in Paris on the 1st August, provides for deliveries of Polish coal to France amounting to 100,000 tons a month. For the first six months of this year France's imports amounted to 15 million tons to a value of 105 milliard fr., and her exports to 4½ million tons to a value of 33⅓ milliard fr.

The sessions of the High Court of Justice have been suspended until the 12th August as a result of the refusal of the Communist jurors to appear, in protest against the leniency of the sentences passed (see last week's *Summary*). The Communist Parliamentary Group says that its members will not take part in a performance which is a " parody of justice " and the Party has proposed measures which would make the procedure of the Court even more political than it already is. This action has been severely criticised by the Socialist Party which holds the Presidency of the High Court in the person of M. Noguères; and this incident, following the Communist attempts to unseat MM. Reynaud and Daladier (see *Summaries* 350 and 352), has again shown up the Communist conception of justice as a political instrument.

The Constitutional Committee, after finishing its discussion of the draft on the machinery of government, turned to examination of the problem of the French Union. The Committee is almost equally divided between those, led by the M.R.P., who wish the present Constituent Assembly to establish the constitution of the French Union, and those, including the Socialists, Communists and native representatives, who wish the territories of the Union to have power to decide their own future. The latter point of view finally won the day but the decision may be reversed in the general debate.

The Franco-Viet-Nam discussions at Fontainebleau were declared " provisionally suspended " on the 1st August following a protest by the leader of the Viet-Nam delegation against the proposal of Admiral d'Argenlieu, High Commissioner for Indo-China, to open a conference on that day at Dalat, in South Annam. This conference, consisting of delegates from France, Cambodia, Laos, Cochinchina and the Moi population of South Annam, was to be preparatory, the aim being to define the status of the Indo-Chinese federation. It is said to have been convened at the request of the Cochinchinese provisional government, whose right to negotiate is certainly questionable, since the future of Cochinchina is not yet decided (see *Summary* No. 335). The French press has pointed out the discrepancy between the conduct of affairs in Paris and events in Indo-China, recalling that it was at the very moment when the Viet-Nam President was leaving for Paris, that the High Commissioner sponsored the creation of a provisional autonomous government in Cochinchina. *Le Populaire*, which should reflect the views of the Socialist Minister of Overseas France, goes so far as to say that Admiral d'Argenlieu called the Dalat conference without consulting Paris, and urges the Government to disown him.

At the Fontainebleau conference, progress has been slow. There has been no decision about the subjects to be dealt with by the federal administration. The Annamese are particularly anxious to have separate diplomatic representation abroad, while agreeing that economic affairs shall be a federal matter, but the French wish the federal system to be both political and economic.

SOUTH-EAST EUROPE.

Hungary.

The Soviet Union has replied to the Note presented by the United States (outlined in last week's *Summary*), and has refuted the allegations that the bulk of Hungary's products are absorbed by Russia in reparations or through requisitioning. The Soviet Note advanced, rather unconvincingly, as proof of this, evidence that Hungary had only paid 10,000,000 dollars for 1945 out of her total reparations commitments to Russia of 33,500,000 dollars. The Note also denied, without on the whole specifically disproving, the charges of heavy requisitioning by the Army of Occupation, and contended that the American accusations were based on false information—the value of the war enterprises transferred from Hungary, for example, was 11,000,000 and not 124,000,000 dollars as the American Note had alleged. The U.S.S.R. drew attention to their recent reparations concessions to Hungary (outlined in last week's *Summary*) which were made at the request of the Hungarian Government, but although these concessions were announced five days after the presentation of the U.S. Note, there is no evidence that they are connected with it. The U.S.S.R. then reaffirmed its belief that the chief responsibility for Hungary's plight lay with the United States for not having yet returned the Hungarian property in their zones of Austria and Germany. Once again Russia rejected the suggestion that the Allied Control Commission should work out a plan for Hungary's rehabilitation, maintaining that this was the concern of the Hungarian Government alone.

The publication of the draft Peace Treaty brought renewed disappointment but no surprise to Hungary. M. Nagy, in a statement to the Press, described the settlement for Transylvania as injurious and disquieting for the Hungarian people and as carrying the germ of future conflict.

The promise of the Minister of the Interior to remedy acknowledged excesses and abuses during the purge ordered by the Soviet High Command seems to have satisfied the Smallholders, and the Government is now trying to placate the Churches. A broadcast appeal, in which it was at last admitted that the purge was instigated by the Soviet High Command, exhorted the clergy of all the Churches to secure in their own sphere " confidence in our democratic

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institutions and good relations with the U.S.S.R.'' and assured them that the State would guarantee their rights and support them in the execution of their religious duties. It seems that the State is trying to secure the almost mutually exclusive advantages of ecclesiastical support on the one hand and a—political churches—on the other.

An unpleasant incident occurred in Miscolc when some Jewish black-marketeers were so mauled by a crowd that one of them died. Some of the ring-leaders were arrested, and to obtain their release, a party of demonstrators seized and murdered the Chief of the Political Police. This is further evidence of the restlessness caused by economic insecurity, and the success of the forint currency, introduced on the 1st August, will be interesting to watch.

This new currency was introduced at a gold parity of 1 kg. standard gold equal to 13,210 forint, that is to say, at an exchange value of approximately 47 forint to the pound sterling, and the conversion rate from the old to the new currency has been fixed at 1 forint for every 200 million tax pengö. By June, the Hungarian inflation had assumed the proportions of the closing phases of the German inflation of 1923; then, the final exchange rate was 20 million million Marks to the pound. Last week the pound sterling could technically be calculated in milliard milliard milliard pengö, although in practice the pengö had been replaced in current circulation by the tax pengö, an adjustable monetary unit which was issued in January for fiscal purposes at a parity of one to one ordinary pengö, and which by mid-July was worth 7 milliard milliard pengö.

The introduction of the new currency is shortly to be followed by the re-establishment of a system of price control.

Rumania.

The Communist Party have opened their ''election campaign.'' On the 1st August about 200 ''workers,'' protected by police officers in uniform, attacked the printing works of the newspaper *Dreptatea*, destroyed the type for the day's issue and damaged some of the machinery. Employés were then taken to the headquarters of the General Confederation of Labour and forced under threats of violence to sign a promise that they would cease to work for the National Peasant Party and would offer their services to the Communists. It is suspected that one reason for the outrage was that *Dreptatea* was suspected of being about to publish the text of the peace treaty.

The question of applying for permission to have official observers at the elections has been considered. It is most unlikely that permission would be granted. An alternative plan of asking for permission for an unofficial team of Members of Parliament and journalists is being considered. This might prevent irregularities which otherwise would take place. The refusal of permission for official observers would indirectly do good, for it would create the impression that the Rumanian Government had something to hide, and would put us in a stronger position if we desired later on to take exception to the results.

To give—everybody—his due, it is learned from a reliable source that some of the women of Saxon origin who were deported to Russia have been returned. It is those who are less able-bodied who have been sent back home. They appear not to have been badly treated, and they have ''been respected as women.''

Yugoslavia.

The problem of preventing the disappearance of U.N.R.R.A. goods in transit through Trieste to Yugoslavia and Central Europe has lately been worrying the local U.N.R.R.A. authorities, who have been trying to settle it on an operational level with A.M.G. and A.F.H.Q. The main difficulty, they consider, lies in the provision of an adequate guard during the transport of the goods from the docks to the railway. This state of affairs has not been ignored by the Yugoslavs who, shortly before the arrival in Yugoslavia of Mr. La Guardia, the head of U.N.R.R.A., published an exaggerated account of the thefts, alleging that members of the civil police and persons wearing British uniforms were involved. Mr. La Guardia's reaction was vigorous. He bluntly informed A.F.H.Q. that the existing arrangements were inadequate, that the thefts could not be taking place on such a large scale without the knowledge or connivance of the police, and that if A.F.H.Q. could not allow armed guards to be used he would have to take up the matter with the British and American Governments. He is reported to have told the Yugoslav Press that '' with twenty New York cops '' the situation could be very quickly altered. General Morgan replied that the recipient countries

were responsible for the protection of the goods from the docks onwards, that Yugoslavia had refused to co-operate unless the guards were armed, which was unnecessary and unacceptable, and that the situation was being exploited by the Yugoslavs for obvious reasons. It has since transpired that only 1·3 per cent. of the goods have disappeared instead of the alleged 25 to 30 per cent.

Once again the Yugoslav Government sent notes to H.M. and the U.S. Chargés d'Affaires concerning the behaviour of the Allied authorities in Trieste, on this occasion protesting against attacks by '' neo-Fascists '' on various minor Yugoslav officials and institutions. A number of incidents were quoted to show that not only did the police fail to intervene but that even requests for British military protection were ignored. British military police were also accused of ill-treating some innocent Yugoslav soldiers.

Another '' traitors' trial '' has opened in Belgrade, with some prominent Neditch officials in the dock.

The Bank of England has transferred to the Yugoslav National Bank the gold which the Royal Yugoslav Government brought to London in 1941. (See also '' Albania.'')

Greece.

There has been a further development of the situation referred to in *Summary* No. 351 of the 17th July. On the 30th July Government officials ordered the G.C.L. to hand over its archives and funds to Government custody. On this demand being refused, the Secretary-General and others were arrested, and the archives found and taken possession of. The arrested officials were brought before the Athens Correctional Court and sentenced to four months' imprisonment. They have appealed against this sentence and have been released pending appeal. The incident appears to be one phase of the antagonism which exists between the Government and the W.F.T.U., but is due mainly to the determination of the Government to act against political domination of the Trade Unions by the Communists. Whatever the rights and wrongs of the particular case, the action of the Government seems to be incredibly stupid just at the moment when Greece needs all the support she can get for the claims she is putting forward at the Peace Conference.

The Minister of Labour has issued a statement to the effect that the Trades Unions were suppressed during the occupation and were unable to function. The Government-in-Exile then re-enacted the law which was in force before 1936. Leftist groups succeeded by violence in gaining control of all the Executives and during the outbreak in December 1944 Trade Union leaders were murdered. When order had been restored a provisional Executive was formed, the activities of which were completely nullified through the action of the Minister of Labour in the Voulgaris and Sophoulis governments. The Minister's decision was set aside by the recent judgment of the Supreme Court with the result that (*a*) complete liberty of association under the Constitution was secured, (*b*) interference with Trade Union liberties by the Government was forbidden, and (*c*) elections to the Executive committees were safeguarded.

At the first meeting of the Provisional Executive the General Confederation elected officers. It appeared that the account books of the Confederation had not been handed over by the official who had charge of them. The possession of these is necessary, as the Minister of Labour may be called upon to check accounts.

Government armed forces and Leftist bands have been in conflict in the Olympus region. Exaggerated accounts of the operations have been circulated, probably for propaganda purposes, charging the army with subjecting villages to artillery fire. It seems that the '' villages '' were groups of huts on mountain tops where some of the bandits had dug themselves in, but were not permanent dwellings.

Papayiannis, the president of the Salonica Labour Centre, has been arrested and charged with instigating one hour strikes, with urging the gendarmerie not to obey orders, and with inciting disorder on the part of the populace. He is shortly to be tried by a special Court Martial.

The Government is exhibiting an extreme sensitiveness over the question of the admission of Albania to the U.N. It is felt that if this should happen Albania's present frontier would be automatically guaranteed and that all hope of Greece gaining Northern Epirus would be lost. It does not seem to be certain that the admission of Albania would necessarily prevent Greece from having her claim heard. Greek public opinion has been led to believe that the claim will have the wholehearted support of Great Britain.

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Albania.

On the 31st July, at the Paris Peace Conference, the Yugoslav delegate formally asked that Albania should be invited to send a delegation to the Conference, as she has been clamouring to do. The question has not yet been decided; but meanwhile another of her persistent demands looks like being satisfied, for (according to reports from Belgrade) the Albanian Government has now received an invitation from the United Nations to appoint a representative to discuss the country's application for U.N. membership. Colonel Tuk Jakova, Minister without portfolio, is stated to have been chosen for the purpose.

It is now nearly 12 weeks since the two British cruisers, H.M.S. *Orion* and H.M.S. *Superb*, were fired on without warning by Albanian coastal batteries in the Corfu channel (see *Summary* No. 344); but as even now no satisfactory reply to His Majesty's Government's protest has been received from the Albanian Government, a final note has been sent to them by His Majesty's Government warning them that should such a thing occur again, fire will be unhesitatingly returned.

There are grounds for believing that the recent Pact of Mutual Assistance between Albania and Yugoslavia contained a secret clause in which Yugoslavia undertook to construct a strategic railway from the Kossovo area to one of the Albanian ports.

Bulgaria.

Under the terms of the draft Peace Treaty Bulgaria's frontiers are to be those which existed on the 1st January, 1941 (so that she is confirmed in her possession of Southern Dobruja); but the Greek and Bulgarian Governments are to present their views on the Greco–Bulgarian frontier to the peace conference (Article 1 and note). Losses caused to Yugoslavia and Greece are to be made good direct to those countries by Bulgaria. A decision on the amounts to be paid, in consideration of Bulgaria's having ultimately waged war on Germany, was postponed by the Council of Foreign Ministers until the Yugoslav and Greek Governments could state their views (Article 20). Bulgaria is to be allowed an army of 55,000, including frontier guards, with 1,800 additional men for anti-aircraft artillery. She is to have a navy of 7,250 tons and 3,500 men; and an air force (including naval air arm) of 90 aircraft—not more than 70 of them combat types—and 5,200 men (Article 9). No reference is made to the militia, which is now thought to number about 40,000 men, armed with machine-guns and tanks and at present under the sole direction of the Minister of the Interior. The only check upon them in the treaty as drafted would appear to be Article 11, which forbids anyone in Bulgaria outside the army, navy or air force to be given any form of military training. If any clause is more likely than another to be ignored, it is assuredly this one; for the militia is the principal prop and weapon of the Communists and is used solely to terrorise the public.

Vasil Kolarov, the Speaker of the Sobranye, is once more in Paris at the head of a small party of Bulgarian "observers."

Charges of slander have been laid against Nikola Petkov and Asen Stambolisky in connection with articles which they wrote nine and six months ago respectively. A purge is now being prepared at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Seven former army officers, described as members of a secret organisation named "Tsar Krum," were accused of plotting to overthrow the Government when their trial opened at Sofia on the 5th August. According to a Reuter report, Colonel Anton Krustev, who is said to be the leader and founder of the organisation, pleaded guilty, but said: "I have never opposed the authority of the Fatherland Front, but I was always decidedly against the Communists exercising terror."

Turkey.

It was a foregone conclusion that the People's Party majority in the new Grand National Assembly would re-elect General Ismet Inönü as President of the Republic, the Democratic minority voting for Marshal Fevzi Çakmak, who sits as one of the new Independent Deputies. What was more surprising was the Government of M. Saracoğlu, which had been returned by an enormous majority at the recent general election, resigned according to custom. President Inönü asked a different member of the victorious People's Party to form a government. M. Recep Peker, the new Prime Minister, is a bluff personage of fifty-seven, who was a friend of Atatürk and has at various times been secretary-general of the People's Party, Minister of the Interior and Minister of Defence. The Foreign

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Minister, M. Hasan Saka, is one of four members of the former cabinet to retain office. Foreign policy is therefore unlikely to be changed. Although the withdrawal of M. Saracoğlu, against whom the Kremlin seem to nourish a particular animus, might have been held to improve the chance of an understanding with Russia, it is likely that M. Peker, who is a strong supporter of the Anglo-Turkish alliance, will defend Turkish interests with no less tenacity, but less flexibility, than his predecessor.

M. Saracoğlu's suppression seems to have been decided on after a long discussion in the People's Party. Whatever the motive for the decision, the new Government will start free of the considerable unpopularity which M. Saracoğlu had gained—though his sweeping electoral victory might not suggest this—by the shortcomings of his internal administration. The main purpose of the change is perhaps to make the position of the Government as strong as possible for the anticipated diplomatic struggle with Russia.

The resignation of the Chief of Staff, General Kâzim Orbay, seems to have been due to private reasons. He has been succeeded by the Deputy Chief of Staff, General Salih Omurtag.

THE MIDDLE EAST.

Egypt.

The intervention of Heikal Pasha and his criticism of the action of the Government in the suppression of subversive movements appears to be part of an intrigue between him and Sabri abu Alam Pasha, the Secretary-General of the Wafd Party. A compromise was reached on the main subject, as reported last week, and permission has been given for the publication of a Wafdist paper, known as the Saut al Umma (Voice of the People) to take the place of the suppressed Wafd al Misri. But it is anticipated that Heikal Pasha will continue to work against Sidqi Pasha whom he has the ambition to replace in the premiership. His chance of doing so would appear to be prejudiced by the fact that the King has been much annoyed at his recent behaviour.

Preoccupation with these internal complications adds to the natural difficulty of the Treaty negotiations. Although agreement on the "Defence" articles has not yet been reached, the Egyptians have now raised the question of the Sudan. Whatever they may accept as a plan to continue the present policy of Sudanization they demand recognition of Egyptian sovereignty as a prerequisite to all discussion. This applies equally to discussion with the Sudanese although no Egyptian from the King down has any intention of asking Sudanese opinion on the question of sovereignty. At the same time, as Lord Stansgate has pointed out, unqualified recognition of Egyptian sovereignty prejudges an issue which, to follow both the letter and the spirit of the United Nations Charter, the Sudanese should ultimately decide themselves, and such recognition might lead to difficulties and even to disturbance in the Sudan.

Agitation against the Joint Defence Board continues in the Egyptian press where a generally pessimistic view is taken of the progress of the negotiations. The Ahram, however, has published a hopeful statement by the Prime Minister and has given the main differences of view as (*a*) British insistence that evacuation will take five years, (*b*) the demand that Egypt should participate in preparations for defence when either party was threatened, not necessarily in Egypt or near the Egyptian frontier, (*c*) disagreement on the Egyptian proposal that the Joint Defence Board should meet only when specially convened and (*d*) British refusal to refer to the Sudan as an immediate problem. The Ikhwan al Muslimin and the Saut al Umma think that the time has come to break off the negotiations altogether.

Suggestions that Egypt has a right to a place at the Peace Conference have been made both officially and unofficially since hostilities ended. According to the Egyptian press of 31st July a delegation is now to be sent to Paris to put forward the Egyptian point of view.

Palestine.

The Lord President made a statement in the House of Commons on the 31st July reporting the recommendations of the British and American officials on the policy to be adopted on the report of the Anglo-American Committee. The third recommendation of the Committee, that Palestine as a whole can be neither a Jewish nor an Arab state, is accepted, and on this ground, proposals are made for a Central Government with Arab and Jewish provinces enjoying a large measure of autonomy. The country would be divided into four areas,

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an Arab Province, a Jewish Province and districts of Jerusalem and the Negeb. Final control of immigration would rest with the Central Government although it would be exercised on the basis of recommendations made by the provincial governments. This, it is thought, would make possible the admission of the 100,000 Jews as recommended by the Committee. The Committee recommended also that an effort should be made to improve the economic and social conditions of the Arabs; this is accepted, but the delegates give warning of the heavy capital expenditure involved and suggest that the United States Government should make a substantial grant for financing Arab development projects not suitable for self-liquidating loans and for meeting exceptional expenditure during the transitional period. The budgetary deficiency would be made up by His Majesty's Government until increased revenues made this unnecessary. The delegates consider that Palestine's need for economic development should be viewed against the background of the Middle East as a whole and suggest that the United States Government might authorise development loans to interested governments who had difficulty in obtaining the necessary capital from other sources. Large-scale development of benefit to Palestine could best be undertaken in co-operation "at least with Trans-Jordan and probably with Syria and Lebanon."

Arab critics have so far made no attempt to find points in the recommendations favourable to the Arab cause but condemn the whole plan with varying degrees of vehemence. In spite of the Palestinian Committee's refusal "to sit with Jews" there is little doubt that the Arab States invited will send representatives to London, although a Syrian suggestion for a single delegation representing all the Arab countries does not find favour in the Lebanon. According to the *Journal d'Egypte* Azzam Pasha has had a message from Iraq demanding the convocation of the Arab League Council to examine the Palestine question. He is said to prefer a meeting of the Arab Foreign Ministers.

Zionists appear to be equally hostile (see also under U.S.A.). The Jewish Telegraph Agency says that a quick survey shows that the plan has not a ghost of a chance of being accepted. A big Zionist meeting was held in London on 28th July when the outline of the report was already generally known. Professor Brodetsky referred to the rumours about a federal plan and said that the only practical way of dealing with the problem of the Jewish people was the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish State. He criticised the Government's invitation to the Arab States and asked what they had to do with the Jews in Europe or with Palestine. At a formal meeting of the Jewish Agency Executive held under Ben Gurion in Paris on 1st August it was agreed to convene a larger body, including parties not represented on the present Executive, to consider events of the last few weeks. An announcement rejecting the British Government's proposals was made on 5th August.

At dawn on the 30th July Tel Aviv was surrounded by troops and all communications were cut off. A curfew order was issued but the restriction on movement in the town was withdrawn for short periods to allow for the purchase of food. Meanwhile a house-to-house search was carried out which was continued until 2nd August. Many arrests were made of men and women required for further examination. A broadcast message from the High Commissioner made it clear that the operations were a direct result of the King David Hotel crime and that the object was to rout out terrorists believed to be in the town.

A considerable stir has been caused by an order issued by the General Officer Commanding, Palestine on the 26th July. In it he refuses to absolve the Jewish community of Palestine from responsibility for the long series of outrages and expresses the determination that they should suffer punishment and be aware of the contempt and loathing with which their conduct is regarded. He put out of bounds all Jewish establishments and prohibited social intercourse by the troops with all Jews. It is his final sentence, in which he expresses his belief that these measures will punish the Jews "in a way the race dislikes as much as any, by striking at their pockets and showing our contempt for them" which has raised the storm. In the House of Commons on 30th July Mr. Morrison said that "the Government feel that they must dissociate themselves from the actual terms in which the letter is couched."

The arrival in Palestinian waters of ships carrying illegal immigrants from various ports in Europe continues, and strong representations on the subject are being made to a number of governments in the hope of enlisting their co-operation to put a stop to a traffic which is already creating a very serious problem.

Iraq.

His Majesty's Ambassador has officially informed the Regent and the Prime Minister of the decision to send troops from India to Basrah to be ready to defend

British interests in South Persia (see under "Persia"). Both expressed satisfaction at a step which they think will encourage our friends although they expect complaints from some quarters.

A report on the Kirkuk strike (see last week's *Summary*) says that things are now normal although there is still much anti-government and anti-British talk. The prominent part played by Chaldeans in strike propaganda and the sympathy of the Army with the strikers are also particularly noted.

Persia.

On 31st July all members of the Cabinet resigned in a body. Their action was preceded by no ministerial crisis and the only explanation given is that it was taken in order that Qawam might be free to reconstitute his Cabinet, which he did on the following day including three members of the Tudeh Party.

The Government of India announced on the 2nd August that troops are being sent from India to Basrah in order that they may be at hand for protection, should circumstances demand it, of Indian, British and Arab lives, and in order to safeguard Indian and British interests in South Persia. The Persian Government, to whom, of course, no official notification of the move has been given, reacted strongly. A statement was issued by the Fars agency on 3rd August which referred to the news of the troop movement and announced that, in order to avoid misunderstanding in the public mind, it was necessary to make it clear that the affairs of Khuzistan are an internal Persian matter and that the Persian Government will, under no circumstances, permit foreign intervention. The Prime Minister on the same day published details of his programme of reform which includes orders prohibiting Persians, official or unofficial, from contact with foreign embassies or legations unless specially authorized or engaged on necessary business. The isolation of foreign embassies appears to be designed to facilitate the activities of the Tudeh Party which is plainly responsible to the Soviet Embassy. The Rahbar on 4th August published a statement by the Central Committee of the Tudeh making it clear that the appointment of the three Tudeh Ministers was designed to give security for the party. It is as yet impossible to estimate the significance of the Prime Minister's move. It appears to have been made without the general agreement of the Tudeh Party some of whose leaders are criticising their three colleagues for taking office under Qawam. The absorption of the Tudeh by the Democrat Party on the Azerbaijan model does not appear to be imminent. A mass meeting of Democrats in Tehran on 5th August which was addressed by Muzaffer Firuz was attacked by Tudeh members with sticks and knives. The police dispersed the crowds by firing in the air but there were six killed and many injured.

The situation in the oil-fields area is outwardly calm, and the Governor-General has received an encouraging telegram from the Prime Minister advising him of the despatch of detectives and troops. Both he and the Divisional Commander are, however, very anxious about the Tribunal which is enquiring into the causes of the strikes and disorders. This anxiety is shared by British officials on the spot. H.M. Consul-General, Ahwaz, has been in Teheran and gained an admission from Qawam that Muzaffer Firuz had been wrong to release Tudeh ringleaders, but Tudeh influence in the Tribunal is strong and an unbiased report on the events leading to the strike is not likely to be forthcoming from them.

FAR EAST.

China.

Breaking a political silence of two years, Madame Sun Yat-sen has created quite a flutter of surprise and not a little resentment by a public statement in sharp criticism of American activities in China.

Madame Sun declares that China is neither pro-Kuomintang nor pro-Communist, but requires immediately a democratically constituted all-party coalition Government, and that. if the Kuomintang fails in the task of forming a coalition Government, it must bear the responsibility for civil war, which can result only in spreading chaos, hunger and destruction, and which the Kuomintang cannot win. She contends that reactionary elements within the Kuomintang hope that full scale civil conflict in China will eventually incite war between America and the Soviet Union, when American forces would be used to eradicate Communism in China. Madame Sun urges that Americans be told that the presence in China of American armed forces is not strengthening peace and order, and

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that loans should go only to a truly representative Chinese Government; and she concludes her statement with an appeal to Chinese of all parties to form a coalition now, and to America to foster this endeavour by stopping all military supplies and providing assistance only to a Government which is truly representative of the Chinese people.

This statement, which coincides with another appeal on much the same lines addressed to the American public by fifty-six prominent Chinese, has attracted considerable attention throughout the United States. Left-Wing adherents in the United States are inclined to share Madame Sun's contention that the American Government's action in providing military aid to China serves to encourage the efforts of the Central Government to suppress the Communists. But the more general reaction on American public opinion has been resentment of the unjustness of the implications placed upon American motives. It is felt that Madame Sun echoes the Moscow charges of American imperialism in China and there is an uncomfortable feeling that her statement may not have been entirely home inspired. That American susceptibilities have been badly stung and that the origin of the sting is placed beyond the voice of Madame Sun is seen in the following comment of the *New York Times:* "There can be little doubt that the danger of large-scale civil war in China is growing, and that such a war would present a grave peril to peace in general. But it takes two to make war and, since the National Government of President Chiang Kai-shek is not only the recognised Government of China, but has a pledge of aid from the United States as a wartime ally, and quite specific pledges of exclusive moral and military support from the Russian Government under the Russo-Chinese treaty, it would seem that any protest should be directed, not against that Government and those who assist it, but against those who oppose it and divide China. As for the specific Russian charges of American economic ambitions, it is made ludicrous by the contrast between the Russian practice of imposing monopoly control on the economies of other countries and the traditional American doctrine of the open door; . . . . It is not China but Russia that has sought and achieved monopoly privileges in Manchuria, the richest province of China."

A State Department spokesman, in reply to requests for comment on Madame Sun's statement, said, on the 23rd July, that there was no change in U.S. policy towards China from what it had been for a considerable time past, which was to aid in bringing about the unification of factions there. He added that General Marshall had been sent to China for that purpose. He also drew attention to a recent clear statement of U.S. policy by Mr. Dean Acheson, Under-Secretary of State, who had stressed that the United States is doing its utmost to prevent a civil war from spreading in China.

Although it is probable that more significance is attached to Madame Sun's statement outside than inside China, there is no doubt that her sudden emergence into the political arena at this particular moment came as a complete and not over-welcome surprise to the Kuomintang, whose press has been quick to justify America's policy of aid to the Central Government by declaring that the Communists "are being kept supplied with arms." This is the first time a Chinese Government organ has carried an article implying that the Communists are receiving Soviet assistance.

Following a number of unpublicised assassinations of members of the Democratic League at Sian, two prominent members of the League, Professors Li Kung-pu and Wan Li-tou, were murdered in the first half of July at Kunming. Both were graduates of American universities and were widely known in American academic circles linked with China. Eleven other Kunming professors, members of the same League and whose names were said to be "on the list," have received sanctuary at the United States Consulate in Kunming and the American Consul has since sought a guarantee for their safety from the Kunming Garrison Commander. President Chiang Kai-shek has publicly condemned these shootings, but, as they have occurred only a few weeks after an attack by a "mob" in Nanking on a self-styled peace delegation from Shanghai, which included a number of prominent members of the Democratic League, there is a strong impression that the Kuomintang's gestapo is at work. The "peace delegates" were set on and badly beaten at the Nanking railway station, while the police made little attempt to interfere.

Despite the hope entertained throughout the first half of July that General Marshall's efforts to end the civil war might terminate in agreement by negotiation, increasing bitterness and mutual distrust between the Central Government and Communists have resulted in a general spreading of intensified fighting. The areas chiefly affected are Hupeh, Honan, Shantung, Shensi, Kiangsu and Anhwei. The Communists in Hupeh and Kiangsu are reported to have a well-established

supply line from Manchuria *via* Chefoo and Weihaiwei, which would indicate that the recent Government landings on the Changshan Islands, off the northern tip of the Shantung Promontory have not achieved their purpose of cutting this line (see this *Summary* No. 351 of the 17th July, 1946).

Soon after Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek withdrew from Nanking to his summer resort at Kuling in the latter half of July, General Marshall is reported to have flown to Nanking to discuss new peace proposals with Chou En-lai and then to have returned to Kuling with the Communist leader's reply; but neither party appears ever to have been really hopeful of a last moment compromise. Large scale hostilities followed almost immediately with a four-pronged Kuomintang offensive against the Communists in the Kiangsu-Anhwei border region. This operation was attended by considerable success. The Communist units, which recently were considered a threat to Nanking itself, were driven back to a point forty miles north of the capital; while the situation in north Kiangsu was claimed on the 22nd July, to be well in hand. Later news from Nanking announced an important victory for the Government forces in capturing Jukao, the right anchor of the fluid front in the north Kiangsu-Anhwei quadrangle about a hundred miles north-west of Shanghai, after some 20,000 Communists, defending the city, had retreated northwards towards Tung-hai. Other reports state that Government forces have cleared almost the entire 230 mile length of the Tsinan-Tsingtao Railway in Shantung. The troops taking part in this latter advance are reported to be the seventy-third and the fifty-fourth Government armies. Central Government troops are also engaging the Communist forces in the other affected areas and there is obviously a fixed plan to remove the Communist hold from the network of the north China railways and from economically important pockets. One of the objectives in north Kiangsu appears now to be Huaiyin; birthplace of the Communist leader, General Chou En-lai, and the Communist centre in the Kiangsu military district.

The Central News Agency has reported that the retreating Communist troops of General Li Hsien-nien, once almost trapped in the Hupeh pocket, had reached a town forty miles south of Shangnan in Shensi Province. This point is 350 miles from Hsuan Hua-tien, General Li's former headquarters.

Although it would appear that, sensible of the general superiority of the Government forces, the Communists themselves were anxious to avoid large-scale activities, at least for the present, Nanking has been careful to saddle them with responsibility for the drive they have been compelled to launch. At a press conference on the 31st July, Dr. Peng Hsueh-peh, Minister of Information, told correspondents that the Government has found it impossible to make any progress in the current peace talks "owing to the over-all Communist offensive."

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The end of the first week of the Paris Conference found opinion in the United States still for the most part unenthusiastic regarding the efforts that were being made by the Allied statesmen to reach a settlement with the minor Axis countries. Conservative internationalists like Mr. John Foster Dulles spoke of the Conference as little more than a first step in the peace-making, pointing out that the vital question of Germany would not be taken up until later, while liberals like Mr. Raymond Swing insisted that the present meeting was a mere travesty of a real peace conference and condemned it as "a second-class conference with considerably less than second-class authority, making recommendations on second-class treaties." Those who felt that, despite its many shortcomings, the long-awaited gathering of the Allied nations would at least provide a platform from which the conscience of the world could make itself heard were particularly gratified by Mr. Byrnes' proposal of the 30th July that all plenary sessions and all meetings of the commissions to study the treaties should be thrown open to the press—as well as by the unexpectedly prompt endorsement which this received from M. Molotov. Nevertheless their satisfaction was to a considerable degree offset by the general aversion to the five Peace Treaty drafts published the same evening. To all except the extreme Left-wing, the latter seemed to belie the repeated assurances of Mr. Byrnes and Senator Vandenberg that democracies would never compromise with principle for the sake of securing agreement from Moscow. The draft Treaty for Italy would, it was feared, leave the country dangerously exposed to Soviet political and economic pressure, while the draft Treaties for Hungary, Roumania and

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Bulgaria would perpetuate Soviet domination over the Danube valley and most of the Balkans.

As a result of the interest aroused by the round-up of suspects in Tel Aviv and by the rejection by the Zionists of the proposals submitted by the Anglo-American Cabinet Committee in London, the problem of Palestine continued to deflect some of the limelight from the proceedings of the Allied delegates in Paris. The essential features of the Cabinet Committee's provincial autonomy plan for Palestine had already been made familiar by a number of press leakages, and the Zionists had already shown their firm intention of rejecting the plan root and branch, when Mr. Morrison and Lord Addison made their formal announcements at the opening of the debate in Parliament on the 31st July. The Zionists had also made it abundantly clear that they would wreak vengeance at the polls next November on any member of Congress who dared to identify himself with the plan. Consequently there was little surprise when the President issued his non-committal statement of the 31st, in which he merely announced that he had decided to summon Mr. H. Grady and the other American members of the Cabinet Committee back to Washington "to discuss the whole matter in detail." Nevertheless Mr. Truman was apparently much distressed at the attitude which he found himself forced to adopt. The original intention had been that, when His Majesty's Government issued their full statement on the Anglo-American Committee's proposals, he should make a shorter announcement indicating, *inter alia*, his belief that the plan which they embodied represented the best solution of the problem that could be expected. The text of this announcement had already been approved by Mr. Byrnes in Paris. On the morning of the 30th July, however, the President received a deputation of pro-Zionist members of Congress led by Representative Emanuel Celler of New York, and the same evening the Acting Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Acheson, informed His Majesty's Ambassador in Washington that Mr. Truman had reluctantly come to the conclusion that he was unable to give the plan the proposed endorsement. Meanwhile Senator Robert A. Taft, a prominent Republican member of the Upper House, had made the situation more difficult by announcing his opposition to any solution of the Palestine problem along the lines proposed by the Cabinet Committee. Whatever now emerges from the discussions which Mr. Truman is due to have with Mr. Grady and his colleagues on his return from Missouri on the 6th August, it seems clear that he will repudiate any settlement for Palestine, however equitable, which threatens to cost his party votes in the forthcoming Congressional elections. The press has, however, made no secret of the role which the Jewish vote has played in his political thinking on Palestine, and the effect which his surrender to the Zionist lobby will have on his prestige in the eyes of the Gentile electorate and of the rest of the world remains to be seen (see also under "Middle East").

The 79th Congress of the United States came to a formal close with the simultaneous adjournment of the Senate and the House of Representatives on the evening of the 2nd August. Unless the President finds it necessary to call the special session to deal with inflation as he threatened to do in his message of the 25th July, the Chambers on Capitol Hill will now remain unoccupied until the 80th Congress assembles next January. In the field of domestic politics the 79th Congress will probably be best known to history for its defiance of the White House on almost every major item of legislation presented during its second session—a defiance in some ways unparalleled since the bitter feuds between President Andrew Johnson and the 39th and 40th Congresses in the years that followed the Civil War. Of the forty-two important measures requested by President Truman, less than a third were approved in anything like the terms in which they were originally drafted. Eight, including the vital Office of Price Administration Extension and Selective Service Bills, were only passed with crippling amendments, and the rest, including the Emergency Powers Bill to deal with the strike situation, were either defeated outright or pigeon-holed indefinitely. In the international field, however, the late Congress had a far more glittering record. Apart from its recent acceptance of the Anglo-American Financial Agreement and of the compulsory jurisdiction of the Inter-National Court, it ratified the United Nations Charter with only two dissenting votes and endorsed the Bretton Woods proposals and the international monetary system which they made possible. It also acquiesced willingly when Senator Vandenberg proclaimed that American foreign policy would henceforth be bi-partisan—with the result that, whatever the outcome of the November elections, the present lead which the United States is taking in world affairs stands in no serious danger of being repudiated.

LATIN AMERICA.

Argentina.

In a conversation with the United States Ambassador, General Perón has confirmed his intention of putting the Chapultepec and San Francisco decisions before Congress for ratification (see *Summary* No. 351), adding that he hoped to hold a secret session in order to avoid any verbal unpleasantness. Mr. Messersmith pointed out that the delay in obtaining ratification was doing harm to Perón in the United States and that it might soon be said that Argentina had been admitted to the United Nations under false pretences. When Mr. Messersmith expressed the hope that the Anglo-Argentine negotiations would be successfully concluded, Perón replied that the questions of sterling balances and meat prices were very difficult, but that "they were going to find a solution."

Mr. Messersmith remarked afterwards that Perón was clearly concerned about the deterioration of the internal political situation, of which there has recently been further evidence. Dr. Bramuglia resigned from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in protest against the Senate's rejection of his diplomatic appointments, but has been persuaded by Perón to stay on for the time being. As an example of Perónist dissensions, a recent incident may be mentioned in Catamarca, where the Perónist provincial Senate demanded the removal of the no less Perónist Governor. The President sent an investigator whose report led to the Governor's place being taken over by the Vice-Governor. Crowds of workers then demonstrated in favour of the Governor, who accordingly resumed his duties without reference to Perón. According to broadcast reports, a bill has now been passed to authorise federal intervention in Catamarca.

Interference with political opponents still continues. Interventors remain in control of the Universities, and have now been appointed to the Benevolent Society and Engineering Centre. Meanwhile, presidential intervention in the activities of the ministers is conspicuous by its absence: the Minister of Industry and Commerce (Sr. Lagomarsino) and the director of the Central Bank (Sr. Miranda) are reported to be making money out of their official positions, and the fact that Mrs. Perón is deeply involved in these intrigues and scandals serves to make the President ridiculous and to emphasize that he is far from being the "strong man" he has been painted.

Brazil.

Dr. Vargas' reappearance on the political scene (see *Summary* No. 349) has led to lengthy negotiations between the President and the political parties. It will be recalled that when Dr. Vargas took his seat in the Constituent Assembly a motion was presented by the Opposition expressing approval of the army's action in forcing his resignation and that this motion, which was adopted by a couple of votes, revealed a split in the President's *P.S.D.* The fact that a considerable section of his party was primarily loyal to the ex-dictator suggested that General Dutra could only be able to hold the *P.S.D.* together by coming under Dr. Vargas' influence, and negotiations were accordingly begun for a coalition between the Dutra wing of the *P.S.D.* and the opposition *U.D.N.* The Minister for War, General Góes Monteiro, who played the leading part in bringing the Vargas régime to a close, was responsible for arranging a meeting between the President and the Opposition leader, Dr. Octávio Mangabeira.

The negotiations seem to have met with various difficulties. The immediate formation of a coalition would mean that the Constitution which is now to be debated would be approved by only a small majority: in order to prevent this, it seems probable that the *P.S.D.* and *U.D.N.* will agree on the final form of the Constitution, and thus assure it a large majority. Only after the passage of the Constitution would the coalition be formed and the cabinet be reorganised to admit representatives of the *U.D.N.* It is reported that they would receive the portfolios of Foreign Affairs, Labour and Finance, and might be offered the Vice-Presidency. Meanwhile, an attempt has been made to depict General Dutra as President of all Brazilians, presumably in order to conceal the fact that he is no longer the effective leader of a majority party.

UNITED NATIONS.

Atomic Energy Commission.

Committee No. 2 achieved some progress on the 31st July; Russia had said baldly that inspection would violate the principle of national sovereignty, and that no system of inspection could guarantee proper control. The Committee

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thereupon decided to ask the Scientific Committee whether control of atomic energy could be made effective, and, if so, how. The Secretariat has drawn up a comprehensive list of topics for the Legal Committee to consider, covering all the major points of difficulty in the relationship between the system of control recommended by Committee No. 2 and the United Nations. The Working Committee will be asked for instructions on the order in which these numerous topics are to be considered.

THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

The Plenary Sessions of the Peace Conference were adjourned on Saturday the 3rd August, after the South African representative, Major-General Theron had delivered the last of the formal speeches each leader of the twenty-one delegations was expected to make. During Tuesday's session, the 30th July, Mr. Byrnes repudiated U.S. isolationism and promised that the United States would do its best to secure the Big Four's acceptance of the recommendations made by a two-thirds majority of the Conference. Mr. Attlee pledged his support for the Foreign Ministers' various agreements. At the same time he said that the views of the 17 States must be given full consideration. He thought that the Conference's discussions would "most considerably assist the attainment of agreement on those parts of the Treaties not so far agreed," but pointed out that without agreement between the Big Four the chance of agreed texts was very small. Dr. Wang of China came out boldly for a just and lasting peace, rather than the compromises on which so much of the Foreign Ministers' work was based. He urged the allies to respect the principles they had proclaimed during the war, and in particular the Atlantic Charter as it applies to territorial questions. M. Molotov spoke on Wednesday. Two of his statements were significant. (1) The Foreign Ministers proceeded not by way of imposing upon some States the will of others, but by way of joint decisions and arrangements, an argument which was shortly to develop into the claim that any attempt to alter or amend the decisions by the Four was necessarily an attempt to destroy the unanimity of the Four. (2) The Soviet so values the good work done by the ex-satellites that it wishes them to pay the Allies compensation on only a limited scale. For the same reason it opposes all attempts at economic interference which would be incompatible with the sovereignty of these States. It was the argument M. Molotov used in the Council of Foreign Ministers to counter all proposals to secure the opening of the Danube to world trade on equal terms. Dr. Evatt, who followed, upheld the rights of the smaller nations, who fought the war, to join in making the peace. Like Dr. Wang, he urged that the principles of the Atlantic Charter be observed. Territorial questions, he considered, should be determined by an impartial examination of all the facts. Therefore all material considered by the Foreign Ministers should be available for the Peace Conference. He objected especially to Russia's privileged position in regard to Italian reparations, and to Trieste being placed under the Security Council, where the veto operated. Amongst speakers on Thursday, the 1st August, Baron Van Ousterhout most effectively supported the claims of the smaller nations. Mr. Mason of New Zealand said that exchanges of territory should not be carried out without consulting the people concerned. M. Kardelj of Yugoslavia and M. Lange of Norway also spoke. At Friday's Plenary Session M. Masaryk said that Czechoslovakia would have no more 1919–1938 Minority Treaties. Mr. Mackenzie King made the important suggestion that the Foreign Ministers should meet from time to time during the life of the Peace Conference. Thus the Treaties could be completed in such a way as to emphasise the joint responsibility of the 21 whilst still leaving the last word to the Four. The Ethiopian delegate, M. Ato Akilou, who followed M. Rzymowski of Poland, claimed both of Italy's East African colonies. M. Kisselev of Byelo-Russia spoke of the need for Four Power Unity, and said that public opinion could not endure the continued occupation of the Italian colonies by United Kingdom troops. On Saturday the 3rd August Sir S. Ranganadhan (India) recalled India's vast contribution to victory and described her peculiar interest in the Italian East African colonies, which, he said, should become independent as soon as possible.

Procedure.

The Commission on Organisation and Procedure was the essential part of the Conference. Set up to discuss the rules drawn up by the Big Four, it was

deciding the very nature of the Peace Conference itself. Were the draft rules of procedure merely suggestions, as Mr. Byrnes had clearly stated, or did they bind not only the Big Four, as M. Molotov tried quite inaccurately to prove, but the Conference itself? Could agreed clauses in the draft treaties be altered by the Conference? Could the Twenty One even succeed in making any recommendation, seeing that under the two-thirds majority rule, 8 votes could prevent the passage of any recommendation? Was the usefulness of the Conference to consist in the publicity it brought to bear on the decisions of the Four, its direct contribution to the peace being limited to the problems which the Four had left unsolved? Finally, from the point of view of the smaller nations who took part in the common victory, was the Conference just a solemn mockery?

On Tuesday, Dr. Evatt proposed M. Spaak as Chairman. M. Molotov proposed M. Kardelj because Yugoslavia, he said, had played a larger part in the war than Belgium. A secret ballot gave M. Spaak 13 votes to M. Kardelj's 7. M. Kardelj was chosen vice-chairman by acclamation. It seems that Ethiopia voted for the Russian candidate, and that Norway abstained from voting. It was then decided that the Press should be admitted to all the Commissions. This proposal of Mr. Byrnes, supported by Dr. Evatt and M. Molotov, may have the effect of driving the more delicate negotiations away from the lime-light into the "corridors."

Wednesday was spent in discussing the Yugoslav motion that the draft rules be accepted. No decision was reached: but one argument used by the Russian area is likely to prove as helpful to its inventors and scarifying to potential opponents as was that cruder bogey, the so-called "Western *Bloc*." It started with M. Kardelj's statement that the aim of the Conference should be unanimity. A two-thirds was therefore more desirable that a simple majority; for as M. Molotov said, it gave a recommendation more authority. Further, it safeguarded the rights of minorities; since, as M. Molotov showed by quoting from the French Press, the Anglo-Saxon countries and their clients formed a *bloc* of 12 or 13 votes, and a simple majority would place the Soviet and its clients always in a minority. M. Kardelj extended the argument by claiming that in ethnic questions the States directly interested must agree to all decisions. Subsequently he advanced to the formal proposition that in all boundary questions the Ally concerned should have the right of veto. Another side of the argument was that nothing must be done to disturb the unanimity of the Four. Certainly each member of the Four will stand by the draft treaties on which they have jointly agreed; but M. Molotov did not succeed in persuading them to give similar support to the draft rules of procedure, because Mr. Bevin and Mr. Byrnes had expressly reserved their right to vote for any amendment which harmonised better with the wishes of the Conference. The champions of the smaller Powers and of the Conference were Dr. Evatt and Baron Van Ousterhout, M. Spaak, Mr. Mason and M. Tsaldaris.

On Thursday the Greeks secured an amendment which authorises the Conference to discuss "any question connected with the peace treaties." Their aim is to be able to discuss Northern Epirus. A Netherlands motion that all the 21 nations should sit on each Commission was defeated; but it was agreed unanimously that any nation that wished to attend, could do so without the right to vote.

Friday and Saturday were taken up with the Council's claim to reserve the chairmanship of the Conference for the Big Five. Dr. Evatt considered this claim a dangerous precedent for future peace conferences, *i.e.*, on the Pacific area. The Netherlands delegate proposed M. Bidault as permanent chairman and might have secured general agreement had not M. Molotov insisted on the Council's rule being upheld. M. Bidault at once refused to stand. The Dutch therefore proposed that the Conference elect its own chairman. M. Molotov then accused Mr. McNeil of going back on the Council's decision. Mr. Byrnes and he both exposed the fallacy of this contention; but they said that they would vote for the Council's decision on the logical ground that the Netherlands proposal seemed to command no more support than the Council's decision. The Netherlands proposal was defeated by 12 to 8, with one abstention.

Three sessions on Monday the 5th August and two on Tuesday, the latter of which ended at 2·35 on Wednesday morning, were devoted to the rule, which M. Molotov had induced his Foreign Minister colleagues to accept, that recommendations from the Conference need a two-thirds majority before the Council will consider them. This vast expenditure of time and heat was due to the determination of M. Molotov and his comrades that no other kinds of recommendation should reach the Council; and it is a reasonable deduction that he reckoned on no proposals of which they disapproved ever becoming

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recommendations under the two-thirds rule. Mr. Byrnes made this clearer still, when he recalled that, ever since Potsdam, Russia had voted to restrict the number and freedom of participants in the Conference, and that she had agreed without reservations on the 4th July to send out invitations to the Conference, and had then made her consent depend upon the Council drawing up rules of procedure for the Conference.

Four proposals were before the Conference : (1) by the Dutch, that all voting should be by simple majority : (2) the United Kingdom compromise that recommendations should be of two kinds, two-thirds majority and simple majority, and that the Council should consider each : (3) by the Russians, that the two-thirds rule should stand, but that a recommendation carried by a simple majority might be sent up, not by the Conference, but by the States in the majority. This proposal was not a compromise, since the Conference itself could still send only two-thirds majority recommendations, and in any case each belligerent ally already had the right to put its views before the Council : (4) the usual kind of French compromise, that in addition to the two-thirds rule, the Conference should be able to send up simple majority recommendations at the request of their supporters.

Early in the debates, Mr. Jordan showed the absurdity of the two-thirds rule by asking why 35 per cent. should be allowed to override the wishes of 65 per cent. Later, when it almost seemed that a vote would end the talk, M. Molotov suddenly revived the notorious argument used by M. Gromyko in the Security Council debate on Spain of the 26th June, and said that the voting issue was a matter not of procedure but of substance and therefore required a two-thirds majority, and this, in spite of the fact that the debate was in the Committee on Procedure. At once the Netherlands delegate asked M. Molotov if he would consent to his new proposal being voted on according to the two-thirds rule, assuring him of the opposition of at least 8 members. M. Molotov was silent. Once, the Yugoslav stated solemnly that his country would not accept proposals with which it disagreed, and more than once M. Molotov seemed to be claiming veto rights for Russia.

At last, the Netherlands motion, in favour of a simple majority, was put to the vote, and lost by 9–11. Finally, as midnight struck on Tuesday/Wednesday, the United Kingdom compromise was passed by 15 votes to 6, a margin of much promise for the future.

Twice in the course of these long proceedings, M. Molotov, always ready to accuse the U.K. and U.S.A. of inconsistency, himself went back on the Council's decisions : (1) he supported, albeit unsuccessfully, Poland's claim to join the Commission on Hungary : (2) he contradicted the draft rules by proposing a two-thirds majority in the Committee of Procedure. It appears that Mr. Byrnes has stated that he will do his best to secure acceptance by the Council of any recommendation which has gained a two-thirds majority in the Conference, even though the U.S. had voted with the minority. This promise appears to apply to recommendations on subjects agreed by the Council as well as on the 26 subjects on which the Council did not agree. It is unlikely, however, that any amendment of the agreed provisions can be carried by a ⅔ majority against the Big Four who have pledged themselves to support the agreed provisions at the Conference. Moreover, it must always be remembered that the Council's decisions have to be unanimous, and that it is bound to consider recommendations, not to accept them.

Wednesday the 7th August was a day of peace after storms and the rules of procedure were adopted unanimously in their amended form. The following proposals were approved : (1) from Yugoslavia, "should a proposal from an Allied State, neighbour of an ex-enemy State, receive no majority in its favour, then the Allied State should have the right to submit the case to the Council of Foreign Ministers" : (2) from the Big Five, that none of themselves should be chairman of a Commission, and that the "Commissions should each be able to invite any ex-enemy to express its views" : (3) that, in matters not covered by the rules, the Conference should be "guided by the principles of the rules of the General Assembly."

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 369

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
20TH NOVEMBER, 1946

Copy No. 143

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EUROPE

GERMANY

THE Anglo-American talks on bi-zonal arrangements in Germany (of which the agenda was outlined in Summary No. 367) opened in Washington on the 13th November. The major obstacle to agreement has been the question of sharing the financial burden between the two Governments and in this respect negotiations are taking place at a particularly inauspicious moment when, whatever the opinions of the United States Administration, it is bound by the determination of the new Republican Congress to achieve financial economies. In discussions on export-import plans for 1947–49 the British representatives urged unsuccessfully the advisability of a long-term reconstruction loan by the United States to Germany to make her solvent in three years. The American view appears to be that essential food and relief imports should be paid for on an equal financial basis, the American share being paid from appropriation, while additional imports of raw materials should, on the American side, be financed by short-term advances from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (see *Summary* No. 364). British representatives have made it clear that they cannot assume the burden of paying for 50 per cent. of such essential imports of food and other raw materials. Discussions continue with the possibility of a slightly larger contribution from the R.F.C. Agreement has, however, been reached on a number of other points. It is clearly understood that the foreign trade plans depend on an increase in industrial production beyond the limits agreed by the four powers and that since economic unity had not been achieved the two governments are free to take action. General Clay has stated that so far as the US zone was concerned he intended to retain just as much plant as was necessary to achieve a balance of payments as soon as possible, while the British

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representatives have asked for a joint announcement on policy. It has provisionally been decided to support, to the full extent that funds will permit, an eventual increase in the food ration to 1,800 calories, although the world food supply is unlikely to allow this before the summer of 1947 or possibly 1948. It is also agreed that existing trade barriers should be relaxed as soon as possible, that an exchange value for the mark should be established and an early financial reform carried out, while the exchange of "full technical and business communication" between Germany and other countries together with the restoration of normal business channels with potential buyers should be facilitated as soon as possible. A German bi-zonal trade agency will be the administrative agency for imports and exports. At a meeting of the bi-zonal economic committee in Frankfurt last week it was announced that a German foreign trade agency would begin work on the 1st December.

Coal exports from the British zone have been cut by a further 200,000 tons a month from December until March, thus reducing exports to 585,000 tons a month. When the first cut of 150,000 tons was announced in October it was pointed out (see *Summary* No. 360) that this was insufficient to restore German economy and it is extremely doubtful whether even the latest reduction will achieve the necessary effect (for French reactions see under "France"). Largely owing to increased miners' rations coal output in the Ruhr has risen from 180,000 tons a day in October to 195,000 tons on the 14th November. The long-term food situation in the British zone remains unchanged. Marshal of the Royal Air Force Sir Sholto Douglas has toured the Ruhr towns and Hamburg. On the 15th November he stated that he hoped to keep the ration up to 1,550 calories even if the bread ration had to be reduced. While senior Military Government officials have emphasised that the position remains critical Mr. Hynd has stated that this winter, though grim, would not be as bad as last winter. The U.S. zone has offered 50,000 tons of grain provided this can be repaid in reasonable time, but it has not yet been possible to give such a guarantee and negotiations are continuing. The first small shipments of grain from the Soviet zone are beginning to arrive. In the French zone Trade Unionists have also protested against the food situation. By contrast, in Berlin supplies are stated to be ensured for the winter, but the city is suffering from a critical power shortage.

It is reported that the Provisional Ordinance for decentralising administration in the British zone has been issued in Berlin (see *Summary* No. 366). Under this ordinance, subject to Control Council Laws, the *Länder* will have the power to legislate on any subjects which are not specifically reserved from their competence and will have executive authority over matters on which they legislate as well as being empowered to administer laws passed by the Centre, except in a few cases such as posts and railways. Subjects on which the *Länder* may not legislate include not only foreign affairs and defence but such matters as central banking, income tax, criminal and civil law, the direction of basic industries and distribution of materials in critically short supply. Military Government also exercises emergency powers over reparations, occupation costs, demilitarisation, displaced persons and refugees, wages and price control, labour control, social insurance, trades unions and timber felling. Subjects temporarily excluded from the *Länder* legislatures include land reform, insurance and the production and collection of food. On a fourth series of important topics, Military Government will lay down fundamental principles which must be followed, as, for example, on Church affairs, development of industry, housing, agriculture, press and meetings. This ordinance comes into effect on the 1st December and, as already announced by General Robertson, the *Länder* will assume authority by the 1st January, 1947. Thereby, as part of the planned transfer of control to the Germans, and in line with action taken last December by the Americans, British officials will cease to exercise executive functions at the lower levels of Government but will continue to supervise the *Land* Governments with the power to veto any law and will retain control at the higher levels.

On the 12th November the Control Council was informed that an ordinance had been issued setting up *Land* Lower Saxony which will include Schaumburg–Lippe. The Soviet member, again insisting that it had not been agreed to eliminate the State of Prussia, contended that such a major reorganisation should be made by quadripartite agreement. *Land* assemblies and cabinets in the British zone are now being re-formed in order to bring them into line with results in the district elections of the 13th October. The most important Cabinet is that of Rhineland–Westphalia, since its composition will affect the carrying out of socialisation of the Ruhr industries (to which the Christian Democrat leader, Adenauer, has already expressed opposition). The Christian Democrats have

now stated that they are willing to enter the cabinet, although they refused to do so in August, and negotiations are being carried on between the non-party premier Amelunxen and party representatives. Amelunxen is likely to remain premier until the elections in March 1947. It now appears that Agart (SPD) head of the Central Economic Office of the British Zone has resigned this post and it is possible that he may become Minister of Economics in the Rhineland–Westphalian cabinet. The composition of Hamburg Senate was announced on the 15th November; the SPD has a clear majority over the Free Democrats and Communists, but unfortunately the CDU abstained from voting considering that the Senate should represent all parties.

In the Soviet zone the distribution of the 520 Diet seats has been completed and gives the Socialist Unity Party (with supporters like the Cultural League) an absolute majority in Thuringia, Mecklenburg and Saxony State, but not in Brandenburg and Saxony Province. Seats in the Berlin *Magistrat* have not been finally allocated. One result of the Social Democratic victory in Berlin has been to increase the party's campaign against the Berlin Branch of the *Freie Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund*, now under SED domination. Results of this campaign may be decisive in the Trade Union elections in February 1947 and would have important effects on the position of the SED, just as the Communist victory in the Trade Unions last February paved the way for "fusion." Abandoning the hope that the FDGB can be restored as a "non-political" organisation Dr. Suhr stated on the 5th November that the party was out to "conquer the FDGB" presumably to avoid the danger of being manœuvred into forming a rival trade union. The SPD has recently concentrated its attack on the FDGB's allegedly feeble attitude over the removal of workers to the USSR. In the British zone trade unions seem likely to retain their "non-political" character at least for some time. Communist penetration is not yet sufficient to force the issue although the party already has some strength in the mines (see last week's *Summary*).

The four-power committee controlling IG Farben confirmed on the 14th November a resolution that control officers in the four zones should appoint separate trustees for each unit until the legal future of these works is decided. This will be the first visible step towards breaking up the combine. In the US zone the *Laender* have already been asked to nominate German trustees for those units which are not being removed. The appointment of German nationals is in line with the step taken at the end of October in the British zone when Dinkelbach (formerly on the board of directors of Vereinigte Stahlwerke) was appointed head of the "trusteeship" section of the North German Iron and Steel Board.

In accordance with General Clay's reparations proposal (see last week's *Summary*) the Economic Directorate announced on the 12th November that it would allocate immediately between the Western Countries and Russia general purpose equipment from some war plants in the three Western Zones. The subsidiary British plan, referred to last week, was criticised by the Soviet representative as contrary to the Potsdam Agreement. The plan was also debated in the Inter-Allied Reparations Agency on the 14th November and opposition to the scheme may necessitate amendments. (See also under "France," "Low Countries" and "Poland".)

AUSTRIA

At the Allied Control Council meeting on the 15th November General Clark defended the Austrian Government's action in raising the food ration against Soviet and French criticism. He explained that U.N.R.R.A. had been able to buy additional food for Austria owing to the War Department's decision to reduce by 5 million dollars its bill to U.N.R.R.A. for supplies which the latter took over in Austria last April. Any additional supplies which U.N.R.R.A. might buy thus come from money put up by the United States Government (who have, however, made no condition that the supplies are to be used in their zone, or in the zones of the western occupying Powers, as seemed possible a few weeks ago). Indeed, General Clark went on to emphasize his anxiety that Austria should be treated as a unit. He wished to make plain that there was no restriction in the United States zone on the movement of indigenous resources to other zones, and he did not want a higher scale for the U.S. zone, provided that the uniform scale for all Austria was sufficient for a person to live on. But he

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naturally could not allow supplies to flow freely from the U.S. zone unless others did the same, and he referred to reports that potatoes coming into Vienna from the Soviet zone, for example, were only for consumption in the Soviet zone. General Clark did not believe that there would be sufficient indigenous supplies available to enable Austrians to have an adequate diet after U.N.R.R.A. supplies cease on the 1st January. In spite of all efforts to make all indigenous resources available, he was convinced that a deficit would remain which could only be made up by imports, and he had arranged during his visit to the United States to have some supplies in the pipe-line after the 1st January as his contribution.

General Zheltov said that the Soviet Union adhered to the principle of Austrian control of indigenous resources, but held that it did not apply to property taken under the terms of the Potsdam Agreement or held for military purposes. This view, of course, effectively nullifies the recent Allied Council resolution that the Austrians should control all indigenous resources (see *Summary* No. 366).

The French authorities in Austria have reacted strongly to recent statements by the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Schaerf, in which he criticised the control and use by all four Allies of Austrian resources, and alleged that the French were exporting meat from their zone, using butter, cheese and other produce to feed the occupying troops, and exporting cloth and timber. The statement issued on the 14th dealt in detail with Dr. Schaerf's allegations, and said that it must be emphasised that France had supplied Tyrol and Vorarlberg with much more than she had received.

The report of a Sub-Committee of the Select Committee of Estimates of the House of Commons, which visited Austria in September, has added its warning that Austria is approaching an extremely critical situation which must create grave anxiety, both to the Allied Commission and to the Austrian Government. The report stated that a major crisis will arise this winter unless a quick decision is reached on how to close the gap in supplies when U.N.R.R.A. ceases to function. It described the increase to 1,550 calories as "even slower starvation" than the slow starvation 1,200 calory food ration. The country's whole economy was supported by relief imports, of which 80 per cent. were food imports, which meant that they contributed nothing to make Austria self supporting. The Committee stressed the need for concentrating British policy on strengthening the Austrian administration as quickly as possible so that the occupying forces might be withdrawn. It recommended almost complete demilitarisation and reduction in numbers of the staff of the British element of the Allied Commission; release at an early date of as many as possible of the less dangerous Nazi internees; a speed-up of the entry into Britain of Austrians who wish to come here for permitted employment (although the types of workers who would be needed here are urgently needed for reconstruction in Austria, and any large-scale movement of such workers as agricultural and building workers would only add to Austria's economic difficulties); priority, where possible, for the return of Austrian prisoners-of-war in British hands; and finally that the problem of the permanent settlement of the displaced persons should be brought to the attention of the United Nations by the British Government with a view to finding out what countries are willing to receive them, and so that suitable arrangements might be made for their transference.

The question of displaced persons left in Austria at the end of the war, of whom there are still large numbers in the British zone, (see last week's *Summary*), is complicated by the influx of Jews from Eastern Europe into Germany and Austria which the Committee's report calls "almost a second Exodus." These people have been migrating from Eastern Europe into the American zones of Germany and Austria with the intention, in the majority of cases, of finally making their way to Palestine. It is clear that it is a highly organised movement with ample funds and great influence behind it, but the Sub-Committee were unable to obtain any evidence as to who are the real instigators. When the United States authorities asked the other zones in September (see *Summaries* Nos. 360 and 361) to receive some of the Jews for whom they could not find room, the other three Powers agreed that the best policy was to tighten control of the frontiers to stop any further influx, for they could not feed more people in their zones. The Russians, at least, took prompt action in stopping trainloads of Jews at the frontiers with Czechoslovakia and Hungary. There are now, however, two camps in Styria run by U.N.R.R.A., full of able-bodied, young Jewish men and women, with a large proportion of children, for whom the Americans could not find room.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Czechoslovak Parliamentary committees, which are representative of all parties, have in recent weeks provided considerable criticism of Government policy. That they should do so is particularly important where a National Front Government is working to an agreed programme of a revolutionary nature which is satisfactory, in its entirety, only to the Communists. Thus, for example, the Foreign Affairs Committee heard on the 31st October from the Peoples Party deputy, Dr. Chudoba, a searching criticism of foreign policy, in particular of the pro-Soviet behaviour of the delegation in Paris. This, he implied, had not served him well in their American relations, nor with regard to the Slovak-Hungarian dispute. On this last question Dr. Clementis had remarked that Czechoslovakia might be "compelled to effect a final solution herself"—might, in other words, resort to unilateral expulsion.

On the 12th November, a joint session of the Foreign Affairs, Resettlement and Socio-Politcal committees brought forth some strong criticism of the progress of repatriation of Czechs and Slovaks from abroad. These emigrants, descendants of peasant and industrial settlers, are being placed in the Border Regions in an attempt to offset the loss of Germans recently expelled. The committees were provided with a statistical survey of these movements. So far contingents of about 10,000 from France (mostly miners) Austria and Poland respectively, another 3,000 from Belgium, and the same number from Germany and from Yugoslavia, making a total of 40,000. Excluding Hungary, there are about 250,000 nationals still settled in other European countries; 140,000 in Yugoslavia, 50,000 in Roumania, and 35,000 in Volhynia (Soviet Ukraine). Repatriation agreements are in operation with the governments of the last two. The Volhynian Czechs, it was stated, are to be moved in 120 special trains before May 1947. It may be noted here that the Communist party has been more successful than its competitors in planting and organising supporters in the Border Regions, with the help, particularly, of the Ministry of the Interior.

The freedom of the press in Czechoslovakia depends in the same way upon the dogged resistance of the non-Communist parties and their fellow-journalists to the continuous efforts of the Minister of Information, M. Kopecký, to gain control. He is once again introducing a Press Bill, a revised version of one argued down last year. At present only the political parties and group interests (e.g. Youth, Legionaries) are allowed to have their own press—apart from purely scientific and artistic bodies. In his speech on the 13th November, M. Kopecký claimed that this arrangement had general support, and that there would be no return to the pre-war system whereby the wealthy Stříbrný Press was able to make treasonable attacks upon the State. His new Bill, however, would give the Minister greater powers in "curbing anti-government propaganda," and in assuming the duties of the provincial censorship offices, which exist unchanged under the pre-war law. The last proposal incensed the Slovak Democrats, who saw that it conflicted with the present powers of the Slovak Department of Information. This "press dictatorship," as the Slovak Democrat paper termed it, would be further entrenched by an increased use of such discriminatory practices as refusal to grant new licences and favouritism in paper allocations which have already caused so much irritation. Further, M. Kopecký proposed the publication of a "Government daily" in an evening edition; this would mean, in fact, a fourth Communist daily, (counting the Trade Unions and Youth papers as such) as opposed to the one-per-party scheme. This is a disquieting development, when it is realised that the aim is to recapture the record circulation of the only pre-war evening paper, which, ironically enough, was Stříbrný's *Večerní České Slovo*.

Erratum.

The second sentence on page 7 of last week's *Summary* should read as follows "... the British military mission which is available in Prague to advise the Czechoslovak General Staff on matters of training and equipment."

POLAND

At its session on the 12th November the Presidium of the National Council of the Homeland decreed that elections to the Legislative Chamber should be held on Sunday, the 19th January, 1947 (see *Summaries* 362 and 363). The electoral period was fixed to start on the 17th November, and separate dates were clearly

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specified for various electoral programmes. The results of the voting will be published on the 31st January by the General Electoral Commission.

The Warsaw Radio has announced that a solid electoral "*bloc*" would be formed by the Polish Socialist Party (P.P.S.), and Polish Workers' Party (P.P.R), the Peasant Party (S.L.), and the Democratic Party (S.D.). These four parties formed the original "Lublin" Committee under Russian protection. It was also reported that the Labour Party (S.P.), would join this bloc *only* in the regained territories, acting independently elsewhere, and that the "New Liberation" Peasant Party (P.S.L.–N.W.) had not yet reached a decision. This last party is a dissident group which has split off from the P.S.L. of M. Mikolajczyk, who is leading his own party under separate electoral lists. Being in opposition to the "Lublin" parties, he has met with their customary obloquy, including the accusation of collaborating with "Polish Hitlerite supporters" in the attempt to make Poland's future dependent on Germany's powerful friends.

According to British press reports, however, there are signs that the P.P.R.–P.P.S. unity is less solid than it appears.

The two parties are said to have failed to reach an agreement on the question of a joint list of candidates. The P.P.R. proposed that the P.P.S. and itself should each have 32 per cent. of the seats in the diet, 25 per cent. going to the S.L., and the rest to the smaller parties. The P.P.S. pointed out that this would give the P.P.R. a permanent majority of 57 per cent. (since the S.L. is known to favour complete collaboration with the P.P.R.). The P.P.S. counter-proposal was that 80 per cent. of the seats should be equally divided between the P.P.R. and itself, and the rest between the other parties.

The only point of agreement between both parties was said to have been the decision to allot M. Mikolajczyk 12 per cent. of the seats. They have not much time for reconciling the divergent opinions, since lists of candidates have to be announced by 10th December.

Poland's western frontier continues to be one of the most important questions of her foreign policy. According to press reports, the Polish Government is thinking of asking the Council of Foreign Ministers at New York for separate representation during the initial discussions on Germany.

This request is said to be actuated by a desire to obtain an adjustment of the frontier along the Oder estuary such as would give Poland the whole of the island of Uznam (Usedom). At a Warsaw Congress of three thousand Poles from the "regained territories," a resolution was passed that the island of Ruegen, if not given to Poland, should be placed under the protection of the United Nations. It appears doubtful whether this latter demand has the support of responsible Polish circles. Inside Poland itself a national levy is to be raised by the Government, in order to accelerate the economic rehabilitation of the Western territories. The Government has contrived to claim credit, even for a drastic step of this character, inasmuch as the gradation of the levy strictly according to financial means is being represented as an act of social justice, as well as an effective reply to critics of the Oder–Neisse line.

The first number of the weekly publication "Glos Anglii" ("The Voice of England") has not had a very favourable reception from official Polish critics. The paper's object is to present various aspects of British life, but the Socialist newspaper "Robotnik" complains that the "omission of the most topical British problems cannot be made good even by the finest articles on exhibitions, fashion, sport, or British education and literature."

The "Voice of England," according to Robotnik, should be "the voice of the new Britain of the Labour Party, and not of the old Conservative Britain."

SOVIET UNION

Reinforcing the attitude adopted by the Soviet delegates to the United Nations, the commentators in the press and on the radio have been at pains to calumniate British rule in the Sudan, South Africa's policy, and recent developments in colonial countries generally. "Egypt's claims to the Sudan are unanswerable," asserted Moscow radio in Persian and a Wafdist (Cairo) newspaper is quoted as saying that "Bevin wants to convert the Sudan into a British commercial concern . . . . so that he can get a grip on her throat." This was capped by the statement that the streets of Sudanese towns were "recently flooded with the blood of Sudanese demanding the realisation of the age-long aspirations of the Sudanese nation . . . ." General Smuts was reminded that his demands (with regard to South-West Africa) were typical of the imperialist trend in the post-war organisation of peoples in dependent or colonial countries.

"Such methods," said the speaker, "are resolutely rejected by those who look upon the U.N. as an instrument for the establishment of world democracy and the triumph of the great ideals which have inspired the peoples in their war against Fascism and aggression."

M. Vyshinsky's speech in the United Nations General Assembly on displaced persons has been made the occasion for renewed attacks in the Soviet press on the policy of the Western Allies in their zones in Germany and Austria. It was claimed that, whereas all allied prisoners-of-war and civilian deportees had been returned long ago from the Soviet zone, 1,200,000 remained in the western zones. An article in *Krasnaya Zvezda* asserted that these people were terrorised by the authorities and threatened with whipping and starvation if they expressed a wish to go back to the U.S.S.R. It was further alleged that when a group of Soviet citizens in one camp started issuing a wall newspaper "The Motherland Calls," the paper was torn down and the editor threatened by British officers with detention and whipping. The activities of the Ukrainian nationalists—only to be expected in view of the large number of deportees and refugees from Eastern Galicia—also came in for criticism together with those of citizens of the Baltic States and anti-Tito Yugoslavs. *Krasnaya Zvezda* conceded that among these persons there might be some genuine traitors to their Soviet motherland, but the majority were described as longing for repatriation and not knowing how to get away from the camps—a statement that might cause a wry smile to harassed British and American officials.

The first clear official confirmation of earlier evidence and rumours that Marshal Koniev had replaced Marshal Zhukov as deputy Minister of the Armed Forces and Commander-in-Chief of the Land Forces was given by *Krasnaya Zvezda* (the 17th November) in a short item on the Frunze Military Academy referring to Marshal Koniev as Commander-in-Chief of the Land Forces of the Armed Forces of the U.S.S.R. Though Zhukov is still believed to be in Odessa, his position remains obscure and the press has made no reference to him for months. On the other hand, Marshals Tolbukhin and Rokossovski, whom earlier rumours alleged to have fallen into disgrace, have both been referred to recently in the press in terms which suggest that they still hold their previous positions.

The first Soviet comments on "The British Labour Party Revolt" against the Government's foreign policy were more restrained than might have been expected, while strongly stressing "the people's support" of the amendment. It was pointed out (by Moscow radio in Italian) that "a rebellion" was an inadequate term to define an amendment backed by over 60 Labour M.P.s, which proved the development of opposition within the Party, "and a state of mind widespread among the Labour masses and all British workers—which contradicts the present trends of British diplomacy."

The recent Moscow criticism of the principles and the inadequacy of world food relief, mainly attacking the U.S.A. and Canada (see *Summary* No. 365), has now been reinforced by an unpleasant new line in regard to the U.K. food supplies and "hunger diplomacy." It is pointed out that "in its allocations for 1947, the World Food Council has allowed Poland, Yugoslavia, Greece, Czechoslovakia, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Albania, China, Italy and Austria only one-fifth of the amount of fats that Britain alone is to receive. These ten countries together get 25 per cent. less fats than Belgium and the Netherlands."

Although no official announcement of it has yet appeared, the Soviet Government have recently made certain changes in the nomenclature of the Soviet armed forces and now wish the three services to be known respectively as "Soviet Army," "Soviet Navy," and "Soviet Air Force" and no longer as "Workers' and Peasants' Red Army," "Workers' and Peasants' Red Navy," *etc.* The merging of the People's Commissariats for Defence and the Navy into a new Ministry of the Armed Forces in March of this year had already led the Soviet newspapers to refer much more frequently to "the armed forces of the U.S.S.R." than to the Red Army and the Red Navy. But it was not until after the introduction of new "Internal Regulations for the Armed Forces" in August that they began to use the names "Soviet Army," "Soviet Navy" and "Soviet Air Force" with unmistakable unanimity and regularity. As a corollary, the press is also substituting "serving man," "soldier," and "sailor" for "Red Army man" and "Red Navy man." The change seems to be part of the same process of stressing the prestige and dignity of the Soviet State and its organs as recently led the Soviet Government to replace "People's Commissars" and "People's Commissariats" by "Ministers" and "Ministries."

A *Reuter* report alleging that six Soviet aircraft bombed Antung on the Korean–Manchurian border, recently captured by Kuomintang troops, has been

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denied by *Tass* as "a slander from beginning to end." As might be expected, Chinese official sources have maintained a discreet silence about this incident, though, according to the Peiping correspondent of the *New York Times* (the 14th November) "Chinese officials were taking a most serious view of it."

International Youth Day on the 10th November was duly celebrated in Moscow and two days later the Soviet anti-Fascist Youth Committee held its plenary sessions. The World Federation of Democratic Youth, founded a year ago on the pattern of the World Federation of Trade Unions, was said to have reached a membership of 45,000,000. Stress was laid in the speeches at Moscow on the links between the World Youth Federation and the International Union of Students; Soviet citizens, secretaries of the *Komsomol* Central Committee, are vice-chairmen of both bodies. The Soviet anti-Fascist Youth Committee has set up a special section for extending connections between Soviet students and the International Union of Students. A new monthly periodical "World Youth" has just started to appear in Moscow in Russian, English, French and Spanish. The first number contained an article on the terror to which Greek Youth was exposed with the help of British tanks and another urging the setting up of Committees in all countries for friendship with Spanish Youth and the severance throughout the world of relations with General Franco.

Although the World Youth Federation includes representatives of Socialist and even some Roman Catholic Youth organisations, *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, on the occasion of World Youth Day, launched out vigorously against the Socialist Youth International and "certain Church organisations encouraged by the Vatican" for knuckling under to Fascism. The article accused "reactionary elements among the occupying Powers" of fostering, and the Catholic Church of encouraging, undemocratic trends among the Youth of Germany and Austria.

The total enrolment of labour trainees in trade and factory schools this year is planned to rope in some 250,000 young persons; the second routine call-up for this purpose started on the 15th November. Some 147,450 youths aged 16–18 are to join factory schools and others aged 16–19 will be entering various branches of the metallurgical industry, according to the Deputy U.S.S.R. Minister for Labour Reserves, L. I. Pogrebnoy. An acute labour shortage is one of the many difficulties holding up the reconstruction programme in the Soviet Union and it might therefore have been expected at least that labour trainees would have been forthcoming according to schedule. But, according to official statements, this is far from being so, and grave shortcomings are admitted in the work of the Ministry of Labour Reserves who have failed to provide the requisite numbers of miners, metallurgists, railwaymen, builders, textile workers and "building materials" workers. Both the factory training and the living conditions, including accommodation and equipment for young workers, are also criticised as extremely unsatisfactory. It is therefore uncertain whether the Government's plan for recruiting labour from this source will be fulfilled this year.

By a decree of the R.S.F.S.R. Supreme Council, N. N. Mirotvortsev (R.S.F.S.R. Deputy People's Commissar of Light Industry) has been promoted to be R.S.F.S.R. Minister for Light Industries, in place of A. F. Shchegolev, who has been relieved of his post.

THE LOW COUNTRIES

Belgium

In a conversation with Mr. Bevin recently on the possibility of Belgian territorial claims against Germany, M. Spaak said that the difficulty confronting him was that, in view of the claims made by the Netherlands, Luxembourg and France, his own people would expect him to make similar demands, and would cease to be satisfied with assurances of adequate compensation for Belgian sufferings during the war. He remarked that the scale of Netherlands claims—both territorial and economic, but particularly territorial—had been much reduced: in earlier discussions on the subject with Dutch Ministers he had urged moderation, and he thought it was possible that the reduction of at least their territorial claims owed something to his efforts. But, in his opinion, the economic claims were still disproportionate. M. Spaak then expressed his complete agreement with the long-term view of the German economic problem taken by H.M. Government, and the necessity of eventually integrating German industry into the economy of Europe. He also agreed with Mr. Bevin's wish to postpone examination of the territorial claims until such time as they could be taken together. He added that his own difficulties would be somewhat mitigated if he could be assured that the claims of other countries—whether territorial or economic (presumably in their present form)—would in all probability be rejected. To this Mr. Bevin replied that, if it was proposed to put forward Belgian economic claims on a scale similar to those of other countries, the greater would be the chances of rejection for all these claims, since the total would be still more disproportionate to the proposed future German economy.

The unstable Huysmans Cabinet has managed to survive its latest crisis (12th–15th November), for which the threatened resignation of the four Communist Ministers was ultimately responsible. The crisis arose out of the election of M. Marchand, sole representative of the *Union Démocratique Belge* in the Chamber, to the newly-created fifth Vice-Presidency of the Chamber, instead of M. Lahaut, President of the Communist Party, for whom the office had been earmarked. The totally unexpected return of M. Marchand was a nasty shock for the Communists; but his success was openly acclaimed by M. van Acker and his supporters. Furious, the Communists sent an ultimatum to M. Huysmans, demanding "total and immediate reparation for the outrage done to the Communist Party," on the ground that the attitude of certain members of the coalition tended to call in question the principle of Communist participation in the Government. The Communist Ministers then took the extreme step of sending a letter of resignation to M. Huysmans. The crisis was eventually resolved by one of the Socialist Vice-Presidents agreeing to surrender his post, and the Socialist parliamentary group to give unanimous support to M. Lahaut's candidature; whereupon the Communist Ministers withdrew their resignation.

The Netherlands

Dr. Ir. J. A. Ringers, non-party Minister of Public Works and Reconstruction, resigned on the 15th November. Recent reports suggested that Dr. Ringers had contemplated resignation on account of ill-health; but the real cause has since been stated by the ex-Minister himself. "At the time of the formation of the Beel Cabinet," said Dr. Ringers, "I declared myself prepared to accept the post temporarily, despite grave misgivings. The objections which I then raised were due to the former Cabinet's policy towards the N.E.I." Ir. Vos (Party of Labour), Minister of Transport, has temporarily replaced Dr. Ringers (16th November). (For the terms of the Draft Agreement with regard to the future of Indonesia, see under "Far East.")

FRANCE

The readiness of the Communist Party to assume the responsibilities of leadership of the Government and the conduct of the foreign relations of France, has been illustrated by an important pronouncement made by M. Maurice Thorez, General Secretary of the party. M. Thorez took the almost unprecedented step of giving an interview to Reuter's correspondent in Paris which was published in the continental edition of the *Daily Mail* on the 15th November. He said that "we would sign an alliance with Great Britain to-morrow if we could obtain a settlement of the German problem which satisfied our just desires." France was grateful towards all the Allies and would not choose between them; she considered agreement between them to be essential. However, she was critical of Anglo-Saxon policy towards Germany since this seemed to aim at the restoration of German domination in Europe. France needed security and reparations: the first must be assured by absolute control of the Ruhr, the prolonged occupation and effective disarmament of Germany, the liquidation of Fascism, and the economic union of France and the Saar. On the question of control of the Ruhr, some compromise agreement must be reached with the U.S.S.R. As for the disarmament of Germany, M. Thorez recognised that some of Germany's heavy industries must be developed, but insisted that they must remain under close control. France's second need, reparations, must be met in large part from the coal produced in the Ruhr; "we really cannot understand the British refusal to give us more Ruhr coal." M. Thorez then denied the suggestion that the Communist Ministers had held up the Anglo-French commercial negotiations and declared that the Communists had always favoured the development of mutually advantageous trade.

Two days lated M. Thorez gave an interview to the Paris correspondent of the *Times*. After repeating the substance of what he had said to Reuter's

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correspondent, he declared : " We want the ties of friendship and alliance between Great Britain and France to be drawn more tightly . . . I come from a province (Artois) into whose soil too much British blood has flowed for me to underestimate the worth of Franco-British friendship. Agreement must come of a mutual understanding of the interests of our two countries and of a just settlement of the German problem." Turning to Communist domestic policy M. Thorez said that the party had not asked for a mandate to carry out a strictly Communist programme, but one of national reconstruction, acceptable to all democrats. "The Communist Party, in its action as part of the Government and within the framework of the parliamentary system it has helped to re-establish, will hold strictly to the democratic programme which has won for it the confidence of the masses of the people." Russian Communism was not the only path to Socialism, and France, with her great traditions, would find her own way. The French Workers' Party, which they wished to create by the fusion of the Communist and Socialist Parties, would be a guide to the new democracy and would open its ranks also to Catholic workers. In conclusion M. Thorez said that the French Communists hoped that their aims would be understood in Great Britain.

M. Bidault will hand the resignation of his Government to the acting president of the National Assembly when it meets on the 28th November. It will then be open to the Assembly to ask M. Bidault to carry on until the election of the President of the Republic, in January, enables a proper Government to be formed, or to try to find at once the basis for a new Government whose leader would simply have to be confirmed by the President of the Republic. The second solution has in its favour the need for an authoritative Government to represent France at the current international discussions and to deal with the precarious financial situation. For the moment, however, the parties are waiting for the results of the elections to the Electoral College of the Council of the Republic, which will take place on the 24th November. The Communists have indeed laid claim to the Premiership and invited the Socialists to join them in forming a Government based on the "Republican majority" in the Assembly, but the Socialists have postponed their decision. Such a Government would need the support of the Radicals in order to have a majority in the Assembly, but the Radicals are at present showing great reluctance at the idea of any alliance with the Communists.

The press, thanks to judicious guidance from the Quai d'Orsay, was at pains to blanket the news that a further cut was being made in coal exports from the British Zone of Germany (see under "Germany")—it was relegated to the inside pages—and some understanding comment on the matter was published. Even *L'Humanité*, no doubt reflecting M. Thorez' new *mot d'ordre*, was less aggressive than usual.

(See also under "Middle East" and "Far East.")

Erratum

In last week's *Summary*, page 12, line 5, for "Fuge" read "Farge."

SWITZERLAND

On the 11th November a Swiss Delegation, headed by a Professor Keller, visited London to discuss with the Treasury and the Bank of England the operation of the Anglo-Swiss Monetary Agreement of March 1946 and the probable trend of payments between Switzerland and the Sterling Area. All aspects of the financial situation were discussed. The Swiss were worried because the limit of £10 million which they had agreed to hold in the first year of the Agreement had been exceeded in the first eight months. The reasons for this are, in the first place, that, although the U.K. are supplying to Switzerland goods whose value is substantially in excess of the value of Swiss exports to the U.K., this advantage is offset by reason of the fact that the rest of the sterling area have an adverse balance on trade with Switzerland; and secondly that financial payments, the greatest factor in which is the tourist traffic, are running heavily in Switzerland's favour.

To adjust the balance of trade between Switzerland and the sterling area, it was suggested that the Swiss should endeavour to secure more goods from the sterling Dominions and India; the Swiss have already approached the Dominions representatives in London. As regards financial payments, the Swiss view that it is undesirable that the local tourist expenditure should assume unreasonable dimensions is shared in London; but it was pointed out that the

question of the measures to be taken to achieve this end was primarily the concern of the Swiss. The Swiss Delegation returned to Berne on the 16th November to consult their Government on this point.

The Federal Council has decided to issue a new loan of 400 million francs, of which 298 million will be used for conversion purposes. 200 million are to be issued at 3 per cent. for twelve years, and 200 million at 3¼ per cent. for twenty years.

A communiqué issued to the press stresses the unfavourable treatment of Switzerland in the distribution of food. It says that the privileged treatment of that country has ceased to exist. The average ration is given as 2,550 calories, compared with United States 3,100, United Kingdom 2,800, France, Holland, Belgium and Norway 2,300 to 2,500, Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia and Austria 1,700 to 2,400, and Germany 1,600 to 1,800. The statement points out that a yearly quota of cereals is refused, oils and fats are less than 50 per cent. of the pre-war consumption, and sugar 55 per cent. The meat supply averaged 191,000 tons before the war; not more than 120,000 tons will be available in 1947.

According to a Swiss communiqué concerning the Swiss-Belgian trade agreement which was signed in Berne on the 26th September (see *Summary* No. 364), the Belgian import and export quotas laid down cover the period from the 16th September, 1946, to the 16th September, 1947. Belgium will deliver coal, iron and steel, metals, tissues and colonial timber. Payments will also liquidate outstanding accounts of the past two years in favour of Swiss creditors. Proceeds of the export surplus to Switzerland will be used for tourist traffic, insurance and transit expenses.

A Swiss delegation visited Berlin last month and made agreements with the British and American authorities for the resumption of trade between Switzerland and these respective occupation zones. Swiss deliveries will consist of foodstuffs and raw materials in compensation for German goods as and when they become available.

The Federal Council has recommended the merging of "Swissair" and "Alpar" into one Swiss National Air Line. For this purpose the Confederation, the Post Office and Federal Railways will participate in the increase of capital of "Swissair" from 1 to 20 million francs.

The budget of the Federal Railways for 1947 estimates revenue at a record figure of 543 million francs, which is 70 per cent. higher than in 1938.

A Swiss delegation has returned from Warsaw after preliminary discussions regarding the nationalisation of Swiss Firms in Poland.

SPAIN

The U.K. Delegation in New York has now worked out with like-minded delegations an agreed text for an Assembly Resolution about Franco Spain. It eschews all idea of intervention in Spanish domestic affairs, laying emphasis rather on the welcome which will be extended to the Spanish people in the United Nations conclave when the country has been rid of the Franco régime. The text also records in general terms the view that free and democratic elections in Spain would be "in the interest of Spain and world co-operation" and recommends the continued exclusion of Spain as she is from membership of any agency or organisation under the auspices of the United Nations. Logically, of course, the Russians should welcome such a punctilious care for the national sovereignty on which their whole attitude to the Organisation is predicated. But they will scarcely forgo the magnificent propaganda opportunity which the platform of the Assembly provides

Meanwhile, encouraged by optimistic messages from Spanish newspaper correspondents in New York—who take the line that, so long as the British and American delegates stand firm, any "action" by the Assembly will be a damp squib—General Franco has chosen the A.P. news agency as the vehicle for an expression of his views on Spain's international position. His statement is on the familiar pattern. All proposals for isolating Spain economically and politically, says the Caudillo, are just a plot hatched by Soviet Communism. Spain has not committed any breach of the peace, on the evidence of the Security Council itself, and to go against the plain meaning of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter would be to deprive members of the United Nations of all guarantees of security. Asked about the reports that his Government were contemplating a trade deal with the U.S.S.R. (emulating President Perón),

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General Franco answered that, while the Soviet Union behaved as it did, there was no possibility of commercial relations. He pointed out incidentally that, except for the phase of "subservience" during the civil war, Spain had not in fact had normal diplomatic or commercial relations with Russia for thirty years. Finally, he gave once again the assurance that elections (municipal and provincial) and a referendum would be taking place in Spain one fine day but that it would be for him to choose the occasion. To-day, when the Spanish people were being incited to rebellion from abroad, and Spain was the object of villainous manœuvres in international assemblies, was certainly not the right moment.

H.M. Ambassador in Madrid confirms that the resumption of foreign pressure has duly had the effect of sharpening civil war animosities—and has temporarily spoiled the chances of success of the move towards a caretaker Government sponsored by the *Alianza Democrática* and their opponents in the Catholic and Monarchist camps (see *Summary* No. 366). On the 11th November Sir Victor Mallet had a warm half-hour of argument with the Spanish Foreign Minister when he went to see him *inter alia* to rub in the significance of the Resolution at the Trades Union Congress. Señor Artajo was in mettlesome mood following the result of the French elections. He had something to say about the more turbulent atmosphere, exemplified by recent bomb outrages and demonstrations on the occasion of the funeral of a Falangist victim, which was the result of renewed foreign pressure. He himself, he said, was having great difficulty in restraining right-wing Franco supporters. If the Byelo-Russian Resolution, demanding economic sanctions, were approved by the United Nations Assembly, the Spanish Government would resist to the last gasp "and if there was no petrol Spaniards would ride on mules!" Then, once again, he asked, somewhat plaintively, why the Spanish Government never got any credit for its resolute anti-Communism. H.M. Ambassador tried to make him understand that anti-Communism was no passport to the good graces of the Allies and that Franco's past damned him utterly in the eyes of all democratically-minded people. Civil war, certainly, had to be avoided at all costs, but still nothing had been done about the promised elections . . . . and the sands were running out.

Foreign opinion has naturally remained totally unimpressed by the "National Congress of Spanish Workers" which has been meeting in Madrid this month to the accompaniment of the usual national-syndicalist ballyhoo. Nor does it take kindly to the evidence, probably exaggerated, of renewed police activities. A recent drive against Communist underground forces is said to have resulted in numerous arrests, and three weeks ago the security police in Barcelona was reported to have rounded up more than fifty alleged leaders of the clandestine Republican Army formation (AFARE) and to have confiscated the complete set of archives and papers belonging to the organisation.

ITALY

On the 12th November Count Carandini delivered to the Foreign Ministers communications from the Italian Government on the subject of the possibility of direct negotiations between Italy and Yugoslavia. Signor Nenni wished it to be clearly understood that the Italian Government was ready to enter direct negotiations with Yugoslavia on the assumption that the agreement of the Big Four of the 3rd July, 1946, and the majority decision of the Paris Conference stood firm, and that if it proved impossible to reach direct agreement between the two countries, the above decision would in any case remain an accepted fact. The Italian Government was anxious to know if the Foreign Ministers concurred in these points.

On the 14th November H.M. Government informed Signor Nenni that although the Council of Foreign Ministers maintained their position as regards the decisions of the 3rd July, H.M. Government would be prepared to examine sympathetically any agreements reached by Italy and Yugoslavia, particularly if these agreements appeared likely to promote international peace. In view of the lack of detail so far received of Marshal Tito's offer, H.M. Government were not in a position to estimate the value of initiating direct negotiations. This was a matter for the Italian Government to decide, remembering that any agreement would be most carefully studied by the Council of Foreign Ministers in the light of decisions reached in Paris. As regards Signor Nenni's request that any agreement reached between the two countries be guaranteed by U.N.O., H.M. Government replied that in the circumstances no special guarantee could be given, but that in their view any such agreement approved

by the Council of Foreign Ministers would have to be incorporated in the Peace Treaty.

On the 11th November the U.S. Government replied to Signor Nenni that they considered themselves bound by the decisions of the Council of Foreign Ministers. The continuance of direct negotiations was of course a matter for the Italian and Yugoslav Governments to decide. But the U.S. Government themselves would take no initiative in advocating a fresh solution. As regards a question of guarantee the U.S. Government expressed themselves in more or less the same sense as H.M. Government.

In the meantime Signor Togliatti has made a bitter attack on Signor De Gasperi's foreign policy, in particular on his attitude to the offer which he, Signor Togliatti, brought back from Marshal Tito. In his speech Signor Togliatti claimed that this was Italy's last chance of retaining Trieste. A large majority of the Italian people apparently believe this. It is further suggested that the Communist Party's success in the municipal elections is in great part due to this assertion of Signor Togliatti's.

Italians have not yet realized that political education in democratic government must begin with popular interest in control of local government, and that this is particularly true when there has been no political liberty for twenty years. In the municipal elections on Sunday, the 10th November, only 55 per cent. of the voters troubled to go to the poll.

The principal results of the elections in six large towns—Turin, Genoa, Florence, Rome, Naples and Palermo—were the defeat of the Christian Democrats in each town and the unexpected increase in the representation of the *Uomo Qualunque* party. In Turin, Genoa and Florence, the Communists won outright and *Uomo Qualunque* came low on the list; in Rome and Naples the People's bloc (Communists, Socialists, Party of Action and other left-wing parties) headed the list, but *Uomo Qualunque* came second; while in Palermo, *Uomo Qualunque* came first and the Monarchists second. The increase in the *Uomo Qualunque's* strength was most marked in Rome where the group polled 105,000 votes, and the increase was generally much more pronounced in the South than in the North. The position of the Christian Democrats, the centre party, has gradually been growing more and more difficult. As the party which won more seats than any other single party in the national elections, it holds 10 Ministries in the Government, and Signor De Gasperi, the leader of the Party, is the present Prime Minister. In these conditions Signor De Gasperi and his party are attacked as if they alone were the Government, and the fact that the Left—Communists, Socialists and Republicans—hold 11 Ministries between them is conveniently passed over. As regards Marshal Tito's offer, the Government has been attacked by both Right and Left; by the Right for even considering it, and by the Left for rejecting it. Signor Piccioni, Secretary of the Christian Democrat Party, attributed the party's failure in the municipal elections partly to the abstention of nearly 50 per cent. of the voters, partly to the formation of the left-wing *bloc*, and to attacks by the right-wing opposition and left-wing parties which formed part of the Government.

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

Hungary

Magyar Nemzet reports that the Hungarian minority in Transylvania are expecting a substantial improvement in their economic situation as a result of General Susaikov's request to M. Groza to dissolve the Office for Abandoned Enemy Property. By the terms of the Commercial Agreement between the two countries, which is instanced as a further proof of good will, Hungary will deliver 1,000 wagon loads of maize and beans to Transylvania in exchange for timber, motor oil and raw material for her mines. Though it would be too much, states M. Gyönögyosi, the Foreign Minister, to expect a revision of the territorial decisions arrived at in Paris under the pressure of power politics, hope still remains that the Council of Foreign Ministers will allow Hungary and Roumania to settle the minority question by direct negotiation.

M. Molotov's announcement that the Soviet Union had restored to Hungary among other countries all the assets in the Soviet zone of Germany which could be identified as belonging to her raised a protest from Mr. Byrnes who maintained that the Russians had violated the agreement to await a general understanding for the return of property, M. Molotov replied that "no agreement should interfere with a just deed." The French Government have notified the Hungarian Government of their intention to give back all Hungarian property

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found in their zone. The first consignment consisting of motor vehicles, clothing, drugs and surgical instruments has already arrived.

M. Molotov did not prove receptive to Mr. Bevin's suggestion that with the withdrawal of the occupation forces from Italy and Bulgaria the time was approaching to consider whether the lines of communication across Hungary need be longer maintained. Great reductions have, however, been made during the last few months.

The slow progress made by the inter-party discussions is, according to *Vilag*, the newspaper of the bourgeois democrats, to be accounted for partly by the recent absence in London of M. Szakasits, the Social Democrat Deputy Premier, and partly by the desire of the left-wing *bloc* to postpone the Municipal Elections. M. Szakasits himself, when questioned on the reform of the Electoral Law, said that no important changes were likely. A few war criminals and Fascists might be excluded, but these form only an insignificant fraction of the Hungarian electorate. The Smallholders, too, seem to have successfully resisted the attempt to expel the so-called anti-democratic Deputies from the National Assembly. The Communist plan for a full-scale scheme of nationalizing the flour-mills has (see *Summary* No. 366) been modified as a result of influence exercised by the Social Democrats who thought the demand untimely. The Smallholders have agreed that the big mills should be nationalized and the small ones brought under borough control. M. Szakasits stated that barring the nationalization of electric energy no further alterations in this direction would at present be made.

Though subject to revision the B-listing (forcible retirement) of 1,700 Smallholder members of the Police Force, as against 500 left-wing or non-party members, may tend to give an exaggerated impression of its use as a political weapon, since many officials have been dismissed as survivors from the old régime rather than for their party affiliations. M. Bán, the Social Democrat Minister of Industry, declared that the chief aims of the B-List were to assure rational production and the success of stabilization. But that political discrimination has been employed is clear if we are to believe the evidence of *Hirlap*, the Smallholders' newspaper, which quotes the case of a police officer discharged from the Force for his refusal to leave the Smallholders' and join the Communist Party. Nor is this, says *Hirlap*, an isolated incident.

Roumania

By the time this Summary is published the Roumanian "election" will be over. In the opinion of a British official who has exceptional opportunities for observing the course of events and has many years experience of residence in Roumania the Communist majority is likely to be about 80 per cent. If the election were not rigged, the Communists might secure 1 per cent. of the votes.

The Government *bloc* have chosen the sun as their symbol. (The use of such symbols is necessary in Roumania in view of the widespread illiteracy of the people.) The whole of Bucharest is plastered with Government posters bearing the words "*Votați Soarele*" (Vote for the Sun!), the device is painted on hoardings and vacant spaces, and super-imposed on stamps and on the outside of matchboxes, and public conveyances have their headlights converted into suns by day and illuminated with electric bulbs at night. The police stop all motor cars and paint suns upon them. The election lists, completion of which is controlled by communist committees, are clearly a complete farce. It is estimated that in Ploiești and Câmpina as many as 50 per cent. of the voters have been struck off the lists. Any voter who is struck off has a right of appeal. But about 20 certificates are required for every appeal, and these are issued—or rather not issued—by the authorities. It was further announced in Ploiești on a certain day that lists of candidates must be deposited at the Tribunal, the list of Government candidates on one day and the list of all other candidates on the next day. The Government list was duly deposited, but the following day the workers in the oil refineries stopped work, and crowding into the offices of the tribunal prevented the lists from being deposited. The workers are not very brave, and as on other occasions were terrorised into obeying orders. Any attempt at opposition propaganda is met by violence, although the Government have repeatedly said that all electioneering facilities would be permitted to all parties. The opposition parties have decided rather against their better judgment to withdraw D-ni Romniceami and Hatzieganu from the Government.

An anonymous message has been received at the British Legation with a threat that the Legation will be blown up unless the British Government ceases its anti-Jewish policy. Appropriate security measures have been taken.

Yugoslavia

Croatia and Serbia elected their Constituent Assemblies on 10th November, the last of the republics to do so. These elections can be judged only by the proportion of the enfranchised who had the courage to abstain. At the polling booths there was rarely any alternative but to vote for the official candidate; occasionally there was a choice of two or more National Front candidates. According to Yugoslav custom the system adopted was one of dropping rubber balls into boxes, so that there was no question of spoiling ballot papers and there was no "Box without a list" as had been the case in the elections of November 1945. The Press published the results in percentages giving few of the actual figures. In Macedonia 94·56 per cent. of the electorate voted. In Bosnia 92·6, in Montenegro 95, in Slovenia 95·87, in Croatia 94, in Serbia 96·9. Some of the lowest percentages were recorded in N.E. Slovenia, in the district of Maribor (80–90 per cent.), where the election results in November 1945 had been the most unfavourable to the Government. At Cetinje, in Montenegro, every person on the voting lists used his or her vote.

The Yugoslav Press has questioned the "democratic character" of the Bulgarian draft constitution, according to which any frontier adjustments must be decided by the Grand National Assembly. This, the Yugoslavs declare, violates the principle of self-determination, for, if the people of Bulgarian Macedonia should wish to join Yugoslav Macedonia, their fate would be decided, not by themselves, as Macedonia, but by the Bulgarian majority in the Grand National Assembly.

The Serbian Patriarch Gavrile has returned to Yugoslavia, whence he was removed by the Germans in 1941.

Greece

Consternation was caused in Athens by the report that on 13th November a band some 700 strong had driven a company of Greek regulars out of the village of Skra, which lies west of the river Vardar and close to the Yugoslav frontier, and that the village had only been reoccupied by the Greek army after severe fighting and the arrival of reinforcements. Armed bands made further attacks on Greek army posts in the neighbourhood on 14th and 17th November. This series of raids on a twelve-mile front, only a short distance from the frontier was, according to Greek statements, conducted by forces of the Communist-run Slav-Macedonian Nationalist Liberation Front (S.N.O.F.), and many of them came from, and most escaped to, Yugoslav territory—sometimes under cover of fire from Yugoslav troops. There may be ground for the belief said to be held in the Greek army that the purpose of the attackers was to occupy an area reaching to points not more than twenty-five miles from Salonica. In other parts also of northern Greece the activity of armed bands has been alarming. In the Grevena district, for example, they are reported to have been in a position to summon able-bodied men to join them. The Greek Government claim to have proof that band activity is actively supported from beyond the Greek frontiers.

In these circumstances the general public is disillusioned with all politicians. By various commendable measures, known to have been taken on British advice, M. Tsaldaris has accumulated unpopularity. He has got rid of extreme Right Ministers; withdrawn excessive frontier claims; announced a limited amnesty; met the plea for high wages by a promise of commodities at low prices; and accepted a reasonable scheme for the trades unions. It is small wonder that he holds out to the public hopes of British and American financial and economic help, though symptomatic of the Greeks' present inclination to look to outside aid rather than exert the maximum effort of the nation to mobilise its resources. Opposition leaders like M. Venizelos and M. Sofianopoulos talk of a coalition, widened towards the Left, dealing with the Communist menace. But they seem to be more concerned with bringing M. Tsaldaris' Government down than with constructive policy, and it seems plain that no Government will deter the Communists from making trouble unless it be one dominated by the Communists themselves. Meanwhile Moscow broadcasts continue to denounce British military support to Greece and to demand fresh elections—the "freedom" of which, were the British forces withdrawn, would no doubt lead to the same domination by a ruthless minority, as in Bulgaria and elsewhere.

Albania

On the 9th November H.M. Government informed the Albanian Government through the British Ambassador at Belgrade that the Corfu Channel would be

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swept by minesweepers of the Royal Navy on the 12th and 13th, in accordance with the unanimous decision of the Central Mines Clearance Board on the 1st. The precise area to be swept was defined, and it was added that no ships would be stationed in Albanian waters: the operation would be carried out in the same way as were the sweepings performed by us in October 1944 and February 1945, to which the Albanian Government raised no objections. (See *Summaries* Nos. 366 and 367.)

On the 11th November another completely disingenuous reply was received. The Albanian Government said they felt obliged to protest against H.M.G's "unilateral decision"; they could not agree that a sovereign State should be faced in this way with a *fait accompli*. They proposed a joint commission to discuss the question of laying down a clearly defined "passage" to be swept. But "any sweeping undertaken without the consent of the Albanian Government outside the determined passage, *i.e.* inside Albanian territorial waters where foreign warships have no reason to sail, can only be considered as a deliberate violation of Albanian territory and sovereignty."

The operation was carried out as arranged, and on the 13th November the Admiralty announced: "Minesweepers of the Royal Navy operating in the Corfu Channel have to-day swept 22 moored mines, two of which have been recovered and are being examined. Other mines have been sunk by rifle fire, but some may drift ashore. A full report is awaited from the Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean Fleet." An armed Albanian boat flying a white flag is reported to have watched on the second day, but she did not approach our ships.

The Albanian Government at once sent a protest to the Secretary-General of the United Nations against Great Britain's "dictatorial act," at the same time asking for the establishment of a commission to determine the extent of non-territorial waters in the Channel. There the matter rests for the moment.

The United States mission to Albania left the country on the 14th (see last week's *Summary*).

Bulgaria

The question of our relations with Bulgaria was raised in the House of Commons on the motion for the adjournment on the 12th November. Three of the members who took part in the debate—Mr. Mack (Lab.), Mr. Zilliacus (Lab.) and Mr. Mott-Radclyffe (Cons.)—had each spent a week or so recently in that country. The Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Mayhew, declared that the responsibility for the unsatisfactory state of affairs in Bulgaria was due to the low political standards, not of the people, but of the Government. We wished Bulgaria to remain on good terms with all her neighbours, including Soviet Russia. We wanted her to go ahead with constructive social reforms. But Socialism never had been and never would be established on terror and oppression. No genuine working-class movement needed those weapons to keep itself in power: only unrepresentative minorities needed them. Greece's claims on Bulgaria, he added, had been reduced and were now being considered by the Council of Foreign Ministers.

The Grand National (or Constituent) Assembly duly met for the first time on the 7th November and M. Vasil Kolarov was again elected Speaker. M. Trifon Kunev, the 70-year-old Agrarian author, was released on the 9th after awaiting trial for four months; but the charges against him and other Opposition deputies like MM. Lulchev and Asen Stamboliski have not been quashed. M. Pastuhov remains in prison and his election has been declared invalid. It is reported that arrests and beatings have continued since the elections. (See also under "Yugoslavia".)

Turkey

The devaluation of the Turkish lira last September, the first considerable measure taken by M. Recep Peker's Government, has produced a rise in prices which that Government has been powerless to stem. The consequent discontent was voiced by the Democratic Party in the Grand National Assembly on the 13th November. M. Peker there took the line that he would welcome a general debate on so important a matter. But in the privacy of meetings of the People's Party—which is in power—there were stormy scenes, the two Ministers most closely concerned threatened to resign, and in order to avert a crisis the President of the Republic had to intervene. He was no doubt right in insisting that the resignation of two Ministers only three months after M. Recep Peker had taken

office, would damage the prestige of the Popular Party (of which President Inönü is himself the leader). As head of the State he was perhaps equally concerned to maintain a solid front against continued Russian pressure.

Two recent articles in the semi-official *Ulus* have dwelt on the value which Greece and Turkey derive from their mutual friendship in view of the Russian menace to both of them. M. Atay points out that Greece and Turkey are the only bulwarks between the Slav *bloc* on the one hand and the Mediterranean and Middle East on the other. If one succumbs, so inevitably will the other, and yet, he says, there are both Greeks and Turks who act against their country's interests.

THE MIDDLE EAST

Egypt

By Royal Decree published November 11th, King Farouk has accepted the resignations from the Cabinet of Lutfi el Sa'id, Saba Habashi and Abdel Galil Samra Pashas. Salib Sami Pasha (Independent) is appointed Minister of Commerce and Industry, and Ahmed Abdel Ghaffar Pasha (Constitutional Liberal) is appointed Minister of State. It was known that Abdel Galil Samra Pasha had wished to resign, and that Lutfi el Sa'id Pasha was uncompromising in his opposition to the present Treaty proposals. The party balance in the Cabinet is unchanged, and it is clear that Sidky Pasha has hopes, particularly by the inclusion of Abdel Ghaffar Pasha who is well known for his pro-British attitude, of increasing support within the Cabinet for the conclusion of the negotiations on the present basis.

The King appears to be exerting every effort to settle the Treaty question, and has unofficially expressed to His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires his satisfaction at the latest proposals. The dissident *bloc* in the Egyptian delegation, however, either for reasons of personal hostility to Sidky Pasha, or for fear of compromising themselves with the Wafd, shew no sign of giving way. The latest indications are that Sidky Pasha may treat the delegation merely as an advisory body and take his authority to sign a treaty from the Council of Ministers and from the Chamber of Deputies.

Parliament was opened on the 14th November by King Farouk with the customary ceremony. In the Speech from the Throne reference was made to the Treaty negotiations, and the general principles underlying them were defined as being, on the Egyptian side, the realisation of national claims, respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter, and the safeguarding of Egypt's position as a member of the United Nations. The position of His Majesty's Government was described as being based on the desire for a Treaty of Alliance which should be not merely a matter of form, but a reality which could be depended upon when the test came. Understanding of these principles was complete, but the negotiations were protracted owing to divergencies on matters of detail. The difficulties, however, had been overcome during the week of discussions which Sidky Pasha had had with Mr. Bevin in London, and the matter was now before the delegation and would be presented to Parliament.

A meeting of the Egyptian delegation—the second since Sidky Pasha's return to Cairo—was held on the 16th November, but no decision was reached.

Demonstrations by students of Cairo University and el Azhar took place inside the university premises as a result of incitement by the Ikhwan el Muslimeen, the Wafd and the Makramites, who distributed pamphlets which are said to have urged "evacuation or revolution." According to the Arab News Agency a Students' National Front was formed with a charter defining their aims as the full independence of the Nile Valley with free, democratic rule—an aim which it is considered possible to attain by the dissolution of the present Parliament and its replacement by a genuine democratic Government which would refer Egypt's case to the United Nations. Adherents of the Sa'adist and National Liberal parties did not take part in these proceedings. The Government had taken all precautions against demonstrations outside the university precincts, and there were no disorders.

Palestine

Neither recent Zionist denunciations of terrorism nor the release of the detained Zionist leaders have produced any reduction in the number of terrorist incidents in Palestine. Barely a day has passed without some outrage being

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reported. During the week under review there were reports of six bomb or mine incidents, as a result of which two British and four Arab police officials were killed, and sixteen British police and military wounded. In recent weeks a large proportion of attacks has been directed at the railways. The Government of Palestine, in consequence, were compelled first to restrict the operation of the Palestine railways to hours of daylight, and then to decree total suspension of the services from the 19th November.

There are indications that the Jewish Agency and the Haganah are now becoming genuinely alarmed at the extent and indiscriminate nature of terrorist activity. The bomb outrage which occurred at the British Embassy at Rome, and for which the Irgun Zvai Leumi have claimed responsibility (see *Summary* No. 367, "Italy"), appears to have caused particular concern, since it is held to have interfered with Jewish Agency plans for assisting Jewish illegal immigrants. While, however, some attempt may be made to assert Agency discipline over the terrorist groups, there would seem still to be no question of the agency co-operating with the Palestine Government to suppress terrorism.

It appears that the question of Jewish Agency participation in the London Conference is to be referred for decision to the Zionist Congress which will assemble at Basle on the 9th December. The Congress is expected to continue until the 23rd December, and seems unlikely that the Jewish representatives will be ready to join the London Conference on the 16th, when it is due to resume. There is little to indicate which way the decision of the Basle Congress will go. Berl Locker, in London, has expressed the opinion that the Agency could attend the Conference on the basis of the formula, worked out during earlier conversations with His Majesty's Government, "to join in the discussions with His Majesty's Government and present their views as to the solution of the Palestine problem": but Jewish reports from Palestine suggest that the Zionist attitude there is not forthcoming, and that, without a concession on immigration, Agency agreement to attend will be withheld.

The possibility that the London Conference will fail to produce a satisfactory settlement is already leading to discussion of alternative approaches to a solution. On the 18th November the London *Times*, in a leading article, wrote: "One course would be to confer immediate independence on the Holy Land on the basis of the existing population: the other would be to transfer the Mandate to the United Nations. . . . This country, however, will not readily be forced by violent means to abandon a trust upon which so much idealism has been lavished; it could only be compelled to do so by a conviction that in the eyes of the world its retention of the Palestine Mandate is an obstacle to progress." While the second of these courses would meet Soviet objections that no trusteeship agreement has been submitted to the United Nations in respect of Palestine, it is doubtful whether it would be favourably received either by the Arabs, who demand only independence, or by the Jewish Agency, whose chairman, David Ben Gurion, recently voiced the opposition of the Zionist movement to a trusteeship "whether administered by Great Britain or any other Power."

In an attempt to check the constant stream of Jewish illegal immigrants through Europe into Palestine His Majesty's Government have sought to enlist the assistance of European Governments through whose territory this traffic tends principally to flow. It is therefore a cause for satisfaction that the French Government have decided to call a meeting in Paris to discuss Jewish illegal immigration through France. His Majesty's Government and the United States Government have been asked to send representatives, and the French have also suggested that representatives of the military authorities in the three Western Zones of Germany should be asked to attend. His Majesty's Government have accepted the invitation.

Persia

Pre-election fervour (see *Summary* No. 367) has been somewhat diminished recently by the Prime Minister's postponement of the elections, which are now to be held between the 17th and 21st December. The principal event of the week in Tehran has been a twenty-four-hour strike, declared on the 12th November by the Tudeh Party as a protest against an attack alleged to have been made on the 10th November by members of the Democrat Party on Tudeh workers in the Tehran railway stores. Another reason for the strike was Tudeh objection to the appointment of a Democrat as head of the State railways. Although initially it involved all Tehran workers (including railwaymen), with the exception of those employed in bakeries and municipal services, the strike was not a success. It soon petered out when the Ministry of Labour sent police and military

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to arrest the ringleaders. The Governor of Tehran has taken drastic steps to prevent further serious demonstrations. On the 17th November he issued two proclamations, the first prohibiting all public political meetings or demonstrations and meetings of workmen in factories, the second forbidding the carrying of arms of any kind, except by members of the official forces. All arms held by private individuals are to be surrendered by the 26th November.

Zenjan has now been evacuated by the Azerbaijan Democrats (see *Summary* No. 366), and a Persian battalion is reported to have left Tehran on the 16th November to garrison the town. In spite of Pishavari's assurances to the contrary, it appears that financial and manpower problems are causing the Azerbaijan Government considerable embarrassment. On the 11th November a demand was circulated from Tabriz for 6,000 rials, and ten men with previous military experience from every village. These "back to the wall" measures may indicate either that the Azerbaijanis are determined to resist further encroachment by the Central Government, or they may be trying to frighten the Central Government into not taking a firm line with them.

Disunity and lawlessness are increasing among the Persian Kurds. Qazi Muhammed appears to have lost what influence he had outside Mahabad, and there now seems to be no cohesion among the tribal chiefs. The one idea which they hold in common is to maintain their tribal independence. Sardasht has once more become the centre of a Kurdish Democrat insurrection against the Central Government, while in Rezaieh the Kurds are extorting large subsidies from Tabriz as the price of peace.

From Kermanshah it is reported that, on instructions from the Prime Minister, General Saffair, Chief Prefect of Police, undertook a mission to the "Western Tribal Union" (see *Summary* No. 362) late in October. The demands of the tribal chiefs are reported (but not confirmed) to include the establishment of Provincial Councils, the improvement of local conditions, the election to the next Majlis of men from Kermanshah and not outsiders, an increase in the number of deputies from the province, the cessation of Tudeh activities and the selection by the tribes of their own representatives to control their affairs. These demands shew a remarkable similarity to those made by Nasir Khan Qashgai (see *Summary* No. 361), and were doubtless prompted by the success of the Fars rising. The Prime Minister has agreed to the tribes' demands in return for a pledge of loyalty to the Central Government.

During the last fortnight there has been a marked improvement in the attitude of the press towards His Majesty's Government. Even the Tudeh papers, such as *Zafar* and *Rahbar*, have lately almost ceased their anti-British propaganda. The Soviet Union received loud eulogies from the Tehran left newspapers and the Azerbaijan press on the anniversary of the October revolution. But these seeds apparently fell on stony ground, for, three days later, on the 12th November, a violent criticism of the Persian Democrat Party and the "reactionary elements" was broadcast from Moscow.

Afghanistan

During the last two months Government officials have been shewing great interest in political developments in India, particularly the formation of the Interim Government under Mr. Nehru. Although most civil servants have refrained from comment on Mr. Nehru's Government, some junior officials have expressed surprise that the new Government does not include representatives of the Muslim League.

THE FAR EAST

China

On the 15th November, at a ceremony in Nanking at which representatives of the various diplomatic missions were present, the National Assembly was formally opened by General Chiang Kai-shek. In a speech of some length General Chiang exhorted the delegates to proceed to the task of drawing up a democratic constitution on the lines agreed upon earlier in the year at the Political Consultative Conference in Chungking.

Reports describing the opening ceremony state that it was poorly attended and that, although the request for a three days' postponement—from the 12th to the 15th November—had been granted in order to allow the minority parties

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time to nominate their representatives, few among those present were not members of the Government Party. Two of the minority parties, but not the Democratic League, are reported to have sent in their lists of delegates, who are expected to take their seats in the Assembly within the next few days. It is now thought that the Democratic League and a number of non-partisans are likely to follow the Communist lead and boycott the Assembly.

Chou En-lai and most of the Communist delegates have returned to Yenan, and in Communist circles there is much talk of a final rupture between the two factions and of an expected full-scale attack on Yenan from four different directions by Kuomintang forces. On the other hand, Chou En-lai's assertion to the press that, although the Nanking Government have already recalled their military liaison officer at Yenan and negotiations have been terminated by the unilateral opening of the National Assembly, the Communist Party proposes to continue to maintain liaison offices at Nanking, Shanghai and Chungking, indicates that, even at this stage, the back door has been left ajar and the last word has still to be spoken.

Press reports state that Nanking military sources have confirmed the withdrawal of all Soviet forces from Dairen, and that the port is now in the hands of the Communists. Government forces have been on the outskirts of the town for some time, but it is not known whether the Generalissimo's general cease-fire order remains in force following the Communists' refusal to attend the National Assembly. For their part, the Communists have completely disregarded this olive branch, claiming that the cease-fire order is but a sham and that both in Manchuria and north China the Government are continuing to wage full-scale civil war.

Indonesia

After the plenary session on the 21st October there was rapid progress in the informal discussions between the Dutch Commissioners General and the Indonesian representatives on the major political problems concerning the future of Indonesia. One point of fundamental importance, however, proved a stumbling block. How was a link with the Dutch Crown—on which the Netherlands representatives insisted—to be compatible with an independent Republic of Indonesia? For a time this question created an impasse which, despite the strenuous endeavours of both parties, appeared impossible to overcome. The Commissioners-General were adamant that recognition of the Crown as the head of the projected Union, the supreme link between the United States of Indonesia and the Netherlands—constituted a *sine qua non* of any settlement, while on their side, the Indonesian Delegation insisted that acceptance of this condition would render their position untenable *vis-à-vis* the Indonesian people.

Failure to find a satisfactory solution rendered it necessary to postpone the plenary session that had been called for the 4th November. Finally Mr. Sjarir decided that he and the members of his delegation would have to return to Jogjakarta to discuss the whole matter in the Indonesian Cabinet. It was then arranged that the Commissioners General would go to Cheribon in time to resume informal discussions with the Indonesian Delegates on the 11th November—this course having the additional advantage of affording them an opportunity of contacting Dr. Soekarno and his "Vice-President" Hatta. It was also agreed that Lord Killearn would preside over the projected plenary session at Cheribon.

The two Delegations duly met at Cheribon and, after informal discussions which took place throughout the day and at which Dr. Soekarno was present, the following official communiqué was issued on the 13th November:—

> "The Commission General and the Indonesian Delegation have found a possible basis of agreement which on certain points, however, necessitates further discussion with the Netherlands Government."

The possible basis of agreement took shape in the form of a draft treaty which was initialled in Batavia two days later. The following is a brief summary of the provisions of the Agreement:—

Article I provides for recognition by the Netherlands Government of the Republic of Indonesia as the *de facto* authority over Java, Madura and Sumatra; and for immediate measures to be instituted for the gradual transfer of territories occupied by Allied or Dutch forces to Republican Administration;

Article II provides that the Netherlands Government and the Government of the Republic shall co-operate in the speedy establishment of a sovereign democratic State on a federal basis to be called the United States of Indonesia;

Article III provides that the United States of Indonesia shall consist of the whole territory of the Netherlands-Indies, provided that territories wishing to do so may contract out of the United States of Indonesia and set up their own administration as separate members of the Union (see Article VI);

Article IV provides (1) that the component States of the United States of Indonesia shall be the Republic, Borneo and the Greater East, and (2) that the United States of Indonesia may make special arrangements with regard to its capital;

Article V provides for the formation of a Constituent Assembly to determine the constitution of the United States of Indonesia;

Article VI provides for the co-operation of the Netherlands and the Republic of Indonesia in the formation of a Netherlands–Indonesian Union consisting, on the one hand, of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, including the Netherlands and the Netherlands West Indies, and, on the other hand, of the United States of Indonesia;

Article VII provides that the Netherlands–Indonesian Union shall possess its own organs and that co-operation in foreign affairs, defence and, so far as necessary, finance, economy and culture shall be considered as common interests;

Article VIII provides that at the head of the Netherlands–Indonesian Union stands the Kingdom of the Netherlands; and that decisions on matters of common interest shall be taken by organs of the Union in the name of the Kingdom;

Article IX provides for the exchange of High Commissioners by the respective Governments;

Article X provides assurances for the rights of both parties;

Article XI provides for a conference between representatives of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and of the future United States of Indonesia to draw up the Statute which shall come into force after ratification by the respective Parliaments;

Article XII provides that an endeavour be made to effect the establishment of the United States of Indonesia and of the Netherlands–Indonesian Union before 1st January, 1949;

Article XIII provides for the introduction by the Netherlands of the United States of Indonesia as a member of the United Nations Organisation;

Article XIV provides for the restoration of rights and properties to non-Indonesians to be undertaken by a mixed Commission;

Article XV provides that the Netherlands Government shall take the necessary legal measures to adjust the constitutional and international position of the Kingdom of the Netherlands to the new situation;

Article XVI provides for the reduction by both parties of their military forces;

Article XVII provides for the establishment of an organisation consisting of delegations to be appointed by the two contracting parties, with a Joint Secretariat. Disputes arising in connection with the agreement which cannot be solved by the two above-mentioned delegations shall be submitted to arbitration. In this case, a chairman of another nationality with a casting vote shall be appointed by agreement between the two delegations, or, if no agreement can be reached, by the chairman of the International Court of Justice.

The draft treaty will now presumably be submitted to the States General at The Hague, and the Commission General are returning to Holland in order to be in a position to inform the Netherlands Government on any points that may require clarification. It is understood that they propose to remain in Holland only so long as is absolutely necessary and then to return to Batavia for the formal signing of the treaty, if and when it is approved by the two Governments concerned. Dr. Soekarno has publicly endorsed the agreement in a statement in which he also referred to the many respects in which the Indonesians are in need of Dutch help.

Lord Killearn, who throughout the negotiations has helped both parties over stiles that at times appeared almost unnegotiable, has been warmly thanked and

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has been invited by both parties to preside at their next and final meeting. He was not present at the final stages of the informal discussions which led to the framing of the draft treaty.

While these political discussions were in progress the Joint Truce Commission were also making satisfactory strides in the implementation of the Truce conditions. On 4th November a cease-fire and stand-fast order was issued to all military commanders in those areas in which it had not already been brought into force, and on the following day a satisfactory agreement was reached concerning the position at Sourabaya, where a delicate situation had been created in connexion with the water supply.

The evacuation from Java and Sumatra of the British forces of occupation, which, it was decided some time ago, should be effected by 30th November, has already begun and is reported to be proceeding smoothly. At a farewell party given by Dr. van Mook to the British and Indian military forces in the Netherlands East Indies, the Lieutenant-Governor-General sent the following message: "You came to save and stayed to protect: Your departure coincides with the dawning of peace in this country, leaves us with feelings of gratitude and regret and with the memory of an arduous task well done."

It has been announced that the second conference of the peoples of the Great East, scheduled to follow the two Conferences at Malino and Pangkal Pinang (see *Summaries* Nos. 353 and 365), is to take place at Den Passar on the Island of Bali on 7th December. And it is expected that important decisions will be taken at this conference concerning the formation and conduct of the United States of Indonesia.

Siam

An agreement providing for the return to Cambodia and to Laos of territory ceded to Siam by the Japanese award of 9th May, 1941, was signed in Washington on 17th November, 1946, between delegates of the French and Siamese Governments. The text follows the French proposals given in *Summary* 365. On Siamese insistence the preamble contains the words "considérant les points de vue exprimés par les gouvernements Américain et Britannique." Siamese *amour-propre* is thus saved.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The political commentaries in the United States are still full of speculation on the possible consequences of the Republican victories of 5th November and on the prospects of President Truman and the new Congress being able to reach a *modus vivendi* when the latter assembles in January. Among conservatives there is rising optimism regarding the chances of avoiding a complete stalemate. The President, they suggest, has a "natural affinity" to the forces "to the right of centre" which triumphed in the elections, and his own innate conservatism may well cause "areas of agreement" to be found between him and the Republican leaders. The editorial columns of many Republican newspapers are therefore again full of expressions of goodwill towards the Chief Executive. In one of these newspapers a cartoonist good-naturedly depicts Mr. Truman as a small and anxious figure in a lions' den, facing two not altogether voracious beasts labelled "Republican Senate" and "Republican House," above which is written a hopeful caption to the effect that "history records that Daniel came out all right."

Exactly how far the President would have to move to the Right as the essential price of harmony, spokesmen in the conservative camp, like Mr. David Lawrence, are already making clear. Mr. Lawrence confidently predicts that Mr Truman "will get more out of Capitol Hill in the next two years than he did in his first two years" if he will only refrain from encouraging the leaders of organized labour "to extend their political control over the country," repudiate "the radicals of the Wallace-Pepper wing" of his own party and only sponsor legislation which would be acceptable in the House of Representatives to the Republican majority and to the 100 Southern Democrats alike. Yet the very thought of the President pursuing anything but the forward course of the New Deal years has already placed the liberal Democrats firmly on their guard. Consequently they have been the most outspoken critics of his statement of 11th November, in which he gave his considered views on the outcome of the elections and expressed his desire to co-operate with Congress "in every proper manner." The mood of the country generally, however, is strongly

against permitting any jockeying for position in 1948 by the rival parties to leave the machinery of Government in a state of constant deadlock, and for this reason moderate organs of liberal opinion like the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and the *Philadelphia Record* are willing to agree that a programme of administration leaning to the conservative side (such as Mr. Truman's statement might in some ways foreshadow) is better than no programme at all.

An early test of the ability of the President and Congress to work together for the public good may well be provided by the crisis which Mr. John L. Lewis has precipitated in the coal mining industry. The fact that Mr. Lewis is himself nominally a Republican will not deter the party leaders like Senator Taft from attempting retributive action—especially as a successful bid for higher wages from the miners will be followed automatically by similar demands from the other union leaders. Senator Taft is currently reported to be engaged in an attempt to keep more progressive colleagues like Senators Aiken and Morse from succeeding to the leadership of the Senate Committee on Education and Labour so that he himself can retain the initiative in framing future labour legislation. (Similar contests are apparently going on between rival wings of the Republican party over appointments to other Senate and House committee chairmanships.) What was described as "constructive but emphatically not punitive" labour legislation was also conspicuous on the preliminary programme for next session which the Republican Steering Committee of the House of Representatives issued at its first meeting after the elections on the 14th November. Other items on that programme called for a 20 per cent. reduction in the federal income tax, the elimination of all Governmental controls, the termination as rapidly as may be practicable of the Presidential war powers and the limitation of the tenure of office by any President to two successive terms.

Little has been said by the Republican policy-making bodies since the elections about American financial policy abroad, although one or two of the more internationally-minded Republican organs have been quick to warn the party leaders of the dangers inherent in cutting the Federal Budget at the expense of the foreign loan and defence programmes. In this connexion even a stalwart representative of the business interests like *Barron's Weekly* has declared itself strongly against any attempt to repeat the loan and import policy of the last two years of Mr. Hoover's Presidency, pointing out that "to so undermine the economies of our foreign friends would be to widen the sway of Communism." Nevertheless at the State Department there are already signs of a readiness to defer to Congress, such as have not often been noticeable since Mr. Hull was given his mandate to apply his own policy of reciprocal tariff adjustment in 1934. In the current negotiations on the future financing of the British and United States zones of Germany Mr. Clayton has been unwilling to offer this country anything more advantageous than a "fifty-fifty" division of the costs of the joint economic programme where these costs have to be met on the American side by direct appropriations from Congress. Both Mr. Clayton and Mr. George E. Allen, of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, are also opposed to the idea of the United States granting a long-term loan to assist with the rehabilitation of Germany on the grounds that recollections of American loan policy to Germany in the 1920s would make such an idea most unpalatable to Congress.

Notwithstanding the preoccupation of opinion with domestic politics, considerable interest continues to be shown in the proceedings of the United Nations Assembly and in the meetings of the Council of Foreign Ministers. The ingrained antipathy of most Americans towards anything that savours of "imperialism" has been well to the fore in comment on Field-Marsal Smuts' plan for the incorporation of South-West Africa into the Union of South Africa and on the ensuing discussions in the Trusteeship Committee. Nevertheless the inclination to denounce the plan as offering what one Boston newspaper terms "only an extension of the Jim Crowism prevailing in the Union" has obviously been tempered in some quarters by a guilty conscience regarding the degree of racial discrimination practised at home—as well as by considerable qualms regarding the policy of "just plain grab" which some internationalists believe to have motivated the American proposals for the future administration of the former Japanese mandates.

LATIN AMERICA

Inter-American Affairs

Since rumours of the impending resignation of Mr. Braden as Assistant Secretary were denied at a press conference early in November, Mr. Byrnes has endorsed the present direction of American Republic affairs. Mr. Braden, he

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said, had the full confidence of himself and of President Truman. He added that Mr. Braden had no intention of resigning and that he would not ask for his resignation. The report of Mr. Byrnes' remarks recorded no answer to a question put to him regarding differences between Mr. Braden and Mr. Messersmith concerning U.S. policy in Argentina.

At a press conference on the 13th November, Mr. William Pawley, U.S. Ambassador to Brazil said that there had never been a greater desire than now among the nations of the western hemisphere for the fulfilment of their obligations under the Chapultepec Conference, but that "various factors" made it doubtful that the Rio Conference on a mutual hemisphere defence programme could be held this year. (See *Summary* No. 365.)

Argentine

In April of last year the Argentine Supreme Court declared the decrees issued by the Provisional Government to be unconstitutional. This marked the beginning of friction between the Supreme Court and General Perón, who feared that a similar declaration might be made which would lead to a general blocking of his social and labour legislation. Matters came to a head in August of this year when four members of the Supreme Court were indicted, and on the 19th September a motion impeaching them, together with the Attorney-General—on the grounds that they had recognized the revolutionary Governments of 1930 and 1943, had interfered in the affairs of the Government by declaring unconstitutional a number of laws necessary to the country's progress and, finally, had extended their jurisdiction in order to protect capitalist interests—was carried in the Chamber of Deputies by 104 votes to 47. The case has yet to be heard in the Senate, which is solidly Peronist, but it is a foregone conclusion that it will go against the Judges and bring about their resignation.

Much strong feeling has been aroused by this affair. The Government papers have spared no efforts to discredit the Judges as "ultra-reactionaries," while the opposition, independent, and provincial press have expressed deep concern at this avowed determination of the Government to "carry the revolution to the Judicature"; the man in the street, mainly occupied with his own affairs, has not been much roused by the press campaign.

Though the Supreme Court does not, perhaps, enjoy quite the same prestige as it did ten years ago, the dangers of tampering with appointments to it are obvious. From the point of view of foreign interests any step tending to minimize its independence and impartiality would be a serious disadvantage, as it has always been regarded in the last resort as a sure dispenser of impartial justice.

UNITED NATIONS

General Assembly

The Veto

A debate fundamental to the existence of the "United Nations" began in Committee 1 on the 14th November. It led to an informal meeting between the Five Permanent members of the Security Council on the 18th, and by that evening the delegates of some 40 countries had spoken. All, with two or three Slav exceptions, had explained how Russia was destroying confidence in the Security Council by her use of the veto. Rousseau showed how a democratic society could not hold together if it could not express itself in a general will. It could express no general will if its members did not possess what we call civic sense. The United Nations are in a similar situation. Unless all the members of the Security Council can be relied on to act in the interests of the Society of Nations, the Security Council can never be the world-wide guardian of the peace that it was intended to be, and without such a trusted guardian peace must once more become the care of each armed nation, and the new society must fall apart. Disarmament depends upon trust in the Security Council. Hence the significance of Mr. Bevin's remark in the informal meeting: "We want, not a new set of rules, but a code of conduct."

Such a code was outlined in a memorandum which grew out of discussions between the U.K. and Commonwealth and certain other delegations, and which Mr. Bevin sent to the Chinese, French, Russians and Americans. Among its suggestions were the following. The veto-carrying Powers might confer informally before an important vote. If the Five were not at one, the minority might remember that they acted on behalf of the United Nations not only on behalf of themselves. They should, therefore, use the veto only when they

believed the welfare of the United Nations to be at stake, and they should explain the grounds of their belief. They might refrain from vetoing a proposal merely because it did not go far enough to satisfy them. The memorandum then turns to the problem of how to check the fatal tendency to use the Council for propaganda. Questions should be brought to the Council, it suggests, only after other ways to agreement had been tried. A public discussion and a vote should be indulged in only after a committee had made sure that all other methods had been exhausted. Finally, could not the word "dispute" be defined; and could not the right of veto be accompanied by the right of non-veto, *i.e.*, could not the Permanent Members be absent or abstain from voting, without being held to have thereby imposed their veto?

These and similar points figured largely in the debate, and might almost be taken as a précis of what was recommended by the vast majority of the speakers. Australia's delegate moved, with great reason and moderation, that the Permanent Members should exercise their veto only under Chapter 7 of the Charter (Enforcement). Article 27, he recalled, had been accepted at San Francisco on condition that the veto would be used with moderation. He went over the various instances of Russian misuse of the veto, and especially the claim to use a veto in deciding when a particular vote was a matter of procedure or of substance. He reminded the delegates that the sponsoring Powers at San Francisco had justified the veto on the plea that the Great Powers should control "a chain of events which might lead to war," and asked if Russia's rejection of new members came under that head. Russia had even in the case of the Northern frontier of Greece, prevented the Council from finding out whether or no a particular complaint involved a threat to peace. Russia claimed that the veto was the guarantee of Great Power unity. According to the Australian delegate its too frequent use had made it a revelation of disunity. Cuba's delegate was less restrained. He spoke of the "odious privilege" of the veto, condemned Article 27 and had the courage to point out that even unanimous Great Powers have erred. For instance, the "unanimous" decision of Germany and Russia in 1939 partitioned Poland. In the United Nations the principle of the sovereign equality of all members required equality in voting rights, and he proposed that a conference be called in 1947 to amend the Charter. New Zealand and Belgium supported Australia; the Philippines delegate supported Cuba, whilst the Polish delegate concluded that it was doubtful whether, under present conditions, any system could be found better than the veto. Argentina wondered if the other Powers could exercise a kind of counter-veto by leaving the Organisation or at least refusing to elect the non-Permanent members of the Security Council.

On the 15th, Senator Connally said, most impressively, that the Great Powers must be unselfish. Talk of amending the Charter was premature, and he suggested practical ways of improvement, such as a list of matters procedural and matters substantial. No one, he thought, should be judge in his own case. The Bevin memorandum was implicit in his speech. Yugoslavia struck a discordant note and imputed reactionary motives. M. Vyshinsky recalled that the formula in article 27 (3) was a U.S. invention. His remark that the absence of a Permanent Member from a meeting of the Council had nothing to do with the veto question roused speculation, and on this point, later in the debate, the French delegate quoted M. Gromyko's statement, made on 29th April, that his abstention did not amount to a veto. M. Gromyko, however, had added that his action must not be taken as a precedent. The main line of M. Vyshinsky's argument was the usual one, that Russia was for the veto and Great Power unity against the underminers, open and secret.

On 16th November, Dr. Wellington Koo made practical suggestions, and M. Parodi (France) criticised article 27 and urged the Great Powers to seek agreement rather than publicity, and to acquire the right not to exercise the veto. Mr. Noel-Baker put his Government's case with clarity and force. He was open in his disapproval of Russia's misuse of the veto, but he favoured the British method of "customary" development of the Constitution rather than the method of formal amendment of the Charter. In an important speech, the Canadian delegate also opposed amendment, but called the present use of the veto "disunity writ large." States, he urged, which brought complaints, must tell the Council what steps they had taken towards conciliation. On the 18th, S. Africa linked the prospects of disarmament with the conduct of the Security Council, and the Committee approved, by 38–6, a French proposal to postpone for a few days further discussion of the subject.

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A notable event during the past week was M. Molotov's request for an interview with Mr. Bevin, and his advice to Mr. Bevin not to pay too much attention to the way in which the veto had been used during the last year. Such situations were unlikely to recur, and, he added, the Organisation was still very young. He agreed with all Mr. Bevin said on the need to restore the Council's prestige, even when Mr. Bevin conjured up a vision of its becoming a great fount of justice to which all Nations would repair. On the other hand, M. Molotov wanted "no written decisions," and during the informal meeting of the Big Five he agreed only to the suggestions that the Five should confer informally before an important question was put to the vote. It was depressing, at the same meeting, to hear him repeat the ancient charge that the critics of the Russian use of the veto had been "put up to it" by those who wished to destroy the veto, and the United Nations itself. A phrase of Mr. Bevin's during the informal meeting summed up the general anxiety: "H.M.G. did not, at the moment, have sufficient confidence in the Security Council . . . ."

Membership

In face of widespread doubts about its constitutional soundness, which the U.K. delegation shared, Australia modified her motion on the admission of new members, leaving only a proposal to set up a joint Security Council and General Assembly Committee, whose duty would be to enquire into the rules of procedure for the admission of new members. The proposal was carried by 29, including U.K., to 9 (U.S., U.S.S.R. and Company, France and Norway). Six abstained. Meanwhile M. Gromkyo has approached both the U.K. and the Syrian representatives, with an offer to trade the admission of Transjordan against that of Albania. When the Saudi Arabians told the U.K. representative of M. Gromyko's approach to Syria, and asked for the U.K. reaction, they were told that H.M. Government refused to trade respectable Transjordan against disreputable Albania, and that H.M. Government had received the artless Russian offer in shocked silence.

Relief action after UNRRA

The Economic Committee of the General Assembly heard Mr. La Guardia's plan for international relief action in 1947 at its meeting on 11th November and again discussed the matter on 18th November.

Mr. La Guardia said that relief would be needed by Greece, Yugoslavia, Albania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Austria, Ukraine, White Russia, China and perhaps other countries. There should be no gap between the end of UNRRA and the start of any new agency to be appointed by the Assembly in accordance with the Geneva resolutions of last August. The food problem, at least, could not wait and positive international action should be taken to solve it before the Assembly broke up. Aid given on a simple inter-Government basis would be merely old-fashioned imperialism, making one country dependent on another; charity to selected recipients by a group of big nations would be old-time power politics; there remained the approach through an international agency of the United Nations, giving relief irrespective of politics or any other consideration except verified need. He was confident that Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States (to whom he addressed a special appeal as holding the key to the problem) would favour the third approach. He suggested that the United Nations should establish an Emergency Food Fund, amounting in money or kind to some 400 or 500 million dollars, to be managed by an executive board of Governments, nominated by the Assembly. This plan called for no new bureaucracy and no field organisation; but it would meet the urgent part of the food problem till after the 1947 harvest. For relief needs other than food, other measures must be adopted, *e.g.*, the International Bank.

This proposal made a considerable impression, especially on the delegations of the recipient countries. The delegates of Norway, Denmark, Greece and Czechoslovakia were in favour of it; Brazil and Argentina supported a variation of it involving a pool of contributions from all countries; the Netherlands and France wanted a compromise between it and the simpler scheme proposed by U.S.A.; Russia was prepared to examine it, although (like Yugoslavia, Poland, White Russia and Ukraine) preferring that U.N.R.R.A. should be continued.

The opposition developed from the United States, whose delegate insisted that international action to meet the residual need between the end of UNRRA and the harvest of 1947 should be simple and speedy. A new organisation would entail legislation by Congress and delays would be inevitable. His country had never used hunger or other human misery as a political weapon and would not

do so now, nor would conditions be attached to the help they freely gave to meet essential food needs. Country-to-country assistance would be more rapid and efficient than the plan now proposed by Mr. La Guardia.

Mr. Noel-Baker, for the United Kingdom, supported this line of criticism. The fund plan could not be realised before the United States Congress had made appropriations for the new international agency. The essential problem was not, as had been suggested, a choice between national and international operation of relief, but a practical question of how needed goods could best and most quickly be got when and where they were wanted. Governments able and willing to help should consult directly. Member nations giving or needing help should use the United Nations secretariat as a coordinating body, and the International Emergency Food Committee should continue to be an instrument of allocation. He hoped that U.S.S.R. would be a contributor to the new relief effort, whatever form it took.

No decision has yet been taken.

Preparatory Committee of I.T.O.

The present session of the Preparatory Committee will close with two or three plenary sessions to approve the reports of the committees. These are all ready in final form except for the report of Committee II. This committee, which had the longest and most difficult agenda, will require until the 22nd or 23rd November to complete its report and the final plenaries will not now be held until the 25th and 26th.

The work of Committee II has been carried out by four sub-committees. The technical sub-committee dealt with subjects arising under Section A of Chapter IV of the U.S. draft charter (Articles 9–17). It has produced a draft statement listing the numerous reservations and differences of opinion revealed in its lengthy discussions. These are nearly all technical, but the sub-committee is having great difficulty in producing a report that will bring out the considerable measure of underlying agreement (which undoubtedly exists) and will consequently be of use to the Interim Drafting Committee.

The sub-committee on State trading has produced re-drafts of Articles 26 and 27 of the U.S. draft charter which improve them from our point of view without materially changing their intention. It has been decided to leave Article 28 as it stands for later consideration.

The sub-committee on quantitative restrictions, exchange control and subsidies will, it is hoped, shortly produce a report embodying agreement on all substantial points.

There remains the sub-committee on procedure. This deals with the procedure to be adopted in the tariff negotiations which will be held concurrently with the second session of the Preparatory Committee, to be held in Geneva in April 1947. This procedure cannot be governed by the provisions of the I.T.O. charter, as the charter will not by then be in force. It is therefore necessary for the present session of the Preparatory Committee to pass a resolution setting up its own rules of procedure in conformity with what appears to be the probable provisions of the charter when it is eventually approved. The work on this problem is progressing slowly.

The core of the work of Committee II is to be seen in Articles 8 and 18 of the U.S. draft charter which deal with general most-favoured-nation treatment, and with the reduction of tariffs and the elimination of preferences. It became apparent at a meeting of the Commonwealth delegations held on 9th November (see last week's *Summary*) that there was some doubt about the exact interpretation placed on these articles by the U.S.A. This has subsequently been discussed with the U.S.A., and, on the understanding that exceptions agreed in the course of discussion will be permissible, no Commonwealth delegation has insisted on the deletion of the word "automatically" in the wording of Article 18, 1 (*b*)— which reads: "All negotiated reductions in M.F.N. import tariffs shall operate automatically to reduce or eliminate margins of preference . . . ." There has been considerable hesitation on this matter, however, by the Commonwealth countries.

COUNCIL OF FOREIGN MINISTERS

The well-worn problem of the powers of the Governor of Trieste occupied the Foreign Ministers from Tuesday, the 14th November, until Monday, the 18th. On that day M. Molotov smiled, and some agreement was reached. The background of the problem does not vary. At the Peace Conference a French

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compromise text for the Trieste Statute was accepted by U.K. and U.S., and recommended by a two-thirds' majority in the Conference. The U.S. delegate had pledged his Government's support for all such "recommendations." Mr. Bevin had, so to speak, climbed down from the original U.K. conception of an efficient Governor's powers, first to the American and finally to the French level and he felt that there was a danger that M. Molotov might be dragging him down into the borderland of chaos. M. Molotov prided himself on not producing a new version of the Statute. Instead he said he would accept the French text as a basis, and merely suggest amendments. Throughout the past week, however, those amendments looked very much like a devious way back towards the original Russian position. He agreed that the Governor need not be a native of Trieste, and that he should be appointed by the Security Council; but no one can become Governor without securing among other things Russian approval. M. Molotov then agreed on Monday to Mr. Byrnes's proposal that the "responsibilities of the Governor should include ensuring that public order and security are maintained by the Government of the Free Territory in accordance with the Statute, the Constitution and the laws of the Free Territory," and he accepts the American gloss that "government" means not only the Council of Government, but all the organs of government, executive, legislative, judicial, central and local, even the Governor himself. M. Molotov showed a disturbing reluctance to allow that the Governor's responsibility must include the "human rights" of the inhabitants, or to grant him the control over the Police which the Western Ministers consider essential if he is to carry out his responsibilites to the Security Council; and he was for long unwilling to appreciate the argument, driven home by Mr. Bevin, and Mr. Byrnes, that the Police will not in practice obey a Governor who commands them only in an "emergency," if they are subject to dismissal by the Council of Government. Even when he came round to the view that the Director of Security should appoint and dismiss the Police, he tried hard to win acceptance for the formula that the Governor should appoint the Director "on the recommendation of the Council of Government." His anxiety that a date should be fixed for the departure of U.S. and British troops, and his offer that, if a date were fixed, he would agree to the governor's responsibility for "human rights" were also disturbing; since, once withdrawn, the troops could only be sent back by the Security Council where Russia can veto all action. The Western view was that the troops must remain during the first experimental and inflammable stage, especially, as Mr. Bevin pointed out, since "trouble might well arise from the border States."

Monday's agreements are held to be noteworthy and may be hailed as a victory by East or West. Though the actual advances from the Peace Conference recommendation have been Eastward, M. Molotov has performed the, for him, most difficult feat of moving towards the West. For example, the Council of Government is to nominate the candidates for the Directorship of Security, but the Governor's choice is not limited to the nominees. "The appointment of a Director chosen from among the candidates nominated, or from among other persons, shall be made by the Governor after consultation with the Council of Government. He may be dismissed by the Governor, also after consultation with the Council of Government." Again the Director is not to be "subordinate" to the Governor, as the French draft said, but "the Director shall normally be under the immediate authority of the Council of Government from which he will receive instructions on questions within his competence." On the other hand Mr. Molotov agreed to the Western views on appointment and dismissal of the Police, on the Governor's relations with the Director, who must report to him, consult with him, *etc.*, and on the Council of Government's duty to inform the Governor of the instructions it gives to the Director. M. Molotov gave assent, conditional on agreement on other points, to Mr. Bevin's text which allows the Governor to suspend administrative measures under certain circumstances, and also to propose them. It seems likely that M. Molotov will carry his idea that the Governor shall concern himself only with major issues in foreign policy, leaving current foreign affairs to be dealt with by the Council of Government, treaties being signed jointly by Governor and Council of Government. Mr. Bevin has managed so far to avert a clause laying it down that some of the judiciary should eventually be elected. Mr. Byrnes had suggested that this practice, fatal in an area of racial and political rivalry, should start in five years' time.

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(17153)
[L 5395/2608/405]

Weekly Political Intelligence Summary

No. 370

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
27TH NOVEMBER, 1946

Copy No. 143

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EUROPE

GERMANY

THE Anglo-American talks on bi-zonal arrangements for Germany have continued both in Washington and in New York where Mr. Bevin has held direct discussions with Mr. Byrnes. It now appears certain that the United States will not agree to pay more than half the cost of the scheme. (See last week's *Summary*.) Mr. Byrnes has clearly stated that Congress would not countenance any greater contribution. If this offer is accepted by His Majesty's Government it would mean that each country would have to contribute about £125 million sterling in the course of the next three years; a burden which the British representatives have struggled hard to reduce. A more welcome move has been a statement by General Clay that if a settlement were reached for the effective fusion of the two zones he would be prepared to pool immediately available food supplies. United States authorities are seeking to remedy delays in transporting food but their efforts will now be greatly hampered by the coal strike. In the meantime the loan of 50,000 tons of grain from the US zone for the British zone has been accepted. The US zone is now fearful of being involved in the crisis and General McNarney the American Commander-in-Chief stated at his monthly press conference on the 21st November that it was difficult to say whether the present ration could be kept up throughout the winter—in October the zone received only half the food imports necessary for its maintenance.

Trade Union and party leaders in the British zone continue to drive home their criticism of economic conditions and there appears to be a widespread belief that the occupying power is seeking to stimulate output while removing the factories necessary for peaceful production. On the 19th November the Trade Union zonal Committee in a strongly worded protest demanded that all dismantling should cease until the conclusion of the Peace Treaty and said that workers were no longer prepared to take part in the destruction of the basis

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of their livelihood. It asked that a German panel should advise on questions of dismantling. When General Erskine spoke with Trade Union leaders in the Ruhr on the same day they insisted that their aim of democratic re-education and responsible co-operation in rebuilding German economy was greatly hampered by the economic situation. General Erskine on the 20th November warned the Rhineland-Westphalian Cabinet that even if the increased steel quota of 11,000,000 tons was accepted, steel works would still have to be closed. A Minister replied that the works now in production were not sufficient to produce this quota, but somewhat confused his argument by saying that they were producing at a loss because of shortage of manpower and war damage. General Erskine also dealt with the decision, welcomed by Germans, to discontinue for the time being the dismantling of a number of cement factories which can be used for peaceful purposes. Ruhr miners have voted against working a Sunday shift under present conditions, a decision which has not passed unnoticed in the Soviet zone where some miners have volunteered to do Sunday work.

The Russian technique of stalling on "awkward" topics was again neatly illustrated in four-power meetings particularly on the subject of the removal of workers to the U.S.S.R. After fruitless argument in the Co-ordinating Committee the matter came before the Control Council on the 20th November when representatives again failed to agree on a communiqué. Marshal Sokolovsky noisily contended that the British had no right to raise the matter, which was adequately covered by the Proclamation of September 1945. He went on to say that, as far as he was concerned he did not intend to transfer any more skilled workers to the U.S.S.R. except in a few individual cases. On the 18th November, however, it had been reported that deportations were continuing from the Soviet zone although not from Berlin. There is evidence that on the questions of deportation and dismantling there is considerable conflict between the Soviet Military Administration and the representatives of economic agencies in the Soviet Uinon who take their orders direct from Moscow. The former is known to be gravely disturbed by the possible effect of such steps on Soviet policy in Germany and General Sokolovsky's statement, while bearing out this view, may not necessarily be acted upon in the future. The matter is now suspended in the Control Council but each delegation has the right to make his own statement to the press. In the Co-ordinating Committee on the 22nd November the Russian representative flatly denied an undertaking given at the previous meeting on the 16th November that he would investigate an allegation by the Episcopal Conference at Fulda that the Soviet authorities had rearrested and deported repatriated prisoners of war (see also *Summary* No. 352). The question was then raised of the Russian failure to report on the destruction of damaged warships. Although these reports have been due at intervals since the 15th February 1946 no reply was forthcoming. This constitutes a serious breach of the Potsdam Agreement and evidence suggests that far from destroying the Gneisenau and the Graf Zeppelin the Russians are reconstructing them. Equally unsatisfactory were discussions in the Political Directorate on the vexed question of the Russian controlled Radio Berlin.

A Draft Constitution prepared by the Socialist Unity Party was published in a revised version on the 16th November (see *Summaries* Nos. 361, 367). Grotewohl has described it as being based on the Weimar Constitution but avoiding what the party considers to be Weimar's chief defects. Thus it is proposed that Germany should do away with the "disastrous principle of the division of powers." There would therefore be no *Reich* President, no Second Chamber, no Supreme Court, in fact no instrument of Sovereignty independent of Parliament. The Government would be fully responsible to Parliament. Parliament would be elected for three years; the franchise age would be lowered to 18; no independent candidates would be allowed. Germany is envisaged as a unitary state more highly centralized than under the Weimar republic. An article in the constitution of particular importance to the party provides that *Reich* law over-rides *Laender* law. *Reich* laws are administered by the *Laender*, *Kreise* and *Gemeinden*, but subject to Central control, while their legislative powers are greatly restricted, the Centre legislating on public finances at all levels and even on such matters as child welfare and school affairs, libraries, church associations, press and meetings, which under the provisions of the British zone ordinance are matters on which the centre only lays down fundamental principles. The Draft Constitution provides for the abolition of private monopolies and strict application of land reform. Women are given equality of status with men and equal pay for equal work—this principle is already being applied in some industries in the Soviet zone. The rights of the individual

and freedom of speech are guaranteed. The dangers of the constitution are clearly revealed in the clauses on justice. The President and members of the highest court in the Republic are elected by Parliament. Lay judges as well as professional judges are to be included for courts of all levels. They will be nominated by the "democratic organisations" and elected by the appropriate Assemblies. Lay judges were introduced in the Soviet zone in February 1946. They were appointed mainly from the working class and given a very brief legal training, the overt purpose then being to supplement the number of judges and narrow the gulf between the judges and the people. They have an equal status with professional judges and some complaints have naturally been made of their inefficiency. Although the exact details are not yet clear the perpetuation of such a system would seem to indicate a desire for political control although the constitution declare that judges are "independent." In the Soviet zone lay judges sit alongside professional judges but never alone and in fact exercise largely the function of the English jury. Other parties have not yet criticised the constitution itself. An SED spokesman has declared that the proposals are made at the right psychological moment before the victorious powers draft the Peace Treaty. Generally, the draft constitution seems to express a moderation designed to impress the S.E.D.'s enemies. This may be no more than Communist tactics, and indeed the non-division of powers, if applied broadly enough could in certain circumstances leave the door open for under-cover penetration and control by a single power-group. The single-Chamber system also seems suitable only for systems with a far greater degree of political maturity than may be expected from Germany. Any S.E.D. effort to push "democracy" to such extremes as to destroy it would have a precedent in the Soviet attitude over the Trieste Statute.

The new government of Lower Saxony is to be headed by the Social Democrat Kopf, former premier of Hanover. The difficulty of forming a cabinet had been increased by the local pride of Brunswick and Oldenburg. Kubel (SPD), former premier of Brunswick, becomes Minister of Economics and Tantzen (FDP), former premier of Oldenburg, becomes deputy premier and Minister of Transport. The SPD have most seats but not a clear majority. The CDU were induced to enter the cabinet apparently only on conditions that the party held the key post of Minister of the Interior. The reason for the CDU's abstention from Hamburg Senate is now learnt to have been the rejection of its impossible demands, backed by large business interests, for all the best economic posts, coupled with the SPD's insistence that Senators should give up private business interests. The CDU has further demonstrated its aloofness towards Kaiser in Berlin by declaring that he had no authority to comment on behalf of the British zone CDU on Bevin's statement concerning British plans for nationalisation. Adenauer may well become even more recalcitrant in view of the strength of the strongly clerical Christian Democrats in the French zone. On the 17th November, in the election, by indirect voting, of Constituent Assemblies in the three French zone States (but not the Saar), the Christian democrats gained a clear majority over all other parties. The French zone is the only part of Germany where one party is, on paper, supreme in all States.

General Erskine stated on the 15th November that the British zone representatives of the new bi-zonal agencies would be the Ministers of the *Laender* for the subjects concerned. This meets the German demand for political control over the agencies. (See *Summary* No. 363.)

AUSTRIA

There was a serious development in the Austrian food situation when it became known on the 19th November that the Soviet authorities had refused to allow milk, fats and grain to leave the Soviet Zone and were blocking the passage of potatoes and sugar to other zones. The Austrian Cabinet met at once in a session which continued all day, and the Austrian Government obtained an undertaking from the Soviet authorities that some milk from the Soviet Zone would be sent to Vienna, and that five wagons of sugar destined for Styria would be allowed to proceed. Vienna and the British Zone were particularly hard-hit by this sudden ban. On the 22nd November it was reported that bread would run out in the British Zone in twenty-four hours, owing to the hold-up of 3,000 tons of bread-grains from Lower Austria, and efforts were being made to borrow flour from U.S. army stocks. The *Landeshauptmann* of Styria said that if supplies were not found he believed serious unrest might ensue. On the 22nd the Chancellor said that negotiations with the Russians had "taken

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a turn for the better," and the question of milk and sugar supplies had been satisfactorily settled, and it was hoped that potatoes and grain supplies would also be settled soon. It is not yet clear, however, whether supplies will arrive in time, and the incident shows clearly how narrow the margin is from disaster.

There are several possible motives for the Soviet action. Firstly, the Russians in Austria undoubtedly fear that the recent increase in rations, involving as it does the more rapid consumption of indigenous resources, will result in the exhaustion of the indigenous stocks in the Soviet Zone. The Russian representative on the Economic Directorate said on the 22nd that the disastrous harvest in Russia made it unlikely that his Government would be able to provide assistance for Austria in the shape of food, and enquired whether assistance, if any should be provided by the British and United States Governments, could be made available to the Soviet as well as to the other Zones. The second motive, therefore, is the Russian suspicion of possible action by the Western Allies when UNRRA aid ends in December, suspicion which has gradually been mounting and has been increased by the American attitude in recent months, promising help only to those Zones which will "play." It is strange, however, that the Soviet ban follows a turn to a much more favourable policy by the United States towards the Soviet authorities in Austria, demonstrated by General Clark's statement at the last Allied Council Meeting (see last week's *Summary*) that the United States element was prepared to pool supplies and wished to see Austria treated as a whole. The British and U.S. members of the Economic Directorate reassured the Soviet member that it was their hope and intention that all supplies obtained should be evenly distributed. According to the Austrian Chancellor the Russians had hoped that the ration would be kept low in order that consequent industrial unrest might bring down the present Government. Industrial unrest was becoming serious before the ration was raised.

While the Austrian Chancellor has confirmed that relations between the People's Party and the Socialists are good and improving daily—and this was borne out by speakers at a Socialist Party conference just concluded—the Communists have launched a determined campaign against the Government. Communist shop stewards in Vienna heard the Communist leader Koplenig demand new elections in Austria on behalf of his party. "The militant masses" of the Austrian workers were ready to oust the reactionary elements of the Government, he said. This is the first demand for new elections since the present Government were elected last November.

Koplenig attacked the attitude of the Government towards the recent events at the University of Vienna. For some weeks before the student elections the Communist press had been conducting a campaign against alleged Nazi elements in the University who were taking a prominent part in election meetings. On the 20th November, polling day, a procession of workers from factories, significantly, in the Soviet Zone of Vienna demonstrated outside the University against the "continuance of Nazi influence in schools and universities." Riots between demonstrators, students and police developed, and a number of students were injured. The Communist "Free Austrian Youth" were prominent, and members forced their way into the University building and hoisted a red flag. The whole affair seems to have been inspired and arranged by the Communists, with the possible backing of the Russians. It is significant that no incidents are reported from any other University in Austria, although Graz University came under strong criticism earlier in the year for the slow progress of denazification there and the large numbers of foreigners who were students. The Communists have attacked at a vulnerable spot. The Universities in Austria had predominantly Pan-German tendencies under the Empire and after 1918, and this, coupled with the serious unemployment in the learned professions when the Empire was broken up, made them favourable breeding-grounds for anti-Semitism and Nazi doctrines. Political dissension and riots had a disastrous effect on university life before the *Anschluss*, but Vienna was always less amenable to Nazi propaganda than Innsbruck and Graz. The University population has greatly increased since the war—at Graz, for instance, it was over 5,000 in July (compared with 2,563 in 1937), of whom about a quarter are foreign students, including *Reichsdeutsche*, Yugoslavs and Poles. There are, therefore, grounds for suspicion that many unsuitable people are using the Universities, either as a means of avoiding compulsory work in reconstruction or as a cloak for subversive activities: and the growth of a new body of discontented professional people who can find no work is a danger which must be watched intently. The Austrian Government have made good progress in denazifying the Universities and schools, however, to the extent that there is a serious shortage of teachers, and the University

authorities have made efforts to weed out the more unsuitable elements among the students. The Austrian Government have taken the Vienna incidents seriously, recognising the threat to their position, and have emphasised their desire to make the check on students and teachers as strict as possible. The results of the elections in the whole of Austria (they were able to proceed later in Vienna), were a decided victory for the People's Party. The right-wing "Union of Austrian University Members" gained 75·3 per cent. of the total votes in a poll of 80 per cent. of the electors; the Socialists 21·7 per cent; and the Communists 3 per cent. This result will not have helped to make the Soviet attitude more favourable. At the Executive Committee meeting on the 22nd the Soviet member proposed that the Vienna University and Colleges should be closed until denazified by the Allied Commission, and that members and applicants for membership of the Nazi Party, ex-officers of the German Army, and displaced persons should never be admitted as teachers or students. It is to be feared that this will provide M. Molotov with fresh ammunition for refusing to discuss a Peace Treaty with Austria in the Council of Foreign Ministers.

POLAND

The Polish Provisional Government has recently received notes from H.M. Government and the United States Government, concerning the Polish elections to be held on the 19th January.

The British Note, recalling the assurances given by the Polish Government at Yalta and Potsdam that elections would be free and unfettered, points out that Great Britain cannot regard the assurances as having been fulfilled, unless all democratic parties in Poland have equal facilities to conduct a campaign freely and without intimidation, and unless all parties are represented on the electoral commissions at all levels. The two notes were presented immediately before the lists of the chairmen for the electoral divisions were due to be published. There are to be fifty-two chairmen for as many divisions, and on them depends the selection of some 7,000 chairmen of the local polling committees, who wield great authority during elections. M. Mikolajczyk's PSL is therefore said to be anxious as to how many, if any, of its representatives will be appointed.

The British Note's insistence on freedom for all democratic parties receives fresh significance from the arrest of M. Bartoszewski, the legal correspondent of M. Mikolajczyk's newspaper *Gazeta Ludowa*. The occasion for the arrest was a report made by M. Bartoszewski of a recent much-publicised murder trial. The murdered man had been a member of the PSL, and the Government prosecutor alleged that he had been killed for desiring closer collaboration with the Government *bloc*. It was implied that M. Mikolajczyk connived at the murder, if he did not actually desire it. Together with M. Mierzwa and M. Augustynski, M. Bartoszewski is the fifth prominent PSL official recently arrested (see *Summaries* Nos. 363 and 365).

In the House of Commons on the 18th November, Mr. Mayhew, the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, [replying orally,] said that the Polish Government had not invited an official mission of British or other foreign nationals to observe the Polish elections, and it was not proposed to suggest such a mission. In [a written] answer to the question whether it was intended soon to ask for a meeting of representatives of Britain, America and Russia, to consider the proper enforcement of the agreement for free elections in Poland, Mr. Mayhew stated that he was not persuaded that a special meeting would serve any useful purpose.

Inside Poland itself, the "New Liberation" Peasant Party (PSL N–W) has finally decided to follow the example of the Labour Party (SP) and to join the government electoral *bloc* only in the regained territories (see *Summary* No. 369).

The relations between the Roman Catholic Church and the Polish State were the subject of a long interview, in the form of questions and answers, between President Bierut and Ksawery Pruszynski, the well-known Polish publicist, on the 20th November. The President said that the Polish state was sincere in its endeavours to reach agreement with the Church. The Polish progressive movement, like many others in Europe, had evolved in such a way as to render possible collaboration with any religious body. The new social reforms in Poland had not been aimed against the Church. Its lands and agricultural property had not been touched, as in other states. In the regained territories, new premises had been found for church orders, and funds made available for rebuilding devastated Church property. Church schools and universities had not been closed down. All this had happened in a country of

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which the government was not recognised by the Vatican. Whether this state of affairs would be extended or curtailed depended on the attitude of the clergy; on whether they would accept the conditions existing in Poland, to which they owed all what they had received. There were two particular difficulties. First, the Vatican, which had always been very cautious in its protests against Germany's oppression of Poland, was now defending Germany. This could only cause bitterness among Poles. Second, some Polish clergy were inclined to misuse their pulpits for purposes of political propaganda. The Church authorities should stop that. The President ended by calling upon the Church to rebuild the moral health of the country, to restore family life which was the foundation of Poland's social structure, and to care for the education of Polish youth. In such tasks, Church and State could meet. A somewhat unfortunate accompaniment to this interview was the sentence of death passed by a Warsaw Military Court on Father Jarkiewicz, on the ground that he had belonged to a terrorist group, which was responsible for the deaths of three members of the PPR (Communist Party). The priest was said to have passed the death sentences on them.

SOVIET UNION

The Soviet disarmament proposals to the United Nations are being loudly played up at home and abroad and contrasted with the British Conscription Bill to prove the peaceful intentions of the Kremlin. "The die-hard incendiaries of a new war" were alleged to be backing the Bill; this propaganda line was stiffened by a deft manipulation of quotations from the recent debate in the House of Commons on the organisation of the Ministry of Defence and the prolongation of Conscription.

Bolshevik (No. 19) for October has an eighteen-page article on "The History of the British Empire," which is couched in more damning terms than earlier articles on the same subject and impregnated with orthodox Marxist views on the Empire. The general tone of the introductory analysis of the Empire is given by the statement that piracy, the slave trade and the war lie at the root of English colonial history. The "fortunate" dominions which enjoy "freedom as the English bourgeoisie is said to understand it," contains only 30 millions of the Empire's total population of 450 millions, according to *Bolshevik*. This first section of the article is rounded off by the statement that the epic of the building of the British Empire is one of the most extensive and tragic in history. The second part of the article criticises the colonial policy of the British Government in recent years and echoes the view that there is nothing to distinguish the colonial policy of the Labour Government from that of the Conservatives. By no stretch of the imagination can the system which prevails in the British Empire be described as anything but "a system of economic exploitation and political reaction in which there is not even a shadow of freedom and democracy," concludes *Bolshevik*. In view of this Soviet *pronunciamento* in the leading Party journal, the obduracy of the Soviet delegates to the United Nations in regard to British proposals for trusteeship is not surprising.

Pravda's New York correspondent has expressed doubt of the theory that the wounding of the Ukrainian U.N.O. delegate Stadnik was in the ordinary routine of gangsterdom and has hinted that the attack was political. Stadnik had been in the U.S.A. since March as Ukrainian delegate to the U.N.R.R.A. General Council session and had spoken frequently at mass meetings of Ukrainians of American origin. The matter has been taken up even more strongly by M. Manuilsky who, in a letter to Mr. Byrnes, insisted that the attack was an attempt prepared in advance on the life of the two delegates and complained that the criminals had not been brought to justice.

In harmony with Indian sympathy and support for the Soviet Union at the United Nations Assembly a very cordial message was broadcast from New York by Pundit Vijaya Lakshmi to the U.S.S.R. last week. "The U.S.S.R. is our neighbour," he said, "and neighbours must understand and appreciate each other. With that end in view the National Government of India wishes to make contact with the Soviet Union by establishing diplomatic, cultural and scientific relations between the two countries."

The situation of northern Greece is being described in Soviet propaganda as a spontaneous uprising of the population in self-defence against the policy of terror and persecution of democratic forces adopted by the Government. The reactionary leaders in Greece were provoking a civil war in reliance on foreign

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bayonets. The reports that the partisan units were receiving help from Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Albania were said to be nothing but provocative rumours put out by the Greek Government in order to get the support of the British troops.

The most important item in Soviet publicity on the Middle East last week was a typically suspicious *Krasnaya Zvezda* article dealing with the United States "dollar and base policy in the countries of the Arabian peninsula." It was alleged that America was interested in exploiting both the oil and the gold mines of Saudi Arabia, up to 1,000 million dollars capital for the purpose having been poured into the country, and in strengthening its strategic hold of the Middle East by the construction of aerodromes, air lines, and pipe lines, &c., in Turkey, the Lebanon and other Arab countries. It was further noted with concern that a treaty had just been concluded between the Yemen and the U.S.A.

There was more Soviet criticism of American food policy last week when the Americans were reminded that they were consuming an average of 15 per cent. more food than before the war, and that with a very little self sacrifice they could ease the acute need of the peoples of Europe and Africa. In a very garbled version of American policy, America was wrongly alleged to be opposed to coordination of food exports owing to her "famine strategy" and the desire to exercise economic and political pressure on the importing countries.

A Norwegian trade delegation headed by the Minister of Supplies and Reconstruction, arrived in Moscow on the 18th November. Representatives of Norwegian industry arrived with the delegation, which was met at the airport by Stepanov, the U.S.S.R. Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade, and other Soviet officials. Following the recent trade agreements with Sweden, Denmark, Finland, and Iceland, it was to be anticipated that discussions on trade would eventually take place between the Soviet Union and Norway, though in pre-war days Soviet-Norwegian trade was a negligible factor in the foreign trade of either country. (See also under Scandinavia.)

The Ukrainian Academy of Sciences has just elected A. V. Palladin as President in succession to Academician Bogomolets. The new President is a leading scientist in the Department of Geo-Chemistry and has been decorated with the Orders of Lenin, of the Red Banner of Labour and of the Red Star.

The latest Soviet institution to be attacked in the present clean-up under the auspices of *Kultura i Zhizn* is the Soviet home and foreign news service, *Tass*. The unsatisfactory nature of the *Tass* agency service was listed among the causes of the general inadequacies of regional newspapers, which were severely criticised at the same time; in particular, these papers were attacked for failing to expound ideological questions in their columns or to exercise due influence on the life of local collective farms, and were said to be "filled at random with empty material."

[*Erratum.*—The inverted commas on page 8, line 39, of last week's *Summary* should be omitted.]

SCANDINAVIA

Sweden

An agreement for a Stockholm–Moscow civil airline, carrying passengers, freight and mail, has been signed between the Governments of the U.S.S.R. and Sweden. Swedish planes will fly between Stockholm and Malmi, the airfield belonging to Helsinki in Finland, and Russian aircraft will ply between Moscow and the Finnish airfield. Thus the Swedes have succeeded in obtaining full reciprocity from the Russians in that neither party to the agreement will fly over the territory of the other. Although the Finnish Government has in fact no control over Malmi airfield, permission had to be obtained for aircraft to fly over Finnish territory *en route* to Moscow and Stockholm, and this permission was obtained by the Russian Government from the Soviet High Command. It appears that the British element on the Allied Control Commission was not consulted in the matter and the Vice-Chairman of the Commission, in a conversation with our representative in Finland, adopted the attitude that the Commission was merely functioning as an organ of the Soviet High Command and that he himself was a subordinate who was not in a position to discuss its decisions. His Majesty's Government have in consequence requested their representative at Helsinki to have the British element on the Allied Control Commission at once lodge a strong protest with the Vice-Chairman of that body. At the same time it has been suggested that the Vice-Chairman should be informed that His Majesty's Government proposed to ask the Finnish Government for permission to replace their existing courier service by a commercial

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It is now learned that Swedish food rationing will have to be continued, as the hopes of a record harvest have not been fulfilled owing to damage by rain during the harvesting season.

Denmark

The Danish Foreign Minister and the Premier have once against spoken on the South Schleswig question. M. Rasmussen spoke at great length but without adding anything to his original arguments, while M. Kristensen, in a speech at Sonderborg, repeated his well-known extremist views, but prefaced his remarks by emphasizing that he spoke not as Premier but as an ordinary Member of Parliament. The speech has, however, stirred political circles and it does not seem impossible that a vote of confidence may be demanded by M. Kristensen's opponents.

The Danish press appears concerned about the continued occupation of Greenland by the United States, and Prof. Mogens Fog, the Communist deputy and member of the Danish Resistance Movement, has recently asked the Government whether it was intended to denounce the Dano-American agreement on Greenland entered into by M. Kauffman during the war, as Denmark could hardly be regarded as independent as long as the United States retained bases in her northern colony. M. Rasmussen is said to have promised to take up this question during his visit to the United States.

The latest news from the Faeroe Islands shows that the moderate "Home Rule" Party (Selfstyre) have received two seats out of the six gained by the Social Democrat-Selfstyre alliance at the election, leaving four held by Social Democrats. (See this *Summary* No. 368.)

Finland

A Finnish trade delegation led by Ministers Svento and Takki left for Moscow on the 10th of November. The Finns, according to a statement, are hoping to conclude an agreement for the exchange of goods during the year ending on the 31st December, 1947. The value of the proposed exchange is estimated at 60 million dollars, *i.e.*, 30 million dollars each way, and if concluded will constitute the most valuable compensation agreement so far reached between the two countries. The principal deliveries to be made by the Soviet Union will consist of grain in exchange for prefabricated houses, but the negotiations will no doubt also include a variety of other commodities. It may for instance be mentioned that Finland is anxious to obtain 2,000 tons of refined machine oil as well as other lubricants, and though prices for oil in the Soviet Union are higher than the current prices in the United States, the Finns, through lack of dollars or convertible foreign exchange, may be forced to obtain these requirements from Russia.

Norway

On the 19th of November a Norwegian delegation, headed by the Minister of Supply, M. Torp, arrived in Moscow. M. Torp stated that he and his party were in the Soviet Union for the purpose of stimulating trade between Russia and Norway. Though all commercial intercourse had been interrupted by the war the friendship which the two countries had for each other remained unimpaired, and the Norwegian people were deeply grateful to the Red Army for the part which it played in the liberation of the Finnmark. (See under "Soviet Union.")

FRANCE

No official figures of the complete party representation within the new National Assembly have yet been issued. Reliable sources within the Ministry of the Interior, however, give the following results for 617 out of the 619 seats (Oceania only voted on the 24th November and the Cochin-Chinese election is

postponed indefinitely): Communists, 183; Socialists, 101; M.R.P., 162; *Rassemblement des Gauches*, 63; Gaullist Union, 18; P.R.L. and other Right-wing groups, 67; Algerian moderates, 7; Algerian nationalists, 5; Madagascar nationalists, 3; other colonial deputies, 8.

The elections of over 85,000 delegates, out of 400,000 candidates, to compose the electoral college which will, on the 8th December, elect the Council of the Republic, took place on the 24th November and provided a remarkable illustration of the political consciousness of the French people. Over 72 per cent. of the electorate voted, partly, no doubt, as a result of the exhortations of the M.R.P. and the Right-Wing who feared that a high proportion of abstentions would favour the more highly disciplined Communists. In fact, the Communists do not seem to have improved on their gains at the last election, but the M.R.P. has considerably strengthened its position and is only just behind the Communists. Any exact analysis of the results of last Sunday's election is impossible owing to the complexity of the political alliances formed for the purposes of the election. It seems likely, however, that the second chamber, when elected, will present a balance of forces differing little from that in the legislative Assembly.

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Meanwhile, France will not be able as yet to send an authoritative representative to the Foreign Ministers' discussions. M. Bidault is quite unable to leave France for the time being, and M. Couve de Murville, who at present replaces him on the Council of Foreign Ministers, is not authorised to take part in discussions of substance on the German question. He has been instructed therefore to press for the postponement of the important debates on Germany by the Foreign Ministers until the second half of January.

In domestic affairs the first task of the new Government will be to deal with the financial situation. M. Robert Schuman, Minister of Finance, told a correspondent of the *New York Times* that the budget deficit for 1946 would amount to 120 milliard francs, while that for 1947 would be 155 milliards if drastic steps were not taken quickly. He admitted that there was a danger of inflation, since part of the deficit had to be met by advances from the Bank of France. He urged that the Assembly should vote the budget before the Council of the Republic met on the 24th December.

The increased consumption of electricity, which is 37 per cent. higher than this time last year, together with the low level of water in the reservoirs of the hydro-electric power stations and the shortage of coal for generating thermal power, has necessitated severe restrictions on consumption. In Paris factories are only allowed to use power four days a week, while domestic consumers are cut off for two days a week from 7-30 in the morning to 7-30 in the evening, with a break of three-quarters of an hour at lunchtime. Efforts are being made to fit a 40-hour working week into the framework of these restrictions and to allow fulll supplies to public services and other priority consumers.

The Indo-Chinese territory occupied by Siam in 1941 has at last been restored to France. (See *Summaries* Nos. 365 and 367 under "Far East"). M. Henri Bonnet, French Ambassador in Washington, declared that the French were acting on behalf of the governments of Cambodia and Laos. The active assistance of the native rulers of these protectorates has, indeed, been of considerable value to the French in their present task of laying the foundations of the *Union Française*, and particularly in their covert competition with Viet Nam for the favours of Cochinchina, where reports of the "first diplomatic activities of the Indo-Chinese Federation" were undoubtedly calculated to impress. The French have, moreover, now exchanged letters with the Siamese regarding possible Siamese diplomatic representation at Battambang. They profess to fear nothing from the investigations of the Commission of Conciliation which is to examine the whole question of the frontier. Of Siamese willingness or authority to control "spontaneous manifestations" rumoured to be in preparation for the take-over period they are more sceptical, but they trust to the detailed protocol of evacuation and a wise choice of military executives. M. Jean Daridan took up his appointment as Chargé d'Affaires at Bangkok two days after the signing of the agreement.

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ITALY

In accordance with instructions received from Signor Nenni, Signor Quaroni, a member of the Italian Delegation in New York, called on M. Simič, the Yugoslav Foreign Minister, on the afternoon of the 20th November. Signor Quaroni informed M. Simič of the Constituent Assembly's decision to establish direct contact with the Yugoslavs over the question of Venezia Giulia and asked for details of Marshal Tito's recent offer. After expressing surprise that Signor Quaroni was not already *au fait*, M. Simič explained that under the terms of this offer, Trieste was to receive an autonomous régime under Italian sovereignty and that its boundary and the boundary between Italy and Yugoslavia were to be in accordance with the Yugoslav proposals to the Council of Foreign Ministers in New York, which would leave both Gorizia and Monfalcone in Yugoslavia. Signor Quaroni replied that, since Signor Nenni's instructions had been that the French Line was the only possible starting point for negotiations, this proposal offered, in his personal opinion, no basis for discussion. M. Simič then said that the Italian Government was mistaken if it thought that the French Line was an accepted fact since it would never be agreed to by the Yugoslav Government. He went on to enquire what territory the Italian Government would be ready to cede, both on the Italo-Yugoslav frontier and on that of Trieste and Yugoslavia, to retain Italian sovereignty of Trieste. Signor Quaroni replied that this question went beyond his instructions and there the matter rests. Signor Quaroni, however, is of the opinion that the Yugoslavs have no idea of starting serious negotiations.

Trouble within the coalition Government is again coming to a head, owing to the growing rift between the Christian Democrats and the Communists. While the Socialists and the Christian Democrats are doing their best to solve the difficulties with which the nation is faced, the Communists are making use of them for future election purposes. Signor Togliatti continues to attack Signor De Gasperi on every occasion and would seem to desire to provoke a Governmental crisis. On 21st November in the Council of Ministers, Signor De Gasperi challenged Signor Togliatti's assertion that he had made no serious effort to secure the repatriation of Italian prisoners in Yugoslavia and demanded a vote of confidence. Signor Nenni proposed a resolution which recognised that Signor De Gasperi had done everything possible to this end and this was unanimously approved. Although this was a success for Signor De Gasperi, the Christian Democrats will have to evolve a stronger policy if the party is to retain the confidence of its supporters.

Shortly after assuming office the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs informed H.M. Government of his desire for commercial treaty with the United Kingdom. H.M. Government explained the difficulties in the way of anything in the nature of a formal bilateral treaty but expressed their readiness to welcome a small Italian delegation of commercial experts to discuss possible ways and means of increasing commercial exchanges between the two countries. The Italian Government have accepted this offer. It is hoped that talks will begin on December 9th.

Further results in the Municipal elections show that the People's *bloc* have won 1,045 seats and 70 communes; 141 seats and 3 communes have been won by the Socialists, 152 seats and 7 communes by the Communists, each Party acting independently; 741 seats and 15 communes by the Christian Democrats and 109 seats and 4 communes by the *Uomo Qualunque*.

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

Hungary

The statement of Mr. Morgan Phillips, the Secretary-General of the British Labour Party, that his visit to Hungary should be interpreted as signifying his Party's appreciation of the achievements of Hungarian democracy has been received with great satisfaction by the Social Democrats whose guest he was. By implication it is considered a setback to those adherents of the old régime who had hoped to make political capital out of the differences between the Great Powers.

Since MM. Bárányos, Eröss and Bognár are all members of the Smallholders' Party their appointment to the Ministries of Agriculture, Supply and Information respectively does not affect the *status quo* so far as the proportional distribution of Portfolios is concerned. The technical qualifications of

M. Bárányos, in particular, are generally admitted throughout Hungary, where his ability is respected independently of Party considerations. M. Keresztúry, the National Peasant Party Minister of Education, is to remain in office, as it was found impossible to reach agreement on the subject of his successor.

Arrangements are being made to allow M. Nyárady to visit London and Washington in order to discuss the restitution of Hungarian property from the U.K. and U.S.A. zones in Austria and Germany. In this connection the question of admitting a Mission into the U.K. zones is under examination.

The Representatives of the United Kingdom and of the United States on the Allied Control Commission in Budapest are protesting against General Sviridov's demand for the cessation of U.S. wireless bulletins on the pretext that these are libellous to the Soviet Union. The restrictions imposed by the Armistice Terms on Hungarian publications, it is pointed out, in no sense apply to any of the Powers represented on the Control Commission itself.

M. Gyöngyösi, the Foreign Minister, has stated that the deportations to Bohemia for labour service of Hungarians living in Southern Slovakia have been carried through with the utmost brutality, those who resisted being beaten and handcuffed. 250 had, however, managed to escape to their own country by boat, although several of the refugees are reported killed. Dr. Winkler, the Czechoslovak Government Representative on the Mixed Commission, has said that the deportations are simply a matter of recruiting agricultural labour for the Czech lands, and that as such no investigation is necessary.

In Transylvania 29 Deputies from the Hungarian Popular Party have been elected.

Rumania

The estimate given in last week's *Summary* of a Government majority of 80% has proved to be correct, but a little under the mark. The actual majority is just about 84%. Of the 348 members of the Government *bloc*, 70 are professed Communists, although this profession amounts to very little. There is not much to add to what has already been said on the subject. The principal malpractices which have gone to secure the majority have been summarised by the British authorities under six heads: (*a*) withholding of electoral identity cards from opposition voters; (*b*) forcible interference with opposition representatives on polling supervisory committees; (*c*) arrest of a number of opposition candidates on election day; (*d*) plural voting by Government supporters; (*e*) actual inclusion in the count of ballot papers already printed to show a Government vote; (*f*) general intimidation of parties and electorate in certain sectors, both before and during polling day. It is difficult to believe in corruption on such a scale even in a country like Rumania where corruption has been reduced to a fine art. A shrewd suggestion which comes from a Rumanian resident in England is that the Rumanian people, recognising the hard facts of the situation have thrown themselves heart and soul into this stupendous fraud in the belief that it is common knowledge that such a result could never have been obtained if the voters had been free agents, and so they have chosen this way of demonstrating to the world that they were acting under compulsion from without.

It is early days to speak of what the immediate results may be. The new Parliament is to meet on the 1st December, and the questions which arise are concerned with the attitude which may be taken up by the British and American authorities, and not least by the King himself. This much is certain: that the slightest inclination of a desire to be accommodating will be interpreted by the Groza Government as a justification of their wholesale breaking of promises. This is clearly shown by the exchange of notes which took place just before the election. The practical problem before Britain and America is what pressure, direct or indirect, can be brought to bear, and indeed, if any pressure at all shall be used. The decision will have an important bearing on the problem which has to be faced by the King, and upon the future of the country and the dynasty.

Yugoslavia

The Yugoslav Government rose energetically to the Greek Government's charges that the insurgents in Northern Greece were receiving help and encouragement from Yugoslavia. The Greek Minister in Belgrade was informed that Yugoslav frontier posts in Southern Macedonia were being reinforced to prevent Greek bands seeking refuge across the frontier. He was handed two notes of protest against violations of the Yugoslav frontier by Greek aircraft,

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on the 20th, 21st and 22nd November. Some plans were said to have penetrated to a depth of five kilometres and one was reported to have opened fire on a Yugoslav military post. The first note concluded with the warning "that the Yugoslav Government will take all necessary steps to prevent the crossing of our territory by foreign aircraft, and any act of aggression whatsoever." The second note complained that some planes had not left Yugoslav territory until the A.A. defences had gone into action.

H.M. Ambassador in Belgrade questioned the Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs on the subject of these Yugoslav reinforcements. He commented, too, on the secrecy with which events in Southern Macedonia were shrouded and referred to the occasion when the British Commercial Secretary had been turned away from Ohrid recently without any explanation. General Velebit assured Mr. Peake that the Yugoslav Government had no sinister intentions towards Greece.

The press and wireless, of course, have gone very vigorously into action, using their stock arguments about the Greek people fighting for their freedom and independence, about the Greek Government being kept in power by British bayonets in order to further British imperialist designs in the Mediterranean, and so on. The Greek accusations against Yugoslavia were described as "criminal attempts to destroy peace and security in the Balkans." *Borba*, 24th November, wondered whether the situation was not sufficiently serious for Yugoslavia to consider a rupture of diplomatic relations with Greece.

The Greek business has effaced most other subjects from the news. There was a sudden burst of indignation, however, over an anonymous pamphlet setting out Austrian claims to part of Lower Styria within Yugoslavia, which was described as being distributed among Austrian official circles. This may herald a revival of the Yugoslav demand for Carinthia.

The failure of the British and American authorities to trace Ante Pavelić, the head of the puppet "Independent State of Croatia," who is said to be hiding in Italy or Austria, has long been a sore point with the Yugoslav Government. It cannot understand that, under present conditions, it is impossible for the authorities to keep an eye on every individual displaced person, or to guard all the camps. Although the former Yugoslav Military Mission and the Yugoslav War Crimes Mission in Austria, in spite of special facilities, have been equally unsuccessful, the Yugoslavs periodically accuse His Majesty's Government and the U.S. Government of knowing the whereabouts of the wanted man, and of deliberately withholding him. A recent article in a Swiss paper will do nothing to dispel their suspicions. It contains an account of an interview of its correspondent with Pavelić in Graz, at which two American officers were said to be present.

The Serbian Constituent Assembly has elected its Presidium. The Prime Minister of Serbia, M. Blagoje Nešković, went through the formality of resigning and of accepting the invitation to form a new Government—the mixture as before. A similar procedure has been followed in Slovenia.

In a news item on the development of plastic surgery in Yugoslavia, Tanjug paid an unaccustomed tribute to the work of the British team of plastic surgeons, which has spent a year in Yugoslavia under the auspices of UNRRA.

Greece

On the 19th November the Greek Government published a list of thirty-three frontier incidents of which nineteen are alleged to have taken place between the 9th September and 14th November on the Yugoslav border, ten on the Albanian and four on the Bulgarian. In several cases Albanian or Yugoslav patrols are stated to have been involved and in other Yugoslav frontier posts are said to have helped the bands with fire or directions. These allegations seem to be true. In any case there is now no doubt that armed bands frequently come from, and escape to, neighbouring countries. (See under *Yugoslavia*.)

Although there are recent reports of serious incidents in the Peloponnese in which bandits coming down from the mountains near Sparta and elsewhere have overwhelmed the gendarmerie, it may be said that the authorities are able to cope with the situation south of a rough line from Yannina to Volo. Though hampered by the nature of the country and by bad communications, the Greek authorities would still manage eventually to re-establish order north of that line, were the Communist bands not trained and armed in Yugoslavia and able to retire across the frontier and to return replenished from bases on foreign soil. These bands consist of Greek autonomists or ex-ELAS men who have been worked on to believe that their oppressed countrymen will welcome them and, with their help, join a Balkan federation. Thus the penetration of armed bands down the

mountain ridges leading from Yugoslavia and Albania puts Western Macedonia very largely under bandit control and keeps Salonica in a perpetual state of anxiety.

On the 19th November there was a storm in the Chamber when M. Kanellopoulos, fresh from a tour in Northern Greece, asserted that the Government no longer had control of the country north of Mt. Olympus. M. Tsaldaris angrily replied that some of the Opposition were acting against the national interest by making such statements. Two Leftist papers have been suspended, it is reported, for printing a statement purporting to come from "G.H.Q. Republican Army of Northern Greece," and a bill has been introduced to enable the authorities to keep such tendentious matter out of the press. The Government deny that the rebels have succeeded in creating any considerable "free" area near Grevena or elsewhere but, all the same, land communications between Athens and Salonica are practically cut.

The Communist leaders in Athens who seem to have little or no control over the armed bands in the north, will no doubt continue to stir up popular grievances, and there will be economic strikes, but the Greek masses have no desire to rise against the allegedly "reactionary monarcho-fascist" Government. Indeed the rebellion has already done something to strengthen M. Tsaldaris' shaky position in the Chamber and led to a second strike of civil servants being called off. Nevertheless, even the moderate leaders continue to squabble among themselves—to the joy of the Communists. The extreme Right have become restive under M. Tsaldaris' measures of appeasement such as the amnesty which became law on the 20th November, and the Opposition will not join in a coalition Government unless they are first assured that the economic and financial help which M. Tsaldaris hopes to get from the United States and Britain will be forthcoming.

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As the Admiralty briefly announced on the 21st November, it has been established that the 22 mines swept by British minesweepers in the North Corfu Channel on the 13th were of German manufacture. Nothing beyond this has been made public at present, but it is understood that the technical evidence available makes it virtually certain that the minefield was laid within the past two months either by Albania herself or by some Power (perhaps Yugoslavia) acting as her agent. As *The Times* naval correspondent has pointed out, an expert has no difficulty, from inspection of a recovered mine, in recognising within fairly narrow limits how long has elapsed since it was first put under water. If the obvious inference is confirmed, an intolerable state of affairs is revealed. International law, codified by the Hague Conventions of 1907 and universally accepted since, obliges even a belligerent in time of war to notify the world when he makes any sea area dangerous by laying mines. When there are no hostilities in progress there can be no possible justification for any Power clandestinely placing mines off its coasts, whether in its own territorial waters or not.

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Railways, Posts and Telegraphs: Stefan Tonchev (Govt. Agrarian).
Health: Dr. Ratcho Angelov (Communist).
Social Policy: Zdravko Mitovski (Govt. Social Democrat).
Information and Arts: Dimo Kazasov (nominally Independent).
Electrification, Waters and Natural Wealth: Manuel Sakelarov (Communist).
Industry: Hristo Lilkov (Zveno).
President of the Supreme Economic Council: Dobri Terpeshev (Communist).

This means that the Communists, besides having a total of ten out of twenty members in the new Government, have gained three important Ministries, namely Education (formerly Radical), War (formerly Zveno) and Trade (formerly Govt. Social Democrat). The Government Agrarians retain the four Ministries they already held, *plus* a vice-Premiership without portfolio. The Zveno representation has been reduced from four to two; the Government Social Democrats are to have two Ministers but only one Ministry; the only Radical goes out, and among others dropped are Georgi Kulishev (Zveno), who was Foreign Minister in the last administration, and Dimiter Neikov (Govt. Social Democrat), who was Minister of Trade in the last two. The ruthless Dr. Mincho Neichev, feared and hated as Minister of Justice in the last Cabinet but one, significantly reappears as Minister of Education. Six others—Naidenov, Damianov, Bozhilov, Traikov, Mitovski and Sakelarov—are newcomers. Altogether, it ought to prove a pliant team. M. Georgiev, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, may be depended upon to toe the line to Dimitrov's satisfaction (and can always be replaced). General Damianov is a capable military organiser trained in Russia.

Concurrently with these ministerial changes, the Governorship of the National Bank has changed hands: M. Stanko Cholakov, a member of the Zveno party (who was Finance Minister until last March), has resigned, and his Communist understudy, M. Tsonchev, has taken his place.

It was announced in London on the 22nd November that the King had approved the appointment of Mr. W. E. Houstoun-Boswall, British Political Representative in Bulgaria since 1944, to be H.M. Minister to the Lebanese Republic. Tribute was paid to Mr. Houstoun-Boswall's work during two strenuous years by Mr. Mayhew, Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in the House of Commons on the 12th.

The Foreign Affairs debate in the House aroused immense interest in the Bulgarian press, the idea of a "Labour M.P.s' revolt" appealing strongly to Fatherland Front supporters, and there were sensational headlines for three or four days. The Soviet press has been quoted prominently as saying that the rebels represent the true feelings of the English people, and great publicity has been given to a statement of Dimitrov's applauding Mr. Mack and Mr. Zilliacus and attacking Mr. Mott-Radclyffe's reference to "40,000 political prisoners in Bulgaria." In so far as he defended Bulgaria's interests against Greece, Mr. Zilliacus came in for praise from Government and Opposition press alike.

About three weeks ago the representative whom the Opposition had been allowed to have on the "Central Committee for the public observation of the elections"—a highly respected lawyer called M. Bronzov, who was Mayor of Sofia last year—rather courageously sent in a minority report on the way the elections were held, in which he drew attention to a number of irregularities and made specific allegations of electoral fraud. So far, no action has been taken by the authorities to investigate these charges. Even the majority report admitted that "irregularities and incidents occurred at some places in the country," but it went on to argue that "being of a limited number they were not calculated materially to influence the result of the elections." The Zveno party executive issued a statement openly criticising the Communists' electioneering methods and placing their dissatisfaction on record; but here again the Communists have taken no notice. The Trojan Horse policy has been only too successfully carried out.

The U.S.S.R. have opened a new Consulate at Plovdiv.

THE MIDDLE EAST

Egypt

While little progress appears to have been made towards reaching an agreement upon the Treaty proposals now before the Egyptian delegation—partly, no doubt, owing to the illness of Sidky Pasha—no efforts are being spared by the

Opposition parties to intensify the campaign against them, and their activities have received no little impetus from their belief that Sidky Pasha intends to push ahead with Parliamentary backing, regardless of the delegation's eventual decision. The Chamber of Deputies have had an animated debate on an interpellation, submitted by the Sa'adist Vice President, and suspected to have been instigated by the Cabinet, regarding the progress of the negotiations. Makram Ebeid Pasha and other members upheld the authority of the delegation to reject or approve the Treaty terms in the first place. The discussion was eventually closed by the President, who declared that the results of the London talks would be deposited at the Bureau of the Chamber, and that discussions would be resumed on the 26th November. A secret session was held on that day. Makram Pasha headed the Opposition members who walked out early in the proceedings as a protest because the session was in camera. A detailed account of the London conversations was given by Sidky Pasha and Ibrahim Abdul Hadi, the Foreign Minister. A vote of confidence in the Government was obtained, and authorisation was given to the Government to continue negotiations for the realisation of the nation's aims, and to submit the results to Parliament.

King Farouk issued a decree on the 26th November dissolving the Treaty delegation, a step which the attitude of the majority of its members had rendered almost inevitable. In view of the influence exerted upon the students and the mass of the population of the larger towns by the Opposition parties (particularly the Wafd and the Ikhwan el Muslimin) a critical situation may result from this step.

In an interview published by the *Musawwar* in its issue of last week, Sidky Pasha argued that, by the terms of the Sudan protocol, agreed in London, the unity of the Sudan with Egypt under the one crown was ensured, and that it was within this framework that the Sudanese would be prepared for "self-government," an expression by which the Governments of Egypt and Great Britain understand internal autonomy, and not complete political independence. Any other view, said Sidky Pasha, could be the result of ignorance or bad intention only. The Sudan could not separate from Egypt, except with Egypt's consent. Challenged by His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires on this unwarranted interpretation, Sidky Pasha claimed that he was only trying to calm public excitement. In what is described as a "considered reply" to a request by *The Times* correspondent for information on the state of the Treaty negotiations, which was published in London on the 23rd November, Sidky Pasha refers to the heavy responsibility which will fall on Egypt "to help the Sudan to realise its ambitions and to achieve its own destiny under the ægis of the King of Egypt." In the same statement he dismisses the importance of the opposition with an optimism which seems to ignore inconvenient facts. An "all party" committee to oppose the Treaty is said to have been formed, and there is believed to be a distinct chance that, although the Treaty terms may be accepted by the Chamber of Deputies, they will be rejected by the Senate.

Demonstrations by Cairo students took place on the 23rd, 24th, 25th and 26th November, and clashes with the police and the military resulted in casualties on both sides. Fire-arms and hand-grenades were used by the students. The Opposition press alleges an excessive use of force against the demonstrators. In Alexandria students went on strike on the 23rd November, but dispersed quietly. A more serious outbreak, with casualties amongst the police, took place on the 26th November.

Syria

The picture of conditions in Syria presented in *Summary* No. 362 was based upon information which concentrated upon the points of actual and potential unrest, and thus gave insufficient credit to the Syrian Government for the maintenance of security in the country as a whole at a standard much higher than had been expected. In fact, apart from minor incidents, the security of the country has been maintained unimpaired since the events of May and June, 1945, and the Government's authority has been established in one area of potential disaffection, the Alawite territory. At the same time the political stability of the country may be disturbed during the coming months if, as is possible, some members of the Government resign in order to give their full time to preparing for the elections. The return to Syria of Jamil Mardam Bey, who has just relinquished his post as Syrian Minister in Cairo, may also complicate the political situation.

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Saudi Arabia

King Ibn Saud has replied to Mr. Truman's letter of the 25th October expressing his recognition of Mr. Truman's benevolent zeal on behalf of Jewish displaced persons, but drawing his attention to the inconsistency with the humane and democratic principles which are the basis of life in the United States of America, of forcing a people to accept the entry of aliens who will become a majority and drive them from their own country.

See also under "Soviet Union."

Iraq

The hope that a Cabinet to carry out the elections might be formed by the Amir Zaid has not been fulfilled, and on the 21st November came the somewhat unexpected announcement that Nuri Said had formed a Cabinet. The members and their Ministries are as follows:—

Prime Minister and Minister of Interior: Nuri as Said.
Finance: Salih Jabr.
Foreign Affairs: Fadhil al Jamali.
Economics: Baba Ali.
Justice: Omar Nadhmi.
Communications: Ali Mumtaz.
Defence: Shakir al Wadi.
Education: Sadiq al Bassam.
Supplies: Muhammed Hadid.
Social Affairs: Jamil Abdul Wahab.

Only Jamali and Baba Ali retain their posts. Yusuf Ghanima, the Christian Minister of Finance, makes way for Salih Jabr, who is generally regarded as the most capable of the younger men and destined to be the first Shia Prime Minister. Muhammed Hadid is a member of the left-wing National Democratic party, and is 'Iraq's first left-wing Cabinet Minister.

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The second of these incidents had repercussions. After a police check had been introduced at the scene of the incident complaints were received that some ten vehicles had suffered damage (mainly of a minor character, although two had bullet-holes in them), while four civilian suspects who had been arrested complained of assault by the police and military. On the following day 15 policemen entered cafés in Tel Aviv where they are reported to have done considerable damage. 32 cases of assault were reported, and 5 persons were detained in hospital, though none of the injuries was serious. A number of cars was also reported to have been stolen.

The High Commissioner, in considering various measures intended to improve the political atmosphere in Palestine, has had constantly to bear in mind the effect that concessions to Jewish opinion might have on the *morale* of the police and military forces in Palestine. The incident described above is an indication of the effect which the continued tension caused by the acts of the terrorists is having.

In addition to the acts of terrorism aimed primarily at the British administration in Palestine, a Jewish civilian was shot and seriously injured in Tel Aviv by two Jewish youths. The motive behind this crime appears to have been political.

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There are further signs that the Jewish Agency will attempt to suppress terrorism. Recent casualties to Jews appear to have spurred them to consider more drastic measures than have been adopted hitherto, although they are apprehensive of a schism of the Yishuv, or of defections from the Hagana to the terrorists. The Jewish press certainly seems to suggest a hardening of the official Zionist attitude towards the terrorists.

As it appears that the United Nations Assembly will continue in session after the 16th December, the date arranged for the resumption of the Palestine Conference, the Arab Governments are being requested by their representatives at New York to propose a postponement of the Conference. His Majesty's Government will raise no objection to this proposal should it be advanced. A postponement would, in any event, have the merit of allowing the Zionist Congress, should it decide in favour of Jewish participation, time to arrange its delegation (see *Summary* No. 369).

Meanwhile the question of Palestine is being brought to the attention of the United Nations. At a Committee which is discussing the future constitution of the International Refugee Organisation the Egyptian delegate proposed an amendment for inclusion in the preamble, to the effect that the essential task of the International Refugee Organisation was repatriation, and that resettlement would only be contemplated as a last resort. Both this and a second Egyptian amendment providing that the resettlement of refugees could in no case be imposed on a sovereign State or run counter to the freely expressed wishes of the indigenous populations of trust- or non-self-governing regions or territories, were defeated.

Not all Jews are with Ben Gurion in rejecting a United Nations trusteeship for Palestine (see *Summary* No. 369). The *Jewish Telegraphic Agency* claims that the Uruguayan Foreign Minister has promised the Uruguayan "Pro-Palestine Committee" to bring Palestine under United Nations trusteeship, and to press for unlimited immigration. In Palestine itself Hashomer Hatzair, the extreme left-wing party which advocates a bi-national State, proposes that during the transition period a trusteeship, with the U.S.S.R. as one of the trustees, should be established. On the other hand, a resolution submitted to the Board of Deputies of British Jews advocating a United Nations trusteeship was withdrawn after the President, Professor Brodetsky, had pertinently drawn attention to the disadvantages of having the matter placed before the United Nations, where there were six Arab States, and where the attitude of the Eastern European countries was unknown.

Persia

The Prime Minister returned to Tehran from Gilan on the 19th November. In an interview with His Majesty's Ambassador the next day he appeared optimistic about the election prospects, and expressed the view that the Tudeh were unlikely to secure any seats in Gilan, Mazanderan or Khorassan. In regard to Azerbaijan, he has now decided to send armed detachments of gendarmerie and, if necessary, of the regular army to all constituencies without exception to ensure that order is maintained and that the elections are free from all improper interference. In addition, the Ministry of the Interior is to send special officials to all constituencies to supervise the proper conduct of the elections, and to take immediate action to prevent any attempt at obstructing the smooth working of the electoral machinery. Circular directives on these lines, which also contained instructions for the proper and speedy conduct of the elections in accordance with the Electoral Law of 1911, were sent to all Governors-General and Governors on the 21st November.

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Saudi Arabia

King Ibn Saud has replied to Mr. Truman's letter of the 25th October expressing his recognition of Mr. Truman's benevolent zeal on behalf of Jewish displaced persons, but drawing his attention to the inconsistency with the humane and democratic principles which are the basis of life in the United States of America, of forcing a people to accept the entry of aliens who will become a majority and drive them from their own country.

See also under "Soviet Union."

Iraq

The hope that a Cabinet to carry out the elections might be formed by the Amir Zaid has not been fulfilled, and on the 21st November came the somewhat unexpected announcement that Nuri Said had formed a Cabinet. The members and their Ministries are as follows:—

Prime Minister and Minister of Interior: Nuri as Said.
Finance: Salih Jabr.
Foreign Affairs: Fadhil al Jamali.
Economics: Baba Ali.
Justice: Omar Nadhmi.
Communications: Ali Mumtaz.
Defence: Shakir al Wadi.
Education: Sadiq al Bassam.
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The Prime Minister hopes by these measures to assert his authority over the Azerbaijanis and thus overcome the opposition to the holding of the elections, which is based on the abnormality of conditions in this province (see *Summary* No. 367). If they deny the Central Government's right to send in forces, refuse to admit them or deny them freedom of action, they would then be defying the Government's authority. If it could be shewn that such defiance was prompted by the Soviet, the Prime Minister has stated that he may make an appeal to the United Nations.

Further information has now been received about the occupation of Zenjan (see last week's *Summary*). According to the Prime Minister, the Azerbaijanis undertook six months ago completely to withdraw their armed forces from Zenjan and the Khamseh district, but subsequently made every sort of excuse for not honouring their pledge. Eventually, the Azerbaijan delegation to Tehran (see *Summary* No. 367) agreed to evacuate Zenjan on the 14th November. Carefully-chosen gendarmerie officers were accordingly sent there on that date to take over, but they found that the town had not been evacuated. Four days later one of their number was shot at, and others grossly insulted and arrested by Azerbaijani "Fidais." In view of these facts, a column of regular army troops was ordered to move to Zenjan, where it arrived on the 23rd November. Martial law was then declared, and the town appears to have been occupied without further incident.

The Kurdish rebels at Sardasht (see last week's *Summary*) have not caused any more trouble during the past week. A report has, however, reached the British Military Attaché that on the 5th November the Kurds succeeded in capturing the heights surrounding the town, but were expelled by a successful counter-attack on the following day. According to the Chief of the Persian General Staff, the Russians have recently supplied the Kurds with arms and uniforms.

Corrigendum

Summary No. 369, "Persia," page 19, line 25, for "General Saffair" read "General Saffari."

THE FAR EAST

Japan

The promulgation of the Constitution brings to the foreground the question of the future of the Yoshida Government since the new constitution requires that the Premier and a majority of the Cabinet shall be members of the Diet. According to a Japanese radio broadcast of the 11th October the present intention of the Government is to hold a general election either immediately after the constitution comes into effect (3rd May, 1947) or after the regular Diet session in the spring. The Social-Democratic and the Communist Parties are, however, demanding the immediate resignation of the Government. The two parties are at one in laying the blame for growing inflation at the door of the Government, though the Communist Party as might be expected, adds the charge that the Government is pro-capitalist and anti-labour. Both parties are in line with the Japanese Federation of Labour Unions and the Congress of Industrial Organisations which attack the Government on the score of its recent treatment of strikes.

The Government has run into difficulty in its attempt to check by compulsory mediation the spread of labour disputes. The Labour Relations Readjustment Act provides for such mediation but when the Central Labour Commission recommended that the average wage of electrical workers be raised from 1,200 yen to 2,150 yen per month, the Government took alarm and refused to accept the award. It now proposes to establish a Wage Examination Board whose task would be to "devise a general basis for wages" (presumably in relationship to the cost of living).

The teachers are also striking, through the All Japan Teachers' Union. It is generally agreed in Japan that teachers are badly underpaid and there is much sympathy for their claims, but unfortunately the issue has been obscured by the use of tactics that have a strong Communist appearance—the flaunting of red flags in mass public demonstrations and demands relating to cash payments and income tax exemptions that could only be met by an alteration of the laws.

The drift toward strikes for political ends and the outbreak of "wildcat" or irresponsible local strikes have induced the Headquarters of the Supreme

Commander for the Allied Powers to counsel moderation. No new directive has been issued but pamphlets on collective bargaining procedure and on union contracts with employers, as practised in the United States, have been distributed and leaders have been advised to avoid political strikes, "wild changes," abuse and violent picketing.

Over this scene of labour unrest hovers the spectre of inflation. The old currency was called in and new notes issued during February and March and on the 26th March the note issue was 18,000 million yen. By mid-November it had reached 70,000 million. The Finance Minister, who is a staunch believer in reflation, maintains that "there will be nothing to fear, if production picks up." Lack of consumer goods appears to be the main cause, and the consequent black market the subsidiary cause, of the rise in prices. While production has grown, the rate of progress shows signs of slowing down. Thus of 500,000 bales of American cotton received it is reported that only 180,000 bales have been processed. Shortage of materials for the reconstruction of mills and difficulties in recruiting labour are said to be the main obstacles.

The urgent need of industrial recovery lends point to S.C.A.P's. desire to see the problem of reparations settled without further delay (see *Summary* 367 under Soviet Union).

If the Yoshida Government can weather the stormy seas it is now encountering, the proposal to postpone the general election until the first half of 1947 would seem the more logical, for the delay would give time for the local elections now due to take place and for the settlement of the vexed question of the "purge." In October, the Soviet member of the Allied Council requested an assurance that the local elections would be cleansed of defects that had characterised the last general election. The Chairman took exception to the tone of his remarks but colour has been lent to the justice of the charge by orders issued by the Government for a drastic purge and disqualification of all local officials, politicians and business leaders who were associated with wartime ultra-patriotic organisations. According to the Tokyo Broadcast a Government official hinted broadly that the initiative came from S.C.A.P. A number of local officials have "saved face" by resigning and concern is caused by the consequent slowing-down of administration. In turn the position of may Diet members is rendered insecure by the removal of persons who were instrumental in their election. The two conservative parties—the Progressives and the Liberals—which are the main support of the Yoshida Government are understood to be more seriously affected than the Socialist Party.

The next regular session of the Diet is due to convene on the 27th December but an extraordinary session was opened on the 25th November.

Korea

According to Moscow Radio of the 15th November elections to People's Committees of Northern Korea were carried out amidst scenes of the greatest enthusiasm. Of an electorate of approximately four and a half million 99·6% voted! Over 97% voted for candidates of the United National Democratic Front in elections to the Provincial People's Committees, 95·4% for Town Committees and 96·9% for District Committees. Comment is unnecessary. The following day "Pravda" published a long article on the subject of Korea. The administration of Northern Korea was praised to the skies—1,000,000 hectares of land had been *confiscated* and handed over to the peasants, industry, transport, postal communications and banks *had been handed over to the People's Committees*, an eight-hour day and social insurance had been introduced and women had been given equal rights. Equal space in the article was given to abuse of the American administration of Southern Korea: the Joint Commission had broken down because the U.S. delegates wished to alter the terms of the Moscow agreement; the aim of the administration was to destroy democratic organisations; premises were raided; progressive periodicals were closed down; leaders were arrested and strikers shot.

So long as the Soviet line is to pillory all non-Communists as reactionary and to distort measures taken for the maintenance of law and order, prospects of an amicable settlement, if the Joint Commission is re-opened, are remote. At the same time it must be admitted that the great majority of the people in Southern Korea have no understanding of the rights and wrongs of the case and look back with feelings akin to regret to the time when they were subject to an iron discipline and at all events "knew where they were."

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According to the press, General Hodge, Commander of the U.S. Forces of Occupation in South Korea, announced on the 8th November that the Soviet Commander had written expressing Russian willingness to resume talks on the unification of Korea. The Russians appear to have modified their views for they are now stated to recognise the right of Koreans to freedom of expression in presenting their views. General Christiakov's letter, however, "did not completely resolve the differences between the two delegations on the matter of consulting democratic parties and organisations."

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The decision of the 400,000 soft coal miners to cease work on the 21st November has plunged the United States into another industrial crisis, the end of which it is impossible to foresee. The stakes on both sides are enormous in what promises to be the biggest contest of the post-war period between the United States Government and a labour union, although at the moment the issue is still enmeshed in a tangle of legal niceties which it may take the courts some time to unravel.

Technically, the miners are not on strike. Their leader, the unpredictable Mr. John L. Lewis, has merely declared the contract which they concluded with the Government last May no longer valid, it being a tradition among the miners that they do not continue working when they have no contract. By such quibbling Mr. Lewis and his underlings hope to secure themselves immunity from the operation of the Smith–Connally Act, which makes it illegal to strike in industries directly controlled by the United States Government—as the soft coal mines have been since Mr. Lewis precipitated his last crisis in May.

The Government is apparently determined to force a "showdown" with Mr. Lewis. On the 18th November the Department of Justice secured a temporary injunction restraining the United Mine Workers and their officials from terminating their contract. This Mr. Lewis is held to have ignored, with the result that he now faces prosecution for contempt of court. The reply of Mr. Lewis and his attorneys is to challenge the legality of the injunction which, they contend, is a violation of the Norris–La Guardia Act of 1932. Mr. Lewis has been an old hand at fighting federal injunctions, from the coal strike of 1919 onwards, and there are also others, outside his immediate entourage, who feel that the Administration has seized upon an ill-chosen weapon for its first counter-blow against him. The injunction is for many only too reminiscent of the dark ages of American trade unionism of fifty years ago, when those in authority had recourse to this much-discredited instrument to smother the industrial unrest which followed the great Homestead and Pullman strikes. It is therefore not surprising that Mr. Green, the President of the A.F. of L., has protested and that the Congress of Industrial Organisations, which does not see eye-to-eye with Mr. Lewis on many issues, has been quick, at its annual convention which opened at Atlantic City on the 18th November, to adopt a resolution against what it calls "any attempt to impose economic slavery through vicious anti-labour injunctions." Yet the leaders of the C.I.O. have themselves been placed in something of a dilemma by Mr. Lewis. On the one hand they are uneasy lest his claims and methods intensify the clamour for repressive labour legislation. On the other, being in a constant struggle to strengthen their position relatively to the rival American Federation of Labour and being about to embark upon their own major wage fight for 1947 (for which the Atlantic City convention is serving as a council of war), they would begin to lose membership if they failed to win concessions comparable to any secured by Mr. Lewis.

Mr. Truman is stated by members of the party which accompanied him on his recent trip to Florida to be determined not to "knuckle down" again to Mr. Lewis. He must realise, however, that both he and his Republican opponents in the new Congress are likely to be put to their supreme test by the present crisis. Almost the entire conservative and middle-of-the-road press is crying out for executive and legislative action against the "appalling power and irresponsibility" of the miners' leader, and the remedies proposed vary all the way from the demand of Mr. David Lawrence and the *New York Herald-Tribune* that the Administration seize the union funds and forbid strike benefits to the miners to longer term suggestions for amending the basic National Labour Relations Act of 1935 to give the employers more extensive rights in bargaining collectively.

Those who look to the 80th Congress to produce a permanent solution of the problem are already watching with keen and sympathetic interest the plans which are being formulated by Senator Joseph H. Ball of Minnesota, a prominent member of the Republican sub-committee assigned to study labour legislation. Quite apart from the coal crisis, Senator Ball had intimated his intention of introducing a bill to outlaw the "closed shop." Since the "walk-out" of the miners on the 21st November he has been urging the Republican leaders and Mr. Truman to get together in drawing up an agreed labour programme that can be presented to Congress when it meets in January.

The immediate consequences of the stoppage of work by the miners—which has occurred at a time when stocks of fuel are low and when domestic demands are rising to the seasonal peak—have been the imposition of a drastic reduction in the railway services, the re-institution of the wartime "dim-out" in the urban areas of 21 States and the curtailment of production in industries where supplies of coal are dwindling. Fears are being expressed regarding the effect of the order to "freeze" all soft coal stocks on the American export programme, and Mr. Acheson admitted at his press conference on the 19th November that this effect might be "serious." There is little evidence, however, that the public as a whole realises the catastrophic effect that a prolonged strike would have on countries abroad.

Apart from the possible reverberations of the coal crisis, commentators have found reason to be troubled by the international picture this week. In the field of Anglo-American relations the amendment on foreign policy tabled by the Labour "rebels" in the House of Commons has been the cause of much concern, although the general reaction has served once more to demonstrate the store which most people in the United States set by Anglo-American understanding. The inveterate Anglophobes have been only too ready to discern in the "revolt" evidence that the "Red tide" is now lapping at the doors of Whitehall, and the Patterson press has taken the opportunity to insist that the only "sane" policy for the United States is to remain "heavily and efficiently armed—atom bombs and all"—on the theory that "when you don't know who your friends and enemies are the wisest thing you can do is to keep your powder dry and have plenty of powder on hand." The Left has likewise seized upon the large number of Labour abstentions in the division of the 18th November to question once again the wisdom of the United States pursuing a policy of which a major premise is the close and continued co-operation of this country. Some writers, like Mr. Alexander Uhl of *P.M.* suggest that "now the tide of easy acquiescence in Tory politics has turned we can expect, not only the growth of protest among the Labourites, but also a modification in British policy." Elsewhere, however, the tendency has been to dismiss the "British Henry Wallaces" as the product of what the *New York Herald-Tribune* refers to as the "stresses in the Utopia" of the British Socialist experiment.

As regards the meetings of the United Nations Assembly and the Council of Foreign Ministers—which continue to hold attention despite the distractions of home affairs—M. Molotov's plea for disarmament and the show which the Soviets have made of "recoiling from their former expansionism, at least in key areas like Western Europe" were believed by more optimistic observers like the brothers Joseph and Stewart Alsop to offer hope that some form of compromise may yet be arrived at between the conflicting viewpoints of East and West. They were, however, writing before the Soviet Foreign Minister's classic demonstration of intransigeance over the veto, and even then they were careful to add that such hope was only reasonable "provided Senator Taft's tax and budget do not cause us to toss away at the crucial moment all such instruments of effective foreign policy as a strong national defence."

LATIN AMERICA

Argentina

According to information just received, the establishment of diplomatic relations between Argentina and Russia gave rise to a lengthy interpellation of the Foreign Minister in the Chamber of Deputies, when Sr. Pastor, asked the following questions: (*a*) had the Government taken into consideration that Argentine dignity had been injured by the Russian authorities and that this had led to rupture of relations with the Russian Government (*i.e.*, after the October Revolution)?, (*b*) from whom came the initiative to renew relations?

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(*c*) had the Government considered whether these relations should be of a conditional character? and (*d*) how far-reaching would be the consequences of resuming relations?

The Foreign Minister had little difficulty in disposing of (*a*). A certain Naveillan, who was Armenian by birth, Chilean by naturalisation and had served in the French army, but had never even set foot in Argentina, was at the time in charge both of the Argentine and Roumanian Legations and was arrested by the Russians for hiding arms in the latter Legation. With regard to (*b*), the Minister said that the initiative came from the Russians, via the Soviet Ambassador in Montevideo, who made approaches with reference to the sending of a commercial mission. The re-establishment of diplomatic relations was accomplished "in the only dignified way" by a simultaneous announcement from both Governments.

While stating that the Argentine Government had no business to take into consideration the internal affairs of the foreign countries with whom it maintained relations, the Minister affirmed that it would not tolerate the interference of any foreign country in Argentine internal politics.

The recent press report of Mr. Messersmith's alleged "off-the-record" statement to the American Legion, that war between the United States and Russia was inevitable, has been given considerable prominence in the Argentine papers. *La Hora*, the Communist organ, has been almost hysterical in its denunciation of the American Ambassador, whose recall has been insistently demanded by the Communist "*Daily Worker*," of New York.

Bolivia

Delay in holding general elections in Bolivia (see *Summary* No. 367), is attributed to the vitiation of the electoral lists by the previous régime. Only about 150,000 people—say 5 per cent. of the population—were on the old lists, and it is estimated that the number of people qualified to vote in the new elections will be about double that number. For a few months past the Provisional Government have been urging people to take steps to have their names inscribed in the new lists, but the response to the Government's appeal was at first most unsatisfactory, as only about 25,000 persons took the trouble to register. With a view to remedying this regrettable indifference the Government accordingly issued a decree to the effect that (*a*) no citizen may be a public functionary unless he is inscribed in the Civic Registers, and (*b*) from the day following the closure of the Civic Registers, no citizen will be able to undertake any administrative, judicial or banking business except on production of his electoral card.

With the departure of the last of the prominent refugees (including Dr. Paz Estenssoro, Lt.-Col. Calero and Sr. Monroy Block, who left the Paraguayan Embassy for the Argentine on the 27th October), the problem of political refugees has ceased to worry the Diplomatic Body and the Government. (See *Summary* No. 367.)

Brazil

According to a broadcast report, a draft Bill, obviously aimed at the Communists, with perhaps one eye on the Integralists, has been sent by President Dutra to Congress. The Bill provides for the retirement of all officers and sergeants of the armed forces, military police and fire brigades of the Federal district, who are members of "political parties of organisations which are contrary to the democratic régime." In a message accompanying the draft, the President said that Ministers, members of Congress and of the Armed Forces had urged upon him the necessity of authorising the retirement from active service of those whose political allegiance was in conflict with their duty. The main purpose of the armed forces was to defend the nation and to guarantee law and order. Political parties holding non-democratic principles had shown by word and deed that their plan of action included the denial of the concept of a motherland as understood by Brazilians, the weakening and final elimination of the constituted powers, disregard for law, and the replacement of it by another contrary to national principles.

Mexico

The Minister of Education, Sr. Torres Bodet, has given partial results of the Government's campaign against illiteracy which was begun two years ago. The original plan, that every literate person should teach an illiterate, seems to have resolved itself into the organisation of collective centres where most of the teaching is given free by professional teachers. According to the census of 1940, Mexico had 7,161,000 illiterates between the ages of 6 and 40. Of these about 1¼ millions were Indians, falling outside the scope of the present scheme,

leaving rather less than 6 million Spanish-speaking illiterates. Altogether just over 700,000 of these had now passed the examination, and as many more were still under instruction.

Peru

Seventeen months have now elapsed since the election of President Bustamente, and that of the Apristas as the strongest party in Peru. As a result of irregularities in those elections, three Senators and 15 Deputies were unseated; and one Senator died after election. Polling for these vacancies took place on the last day of June and resulted in the election of two Apristas to the Senate and eleven Apristas, 3 Independents and one Communist to the Chamber of Deputies. Dr. Luis Flores, the Peruvian Fascist leader, was returned to the Senate as a result of a Socialist-Aprista split vote. Since these elections the National Democratic Front has 37 seats in the Senate (including 20 Apristas) to twelve oppositionists, with eighty-nine (including 66 Apristas) to 64 in the Chamber of Deputies. Aprismo is therefore more strongly represented than it was a year ago, though it is still not in a position to take power alone, and has merely decided to hold three ministries, instead of standing out of the cabinet.

The results of the democratic victory are difficult to estimate. It is not unnatural that after generations of exploitation and want the workers have come to regard the right to strike as the panacea for all their troubles. The Apristas have usually encouraged the wave of strikes and the industrialists have so far been able to stand the resulting increase in costs. Since last August, however, the Apristas have modified their policy of giving all strikes full support, though this is in part due to the instigation of strikes by the Peruvian Communists. While the Apristas (and certainly Sr. Haya de la Torre) maintain their opposition to the Communists, their main political preoccupation is with their adversaries to the right, who have been able to resist a number of measures supported by APRA in Congress. The principal scheme of Sr. Haya de la Torre for the development of Peru is the setting up of a National Economic Council. While a bill for the creation of this Council is before Congress, President Bustamente is known to be reluctant to embark on large scale schemes whose financing may present serious problems.

UNITED NATIONS

Refugees and Displaced Persons

The Third Committee of the Assembly finished its general discussion of the draft I.R.O. charter on the 9th November and went on, in subsequent meetings to a consideration of the numerous proposed amendments. The general discussion was marked by a vigorous attack by the Russian and other Slav delegates on the leading principles of the I.R.O. and on the alleged shortcomings of the British and Americans in the conduct of displaced persons' camps. The reply to this onslaught was brisk and the sense of the meeting was strongly against the Slav thesis, though evidence is not wanting that Mr. Vyshinsky, at any rate, made a considerable impression on many delegates.

Following the general debate, some 65 amendments to the draft constitution came up for discussion, one by one. A few of these deal with financial matters, and will be referred to Committee V. Of the remainder, forty come from the Slav delegations. This comprehensive group covers all the points that have been raised so often before by the Russians and their supporters and have been so often voted down. They provide for the changes that would be necessary in the draft constitution to ensure that

(*a*) various groups of displaced persons, especially political dissidents, are excluded from international aid;
(*b*) all reference to the Assembly Resolution of 12th February, which admits individual freedom of choice whether to be repatriated or not, is carefully deleted;
(*c*) the task of I.R.O. is confined to repatriation and is explicitly agreed not to include resettlement outside the country of origin;
(*d*) the I.R.O. will operate for one year only and, even so, will be virtually under the control of the countries of origin;

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(*e*) the funds, assets, and archives of the Inter-governmental Committee on Refugees shall pass to the I.R.O. to be used within the limits indicated above, and the I.G.C. shall be liquidated.

In addition, the Russians have once more put forward the demand, rejected on so many previous occasions, that an itinerant commission, on which "countries of origin" should be strongly represented, should visit displaced persons' camps whenever situated and that nominal rolls of all displaced persons should be furnished to their countries of origin.

These moves, which have been made at this late stage in defiance of an almost complete understanding reached in September between British, American and Russian representatives as to the amendments to be put forward, seem to represent a final attempt on the part of the Slav group to wreck the I.R.O. or, if that cannot be done, to reduce it to a nullity.

After prolonged discussion on several days, all the Slav amendments have been rejected. In one or two instances, concessions have been made; but the general result is once more to affirm the opposite point of view, safeguarding the interests of genuine political dissidents, and prescribing resettlement as a definite task of the I.R.O. The suggestion that a provision should be included in the constitution of the I.R.O. liquidating the I.G.C., a completely independent organisation, and taking over its assets (no reference being made to its liabilities) has been ruled *ultra vires*.

The voting has in some instances been close and this might be taken to indicate that more delegations were coming to favour the Slav thesis; but, as a confidential statement from one of them explains, it may well arise from reluctance to offend the Russians who hold as hostages many allied nationals forcibly enlisted by the Germans during the war and employed by them on the Eastern front, where they were captured. On this account, abstention from voting is often considered the better part.

The chief British amendment aims at permitting the I.R.O. to contract out the care and maintenance of displaced persons to the control authorities in the allied Zones of Occupation and requiring the I.R.O. to make definite agreements with such authorities before starting its work in their respective Zones. American support had been hoped for the former of these provisions, which, as proposed, is permissive merely and not mandatory, but, especially since the elections, this has been difficult to obtain. The matter has not yet come to the vote and the result is by no means certain.

Among the cross-currents influencing the debates (and the votes) appears to be an underlying fear on the part of the Egyptian and other Arab delegations that the I.R.O. may be utilised to further excessive Jewish immigration to Palestine. This has been a disturbing, but not yet a fatal, influence.

The discussions are not yet completed; and the final form of the recommendation which the Committee makes to the Assembly remains to be seen.

General Assembly

Allied Troops and Disarmament

Russia had tried and failed to persuade the Security Council to take up what she alleged was the threat to peace caused by the presence of Allied troops in the territories of Member States. On that occasion she had asked for a return of all such troops, the position of any bases, aerodromes, &c., justifying her proposal under articles 34 and 35 of the Charter which cover "threats to peace." On the 20th November, in the Political and Security Committee, M. Molotov moved a resolution that the "General Assembly should recommend the Security Council to take a decision that States, members of the United Nations, should submit the following information to the Secretary-General and to the Security Council within one month: (1) at what points in the territory of members of U.N. or other States, with the exception of former enemy territories, and in what number, are armed forces of other members of the U.N.; (2) at what points in former enemy States and in what number are armed forces of the Allied Powers and of other members of the United Nations; (3) at what points in the above-mentioned territories are air and naval bases, and what is the size of their garrisons belonging to the armed forces of other States Members of the United Nations." This information, he now said, was wanted under article 43 of the Charter, and he added that without it the Military Staffs Committee would not be able to approach problems of disarmament. Russia's notorious blocking of

the Military Staffs Committee gives a rather bogus look to the second argument. The first has more substance; but even then, Article 43 deals only with the numbers and location of the forces and facilities which members shall agree with the Security Council to put at its disposal, when it asks, "in order to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security." M. Molotov was asking the Security Council to ask! Both Sir Alexander Cadogan and Mr. Bevin asked M. Molotov what he really hoped to achieve by this motion. In the course of the debate, which was still continuing on the 26th, M. Molotov and the Yugoslav delegate made it quite clear that Russia hoped to secure the withdrawal of "Anglo-American" forces from Persia, Greece, Iceland and China, and that Russia had dropped nothing of her charge that those forces were a threat to peace. It was ironical that Senator Connally and Mr. Bevin should each have had to point out to M. Molotov that his concentration upon "armed forces" was out of date: the former reminded him that the United States desired aggression "neither by arms nor by ideology," and the latter reminded him that "the tactic of nerve wars on smaller nations, which was going on to-day, was as bad as actual war."

On Thursday the 21st Mr. Bevin made a speech compounded of just the right proportions of idealism and commonsense. Hitler, he said, had had no troops abroad, and yet he had threatened the world. It was futile to count the few troops abroad and leave uncounted the main forces at home. The Russian motion was too narrow, and, as it stood, he rejected it; he proposed, however, that it should be taken as part of the whole question of disarmament. If that were done, he would welcome it, as "giving the Security Council and the Military Staffs Committee the greatest task that any body of people ever had—to build a structure of disarmament that will enable Governments to decide whether it is of such a character that they can to a large extent surrender their sovereignty to the United Nations." There is idealism in these words; but there is also a warning, such as occurred in the veto debate and is being forced from the lips of responsible Western Statesmen, that loyalty to the "United Nations" is not mere loyalty to any particular organisation or means; but loyalty to the goal of peaceful co-operation to which the best means must be found. On Friday M. Molotov called Mr. Bevin's attempt to combine the request for information with disarmament delaying tactics, and rejected it. Mrs. Pandit (India) supported Russia.

When the debate was resumed on Monday the 25th, the U.K. delegation had modified its approach to the subject, abandoning its previous insistence on disarmament and information combined in favour of a motion which (1) linked the request for information with disarmament in the preamble, (2) extended the enquiry to cover Home forces, (3) required the information to be furnished by the 1st January, (4) required the information to be "immediately subjected to an effective United Nations system of verification on the spot by a Committee to be established by the Security Council before that date." Verification thus becomes central to the British position; for, as Mr. Noel Baker pointed out in his learned and forceful speech, unless facts can be verified they give no confidence, and without confidence facts are useless. Another important feature of the U.K. motion is its approach not to the Security Council, where Mr. Noel Baker artlessly said, the U.K. has a veto, but to the Assembly, whose recommendation would commit all the members. M. Molotov's motion referred matters to the Security Council. Senator Connally, who followed, praised Mr. Noel Baker warmly for his speech, supported the proposed scope of his enquiry, but did not include verification in his own motion. The Assembly must address its recommendation direct to the members. To address them to the Council would, he said, be derogatory to the Assembly's rights, and would waste time—one more indication of the position to which Russia's use of the veto was fast reducing the Security Council.

On Tuesday the 26th M. Molotov countered the U.K. resolution by agreeing to the demand for information on Home Forces provided that it goes with information on armaments (atomic, jet-propelled, etc.), and that it is submitted only when the Security Council starts to examine the proposals for general disarmament. His delegation would give its views on verification at the same time. Senator Connally called this dilly-dallying, supported the U.K. position but wished verification left out. Mr. Noel Baker agreed with M. Molotov that a list of troops without a list of armaments was of very small use. All the same to know the number of Home Forces would be a certain guide to the Military Staff Committee, whereas the numbers of troops stationed abroad would tell them nothing. He would not give armament figures until he felt sure that international security was not a sham, and he knew that M. Molotov was no more ready to make premature disclosures than he.

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Indians in S. Africa

At a joint meeting of the Political and Legal Committee on the 21st November, Mrs. Pandit moved that the General Assembly should ask the S. African Government to bring its legislation governing Asiatics into harmony with the standards set by the Charter, and to report what steps it had taken at the next session of the Assembly. She argued that the matter was not domestic, since the S. African Acts of 1943 and 1946, by discriminating against Indians and segregating them, broke agreements made between S. Africa and India, violated fundamental principles of the Charter concerning human rights, and impaired relations between two members of the United Nations. She admitted that the Indians in question were citizens of S. Africa; but she claimed that an Indian Government had been responsible for sending their forebears to S. Africa under certain conditions, and therefore had a moral and political obligation to their descendants. Field Marshal Smuts replied that the question was domestic and therefore beyond the scope of the United Nations. If it were not so treated, the United Nations would have to examine all S. African legislation and administrative acts, and if that were the accepted procedure no Government would be safe and States would find their position inside the United Nations quite intolerable. He moved that the International Court of Justice be asked to decide the legal issue, whether the Indian complaint came within article 2 para. 7 of the Charter (domestic jurisdiction) or not. Ukraine, Byelo-Russia and Yugoslavia supported Mrs. Pandit, and China inclined the same way.

The Committees met again on Monday the 25th. Judge Chagla (India) argued that the Assembly and not the International Court should interpret the Charter; besides, the complaint involved a violation of the principle of the Charter and was therefore political rather than legal. Mr. St. Laurent (Canada) supported reference to the Court. Article 2 para. 7 must not, he said, be so interpreted as to invalidate article 1 which enjoined respect for human rights. He therefore agreed with the U.K. that the United Nations must decide what are human rights as soon as possible. Meanwhile, article 2 para. 7 must be interpreted. A legal, as distinct from a political decision would add much needed importance to the "Court aspect" of the United Nations. The Polish delegate, while recognising the claims of "domestic jurisdiction" thought that treaty obligations had been disregarded.

The Attorney-General, Sir Hartley Shawcross, had a difficult task. His Government, he said, would have preferred the two members to settle the dispute out of court, and now that one had brought it before the United Nations, they would have preferred not to speak at all. Nevertheless his argument had something of Solomon about it. Let India agree to the Court's jurisdiction. If her case were well founded, reference to the Court would in the end best serve the interests of the Indian people since a judicial solution was always more acceptable to a nation against whom it was given than a political solution. The case could not be examined objectively by a mass meeting of 108 delegates, unless it were artificially simplified. Since action must be within the Charter, it was necessary to decide whether the matter was excluded by article 2 para. 7, or if it were not, whether it involved the denial of some fundamental human rights which U.N. were bound to respect. The Indian complaint was that the "fundamental right of every individual to own and purchase property wherever he likes" had been infringed; but these fundamental human rights were not observed by all members of the United Nations; nor were "fundamental rights" yet defined. His conclusion was that the Court should decide the relevance of article 2 para. 7 to the present case, and that the United Nations should quickly enable the Human Rights Commission to draft an International Bill of Rights.

The United States delegate also supported a reference to the Court, his most weighty argument being that such a reference would be an appeal to the rule of law, and he urged the Indian delegates to agree. The French delegate praised his own country's lack of racial discrimination and put forward a vague resolution in favour of action by the Assembly. Finally Mr. Heaton Nicholls (S. Africa) gave a detailed account of the exact position of Indians in Natal, which he contrasted with what he described as the "false" picture given by the Indian delegation.

On the 26th, the Turkish and the Netherlands delegates advised reference to the Court, while the Mexican, Philippine and Haitian declared that human rights were involved and the Assembly must act. Mrs. Pandit (India) remarked in the course of her speech that fortunately for the world the British Empire was in process of liquidation, and that if S. Africa belonged to anyone, it belonged to the "barbaric indigenous population" from whom the Whites had seized it. An interesting intervention came from the representative of the new

member, Sweden. He sympathised with the Indian complaint against racial discrimination, but, since politics must influence legal decisions as little as possible, his delegation would propose a resolution referring the problem of the scope of article 2, para. 7, to the International Court. M. Gromyko decided that the question was political. Since the Court was empowered to deal only with legal matters, the Assembly should recommend measures for a peaceful solution under articles 10 and 14 of the Charter.

COUNCIL OF FOREIGN MINISTERS

The discussions on Trieste meandered with soul-destroying slowness through Wednesday and Thursday and Friday. Some six major problems were still unsolved: (1) the extent of the Governor's emergency powers: (2) the seat of authority in the provisional régime, was it to be, as U.K. and U.S. desired, in the Governor, or as Russia proposed, in a kind of council whose actions were subject to the Governor's veto as in the Permanent Statute: (3) the date at which Allied troops should leave, *e.g.*, a definite date, as M. Molotov wished, or when circumstances dictated as the others contended (Mr. Byrnes became as definite as to suggest 45 days after the Governor declared his own forces capable of keeping order): (4) Elections, should they be 4 months after the treaty came into force, or, as the others maintained, as soon as practicable: (5) non-discrimination in transit facilities to and from the Free Port, and, linked with this the Russian demand for a customs union and railway convention with Yugoslavia: (6) the Free Port Instrument or Constitution.

On Saturday the 23rd November the Deputies were supposed to draw up texts of articles agreed already; but M. Gousev boggled at everything and progress was nil. M. Gousev's work that morning seems to have brought matters to a head. At the informal meeting of the Foreign Ministers, Mr. Byrnes made it clear that his country was no longer interested in a Four Power agreement, and that his country had wasted time enough. M. Molotov was impressed. It was agreed to set up again the Trieste Commission to draft the actual Statute and Free Port Instrument on the basis of the texts already accepted; but the vital result of Mr. Byrnes's attitude on Saturday was that M. Molotov went to talk things over with Mr. Byrnes on Monday. In this dramatic interview, described by Mr. Byrnes to Mr. Bevin, M. Molotov was told exactly what the U.S. thought of Russian behaviour: Russia had shown unexampled contempt for her Allies: she had disregarded every important recommendation her Allies had made at the Peace Conference. Let M. Molotov say whether or no he wanted a settlement. If not, the world would not end; America would simply make a series of bilateral treaties. M. Molotov appeared moved, and followed a method almost habitual with him: he borrowed his opponent's argument. Russia, he said, was under great pressure from Yugoslavia. She must do something for her Ally. Would not Mr. Byrnes help her in this, and their problems could be solved. The two statesmen then got down to business.

M. Molotov gave the clear impression that he wanted a settlement. He would like Gorizia, which means undoing the French line: more reparations for Yugoslavia than for Greece, and here Mr. Byrnes has probably given him fatal encouragement: Mr. Byrnes's formula that the troops shall leave in 90 days, unless the Governor decided otherwise, and finally, not more than 50 per cent. compensation for losses to British property (previously he had said 25 per cent.: the U.K. claims 75 per cent., with the approval of a simple majority of the Peace Conference).

When the Foreign Ministers met on that crucial Monday, they agreed to the U.S. version of Article 16 *bis*, and to the first 9 paragraphs of the French Resolution, which are to be taken as the principles on which the Statute of the Free Territory of Trieste is based. This last was a substantial achievement. No progress was made on the qualifications necessary for a Trieste citizen, and the Commission was told to discuss the question of free transit facilities with the Czechoslovaks, Italians and Yugoslavs.

It is worth noting that Mr. Byrnes informed M. Molotov that he had treated British interests in the rest of the treaty almost with contempt.

Mr. Byrnes has discovered a way to move M. Molotov. He can break the spell exercised by the pursuit of Four Power Agreements by the threat of bilateral treaties. It remains to be seen how far Mr. Byrnes has carried his firmness, and what M. Molotov will gain in return for a treaty.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 371

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
4TH DECEMBER, 1946

Copy No. 143

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Since August, 1946, this Summary has become a more confidential document than it had previously been, and full weight must be given to the label SECRET. The side-lined passages especially must not be divulged to anyone other than the authorized recipients.

AN agreement providing for full economic integration of the British and United States zones of Germany was signed in New York on the 2nd December and will come into effect on the 1st January, 1947. It is represented as the first step towards economic unification of Germany, and in announcing the arrangement both Governments expressed the hope that the plan will lead to discussions with the other occupying Powers for the extension of this or similar schemes. It is based on plans to achieve a self-sustaining economy in Germany by the end of 1949. The United Kingdom enters the scheme as an equal partner with the United States and will bear half the cost. As stated last week, this will entail expenditure by Britain of £125 million over the next three years; it should be emphasised that this is not in addition to an expenditure of £80 million a year for those years, as at present. Imports, however, would come mainly from the dollar area while this area would only take a small proportion of the exports. It would be impossible for Britain to make her contribution wholly in dollars ($500 million) as this represents over one-seventh of the American loan to Britain. At first His Majesty's Government authorised acceptance of the scheme only on condition that Britain did not pay more than $300 million in dollars, but the United States was unable to accept this proposal. The Americans are, however, fully aware of the difficulties arising from the dollar shortage and expressed willingness to take account of these difficulties. In particular the Agreement states that sources of supply "shall be selected to the fullest extent practicable so as to minimise the drain on the dollar resources of the United Kingdom." Proceeds from exports will be used to pay as far as possible for imports, and in any case money expended on imports must be repaid by the Germans in goods and services as soon as is consistent with the rebuilding of a healthy non-aggressive

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EUROPE

GERMANY

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Germany. H.M. Government also accepted the plan on the condition, now embodied in the Agreement, that food (as well as other resources) both indigenous and imported must be pooled to produce a common standard of living. It is understood that there would be no question of repaying in kind the wheat recently loaned to the British zone, although H.M. Government assumes financial liability in this respect as part of a general agreement whereby stocks on hand financed by the respective Governments will be taken into account when estimating the costs of approved imports on an equal basis after the 31st December. Any rations for displaced persons in excess of those given to Germans would not, however, come under the new scheme. Much of the work of determining import needs and securing supplies will fall on a Joint Export-Import Agency of the two Governments, which in due course will transfer as much of its responsibility as is practicable to a German agency. Other points in the Agreement, which is subject to yearly review, were outlined in *Summary* No. 369. A subsidiary unpublished memorandum deals largely with payment for coal exports (see under "Austria"). The Agreement as finally signed shows substantial concessions on the part of H.M. Government, but the United States Government have also advanced from their original unwillingness to share even half of the cost in view of the smaller population of their zone. Discussions were, however, prolonged, and at one point in reply to a suggestion by Mr. Bevin that if the cost were too heavy H.M. Government might have to withdraw from the British zone, Mr. Byrnes offered to exchange zones and declared he felt that with American industrial organisation and the potentialities of the British zone they would make it a success in a very short time. On this basis they would meet 60 per cent. or even 65 per cent. of the costs. The idea of the acceptance of this startling and momentous offer was, naturally, never entertained as a political possibility by H.M. Government.

Press reports over the last three weeks have spoken of a Russian proposal to General Clay for raising the level of industrial production. This is a repetition of the offer made to General Clay in August, details of which were discussed in *Summary* No. 356. The matter was not carried any further on either side at the time and, as regards the United Kingdom, acceptance of this reparation proposal would still entail a fundamental change from present policy. According to "*The New York Times*" of the 22nd November informal discussions on the matter have taken place recently between Marshal Sokolovsky and General Clay, but the latter stated that he had no authority to negotiate. The advantages of the offer for Russian publicity purposes are illustrated by Soviet zone propaganda. Leipzig radio, fastening on the "*New York Times*" report, affirms that the offer was made on the 5th November and loudly attacks Washington and London for their failure to jump at the plan, "particularly in view of the disastrous situation of industry in the Western zones," the claim is made also, quite illogically, that the United States is committed to the Morgenthau plan.

Dr. Schumacher, accompanied by Franz Neumann, Viktor Agartz, Wilhelm Knothe and Fritz Heine, is visiting London at the invitation of the British Labour Party. This is the first political visit to Britain by a German leader since the occupation. A Social Democrat leader from the French zone was forbidden to come, a French Foreign Office spokesman declaring that France considered the SPD the most nationalistic of the German parties—this is the first time the French have thus publicly committed themselves in this respect. (See also under "France.") The Soviet zone press has also seized on the event as additional proof that the SPD is a British "Fifth Column" in Germany. Dr. Schumacher in a number of talks, of interest as prepared for British consumption, has paid an unusual tribute to British sacrifices in food and money for Germany and has claimed that this must be emphasised, because there were rising nationalistic elements in Germany which were trying to cast a fog in front of the people's eyes. He commented strongly on the failure to carry out declared British policy in the British zone and said that anarchy in Germany was increased by the multiplicity of official administrative organisations each going its own way. He has again asked that the dismantling of peaceful industry should cease. In his absence the Zonal Advisory Council on the 1st December passed a resolution calling for immediate measures to improve economy. Welcome to the Germans will be an announcement of the 29th November that no more steel works will be closed down this year and that it is unlikely that any will be closed in 1947. The official position of Dr. Agartz (see *Summary* No. 369) has now been clarified. He announced on the 23rd November that the Central Office for Economic Affairs, of which he is head, will close at the end of the year when the Bi-Zonal Economic Committee takes over. Dr. Agartz considers

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this Committee unsuitable for its tasks and has refused to join either the Committee or its advisory branch the Economic Administrative Committee.

In Wuerttemberg-Baden where a referendum on the Draft Constitution and Diet elections were held on the 24th November, the Constitution was passed with 86% of valid votes in favour, but over 20% of the votes cast were invalid. It is felt that this is because the public lacked interest and instruction in the issues of the referendum, since Communist disapproval of the Constitution could not have accounted for more than 10% of the votes. In the Diet elections the only change from those in June was that the Christian Democrats lost two seats to the *Demokratische Volkspartei*, an active branch of the German Liberal Democrats. The Constitution has provoked considerable discussion, with the CDU usually in opposition, and as finally passed represents substantial changes from the Draft (see *Summaries* Nos. 348 and 349), the most marked being the absence of a Second Chamber and a State President. There are to be common "Christian schools," but religious instruction for the different denominations will be separate. The Bavarian and Hesse referendums which took place on the 1st December will be discussed next week. Left-wing resentment has been aroused in Hesse by a pastoral letter from the Roman Catholic Bishops of Mainz, Fulda and Limburg strongly criticising the Constitution. This is the more surprising as, although it bears traces of the Socialist majority in this State, the final text was agreed mainly because of an alliance between the SPD and CDU. In Bavaria the elections are of particular interest as the leader of the CSU (the majority party), Josef Mueller, is facing public charges of a Nazi past although he was twice arrested by the Nazis. Mueller represents the left wing in the party and has been foremost in cooperating with the SPD. In some ways he even stands to the left of the SPD leader Hoegner, since he opposes the plan for the appointment of a State President, supported by Hoegner, both because of his federalist tendencies and his personal ambition. Hoegner appears to be strongly opposed by the younger members of his party in his unwillingness to go into opposition if the CSU win the election, on the ground that "opposition" under Military Government is totally unreal. A more moderate view is taken by von Knoeringen, a rising member of the party, who was in England during the war.

United States Press Correspondents have been refused admission to the Soviet zone until January, on the somewhat unconvincing grounds that travel would be dangerous, with all transport at present being overloaded as a result of troop demobilisation. Rail traffic has recently increased sharply, to the surprise of German officials, and this would seem to indicate some form of troop movement—although it is not known in what direction. It is a possible indication of Russian disquiet under present conditions. German criticism of Soviet reparation policies is mounting. The Vice-President of Thuringia recently told members of the Socialist Unity Party that the present reparation policy in Thuringia would soon lead to the complete bankruptcy of the State. Russian realisation that criticism is sharper than they expected and will seriously embarrass their policy is reflected in the, admittedly small, concession to the Zeiss works at Jena which will apparently be allowed to retain about 1/10th of their equipment. Russian popularity is not increased by the over-zealous action of subordinate German officials. There is now evidence that much of the persecution of CDU and LDP candidates and voters in parts of the Soviet zone in September, which included the closing of shops in some villages and the dismissal of minor employees, was due to the independent action of such subordinate authorities. In some cases at least this was not approved or instigated by higher German authorities, who recognised the wider political implication of such measures. Leo Skrzypynski, who was reported in *Summary* No. 366 to have tendered his resignation from the Central Administration of Industry because he disagreed with the general trend of Russian economic policy, has recently broadcast from the Soviet zone, but it is still doubtful whether he will retain his post.

A major scandal has been caused in the French zone and angrily commented on from all parts of Germany by the acquittal by a German Court of Tillessen, who, in 1921, murdered Matthias Erzberger, head of the German Armistice delegation of 1918. He was acquitted on the ground that Hitler's amnesty in 1933 for those who helped the régime to power has not been specifically repealed by the Control Council. The German judge has now been dismissed and a re-trial ordered, but the possibility of such a verdict is a grave illustration of the consistently unsatisfactory attitude towards denazification in the French zone.

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AUSTRIA

The food question dominated the Allied Council meeting on the 29th November, although it was only discussed informally. It had been apparent at the Executive Committee meeting on the 25th November that the Soviet authorities were not likely to allow indigenous supplies to leave their zone, where there is enough food to last until the next harvest, until they received some assurance about how the apparent deficit on food supplies for the whole of Austria would be met next year. At the Council meeting, General Clark proposed that an Advisory Board of representatives of each of the occupying Powers, UNRRA, and the Austrian Government should be created immediately, to be responsible for preparing food plans, ensuring that proper utilisation of indigenous food, and recommending ration changes to the Allied Council; and that all indigenous food or food imported by UNRRA or any of the occupying Powers should be pooled and made available for the whole of Austria. General Clark said that he was willing to let all indigenous food in the U.S. zone move freely and to pool U.S. imports. The Russian representative was clearly doubtful as to where the necessary imports to maintain the increased ration would come from, and General Clark repeated that they would come from a credit supplied by the U.S.A. He said that he had asked the U.S. Government to ship sufficient food to feed the U.S. zone and sector of Vienna, and also a 450 calorie reserve for his zone, but he denied that he meant to use this to raise the ration to 2,000 calories in his zone. The British representative proposed that, instead of a Food Board, the Economic Directorate, in conjunction with UNRRA and the Austrian Government, should review the monthly food plans and ensure that all indigenous and imported food supplies should be pooled and distributed throughout Austria, and that no one zone should be better fed than any other. After acrimonious exchanges between the U.S. and Soviet members, in which the Soviet member accused General Clark of withholding cattle needed to supply the Soviet zone with meat and fats, the discussion took a turn for the better, and General Zheltov seemed ready to agree to a suggestion by General Clark that if the Russians were supplied with the necessary meat and fats they would let supplies move freely from their zone. A settlement seems possible in the near future.

The Allied Council are to consider the long-awaited report on the Austrian Denazification Law on the 13th December.

The detailed provisions of the Anglo-U.S. agreement on the economic union of the British and American zones of Germany (see under "Germany"), include some which concern the settlement of accounts for coal and electric power between Germany and Austria, and trade between the two countries. Payment which the Government of the United Kingdom may receive for coal exported from the British zone of Germany to Austria before the 1st April, 1946, is to be assigned to the Joint Export-Import Agency. Coal imported into Austria from the British zone of Germany for use by the occupying forces will be paid for by the occupying Powers, while coal imported for civilian consumption from May, 1945, until December, 1946, is to be regarded as a charge on the Austrian Government. The proceeds of electric power exported from Austria to Germany during this period will be used to pay for coal imports, and the remaining coal debt will be collected "as and when Austria is capable of discharging it over the calendar years of 1947, 1948 and 1949." This agreement, however, cannot take into account the electric power exported from the French zone of Austria as long as France does not enter into the agreement.

Trade and commerce between the British and U.S. zones and Austria will be a responsibility of the Joint Export-Import Agency in Germany, which will negotiate with appropriate agencies in Austria. The Agency will not, however, undertake "indirect financial assistance to the Austrian economy at the expense of the German economy."

Dr. Norbert Bischoff, the Austrian Political Representative in Paris, has been chosen to succeed Herr Waldbrunner, the former Political Representative in Moscow. Herr Waldbrunner, a Socialist engineer, resigned because he encountered difficulty in his dealings with the Russians, and in particular failed to speed up the repatriation of Austrian prisoners from Russia. Dr. Bischoff is a career diplomat who has spent many years in France.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The recent exchange of views with Washington on outstanding economic problems is a more hopeful portent of Czechoslovakia's relations with the United States. The State Department announced on 20th November that Czechoslovakia

had agreed to compensate American owners of nationalised property, and would give general support to the trade rules contained in the I.T.O. charter. Mr. Acheson conceded that the Czechoslovak Government, in their efforts to reconstruct internal economy, must retain their system of export and import licensing; Czechoslovakia, on its side, has now given assurances that these controls will be administered "without discrimination as among foreign sources of supply" as soon as it has sufficient free foreign currency.

It is probable, though by no means certain, that the United States Government may remove its ban on the grant of the Export-Import Bank credit, to which the Czechoslovak Minister of Finance referred in his budget speech on the 22nd November. Meanwhile, Czechoslovakia has been seeking foreign loans elsewhere, and it is reported that there are offers from Argentina, Brazil and other Latin American States. Negotiations with Argentina for a credit of 75 to 100 million pesos are apparently well advanced, and the Škoda works of Plzeň is said to have competed successfully for the contract to build a large alcohol factory in Buenos Aires. On the other hand, South Africa has refused a credit of £1 million, and Switzerland, although Czechoslovakia's biggest trader, is hesitating in granting a request for help.

Relations with the United States have been further eased by the long-awaited release of the Czechoslovak shipping which had been impounded on the upper Danube by the American authorities. In another field the recent American tour of Dr. Lettrich (a Democrat), President of the Slovak National Council, may have done something to modify the anti-Beneš separatist attitude of the American Slovaks, even though his references to an opposition party in Czechoslovakia caused some annoyance at home.

The favourable trade balance indicated by the September figures illustrates the vigour with which the export drive is being pursued. In the last quarter the Ministry of Foreign Trade has signed or renewed agreements with Sweden (one of the chief sources of iron ore and ball bearings), the Netherlands, Brazil, Yugoslavia and Switzerland—the last, however, with reservations about compensation for nationalised Swiss property. Czechoslovakia, too, was, incidentally, the only one of the so-called "Iron Curtain" countries to accept the American invitation to the Preparatory Conference on International Trade held in London last month. Czechoslovak economic policy is, of course, guided by the fact that the Soviet Union can only partly satisfy her needs in raw materials, and does not, as a matter of policy, absorb her light luxury products. The pre-war export of light products is threatened with future competition from Germany. Czechoslovakia intends to replace Germany to some extent, as a centre for heavy industry, and the change-over envisaged will lead to an increasing demand for machinery from the West.

On the 22nd November, the National Assembly heard a three-hour speech (on the 1947 budget proposals) from Dr. Dolanský, the Finance Minister. The budget shows a deficit of 28 milliard crowns, an increase of 2 milliard on 1946. Public taxes, the largest single item of revenue, had however yielded 14 per cent. more than estimated. Credit accounts, frozen as part of the initial plan to stabilize the currency, may be partially freed in the spring. Dr. Dolanský opened his speech with a survey of this year's national economy. Agricultural production was satisfactory, with noticeable improvements over last year in the production of cereals, potatoes, and sugar beet; oil-bearing products had increased fourfold, but fats, at 40 per cent. of the pre-war level, were still inadequate, although meat had reached two-thirds the pre-war figure. Industrial production was now up to three-quarters of the pre-war output, the greatest increase being in black coal, 50 per cent. more than last year.

(See also under "Hungary.")

POLAND

By an agreement concluded on the 28th November between the Communist and Socialist Parties, the representation of the latter party in the administrative, diplomatic and industrial affairs of the country has been made more nearly equal to that of the Communists. Symbolic of the new arrangements are the appointments of M. Cyrankiewicz, the Socialist Party's secretary-general, to a Ministry without portfolio, and that of the Socialist Professor Leszczycki to be the second Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs (the first Vice-Minister being the Communist M. Modzelewski). The first appointment brings the number of Socialist members of the Cabinet to six, the same as that of the Communists.

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The diplomatic service is to offer more openings for Socialists, and there will be a number of higher managerial posts for them in nationalized industry, where the Communists have had a majority of the key positions. It is rumoured that a further important appointment may be that of a Socialist as Vice-Minister of Security. This Ministry, controlling the secret police, has always been the special preserve of the Communists and one of the departments most under Russian influence. The agreement also binds the parties to conduct the fight "against all reaction" and "against the Polish Peasant Party, which has become the legal outgrowth of the reactionary underground." The parties are also reported to have agreed to provide joint educational courses for the youth of the two groups, and to see that Socialist and Communist youth movements make similar pacts and arrangements.

The first clause of the general agreement explains that "unity of action and cooperation among the whole working class" are necessary for certain national aims, such as the "securing of the independence of reborn Poland and the integrity of her frontiers." Subsequent clauses prescribe the means whereby such aims are to be achieved.

On the question of elections, the four parties of the governmental *bloc* have issued a joint declaration to the effect that they all desire justice and security for the world, as well as the rapid reconstruction and revival of Poland in every possible sphere, with frontiers on the Oder and Western Neisse. M. Mikolajczyk and his party are accused of obstructing such aims, and of giving shelter to forest gangs. This accusation has an ominous accompaniment in a statement by *Glos Ludu*, the Communist paper, that the P.S.L. was "breaking up," and that throughout the country its ranks were "melting away."

The recent visit of Dr. Schumacher, the German Social-Democrat leader, to Britain has received bitter comment, especially since Schumacher is well known for his desire to change Poland's western frontier. Official Polish circles have always complained that Germans of similar views are, allegedly, being afforded encouragement in the British zone of Germany. The pithiest comment on Schumacher's present visit comes from the Socialist paper *Robotnik*: "The Germans can only find a response from those who did not themselves experience the doubtful pleasure of acquaintance with the culture of the German *Herrenvolk*."

SOVIET UNION

The brunt of the Soviet assault was borne this week not by the Americans but by the British. Thus, according to Soviet commentators, the U.K. Delegation were the principal obstructionists in the Political Committee of the United Nations Assembly; British interference in Greece was the root of all trouble in the Balkans; the British were deceitfully trying to maintain their position in Egypt and keep the Sudan from Egypt; the British were intriguing in Persia, maintaining a "Black Reichwehr" in Germany and bullying the Albanians, etc. Such a reactionary foreign policy, it was asserted, could not fail to arouse widespread disquiet in Britain where a "wave of anti-Bevinism" was reported. On the other hand, criticism of America was mostly concerned with internal affairs although the possible establishment of United States bases in Canada was mentioned. An exceptionally long article by the well-known Soviet economist Varga emphasised the abnormality of the present American boom and forecast a violent slump by 1948. The danger of opposing the principle of unanimity in the United Nations was again emphasised and all proposals for changing the voting procedure in the Security Council were described as flank attacks on this vital principle. In reports from foreign countries the results of the Roumanian elections took pride of place. The defeat of the "reactionary parties and their foreign masters" by "true democracy" was hailed with delight.

Tass reported on the 26th November that 2,160 former Russian emigrés had left Marseilles for the U.S.S.R. under the repatriation scheme inaugurated last June. The contingent was said to have included many people of Ukrainian and Byelorussian nationality from east of the Curzon line; the first batch of repatriates which left France in the early Autumn had consisted exclusively of these. *Tass* made a great point of the presence of members of the intelligentsia among the repatriates, mentioning by name Professors Shorin and Zuskerstein and the author Roshchin who do not, in fact, appear to be particularly distinguished members of emigré circles. French sources estimate the number of Russians in France at the time of the liberation at about 60,000 as against 65,000

in 1939. This number did not include those Russians who had taken out French nationality papers who numbered about 17,000 by 1935.

Attacks on Ukrainian "bourgeois nationalism" as exemplified in the works of Ukrainian historians have been carried on continuously since the summer. A recent broadcast in Ukrainian from Kiev has accused the school of Professor Hrushevsky in particular of claiming all the cultural achievements of the Kiev state for the Ukrainian nation; according to the Soviet version in the hey-day of Kievan culture, the eastern Slavs had not yet separated into three parts and the culture of Kiev was thus the common parent of all Russian culture. Further, Hrushevsky was accused of ignoring the class struggle in the Ukraine and the necessary friendship between the Ukrainian and Russian peoples. These continued assaults on the historical front fit in with other evidence that the situation in the Ukraine is far from happy. Ukrainians are being reminded, on the other hand, of their good fortune in being for the first time, under one flag; the Soviet-Czechoslovak Treaty which realised "the ardent desire of the Transcarpathian Ukrainians to unite with the Soviet Ukraine" being the last link in the chain. This Treaty is being cited as a practical embodiment of the principles of international co-operation laid down in the United Nations charter. It stood, the radio commentator said, as an indictment of the policy of those powers which, while insisting on the equality of large and small nations, were, in fact riding roughshod over the interests of the latter.

Pravda, returning to the charge against the administration of the British zone in Germany, has described special German military units formed by the British, said to be known by the local population as the Black Reichwehr and allegedly commanded by officers of Hitler's army; a letter purporting to emanate from a sergeant-major serving in one of these formations was quoted for the assertion that the units were intended to be used as punitive formations against the German people. These forces were to do duty as imitation Gestapo agents, and no member of a unit would so much as dare to hint that he was an anti-Fascist.

A delegation from the 700,000-strong Amalgamated Engineering Union of Great Britain, consisting of 12 members, is at present in the U.S.S.R. at the invitation of the Soviet trade unions. On arrival in Moscow the president of the A.E.U. and head of the British Delegation, Mr. Jack Tanner, broadcast a message of goodwill to the metal workers of the Soviet Union in which he stressed the "feelings of solidarity which exist between the metal workers of Great Britain and those of the Soviet Union." Mr. Tanner extended an invitation to Soviet trades unions to send a delegation of engineering workers to England next spring. The Delegation, after a few days in Moscow, started on a tour of the Donbas region.

Mongolian papers have published a denial issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Mongolian People's Republic of the report broadcast a few days ago by the Seoul radio of a concentration of Mongolian forces on the Chinese-Mongolian border. This report is declared to be a complete invention.

Possibly as a result of President Roxas' protest against the Soviet campaign of misrepresentation, Moscow has latterly been silent about the Philippines. In general, there has also been a marked falling off in news from the Far East, although a series of short features on China kept up public interest in Chinese press criticism of the National Assembly and United States penetration of Chinese markets.

The Soviet press reports that the Soviet-Afghan Agreement of the 13th June was ratified by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet on the 28th November. (See also under "Middle East.")

Erratum.

In last week's *Summary*, for Pundit Vijaya Lakshmi (p. 6, line 55) please read Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit.

SCANDINAVIA

Sweden

The Head of the Swedish Defence Staff was authorised to publish a communiqué on the 5th November on the "Stella Polaris" case (see *Summary* No. 368). According to this statement the Finnish High Command asked the Swedish military authorities in the summer of 1944 for permission to transfer to Sweden certain wireless equipment and personnel in the event of a military

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occupation of Finland. This request was granted—with the proviso that the establishment of a Finnish intelligence unit in Sweden could not be permitted and that personnel would be liable to internment if still in military service. Shortly before the Finnish armistice notice was given that the Finnish Government would like to carry out the arrangement and in due course the Finns arrived, as expected, with their equipment at Härnösand and Gävle. They arrived in larger numbers than was anticipated and included women and children; all were treated as ordinary refugees, as none of them were in uniform. Many of them have since returned to Finland. The equipment was sold by the Finnish to the Swedish State and payment made to a properly accredited Finnish authority, and any equipment not so sold was returned to Finland. Certain archives which arrived at the same time were not taken over by the Swedish authorities but deposited, by an authorised Finnish representative, with private individuals. No further official statement on the subject is now expected.

The Swedes, it is reported, have taken exception to the conduct of M. Leino in making a statement on this matter in the Finnish Diet without giving them due notice of his intention, and the Swedish Minister in Helsinki has lodged an official complaint.

With regard to the archives, a representative of H.M. Embassy was told in private conversation with a Member of the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, that a hint had been dropped to the "private individuals," whose names he mentioned, to burn the archives, as it would be difficult for the Swedish Government to refuse an official Finnish request for their return to Finland, should such request ever be made at the instigation of the Finnish State Police, a high proportion of which are known to be Communists.

Meanwhile the Swedish authorities fondly hope that their part in the "Stella Polaris" affair will now be allowed to be forgotten!

Denmark

M. Christmas Moeller, the Danish Foreign Minister in the Coalition Government formed after Denmark's liberation, made a rather strong speech at a Students' Association on the 23rd November. It will be remembered that in the early days of the occupation he was one of the worst thorns in the side of the German authorities, because he persisted in touring the country after his forcible retirement from office, constantly urging his countrymen to resist the Germans to the uttermost. It appears that now once again he feels that the time has come to rouse his countrymen. His speech mainly criticised their present self-complacency and refusal to face world events in a more broadminded and generous spirit. Thus he pointed out that it was "not becoming for Danes to discuss whether or not a division should be despatched to Germany. Denmark lost 3,000 young men in the war, Britain 300,000." As his only son was one of those 3,000, this clarion call to a change of heart comes from the right man. He also criticised the present Danish inclination to blame a few individuals for Denmark's submission to Germany in April 1940. It would be wrong if the people did not recognise that the majority supported this action at the time. He also expressed himself as dissatisfied with the discrimination shown in the sentences imposed on various political offenders, mentioning in this connexion the case of Count Schimmelmann, a well-known collaborator, who had escaped with a very light sentence. On the other hand, he gave it as his opinion, that M. Scavenius was one of those who was wrongly blamed, as he merely carried out the wishes of the majority, having been three times asked to become Prime Minister in 1940. Another subject of his criticism was the discrimination shown in respect of Danish-minded men who spied for Great Britain in South Schleswig as against German-minded citizens in Denmark who helped the Germans. As regards the South Schleswig question itself, it seems that M. Christmas Moeller has slightly modified his views, bringing them more into line with those of his party, as he stated on this occasion that the frontier was firm "in the way that North Schleswig had come to Denmark." Danes naturally based themselves on the right of self-determination and would support a removal of the frontier in due course, should a change of mentality take place south of the Skjelback.

Immediate official measures have been announced dealing with a possible coal shortage due to the United States decision, reported in the Danish press, to suspend shipments of coal to Europe. There will be drastic cuts in civilian consumption of gas and electricity and in the passenger traffic on the railways. At the same time attempts are being made to increase supplies of coal and coke from Poland and of fuel oil from Great Britain.

THE LOW COUNTRIES

The Netherlands

Opposition to the Netherlands-Indonesian draft agreement appears to be increasing as its full significance is beginning to be realised. Since the sensational revelation that two opponents of the agreement, General Kruls, the Dutch C.-in-C., and Admiral Helfrich, had discussed it with Queen Wilhelmina (25th November), two other persons of eminence, Generals Reynders and Winkelman (both former Cs.-in-C.), have stated their disapproval. Politically, most of the opposition comes from the Right, and represents a formidable body of opinion; but, as the independent Labour paper, *Het Parool*, points out, "the Government's policy is not to be judged by Kruls and Helfrich, but by the States-General." In fairness, however, to the General and the Admiral, it must be admitted that their expressions of disapproval were tempered by a "wait-and-see" attitude. Be that as it may, their comments have resulted in official action being taken to keep the armed forces out of the controversy: Lieutenant-Commander Schagen van Leeuwen, Minister of Marine, has already issued an order prohibiting press interviews by naval officers unless sanction has previously been obtained, in order to avoid "giving offence in these disturbed times of unusual political troubles" (28th November). Among individual political parties committed to rejection of the agreement is the Party of Freedom; and posters in its name, urging opposition to ratification, have appeared in various parts of the country. Several other groups have sent telegrams and petitions to the Government; while in the larger towns, meetings of support or opposition are being held. Thus, the controversy over the agreement now wears the appearance of something hardly more edifying than an election campaign. A more dignified protest to the Government comes from the professors in the Faculty of Law in Utrecht University, for whom the draft agreement is "an open violation of the Constitution." They reject, on legal grounds, the plea of an "emergency," and emphasize the "vital necessity" of a "legally-correct starting-point." Approval by the States-General, say the professors, would be "inadmissible in law." "The doubtful advantage of a so-called elastic solution, with the resulting necessity of making light of our constitutional institutions, should not be chosen in preference to a way which may be longer and more difficult, but which offers the best guarantee for a solid constitutional basis of new political relations. Such a basis is an essential condition for any policy." A copy of this declaration has also been sent to the Chairman of each Chamber.

The three Commissioners-General (Professor Schermerhorn, M. van Poll and M. de Boer) began their discussions with the Cabinet on the 28th November. Another session was held on the 30th. So far no statement has been issued.

Belgium

The municipal elections—the first since 1938—were held on Sunday, the 24th November. The electors voted pretty much as they did at the General Election in February, substantial gains being once more registered by the Christian Social Party and the Communists, and losses by the Liberals. The Christian Social Party has again emerged as the largest individual party: it now holds 156 of the 406 seats on the combined councils of Brussels and Greater Brussels—a net gain of 30 seats; while at Antwerp (of which the Prime Minister is Burgomaster), it narrowly missed control of the City Council with 21 seats to the three Government parties' 22. M. Huysmans' own comment on the results was that they had "satisfied everybody." The Socialist Party had gained both votes and seats at Antwerp; the Christian Social Party had "inherited the votes which had hitherto gone to parties now non-existent"—an oblique reference to the quisling *Rex* and *V.N.V.* parties. The "tidal wave" (anticipated by the Christian Social Party) had not occurred.

Following the debate in the Senate on the Civilian War Damage estimates, the Government sustained another defeat (28th November). The voting was a tie—82 to 82; but this is technically regarded as amounting to a defeat. The tie resulted from the absence (through illness) of two members from the Government benches, and again emphasizes the extreme precariousness of the Government's Senate majority of one. M. Buisseret, Minister of the Interior, told the Senate that the "accidental" absence of these two members ought not to be interpreted as "lack of confidence" in the Government. The session was then adjourned for an hour so that M. Huysmans (who was not present) could be consulted. When the session was resumed, M. Huysmans declared that,

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" following precedent," the Government would not resign, but would again submit the War Damage estimates. M. Struye (Christian Social Party) then challenged M. Huysmans' decision as being unconstitutional and said his party would leave in a body if it were not reversed. M. Huysmans remained obdurate, whereupon the Christian Social Party left the chamber, which was shortly afterwards " counted out," there being less than the quorum of Senators present.

A new political party—the "Freedom Party"—has been formed by M. Loumaye, a Liberal ex-Senator. A meeting is to be held in Brussels on the 15th December, when an executive will be appointed and statutes and a programme drawn up.

FRANCE

The interpretation of the elections held on the 24th November for the delegates who are to choose the representatives of metropolitan France in the Council of the Republic (see last week's *Summary*) has occasioned much controversy. The Ministry of the Interior, after issuing one set of inaccurate statistics, has declared the following results, for France and Algeria, to be correct: Communists, 24,688; Socialists, 14,393; *Rassemblement des Gauches*, 10,252; M.R.P., 24,755; Gaullist Union, 1,157; Right-Wing 9,643; miscellaneous and independents, 233. Thus the M.R.P. takes first place; however, the Communists still claim that they in fact obtained the highest number of delegates. One point of interest is the fact that local lists of independents had little success.

The National Assembly met on the 28th November with the veteran Communist, M. Cachin, as president, to receive the resignation of M. Bidault's Government. M. Bidault emphasised in his letter to the president the need for the rapid constitution of a strong Government to deal with the financial situation. (The situation in Indo-China (see under " Far East ") has now been added to the immediate preoccupations of the administration.) M. Vincent Auriol was re-elected President of the Assembly on the 3rd December, securing 284 votes against M. Cachin's 170 and M. Varenne's 98. The election of the new Premier was due to take place on the 4th December, the only candidate so far put forward being M. Thorez. The M.R.P. favour the re-election of the present Government, or one with a similar structure, until the election of the President of the Republic —who, they still hope, will be General de Gaulle. The Socialists have now met the Communists to discuss a possible programme of Government, and a section of the Radicals are believed to favour the idea of a new Popular Front.

The visit to London of the German Social Democrat Leader, Dr. Schumacher, is causing considerable anxiety to the French, and the Quai d'Orsay refused to permit Social Democrat representatives from the French Zone to join Dr. Schumacher. Comment in most of the press has been reserved, but Dr. Schumacher's reception here was reported with some bitterness by *L'Aube*, organ of the M.R.P., while *L'Humanité* referred to him as " the champion of German nationalism " and connected the visit with plans for a Western *bloc*. (See also under " Germany.")

The so-called Monnet Plan was published after it had been presented on the 28th November to the Planning Council, which includes all the Ministers concerned and a dozen other nominated members and is presided over by the Prime Minister. It has been drawn up by the secretariat of M. Jean Monnet, who was appointed General Commissioner for Planning by a decree of the 3rd January, 1946, and given full powers. It is more in the nature of a description of " target " than a plan in the socialist sense. It envisages the modernisation and re-equipment of industry and agriculture, including necessary reconstruction and covers the years 1947–50. It has the general approval of the *Confédération Générale du Travail* and of the *Confédération Générale de l'Agriculture*, and representatives of many different activities and many political opinions have worked together upon it in industrial working parties and other specalised committees. There is thus a surprising consensus of opinion in favour of it, though some experts are doubtful whether the ambitious programme which it puts forward can in fact be carried out. No doubts have yet been voiced publicly as to the desirability of some of the specific recommendations—such as the big increase in steel output.

The plan provides for an increase in coal production from 50 million tons in 1946 to 65 million in 1950; an increase in electricity production from 23 to 37 milliard kilowatt hours; an increase in steel production from 4 to 11 million tons, and in cement from 3 to 13·5 million tons. Planned increases in productive efficiency for 1950 as compared with 1938 are: 13 per cent. in mining, 20 per cent. in textiles, 30 per cent. in construction materials, 40 per cent. in

building and public works, 46 per cent. in iron and steel, 57 per cent. in motor vehicles, 27 per cent. in agriculture. To carry out this programme nearly a million extra workers will be needed by the end of 1947, of which many must come from abroad, and a working week of 48 hours must be accepted. Total investment of 2,250 milliard francs will be needed, of which 460 milliard must be spent in 1947. M. Monnet, in introducing his plan, said that only by means of such a programme could France fit herself to export in a competitive market so as to be able to pay for necessary imports when her foreign credits were exhausted. He also pointed out that a big assumption had been made, the assumption that prices would remain stable. The success of the plan depended on the maintenance of financial stability, the balancing of the ordinary Budget and the encouragement of savings.

SWITZERLAND

In Berne, on the 24th November, M. Kobelt, President of the Swiss Confederation, made an important statement to members of the Swiss radical-democratic party regarding the state of Federal finances and national defence. He pointed out that, according to the Federal Constitution, the first task of the Confederation was to maintain the country's independence. Foreign countries would not respect Switzerland's policy of neutrality unless they believed in her determination to defend the country. Therefore an army capable of putting up a resistance was indispensable. The President declared that an economy in military expenses was necessary, but that there were limits which could not be passed without endangering the national defence. He added finally that, during the March session, the Federal Council intends to inform both Parliament and the public about the aims of the projected military reforms.

The Financial Delegation of the legislative Council has sent its report to the Financial Commissions of the National Council and the Council of States concerning the fiscal year from the 1st October, 1945, to the 30th September, 1946. This report estimates the national income at approximately 12 milliard francs, and the debt at 8½ milliard francs, with a further increase expected in the latter during the next few years. Economy is necessary to re-establish the balance of finances. The revision of military organisation should make a considerable reduction in expenditure for national defence, but further cuts will have to be made in other fields as well, especially as regards subsidies. Fresh sources of income will also have to be found. An increase in certain postal charges is expected to yield several million francs, but it will not be possible to avoid the introduction of a general tax on beverages. With regard to the revaluation of the Swiss franc the report says that it would be a mistake to combat the present-day excessive economic activity by an adjustment of currency.

The first Swiss-Bulgarian trade talks since the war, which took place in Sofia, have resulted in an agreement being reached on a list of goods to be exchanged between the two countries. Switzerland is to export, among other things, machinery, medical supplies, chemical products and electrical instruments in exchange for about thirty different goods from Bulgaria including tobacco, hides, minerals and tomato pulp. The Swiss delegation was led by Max Troendle. There has been favourable comment on the negotiations by the press of both countries concerned. The problems of payment and transport have still to be discussed.

On the 12th November the Federal Council agreed to the nomination of M. Egidio Reale as Italian Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Switzerland.

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

Hungary

During the past week the Hungarian Press and Radio have been largely concerned with the forcible deportation of Hungarians in Southern Slovakia for labour service in the Czech Lands. On the 27th November M. Gyöngyösi sent a fresh Note to the Czechoslovak Government protesting against the eviction of Hungarians and announcing that the Hungarian Government would withdraw permission for the repatriation of Slovaks from Hungary as from the 29th November. The Note points out that the Hungarian Government had made numerous concessions which went beyond the scope of the Repatriation Agreement. Thus, in order to assist Czechoslovakia in overcoming her manpower shortage they had consented to the return of certain volunteers before the

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principles governing the repatriation procedure were settled. They had expected that in return Czechoslovakia would adhere strictly to her obligations under the Agreement. Instead she had replied by removing Hungarian families from their homes. Negotiations between the two countries for the implementation of the Agreement must be conducted in a calm atmosphere, and this is conditional upon Czechoslovakia's observation of its terms. The confiscation of Hungarian property would have to cease, payment of social relief should be made to dismissed employees, and immediate instructions issued to the Slovak authorities not to avail themselves of the Compulsory Labour Service Decree for the deportation of Hungarian families.

According to the Communist newspaper, *Szabad Nép*, discrimination is shown against Hungarians with a "leftist" tradition, nearly all the Communists, for instance, having been removed from Muzsla, while notorious Fascists were untouched. It is not clear why the political views of their victims should affect the behaviour of the Slovak authorities who seem generally determined to exploit Hungarian labour for as long as possible as well as to demagyarize the frontier districts before the question of returning them to Hungary comes up for discussion. In addition, Hungarians report the existence of a religious persecution in Slovakia directed against the Protestant Church, the Constitution of which has been suspended, its gatherings prohibited, and several of its clergy and employees imprisoned for attending Bible circles, usually without a hearing. There are further allegations of cruelty which Czechoslovak sources, in their turn, deny, saying that there has been no breaking up of families, that compulsion is applied only where the voluntary principle fails, that false propaganda is used to persuade Hungarians that they are being deported to Siberia, and that, though a refugee was killed while attempting to cross the Danube, the bullet which hit him came from one of the Hungarian frontier guards who had started an unprovoked attack on the Czechoslovak guards to prevent them from interfering with the Hungarians' flight.

The Freedom Party (see *Summary* No. 366) led by M. Sulyok, held its inaugural meeting on the 24th November. M. Sulyok read the Parliamentary speech for which he was expelled from the Smallholders' Party early in the year. Yugoslav circles have attacked his statement that Hungary could not have been forced into the war on Hitler's side unless she had lost certain territories. The Western Powers had given Hungary no help at the Peace Conference, M. Sulyok asserted, and Soviet Russia, whose faults in foreign policy must be admitted, though not criticized, had backed the Czechoslovak demand for the exchange of populations. He stressed the importance of Soviet Russia's friendship and referred to the economic assistance which she had given Hungary. Turning to domestic affairs he spoke strongly against the way in which the Smallholders had allowed 80 to 90 per cent. of the power to go to the extreme Left, although a majority vote had established them as the leading party. He reproached the Communists and Social Democrats for abusing democracy by extending their rule over the nation, which did not agree with them. The Freedom Party stood for democracy and social justice based on Christian principles as well as for the equality of all Hungarians regardless of race or religion. M. Sulyok denied that the nationalization of the big industries would benefit the people. On the contrary, it was the political leaders who would be enriched.

By contrast Budapest Radio's Russian language Service emphasized the satisfactory results which some 600 nationalized enterprises had already achieved, singling out the increased production of the coal mines for particular commendation. While it is true that the output has been rising steadily and is reported to have reached the daily rate of 2,726 wagon loads by the end of October, the situation nevertheless remains serious. Current deliveries have had to be reduced to allow stocks to accumulate, and though it is hoped that supplies for essential industries will be maintained, the outlook for domestic consumers is unpromising.

The Supreme Economic Council, of which M. Bárányos is to remain a member, has decided to lower the prices of a series of industrial commodities by 5 to 25 per cent., instead of by a general 25 per cent. drop, as the left-wing *bloc* originally proposed. (See *Summary* No. 366.) In spite of the fact that, except in the case of yarn, no official price increase has taken place since the 1st August, prices have soared recently without any justification, for neither raw material nor production costs have increased. It was a part of the initial stabilization policy to fix industrial, as opposed to agricultural, prices at a high level, both to ensure that the towns should be able to pay in terms of manufactured goods for the food sent them from the country, and also to create an atmosphere of confidence by a gradual reduction later on.

A Presidential clemency decision has commuted the death sentence passed on István Antal, former Minister of Justice and Propaganda, to one of life imprisonment. Although M. Antal was the right-hand man of General Gömbös, and as such a leading spirit in the process of Hungary's nazification, the fact that he was deported by the followers of the Arrow Cross Premier, Szálasi, no doubt weighed heavily in his favour.

Roumania

The King has opened the new Parliament in person. Neither the British nor American Representatives were present. (A short reference in *The Times*, based upon the Associated Press report, was perhaps somewhat misleading. "No British or United States military or political representatives were present to-day to hear King Michael announce . . . . that Roumania desired better relations with Britain and the United States." There is a suggestion here that desire for better relations with Britain formed one of the main points of the King's speech, and almost a suggestion that our representatives were guilty of a discourtesy in not being present to hear it. The fact is that the reference to Britain and America was only by the way.) After affirming that one of Roumania's main preoccupations would be the maintenance of perfect friendship and close collaboration with the Soviet Union, the King went on to say, "Our Government will aim at developing political, economic and cultural relations with Great Britain, the United States, France and other peace-loving countries." The speech then continued to lay stress on the ties of friendship with the Russian-controlled countries in Eastern Europe.

Both the British and Americans have expressed dissatisfaction at the manner in which the elections were conducted, but it is clear that there is no intention of withdrawing recognition of the Roumanian Government, or to refuse to conclude a treaty of peace.

The British Representative in Bucarest is quite clear that two courses were open to the King. He could force the issue now, in which case he would very likely have lost his throne and possibly his life, or he could play for time, in which case he would in all probability lose his throne eventually. If he had taken the former course, he would at least have gone with the good will and affection of his people. By taking the latter course, he runs the risk not only of forfeiting the throne but the good will of his people as well. Had he been assured of anything more than moral support from Great Britain and America, he might have been ready to choose the former alternative, but the Allied Governments were not prepared to advise him, since they were not in a position to give anything more substantial.

A detail which does not appear to have received any attention is the question how the King could communicate with his people. The radio and press would be closed to him. The dropping of leaflets was an expedient adopted in some cases during the war, but in Roumania this would be ineffective as so many of the people cannot read. A message from the King could only be passed on by word of mouth, and any attempt to spread it in this fashion from village to village would easily be detected and stopped with serious consequences to those who were attempting to carry it out. The Russian and Roumanian authorities could circulate any version they chose of what had taken place. This is a type of difficulty existing in Balkan countries which people in this country find hard to appreciate.

There are a number of newcomers in the Government as it has been announced. The two Opposition Ministers who were brought in last January to broaden the Government, are not included in the new list nor, so far, does Professor Constantinescu-Iasi, who recently visited London, appear. Dl Gheorghiu-Dej, formerly Minister of Communications, becomes Minister of National Economy, and one woman is included, D-na Florica Bagdazar, as Minister of Health. Dl Emil Bodnaraş is Under-Secretary of the Premier's Office, and it is noted that this office is to have extended authority. Dl Bodnaraş is a genuine Communist, and is the real ruler of Roumania under the Soviet. D-na Anna Pauker, who has been elected to the new Parliament, is the link between Bodnaraş and Moscow.

Scattered about Roumania are a number of resistance groups, with a membership varying from a few hundreds to one well-armed and well-organised body of about 15,000. This group which calls itself the "Voice of Blood" is composed of deserters from the army when the army was fighting against the Germans after August 1944. They objected to fighting on the side of the

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Russians, but profess not to be pro-German. The group is by way of being an opposite number of the Tudor Vladimărescu Division, except that they have not sold themselves to a foreign Power.

The proposed Payments' Agreement between Roumania and this country continues for the time being in abeyance.

Yugoslavia

The Yugoslav authorities are normally very reticent about their internal security services. When General Aleksandar Ranković took over the Ministry of the Interior in March 1946 he made one of the few public references to the work of O.Z.N.A. (now U.D.B.). Recently he described a new Bill concerning the People's Militia (the uniformed police), which is shortly to be discussed by the National Assembly. This Bill, in fact, only confirms the arrangements which were made during the reorganisation of the Ministry of the Interior in the Spring. The Militia, which grew up during the Partisan war, is organised on military lines, and armed. While for the auxiliary Militia civilians are liable for conscription locally and on a temporary basis, recruitment for the Militia proper is through special training schools, and the qualifications are youth, good health and an "unimpeachable moral character." The Militia includes not only traffic police and the fire service but an important branch, the Industrial Militia, formed for the "better protection" of all major industrial and public utility enterprises (which are now all State controlled). This body is responsible to the General Militia, but it is maintained at the expense of the individual enterprises which it is designed to protect. Small wonder that the Yugoslav Trade Unions are able to boast that strikes are unknown! A similar force existed in Croatia under Pavelić. Another Bill provides the outline of a system of Military Public Prosecutors, with functions identical with those of their civilian counterpart, but responsible only to the Commander-in-Chief (Marshal Tito).

Marshal Tito has signed an order for the demobilisation of those of the 1923 class who joined the National Liberation Forces in the latter half of 1944, and of all who joined previously.

Archbishop Stepinac has been moved from the prison ward of the Zagreb hospital, where he has been under treatment, to a religious house in the country. The Government, it appears, would be greatly relieved if his resignation or transfer from the See of Zagreb could be effected. This would provide an excuse for his release and expulsion from the country. Dr. Rittig, the Incumbent of St. Mark's, Zagreb, and a figurehead in the Government, is known to have an eye on the job of successor to Mgr. Stepinac; such an arrangement would suit the Yugoslav Government—but not the Vatican.

The first anniversary of the declaration of the Republic was celebrated on the 29th November with much blowing of the Yugoslav trumpet. *Borba* had hardly enough words to describe what Yugoslavia had done by her own efforts. On the same day Marshal Tito and the Soviet Ambassador attended the opening of the bridge over the Danube at Pančevo which has been rebuilt under Russian supervision, with Russian contributions of labour and material, and has been named "The Red Army Bridge."

The repatriation of 1,000 Italian prisoners-of-war has been announced.

Greece

The state of affairs in northern Greece may fairly be described as civil war, and, although it has yet to be confirmed, the Greek belief that there is a considerable concentration of Yugoslav troops on the frontier does nothing to relieve tension. Greece protested strongly in Belgrade against the Yugoslav assertion that Greek aircraft had crossed the frontier. But more important was the appeal addressed by the Greek Government to the United Nations Assembly. This appeal gave as instances of Yugoslav intervention in Greek affairs: the activities of the Slav-Macedonian Nationalist Liberation Front (S.N.O.F.) based at Skoplje; the guerilla training at Voulkes camp in Voivodina of 2,500 or 3,000 Greeks and 3,500 "Ægean Macedonians," and the attachment of men of former Macedonian battalions of Slav-speaking Greeks to regular Yugoslav units. The Greek Government claim to have much evidence that the rebels receive substantial help from Albania, Bulgaria and particularly Yugoslavia (*a*) by the organisation of bands in these countries; (*b*) by the protection given by the forces of these countries to bands and individuals crossing the frontier in either direction; (*c*) by the reception and relief of Greek criminals and anarchists and their encouragement in revolutionary activity in Greece. There is in fact little doubt that these Greek allegations are true.

Meantime the rebels made attacks even nearer to Salonica and perpetrated sporadic outrages both north and south of the Gulf of Corinth. Their brutal murders not only of gendarmes but also of unoffending men, women and children caused an outcry, and there was further talk of a coalition. A Government so broadened would include the parties of MM. Venizelos, Papandreou and Kanellopoulos. But when M. Tsaldaris made an offer to M. Sophoulis to take four Liberals into the Government, the Liberal leader refused it. What M. Sophoulis wants is to be Prime Minister, and what the Opposition as a whole want is to down M. Tsaldaris. The urgent need of the whole nation for a strong Government seems to be a secondary consideration for the politicians. But if under M. Tsaldaris' leadership the Populist Party were to crumble into dissident groups, effective parliamentary government would become impossible and there would be a danger of dictatorship.

On the 1st December it was reported that M. Tsaldaris had left Athens by air for New York, where he would head the Greek delegates to the United Nations and present the Greek case to the Security Council.

Albania

It will be recalled that during last June and July thirty-seven anti-Communist Albanians were tried at Tirana on a charge of having attempted to overthrow Enver Hoxha's régime with the alleged (and entirely imaginary) assistance of "armed intervention from abroad." It will also be remembered how in the course of that trial various quite unfounded allegations were made regarding certain officers attached to the British Military Mission (which had been withdrawn from Albania some three months earlier)—the Court clearly trying to give the impression that the defendants were working against the régime under orders from London (see *Summary* No. 348).

Now during November, directly following on the withdrawal of the United States political mission, a similar trial has been staged. This time a group of twenty engineers who were engaged on draining some marshes near the coast were accused of having received money and assistance from a named member of the U.S. mission in return for their delaying and sabotaging the work, and thus helping to hold up the economic re-establishment of Albania. Two UNRRA employees were also said to be implicated. According to the Albanian telegraph service (10th November), one of the accused, when asked in court to justify his behaviour, said that he and his friends in the dock expected that there would before long be an Anglo-American landing on the coast of Albania, and they wanted to secure good jobs through having helped the invaders. This fantastic story must evidently be supposed by the Albanian authorities to impress the more gullible of their people, for it was the principal theme last June as well. In the end five of the accused engineers were sentenced to death, two to life imprisonment and three others to terms of imprisonment with hard labour.

Both the Tirana wireless and the Government-controlled press persist in denying that Great Britain had the International Mine Clearance Board's authority to sweep the Northern Corfu Channel on the 12th and 13th November. In all their references to this country and to the U.S.A. their tone grows more and more offensive. The Tsaldaris Government is abused as a matter of course every day.

Bulgaria

A perusal of the full draft text of Bulgaria's new republican constitution, which the Grand National Assembly has been engaged in discussing, suggests that it has been carefully planned so as to allow for Bulgaria to fit easily into a Greater South Slav Federation as soon as the moment seems ripe. If one makes due allowance for the fact that Yugoslavia herself is a federation already, the similarity between her Constitution and the new Bulgarian one is noticeable enough to suggest their both having been worked out by the same Department in Moscow with this end in view. Not only are the various functions of the Presidency, the Assembly, etc., very much alike, but there is a marked resemblance in the economic and social clauses too. While, under Article 8, "private property and private initiative are recognised and protected by the State . . . . and the inheritance of private property is regulated by the law," the same article goes on to lay down that "no-one may use the right to hold private property to the detriment of the national community. . . . All private monopolistic organizations such as cartels, trusts, etc., are banned"; but "private property can only be confiscated in the public interest and with appropriate indemnity." Article 9 says

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that "private land belongs to those who cultivate it," and that "the law may determine the maximum of land that can be privately held." In the light of recent events and of present conditions it would be wise to regard much of the document as a mere propaganda manifesto. Lip-service is paid to such admirable principles as universal suffrage and secret balloting (Art. 2), the independence of the judiciary (Art. 53) and the inviolability of the home (Art. 72). The National Assembly is given very extensive powers (Art. 16), most decisions being taken by a simple majority vote, with the possibility of a national referendum in the background. Deputies may be unseated (Articles 4 and 17). Military service is to be compulsory for every citizen (Art. 77). This clause need not necessarily conflict with Article 9 of the draft Peace Treaty, which is designed to limit the strength of Bulgaria's armed forces to 66,000 men at any one time.

A bald announcement was made on the 26th November that the Sofia Provincial Court had stopped the case against Kosta Lulchev, leader of the Opposition Social Democrats, but that the 22 others cited with him will be tried on the 20th December. (See *Summary* No. 367.)

For some little time there has been reason to think that a fair number of Greek Communists who have slipped over into Bulgaria have been receiving military training at two or three centres there under Russian supervision. The Hristo Botev Officers' Academy at Sofia is one of the places which had been mentioned in this connexion. The latest reports suggest that the training is being speeded up and intensified. It must, however, be added that in a speech which he made to the Grand National Assembly on the 28th November, Dimitrov categorically denied that any "armed groups" had "passed into Greek territory from Bulgaria."

Turkey

In the speech with which, as already mentioned, he opened the Grand National Assembly on the 1st November, President Inönü expressed gratification that in spite of political inexperience and in spite of considerable party feeling Turkey had in the present year successfully held three free elections—general, municipal and vilayet. Although he may have been a little premature in describing this as the attainment of the last stage of democracy, it does represent a big advance on the road marked out by Atatürk. The creation of an Opposition, however, is not the final goal. It is no doubt the desire of the Turkish leaders that one day in the future the new Democratic Party—which is separated from the People's (Government) Party by no serious questions of principle—shall assume power, and that the country shall be endowed with a genuine two-party system. The present position of President Inönü and other leaders is therefore ambiguous. As patriots they welcome the development of the Democratic Party. As members of the People's Party they are bound to decry the Democratic Party. In any case they want to train the electorate, totally unused to constitutional procedure as it is, to keep controversy within legitimate bounds, and to develop between the parties a spirit of toleration and fair play. In the speech mentioned above President Inönü deprecated such a degree of animosity as might weaken the country. On a previous occasion, although he is leader of the People's Party, he assured certain members of the Democratic Party of his desire for the development of their Party, which, he said, had been started by friends of his, and for toleration to develop between them and the People's Party. No doubt, when the moment comes that it loses popular favour, the People's Party will be extremely reluctant to surrender the power which it has enjoyed ever since its foundation by Atatürk, but on the 17th November it took a further step towards making a fair field for its opponents, inasmuch as it decided that the People's House (Halkevi) should be open to all citizens irrespective of Party, provided it was not used for "political" purposes. If carried out, this will represent a big concession by the People's Party. For the People's Party possesses one of these institutes in every town and village of importance, and has used them not only to westernise the people but also to establish the Party's grip over the country. The People's Houses have therefore hitherto been a great political asset to the People's Party.

The publication on the 13th November of the official despatch by Field-Marshal Lord (Sir Maitland) Wilson on operations in the Middle East in 1943 prompted two leading Turkish editors to answer his references to Turkey's reluctance to take an active part. They repeated the familiar argument that the military material we supplied was not sufficient, and they implied that Turkey would have sacrificed herself to the Germans in vain—which justifies Lord

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Wilson's main conclusion that she was deterred by doubt of our ability to save her from at least the initial stages of a German attack. A fresh argument, which was no doubt suggested to the two apologists by more recent events, was that intervention in Bulgaria or even the grant of bases to Britain would have involved Turkey with the Soviet Union.

The fighting in northern Greece has attracted a good deal of attention. The newspapers in general express sympathy with Greece and regard the episode as a trial of strength between the Slav *bloc* and the Western Powers.

The brief visits of United States warships to Izmir (Smyrna) and Marmaris between the 24th and the 29th November were welcomed as yet another sign of growing American friendship.

The Secretary-General of the Foreign Ministry left Angora on the 28th November to convey congratulations to King Abdullah on the independence of Transjordan, and on his way back he will discuss current affairs with the Lebanese Government. This indicates a continued desire to cultivate the Arab countries and will no doubt draw acid comment from Moscow.

THE MIDDLE EAST

Egypt

Sidky Pasha now feels that the signature of the Treaty has become most urgent, since any further delay will be exploited by the Opposition. Unfortunately his own pronouncement about the independence of the Sudan (see last week's *Summary*) cannot be allowed to pass unchallenged, and Mr. Bevin is insisting on an exchange of letters which will make clear that both Governments agree that the Sudanese will remain free to choose their future status after a period during which they would be prepared for self-government. This, Sidky Pasha protests, it is impossible for him to do. The fact that this difficulty is of his own creation has been clearly put to him by His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires.

At a meeting of the Wafd Parliamentary Group under the presidency of Nahas Pasha on the 28th November, the Wafd policy of opposition to the Sidky–Bevin proposals was approved, and it was decided to address a telegram of protest to the United Nations and the Security Council against the measures being taken by Great Britain "to force the people to accept the proposals of which the effect is to retain her military forces in the country, and to accept a treaty of alliance with her under pressure of those forces." Protests were also registered against the "policy of steel and fire" being applied to the country by Sidky Pasha's Cabinet, and against the action being taken to suppress demonstrations of students and others. The line which the Wafd itself intended to follow is indicated in resolutions calling for a general strike and "accepting invitations" to visit the provinces. The first of these visits was to have been to Tanta on the 8th December; the Cabinet banned it on the ground that it was part of a plan to provoke insurrection at a time when members of Parliament should be free to study the country's future in a calm atmosphere.

Arab League

On the 28th November the League Council adopted a resolution drawing attention to the danger to the Arabs of Jewish immigration into Palestine, and charging the Secretariat-General to address a protest to His Majesty's Government in view of their negligence in this matter. The continuance of immigration is regarded as contrary to the "promise made by His Majesty's Government in 1939" (the White Paper which was rejected by both Arabs and Jews), and all immigrants are regarded as "illegal."

The Cairo press of the 29th November published a statement issued in the name of the Arab League Council on the subject of the Greater Syria project, which had been discussed at a special meeting. The statement contains the assurance that each of the States represented on the Arab League Council remains faithful to the League Covenant, and will not dispute the independence or sovereignty of a State Member of the Arab League, or attack the existing governmental *régime*.

Palestine

The representative of the Jewish Community Council of Jerusalem made the arrival of yet another ship carrying illegal immigrants—the s.s. *Lochita*, also

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known as *Knesseth Israel*—the occasion for challenging the legality of the Palestine Government's action in deporting illegal immigrants. Application for a writ of *habeas corpus* was made on behalf of 1,941 of the *Lochita's* passengers. On the original petition the court declared an order *nisi*, and the illegal immigrants were held on board ship in Palestinian waters until the case was heard on the 28th November. Judgment was given on the following day. The Chief Justice found that no illegality had been committed by the Palestine Government, and the application for the writ of *habeas corpus* was discharged.

The Court's decision relieves the Palestine Government of what might have been a new and serious embarrassment. At the same time disappointment at a result which destroys the hopes that had been raised of successfully challenging the action of the Government has caused a renewal of terrorism in Palestine, and it is feared that a serious setback may ensue to the progress made by the Palestine Government and Jewish leaders in fostering anti-terrorist trends during the days immediately preceding the trial. The position was aggravated by riotous behaviour of the would-be immigrants on board the *Lochita* and the counter-measures necessarily taken to restore order. Owing to the congestion and the insanitary conditions in the ship it was decided to transfer the passengers to three British ships in Haifa harbour. On British troops boarding the *Lochita*, missiles were thrown, troops were severely manhandled and some thrown overboard. Only after the use of tear-smoke and fire-hoses was order restored. About thirty soldiers were injured, while two Jews were killed and two injured as a result of firing which took place during the riot. The ships sailed later for Cyprus.

In an official communiqué issued on the 29th November the Palestine authorities express regret at the necessity once again to deport illegal immigrants to Cyprus, but point out the disastrous effect upon attempts by the Government and responsible Jewish leaders to bring about better conditions and establish an understanding in Palestine of encouraging and assisting these people to attempt to enter the country in disregard of repeated warnings that they will not be allowed to land. The comment of the Jewish Agency is that the immigrants are not illegal, but "come as of right under the Mandate."

Only one incident had been reported during the week under review until the 30th November, when a Jerusalem police billet was attacked by Jews estimated at possibly a hundred strong. The attack lasted half-an-hour. It is not clear whether this outbreak was inspired by the *Lochita* incident and the High Court's decision. Meanwhile, the cessation of attacks on the railways may be explained by an announcement put out by the Irgun Zvai Leumi and the Stern Gang that, during the next eight to ten weeks, while the citrus crop is being marketed, they will defer further operations. It should be added, however, that this lull in terrorist activity may be connected with a rumoured ultimatum from the Jewish Agency to the Irgun Zvai Leumi and the Stern Gang to discontinue their activities for two months while negotiations are proceeding.

In the hope of allaying the increased tension expected to result from the *Lochita* decision, the High Commissioner has hastened a measure which he had previously been contemplating. He has announced that he has agreed to allow the immediate transfer of 750 Cyprus immigrants to a camp controlled by the Jewish Agency, and to use the Government accommodation so freed for a further 1,000 immigrants from Cyprus, who will be brought to Palestine as soon as possible. These immigrants will then be held until they can be accepted against Palestine monthly immigration quotas.

With Jamal al Husaini, leader of the Palestine Arab Party, in Cairo attending the Arab League Conference, there has been no notable development in Palestine on the Arab side. It is perhaps worth recording that the Arab League has issued another protest about Jewish immigration into Palestine, urging that all such immigrants should be returned to their countries of origin. (See also "Arab League".)

The Metropolitan of Leningrad is at present paying a visit to Palestine. The ostensible reason is "to visit Eastern Orthodox Patriarchates."

Persia

Throughout the past week the situation in Zenjan has been anything but peaceful. The Azerbaijan Democrats are accusing the Central Government troops of gross barbarities towards the inhabitants. On the other hand, according to the Tehran press of the 26th November, soon after the arrival of Government troops on the 23rd November, several Zenjanis assaulted a number of persons who had collaborated with the Azerbaijan Democrats, looted their homes

and killed a leading Mullah. There is no doubt that economic conditions in Zenjan were anything but satisfactory prior to the arrival of the Government forces, and the desperate plight of the population, owing to the poverty of the Azerbaijan administration (see *Summary* No. 369), may have stimulated feelings of revulsion against Pishavari's Government. The Chief of the General Staff has issued an open invitation to all newspapers to send representatives to report upon the situation in the Zenjan area, and has promised them all the requisite facilities.

A serious development in the Azerbaijan situation occurred on the 28th November, when the Soviet Ambassador delivered a message to the Prime Minister to the effect that if Persian armed forces entered Azerbaijan there would be "disturbances" in that province and on the Soviet frontier and it would therefore be better if troops were not sent. Nevertheless, he still intends to send a limited force into Azerbaijan to ensure the orderliness of the elections, in accordance with his proclamation of the 21st October (see last week's *Summary*). If this force encounters resistance and an armed clash ensues, Qawam proposes to send in a larger body of troops to re-assert the Government's authority.

Following this meeting with the Soviet Ambassador, Qawam telegraphed to the Governor-General of Azerbaijan that he had received reports that the Azerbaijanis were preparing defensive positions close to the provincial frontier of Azerbaijan, and urged him to ensure that no opposition were offered to the entry of Government forces, which would be sent there merely to safeguard the security of the elections. Dr. Javid, replying in the name of the Provincial Security Council, stated that the despatch of armed forces to Azerbaijan was unconstitutional and a breach of the agreement with the Persian Government. On the 1st December the Central Government sent a telegram rebutting these contentions and denying the right of the Provincial Council to express an opinion in such a matter. The telegram ended with a warning that, if resistance were offered to the Government troops, the consequences would be very serious.

The main body of the Persian Government troops is in Zenjan and, on the 28th November, they were holding a line from Zenjan, through Tikab (or Takan Tappeh) forty-five miles east of Saqqiz and Saqqiz to Sardasht. Partisans of the Zulfiqari and Shahsavan tribes are supporting the Government, but so far no troops have crossed the provincial boundary of Azerbaijan.

Concentrations of Azerbaijan Democrats, reinforced with Kurdish sympathisers from the Mahabad district, incuding Mulla Mustafa of Barzan, are reported north of Sardasht and Saqqiz. The main body of the Azerbaijan Democrat forces appears to be centred on Mianeh, midway between Zenjan and Tabriz. Their morale is reliably reported to be bad. They feel that, unless Russian help arrives, their leaders will desert them at the first small defeat inflicted by the Government troops. His Majesty's Consul-General at Tabriz considers that Government forces would receive a hearty welcome in Tabriz, and that, if the Persian Democrat Party were to open branches in Azerbaijan, there would be a rush to join.

This attitude is probably due in part to the Azerbaijanis' uncertainty of Russian assistance. So far there has been no indication that Soviet aid is forthcoming, in spite of the Soviet Ambassador's warning. The opinion in Tabriz is that the Russians are anxious to avoid drawing the international spotlight once more on Azerbaijan. In view of this, and of the bad administration and poor morale of the Azerbaijan Democrats, the situation may not be quite as serious as it looks on the surface. However, minor clashes are inevitable—skirmishing by Shahsevan partisans is already reported from Herau (70 miles due north of Zenjan)—and it is impossible at present to forecast the eventual outcome.

THE FAR EAST

French Indo-China

Hopes that the *modus vivendi* would pave the way to a peaceful settlement of the outstanding differences between France and Viet Nam have been shattered by a series of unfortunate incidents indicating that the previous appearance of tranquillity in French Indo-China was deceptive. Briefly, the President of the Provisional Government of Cochin-China has committed suicide and there has been a serious clash between French and Viet Nam forces at Haiphong and Langson in Tonking.

The problem facing France in Indo-China resembles that being tackled by the Netherlands in Indonesia. Corresponding to the Indonesian Republic, which

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has now successfully staked its claim to Sumatra, Banka and Billiton in addition to Java and Madura, and cherishes the ambition of leading the whole of Indonesia, is the Annamite Viet Nam Republic, which France has recognized as the *de facto* government of Tonking and Annam but which claims the right also to incorporate Cochin-China and whose extremists are inclined to intermeddle also in the affairs of Cambodia and Laos. The two main points at issue between the French and the Viet Minh are (1) the latter's claim to Cochin-China and (2) a definition of the future status of Viet Nam. As regards the second problem, spokesmen of the VN Republic have indicated its willingness to enter both the proposed new Indo-Chinese Federation and the French Union *on an equal footing* with France, whereas the latter wishes Viet Nam to be an integral part of each organization and further desires to retain the controlling voice in external trade and relations.

As regards Cochin-China France agreed to submit the question to a plebiscite but immediately spoilt the effect of this compromise by the establishment on the 1st June of a Provisional Government on a bureaucratic pattern under Dr. Thinh as President, thereby wrecking any hopes of a successful outcome of the Fontainebleau Conference. Subsequently, apart from sporadic disturbances, Cochin-China remained outwardly quiescent, but Dr. Thinh's suicide on the 9th November has roused doubts of the success of the French experiment. A writer in *Le Monde* of the 17th November admits that the Government was an artificial piece of machinery and did not really represent the Cochin-Chinese people who regarded Dr. Thinh as the protector of French interests and consequently viewed his government with apathy, not to say hostility. Dr. Thinh evidently found the task of steering a middle course between the claims of conservative French elements and the radical demands of the Cochin-Chinese beyond his powers and he took his life after becoming the target of attack in the Council of Ministers.

The writer in *Le Monde* points the moral that the French authorities should take the incident as a warning; however much the Cochin-Chinese may wish to govern themselves, they are not likely to give their confidence to an administration which they do not consider truly representative of their interests, any more freely than they would to an Annamite administration. It is pertinent to add that, although Cochin-China has been a separate entity, as a French Colony, since 1862, over 80 per cent. of the population are Annamites, who cannot fail to be swayed by the nationalist movement in the neighbouring Annamite States of Annam and Tonking, now united under Viet Nam. From Saigon it is reported that Dr. Le Van Hoach, who has been elected President by the Council, has approached Viet Minh elements for their support.

Operation of the *modus vivendi* has not begun auspiciously. Already on the 31st October the High Commissioner had found it necessary to state officially that it was not to be interpreted as altering the status of Cochin-China nor did it mean its incorporation in Viet Nam. It had been known that the latter maintained a shadow military and administrative organisation in Cochin-China. This now showed signs of open activity, and on the 9th November the High Commissioner protested to the Viet Nam Government against its continued existence. But in the atmosphere of mutual distrust and suspicion that has now succeeded to the outward cordiality that marked the return of the Viet Nam delegation it is scarcely likely that the Viet Minh Party will cease to work, whether openly or in secret, to win over the Cochin-Chinese to the Viet Nam Republic.

If the French quarrelled with the Annamite interpretation of the *modus vivendi* in Cochin-China, the Viet Nam Government considered that they had equal cause for dissatisfaction with the construction put upon it by the French authorities who have re-opened a Customs Office at Haiphong (since the establishment of the Government no Customs dues have been levied though the Viet Namese have enforced "squeeze" on goods in transit.) The V.N. Government protested to the High Commisisoner against this action and also against French control of the trade of the port and the collection of dues from French citizens. Before, however, the matter could be settled by negotiation, local resentment resulted on the 20th November in serious fighting between French and Viet Nam forces. A temporary truce broke down and a pitched battle ensued in the town and airfield. Viet Nam shore batteries also opened fire on the cruiser "Suffren." French troops have now regained control of the town and airfield. According to the press, the French Commander at Haiphong has informed the V.N. Minister of Defence that for the maintenance of peace and security it is essential that French troops should have control of the area and has rejected the suggestion of a mixed commission to discuss the question.

Hostilities also broke out near Langson, a main road-junction 180 kilometres north-east of Hanoi, where French troops were engaged in exhuming the bodies of French and Annamite soldiers who had been butchered by the Japanese and buried in mass-graves. The operations occupying several days and involving wide search of the neighbourhood, the Viet Nam forces suspected, or professed to suspect, that the French action was a cloak for a military reconnaissance and opened fire. French re-inforcements were then sent and eventually re-occupied Langson.

For these incidents each side blames the other. In the circumstances the joint military mission that was to draw up a truce agreement in furtherance of the *modus vivendi* has made no progress. Feeling is said to be running high. If the Viet Nam Government thought that the *modus vivendi* was the half-way house towards complete autonomy, they have been rudely awakened. They feel that the French have stolen a march on them by the promptitude with which they have adopted measures which the Annamites had imagined were to be decided by joint commissions. Just as the re-opening of the Customs appears to them to be an attempt to secure economic control, so military action at Langson suggests a strategic move, for this important town is the gateway into the Chinese Province of Kwangsi.

An agreement between France and China of the 28th February 1946 provided that negotiations should take place between the two parties for the purchase by the Chinese Government of the Chinese section of the Yunnan or Kunming–Haiphong railway and the creation of a free zone in the port of Haiphong. France's subsequent recognition of Viet Nam is, therefore, to some extent limited by this commitment. Paris Radio of the 16th November reported that negotiations were shortly to take place. It has long been an ambition of the French that the northern port, Haiphong, should rival Hongkong in the trade of China and the southern port, Saigon, should rank with Singapore and Batavia in the entrepôt trade of the "South Seas." Their own action in monopolizing the trade by means of a tariff barrier effectively prevented the realisation of this ambition, but the importance of these two ports is sufficient explanation of the French desire to retain control there.

Since the withdrawal of Chinese troops from the northern half of Indo-China relations between the two countries have been friendly. On the celebration of the Double Tenth at the Chinese Consulate General at Saigon the High Commissioner broke with precedent by attending in person.

Admiral d'Argenlieu arrived in France on the 17th November to confer with the French Government. According to Press reports the Inter-Ministerial Committee for Indo-China confirmed the firm policy associated with his name.

Indonesia

For the reaction in Holland to the Netherlands–Indonesian draft treaty, see under "Low Countries."

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The crisis in the coal industry and the legal battle between Mr. John L. Lewis and the Administration have continued to furnish the all-absorbing topic of interest in the United States this week. The limelight which Mr. Lewis himself has enjoyed has alternated between his appearances in court to answer the charge of contempt for disobeying the injunction against cancelling the miners' contract and his negotiations with the coal-owners to reach a settlement privately. On the other side, there has been a tendency for commentators to share the apparent hope of the prosecution that the court proceedings may yet convince the miners that their contract is still valid and that, in the words of one newspaper, they "will realize with bitterness that the bargain they made last May was, as Mr. Lewis said at the time, a good one." On the 3rd December Mr. Lewis was found guilty of contempt of court. In announcing the verdict Judge Alan Goldsborough took what he admitted to be the "somewhat unusual" step of asking counsel on both sides to submit recommendations for an appropriate sentence.

Public opinion has been firmly behind the prosecution in what is widely regarded as the supreme test of authority between the United States Government and a "dictatorial" and "irresponsible" trade union leader, although the fear that the rights of labour generally may be prejudiced if he loses is causing both the A.F. of L. and the rival C.I.O. to support Mr. Lewis. The customary popular sympathy for the miners is almost entirely absent. Even the liberal-left-wing

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New Republic has carried an article admitting that the miners are no longer the down-trodden element in American economic life which they were in the past and that "their current wages, after seven strikes capitalizing on the nation's necessity since Pearl Harbour, have placed them among the highest paid of industrial workers." At the same time it is pointed out that, whatever the outcome of these and further court proceedings, Mr. Lewis must inevitably lose the coming battle in Congress. The main lines of Republican strategy for that battle are already partly drawn, and the drive for some form of amendment to the National Labour Relations Act of 1935—which consolidated and extended gains accruing from many years of labour agitation—has been carried a step forward with a statement by Senator Taft on the eve of his departure for South America. The provisions of the 1935 Act, Senator Taft insisted, would definitely have to be changed to increase labour's responsibility and, beyond that, the Republicans in the new Congress would use every means in their power to curb strikes. Among the Democrats also the Conservative and anti-labour forces have been mobilizing. About seventy Southern Democratic members of the new House of Representatives are said to be pressing for the election of Representative Eugene Cox of Georgia, a keen supporter of the restrictive Case Bill of last session, as their minority leader. They would thereby prevent the post from going to Representative John W. McCormack of Massachusetts, the former majority leader, who has a liberal voting record.

Prominence continues to be given to the deleterious effects which the stoppage of work by the miners is having upon the American economy as a whole, and reports of drastic cuts in the output of other industries—as, for instance, in the case of Carnegie Illinois Steel of Pittsburgh, where production is already reduced to 35 per cent. of capacity—have been consistently treated as front-page news. There is also anxiety regarding the extent to which the coal shortage is likely, in the words of the *New York Herald-Tribune*, to "add to the diplomatic difficulties of nations which are endeavouring to adjust Europe's shattered political structure to the Continent's still crippled economy." That the State Department has been troubled by the possible repercussions of the actions of Mr. Lewis on its conduct of foreign relations has been patent in the desire of Mr. Byrnes to conclude the agreement for the fusion of the British and American zones of Germany before the coal crisis precipitates political difficulties at home and before the situation begins to deteriorate still further.

It is too early as yet to gauge the reactions of the American press and public to the agreement on Germany, which was signed in New York on the 2nd December (see under "Germany"). There has been little speculation on the nature and outcome of the talks while they have been proceeding, although there has been a growing desire to see the Western Powers produce a settlement for Germany with or without the consent of the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, some concern has been shown regarding the way in which American administrative policy and practices in Germany and Austria have during the past few days been indirectly responsible for what is described as "the first serious post-election threat to the nation's bi-partisan foreign policy." On the 27th November the four Republican members of the Senate War Investigating Committee accused the Administration of "seeking to conceal something wrong" in the American zones of Germany and Austria and of "playing politics" after the six Democratic members of the Committee had voted along party lines to prevent the Committee from inquiring into the methods of occupation employed in those two countries. The same four Republican Senators have taken the initiative in permitting the press to publish the contents of a report to the Committee, suggesting that American money is being used to organize a large influx of Eastern European Jews into the American zone of Germany, which the Democratic members of the Committee insisted on keeping secret.

The publication of the information contained in this report, which indicates that as many as 150,000 Jews have been brought into the American zone in the past eight months for the possible purpose of building up pressure for a Jewish State in Palestine, may well serve as a valuable corrective to the Zionist agitation in the United States. In the past two weeks the Zionists have been taking advantage of the presence of Mr. Bevin in New York to urge him to issue a statement suggesting that His Majesty's Government might consider the possibility of partition in Palestine. Mr. Byrnes has also disclosed the significant fact that Senator Taft, the chairman of the Senate Republican Steering Committee, is now interesting himself in Palestine and that he has approached Mr. Byrnes to find out the possible intentions of His Majesty's Government with regard to that country.

In contrast to the attention given to domestic problems the volume of comment on international affairs in general has declined appreciably this week. The unexpected readiness to compromise which M. Molotov manifested over Trieste in the Council of Foreign Ministers on the 26th November and over the principle of international control and inspection of armaments in the Political and Security Committee of the United Nations General Assembly two days later has come as an agreeable surprise and brought hope of further understanding to all except the sceptics who feel that concessions from the Soviets are invariably a question of *reculer pour mieux sauter*. One or two commentators are even ready to believe that the Soviet Foreign Minister's acceptance of the principle of inspection has narrowed the gulf between the American and Russian viewpoints on the paramount issue of atomic control.

LATIN AMERICA

Brazil

Among the provisions in the New Constitution (see *Summary* 369) directly affecting labour interests there is an interesting innovation in the form of compulsory and direct profit-sharing in industry. Though embodied in the Constitution, this would apparently require special legislation to be put into effect. A similar measure foreshadowed in a "Social Charter" which an employers' association tried to establish in São Paulo in 1945 came to nothing, owing, it was reported, to the workers' distrust of the employers' intentions. Assistance for the unemployed is also envisaged in the Constitution. No scheme of unemployment insurance exists in Brazil, nor, according to general report, does it seem likely that there will be one for the present. There is a general shortage of labour, and no indication exists that the problem of surplus labour can arise in Brazil for some time to come.

The position of Trade Unions is left much as before. The free right of association is provided for, but it is subject to regulation by law and there is, therefore, no obligation on the Ministry of Labour to make any change in the existing machinery of control over the unions of employees.

The new Constitution radically alters the framework for the administration of the Labour Courts, hitherto administered by the Ministry of Labour, but in future to be a branch of the normal judicial system of the country. In Brazil the legal profession plays a dominating part in the Labour Courts. The Chairman is always a lawyer, and the assessor takes a much less active part in the proceedings than his opposite number in Britain. The Labour laws in Brazil are so complicated that no employer or employee has much chance of winning a case unless he is represented by a lawyer, usually a specialist in social legislation, one or two of these gentry being permanently employed by large companies and unions.

Although some critics welcome the change because the administrative control will no longer be in the hands of the Ministry of Labour Officials, it is generally feared that the new system will make for rigidity and throw an increasing degree of responsibility on the regional tribunals, whose capacity for handling large-scale industrial disputes is subject to criticism. Disputes regarding labour accidents are to be dealt with by the civil courts.

In short, with the exceptions of the modified structure of the Labour Courts, and the new doctrine, as yet no more than a doctrine, of the workers' share in profits, the new Constitution leaves the Vargas Labour organisation and legislation essentially unchanged. Principles are so worded that the executive authorities are under no obligation to relax either the control of trade unions or the prohibition of strikes.

Just before the day on which the establishment of the Republic is commemorated (15th November), General Canrobert Pereira da Costa, the new Minister of War, issued an order of the day to the Armed Forces, drawing attention to the dangers of Communism. The evil effects of demonstrations by extremists was reason enough, the General said, for the Army not to look on passively at the spreading of the new wave of foreign and strange ideologies, which, imported by aliens, were mainly intended to mislead the Brazilian people. The Army must courageously oppose the expansion of all alien and imperialist doctrines, if Brazil, as a nation, did not wish to fall before them. The Minister recalled the Communist revolt of eleven years ago, the "bloodiest that had ever been seen in Brazil" and finished by referring to Russia as "an imperialist nation bent upon world conquest, aiming to destroy our nationality, because we are a free people and freedom conflicts with Russian ideas."

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Such statements, coming from a senior Cabinet Minister, suggest that the Government may be still considering some definite action against the Brazilian Communist Party. After General Canrobert's order, a broadcast from Rio de Janeiro stated that alongside the official commemoration on the 27th November of the victims of the Communist rising in 1935, the Brazilian Communist Party proposed to celebrate the date as one of National Liberation—though they had postponed the accompanying demonstrations till the 6–9th December. The Minister of Justice, holding that this would constitute "provocation and premeditated crime," is reported to have instructed Governors and Interventors to stop Communist "provocation," offering them all necessary resources for the purpose.

Dominican Republic

The Dominican Minister for Foreign Affairs has delivered to His Majesty's Minister and the United States Ambassador copies of a report from a Dominican agent in Cuba, giving details of an alleged plot to attack the Dominican Republic, apparently by land, sea and air from Cuba. The Minister emphasised the Communist nature of the conspiracy, and hinted that the recent Communist activities in the Dominican Republic (see *Summary* No. 368) might have led to disaffection in the army. Nevertheless, if President Trujillo is looking for an excuse to curb the "democratic" movement, the discovery of the "Communist conspiracy" seems to be admirably suited to his convenience.

Uruguay

The Uruguayan Presidental elections took place on the 24th November. Voting is reported to have been orderly. While final figures will probably not be available for some days, partial results give the Batllistas (Colorados) a moderate lead over the Herreristas. The Batllista candidate for the Presidency is Sr. Tomás Berreta, formerly Minister for Public Works in President Amézaga's Government. A plebiscite on Constitutional reform which was held simultaneously with the presidential elections shows a majority in Montevideo in favour of government by National Council in place of the Presidency (see *Summaries* Nos 345 and 357). It is not yet clear, however, whether the majority is sufficient to ensure this reform: in any case Sr. Berreta is the Batllista candidate to preside over the nine members of a National Council.

UNITED NATIONS

General Assembly

Allied Troops and Disarmament

Soviet resolutions seem to enjoy an after-life which dialectical materialism denies to men. M. Molotov's resolution on Allied forces stationed in the territory of members of the United Nations was killed by neglect in the Security Council. It revived as a demand for information about such forces, in the present Assembly. It was swallowed up by a U.K. resolution on the 28th November, after a vain attempt to find salvation in an Egyptian resolution; and now lives again as part of M. Molotov's resolution on disarmament; for the attempt to secure the withdrawal of Allied forces from Greece and China has been followed by an attempt to eliminate the atom bomb and at the same time uncover its secrets in the process of control.

Apart from its provision for "verification," which U.S. opposition defeated, the U.K. resolution on forces in foreign countries (see last week's *Summary*) was carried paragraph by paragraph on the 27th, when the Committee debated for seven hours without respite. M. Molotov wished members to disclose the armaments as well as the man-power of their Home Forces. All agreed with him that man without a weapon was of little warlike value; but M. Molotov had not originally asked about the armaments of forces stationed abroad, and a majority were not convinced of his sincerity in asking for the armaments of Home Forces. The U.K. resolution was passed, as amended, on Thursday, by 34 votes to 7 (the Slavs and Indians). Afghanistan, France, Sweden and Turkey abstained. Russia opposed this version of her own resolution on the grounds that it confused the issue with disarmament problems, and did not include an enquiry into armaments. The Egyptian resolution was a surprise to the U.K.

delegation. It contained a statement that no country had the right to keep troops on the territory of another, and a demand that such unchartered troops should be withdrawn "without delay." M. Manuilsky tried hard to take a vote on the resolution before the U.K. resolution came up; but he was circumvented, and finally U.K. intervention led to the withdrawal of the Egyptian resolution.

Having disposed of the question of Allied forces, the Committee began a discussion on disarmament. Four resolutions came before the Committee, Russian, Australian, Canadian and American. As Sir Hartley Shawcross said more than once, all had the same purpose, *i.e.*, disarmament; but they differed sharply over the means. The Soviet proposal puts in the forefront the banning of the manufacture and use of atomic energy for warlike purposes. It places the control of disarmament under the Security Council: "there shall be established within the framework of the Security Council . . . . special organs . . . ." (*a*) "a Commission for the control of the execution of the decision regarding the reduction of armaments, (*b*) a Commission for the control of the execution of the decision regarding the prohibition of the use of atomic energy for military purposes." Control thus comes within the veto area, and as the U.K. and other delegates pointed out, offered no security. The Canadian resolution, on the other hand, as well as the slightly less comprehensive Australian draft, seeks to overcome the difficulty by setting up, by international treaty, a control Commission not subject to the veto. Its other points of difference are, (1) it urges, as a first step, that the Security Council conclude agreements with members under Article 43 of the Charter (forces at disposal of Security Council), (2) it seeks to eliminate "all major weapons adaptable to mass destruction," as well as atomic weapons, (3) it urges the Atomic Energy Commission to finish quickly the task set it by the Assembly on the 24th January, 1946, a task which includes a plan of international control. The Soviet resolution, on the other hand, as M. Parodi made clear, endangers the free action of the Atomic Energy Commission. Finally in the Canadian resolution (paragraph 5) the General Assembly recommends the Security Council, with the help of the Military Staff Committee, to submit plans to members for the establishment of a system for the regulation of armaments as is provided under Article 26 of the Charter—"to the end that an International Treaty or Convention on disarmament may be concluded as soon as possible."

A series of questions which Sir Hartley Shawcross put to the Russian delegate brought out the differences of principle between the two points of view. Russia at present sees security in the veto. The U.K. and those who think along similar lines, see no security with the veto in charge of a security system. The position is roughly as follows. Any disarmament scheme must be approved by the Security Council. Here the veto operates. Any treaty or agreement to put "control" etc. outside the scope of the veto, must be approved by the Security Council, in which the veto operates. If it is approved by the Security Council, well and good. If it is rejected, the conclusion may well be that the Charter does not provide the members of the United Nations with security, and that security must be sought elsewhere.

The Veto

The Five Permanent members met again on the 23rd November (see last week's *Summary*) when M. Molotov put forward a draft resolution rejecting attempts either to alter the Charter or to "adopt further rules regarding the application of the unanimity rule laid down in Article 27 of the Charter." He entirely ignored the almost unanimous criticism of his country's use of the veto, and argued that the Security Council should never vote when Russia's interests were at stake, lest it fail to give due consideration to those interests, and he cited the Persian dispute as an example of how the Council should not act. This line of argument leads, of course, to the conclusion that each great Power has the right to pursue its own interests, and count all the time on the other Powers observing, or being "vetoed" into observing, a strict doctrine of non-intervention.

M. Molotov's draft had a bad reception. Mr. Byrnes said that Russia had used the veto in a manner never contemplated at San Francisco, and that the Five Powers should now agree to restrict its use to "enforcement measures." Mr. Bevin said that he had suggested the meeting of the Five in order that Governments might be enabled to tell their peoples to have faith in the Security Council. M. Molotov's draft gave no grounds for that faith. M. Parodi even dared to say that the draft "only poisoned the atmosphere." The problem now reverts to the Committee of the Assembly.

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The debate on the Australian and Cuban resolutions was resumed on Sunday the 1st December in the Political Committee. It was a session of hard words and soft. Sir Hartley Shawcross praised Mr. Bevin's "code of conduct" for users of the veto, and declared that his Government would observe it. M. Vyshinsky called one point "platitudinous," another "question-begging" and ignored the rest. He made his usual assault upon Australia; but something, perhaps the U.K. and U.S. pious resolve not to criticise past uses of the veto, softened him, and eventually he saw points of agreement between the Australian and Russian resolutions. Finally, he agreed to a Danish motion to set up a sub-Committee whose task should be to reconcile the various resolutions under discussion. Few could disagree with the Russian resolution . . . all States must seek to strengthen the United Nations and "improve the work of its bodies." Nations, large and small, must work together for peace. They must "avoid excessive regimentation and formalism," and follow the "lofty principles of the Charter." Finally "The General Assembly expresses its confidence that in the future the Security Council will duly take into account the experience of its work during the preceding period with a view to the adoption of agreed decisions."

On the 2nd December, Senator Connally spoke strongly in favour of the freedom of the Atomic Energy Commission, which the Russian resolution seemed to restrict. Its report must form the basis of the Security Council's plans for control. The U.S. Government, he continued, wanted a control authority untrammelled by the veto, free to go where it liked. Unfortunately the wording of the U.S. resolution is too vague to be helpful.

South-West Africa

South Africa's proposal to incorporate what was once German South-West Africa in the Union was turned down by a sub-Committee of the Trusteeship Committee. The manner of so doing was so gentle that Field Marshal Smuts himself accepted the joint U.S.-Danish resolution in which it was conveyed, remarking only that, despite the principles of self-determination, he must now tell the inhabitants that the United Nations would not respect their wishes. The grounds of the rejection were "insufficient data"; but South Africa was praised for bringing the matter to the United Nations, and for its promise, if its request were rejected, "to administer the territory as heretofore in the spirit of the principles laid down in the mandate." A Russian motion cast doubts on the referendum conducted in South-West Africa and told the South African Government to submit a Trusteeship Agreement. A joint Cuban-Indian motion demanded Trusteeship. Both were defeated, the Russian securing only Polish support.

Indians in South Africa

The joint Political and Legal Committees ended their consideration of the problem with a political decision. On the 30th November the chairman, M. Manuilsky, with great skill and lack of scruple, steered the Committees into voting first for the Mexican-French resolution. When this was adopted by 24 votes to 19, with 6 abstainers and 5 absentees (it was Saturday afternoon), he ruled all further voting unnecessary. Thus, the question on which the debate was turning, the relevance of Article 27 (limits of domestic jurisdiction) to the Indian complaint, was shelved, and a matter of vital concern to all member States is withheld from the International Court of Justice. Instead, the Committees have given the Assembly a resolution which condemns by implication, postulates without proof and invites a prolongation of dispute. According to the Resolution, "the treatment of Indians in the Union should conform with the international obligations under the agreements concluded between the two Governments and the relevant provisions of the Charter." At the next Assembly the two Governments are to report progress. No authority has decided whether the Cape Town Agreement is an "international obligation." There is to be no investigation on the spot. Truly did the Belgian representative exclaim on Wednesday the 27th, "I am frightened at the way in which certain delegates made up their minds before hearing either Indian or South African statements." Such an attitude brings United Nations' "justice" into contempt. Norway's representative raised a matter of principle when he said that the Assembly ought to refer a question to the International Court whenever a member involved so wished, and, above all, when the Assembly itself was, as it were, a party. In the course of the discussions, an increasing number of representatives came, helped perhaps by the immoderate speech of the Indians, to realise that the Union had

a case, and to plead for an agreement between the two members. Had the chairman been impartial, it is likely that the joint U.K.-U.S.-Swedish resolution to refer the legal question to the International Court would have been carried. The matter now goes to the Assembly.

International Trade Organisation

The final plenary session of the Preparatory Committee was held in London on the 26th November, when the reports of the Committees were approved. While it should be emphasized that these discussions were on an expert level, and the resulting recommendations are not binding on Governments—the Soviet Government incidently being unrepresented—the fact remains that a substantial advance towards the main objectives of the I.T.O. conception can be recorded: the area of agreement proved to be more extensive than had been anticipated. The conclusions of the Conference are being set forth in a separate F.O. print and will not therefore be summarized here: it should perhaps be noted that the maintenance of full employment was recognised as an international and not merely a national interest and it was suggested that the Economic and Social Council should sponsor discussion and, if necessary, action by Governments to achieve this.

The Preparatory Committee is to meet again at Geneva next April. In the meantime, its findings, and also those on cognate subjects reached by the Food and Agriculture Organisation, will be the subject of close study and their value assessed in relation to economic developments.

COUNCIL OF FOREIGN MINISTERS

Some progress was made over the Italian Treaty up to Saturday the 30th November. It was agreed that, on entry into force of the Treaty, the troops stationed in the Free Territory should be 5,000 each from U.K., U.S., and Yugoslavia. This would mean a reduction of some 3,000 in Yugoslav troops. These troops shall remain at the disposal of the Governor for 90 days after he assumes office. They then cease to be at his disposal and will be withdrawn in 45 days, unless the Governor tells the Security Council that he needs them. In that case they leave 45 days after he reports to the Security Council that he can maintain order without them. Agreement was also reached on texts covering the appointment of the Governor and elections to the Constituent Assembly. The question of the powers of the Governor during the provisional régime was not settled. M. Molotov wished the principal executive authority to reside in the provisional council. Mr. Byrnes wobbled, M. Couve de Murville suggested various compromises and Mr. Bevin stuck to the U.K. view that the only practical course was to give responsibility to the Governor. He protested against the way in which the U.K. proposals were continually being put aside. On Friday Mr. Bevin fought what was long a lone battle in defence of the Paris recommendations on Reparations for Greece and Yugoslavia. At the end Mr. Byrnes rejoined him; but the matter was not settled. He stood out, with French support for another Paris recommendation on compensation, *i.e.*, 75 per cent., while M. Molotov was back at 25 per cent. and Mr. Byrnes coming up from 25 per cent. to 50 per cent. On Saturday agreement was reached over the method of settling economic disputes arising out of the treaties, and M. Molotov ceased to object to clauses binding Bulgarians and Hungarians to give reasonable rates to railway traffic passing through their lands. A French proposal to safeguard the bondholders of the Danube–Sava–Adriatic Railway was adopted.

Agreement on Danube problems was brought much nearer by two Russian proposals or declarations, the wording of which will in each case need careful scrutiny. One lays down conditions for calling a "conference for the preparation of a convention regarding the Régime of navigation on the Danube." The other seeks to define "freedom of Navigation."

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[L 45/6/405]

Weekly Political Intelligence Summary
No. 374

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
1ST JANUARY, 1947

Copy No. 143

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The passages side-lined in black are GUARD.

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Since August, 1946, this Summary has become a more confidential document than it had previously been, and full weight must be given to the label SECRET. The side-lined passages especially must not be divulged to anyone other than the authorized recipients.

GERMANY

ACTING swiftly on the warning given to the Council of Foreign Ministers (see *Summary*, 18th December) but not made public, the French Government announced on the 19th December that they had taken steps to impose control over the Northern and Eastern borders of the Saar and to institute strict limitations on the passage of persons and goods. M. Couve de Murville later informed the British Embassy in Paris that cordons of officials were being posted along the border between the Saar and the rest of Germany in order to ensure that increased supplies of food destined for the Saar miners should not find their way into other parts of the zone. He gave an assurance that the cordon had no other purpose and was in no sense a customs barrier. M. Couve de Murville fully recognised that measures destined to cut off the Saar from the rest of Germany must await the decision of the Council of Foreign Ministers. To the German public, however, the new ordinance—and the sight of the signboards "*Douanes Françaises*" along the border—immediately conveys the idea of a customs barrier. The measure is generally interpreted as a first and permanent step towards economic union with France designed to forestall Allied objections by a *fait accompli*. Whatever French intentions it seemed to the public as if the method of introducing these measures had not accorded with four-Power procedure, and the affair has created a most unfortunate impression in the rest of Germany—although not, be it noted, among the inhabitants of the Saar. All German political parties, with the exception of the Liberal Democrats, who believe the measure to be a temporary one, have already recorded their protests. The Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom had previously announced their support to French claims on the Saar, but they have not yet approved the French extension of the area, which took place last July. Presumably this additional area is included in the new customs region. When

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EUROPE

GERMANY

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M. Couve de Murville made his statement in the Council on the 9th December the Ministers present neither approved nor objected to French schemes, although Mr. Bevin intimated that he would seek further information from the French Government. *Pravda* of the 29th December in condemning the action as unilateral, is therefore technically correct in affirming that no " discussion " of the matter took place. General Clay has also made a vigorous protest which has apparently surprised the French in its complaint that the American authorities were given no official warning. General Clay's dressing-down for the French was no doubt seasoned by a dispute which took place in the Co-ordinating Committee on the 19th December. On that occasion, General Noiret admitted in reply to General Clay's queries that part of the Robert Bosch rubber plant had been transferred from South Wuerttemberg to the Saar. The French representative protested that a Zone Commander might move plants within his own Zone. General Clay retorted that a French official had recently stated that the Saar was a separate administrative unit and could not be considered part of the French zone. The French member could only offer to " investigate."

The rest of the meeting on the 19th December secured agreement on several points, including the introduction of a gift parcel service and approval of the general plan for the report to the Council of Foreign Ministers. Discussions on reciprocal deliveries of reparations and on the navigation of German ships to foreign ports had to be postponed, but the only real Soviet objections were in their refusal to penalise the use by Germans of British and American canteen vouchers, which they consider should not have been issued without four-Power agreement. The subsequent meeting of the Committee on the 21st December was hampered by the patent irritability of the Chairman, General Clay. By contrast the Russians, although they raised every kind of tiresome point in discussing preparations for the Control Council report, climbed down twice in the face of United States and United Kingdom willingness to jettison the whole report if necessary. The Russians have evidently been instructed to avoid a break down, particularly over the report, out of which they clearly intend to erect a monument to their own achievements. A hint of a possible further change in Russian tactics was given in a broadcast from Leipzig Radio which complained of the delay in the arrival in the East of newspapers from the Western zones and Western sectors of Berlin and remarked that " Although they did not excel in truthful reporting, it was desirable to read as many papers as possible." Hitherto Russian efforts to keep information from the Eastern zones has prevented any four-Power agreement for the exchange of newspapers. The transfer from pre-censorship to post-censorship in the Soviet zone has not, however, made much change in the " middle-class " papers; editors are afraid to write anything which might meet with disapproval and are forbidden to use freely the Western press agencies.

The dispute over control of Berlin Government has been reopened in an acute form. The principles at stake were brought into the open when the Americans asserted, in opposition to the Russians, that Delius (LDP)—whose position was discussed in *Summary* No. 373—should hold office unless or until removed by the Kommandatura. Five hours of discusion failed to produce agreement. The Russian view is felt to be reasonable, but they also maintained that all decisions of the assembly and council would require Allied approval before they took effect. The Local Government Committee has now agreed that day-by-day decisions should not be hopelessly hampered in this way and that only laws and ordinances should be subject to prior approval. The Russian Commander may well repudiate the agreement. Further argument is anticipated too, over the appointment and dismissal of " senior civil servants."

Tortuous negotiations in Bavarian political circles have at length produced a successor to Josef Mueller (now facing a purge court) as Christian Socialist premier. After both Dr. Pfeiffer and Dr. Hundhammer had been tipped for the post, the party found as the new minister a dark horse, Dr. Hans Ehard, formerly States Councillor in the Ministry of Justice. Dr. Hoegner (SPD) has kept to his decision to bring his party into a coalition, although refusing to do so under Pfeiffer, and has even secured for his party the portfolios of Interior, Economics and Justice. Most startling is the elevation of the notorious Dr. Loritz of the Economic Reconstruction party to be Minister for Special Tasks in charge of denazification. He has already promised a lively campaign against the " big Nazis." The U.S. zone has not a monopoly of surprising appointments. Strong Communist disapproval has been voiced at the latest appointment in the British Zone where Dr. Gereke (CDU), Minister of the Interior in Lower Saxony is well known to the German public as a former German Nationalist member who held a post in Schleicher's Cabinet.

A remarkably frank criticism of British policy was given by Premier Steltzer (CDU) of Schleswig-Holstein in a full page interview to *Die Zeit* on the 5th December. Coming from a leader hitherto regarded as among the more moderate German speakers and having an active anti-Nazi record, his accusations are likely to carry all the more weight with a population only too ready to exploit Allied ineptitude and to suggest to the British that the Germans might be forced to look Eastwards. Steltzer recorded the disillusionment of the Germans because they had not benefited from the renowned " common sense " of British Colonial Policy. Two grave mistakes, he alleged, had been to expect a German " Werewolf " movement and to believe that German officials were totally incapable of carrying out their own administration. Even individually capable British officers were unable to take decisions on the spot. He specified a series of examples of British inefficiency in dealing with the food situation and rejecting German advice. He eliminated the last shreds of German gratitude by claiming, wrongfully, that the £80,000,000 contributed annually by the British taxpayer did not take into account the proceeds of German exports. And he also accused the Allies of placing German foreign assets to reparation accounts which he claimed was in contravention of international law as long as German needs had not been fulfilled. Steltzer made an interesting statement on the Eastern Frontier which he later, to Polish indignation, repeated in Hamburg—namely, that if the Eastern Provinces were not returned, a peace treaty with Germany would not be possible for no German statesman would agree to sign away his country's land. Finally, dispelling claims by French witnesses that the Christian Democrats admit German guilt, Steltzer denied that the guilt of the leaders was shared by the German people and used the familiar but none the less dangerous argument that National Socialism had been encouraged by the rest of the world, particularly through Chamberlain and the Anglo-German Naval Agreement of 1935.

A considerable concession is to be made to meet the claims of the South Schleswig Association that it should enjoy the rights of a political party. In the *Landtag* elections next March, which are to be conducted by the Germans, it has been arranged that a special clause shall be inserted in the Schleswig-Holstein electoral law. This provides that for these elections (and by implication for no other purpose) the Association may share the privileges of political parties —for example may not only sponsor candidates for individual seats, but also may back them as a group for the reserve list used in this modified system of proportional representation.

(See also under " Scandinavia.")

AUSTRIA

Austria celebrated the first anniversary of the constitution of the Second Austrian Republic on the 20th December, when the President, Dr. Renner, the Chancellor, and leading members of the Government spoke hopefully of a " truly free Austria " after the conclusion of a treaty in the New Year. The State Department announcement on the 21st December that General Mark Clark had been appointed the United States Deputy in the discussions on the Austrian Treaty in London has been warmly welcomed by the Austrians, who regard General Clark as a good friend.

The economic situation remains grave. On the 18th December a Vienna Councillor said that the city would be faced with famine in a few weeks if home and imported supplies were not improved. The closing down of industries to save electricity, which was to have been from the 22nd December to the 2nd January, had to be advanced to the 19th December, with a correspondingly greater loss in output for the home and export markets. It was announced in the House of Commons on the 18th December that the British Government are to make an immediate and substantial contribution to the economic recovery of Austria in the form of grants and credit up to £10,000,000. This assistance is to be used only for the purchase of supplies essential to recovery. The Minister of State said in his announcement that the decision was in conformity with the resolution adopted on the 11th December by the General Assembly of the United Nations on relief needs in the post-UNRRA period, and His Majesty's Government were confident that the other occupying Powers would make contributions proportionate to their resources, and that further help would be given in cash or kind by other countries in a position to asist. If these expectations were fulfilled, it should be possible for Austria both to acquire the necessities of life throughout 1947 and to set her feet on the road to economic recovery, thus

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limiting the need for further emergency assistance thereafter. A condition of the British aid is that the principle of economic unity is maintained by all the other occupying Powers, so that the Austrian Government can dispose freely of its resources and imports for the benefit of the Austrian population as a whole.

The quadripartite councils continue to be satisfactory, and the improved spirit of co-operation appeared again at the Allied Council meeting on the 23rd December, presided over by General Kourasov. This was General Kourasov's first appearance for several weeks, and his prolonged absence from Vienna had given rise to rumours that he would not return. Agreement was reached on several minor questions. The Soviet member asked that the Allied Council should demand the minutes of the secret session of the Austrian Parliament held on the 30th October at which questions concerning the occupation Powers were debated, but discussion on this matter was inconclusive.

Rumours that almost all French and Soviet troops in Austria were to be withdrawn soon are almost certainly wishful thinking on the part of the Austrians, but their persistence and the circumstantial nature of the reports indicate the keen desire of the Austrians for this withdrawal.

Reports that the Yugoslav Government are to put forward their claims to Carinthian territory during the Treaty discussions have caused widespread concern, and Herr Piesch, the Provincial Governor of Carinthia, defended his Government's policy towards the Slovene population on the 20th December. The Yugoslavs are maintaining a propaganda offensive against Austria, attacking the alleged activities of Nazis and reactionaries.

The Austrian Chancellor, accompanied by the Vice-Chancellor, the Foreign Minister, and the Minister for the Protection of Property and Economic Planning, presented modified Austrian proposals for the bilateral settlement of the German assets question to the Soviet authorities on the 19th December (see *Summary* No. 373). The American and French authorities have favoured this step, which had been precipitated by the insistence of Parliament and the Russians for a settlement, but which appears unwise in view of the forthcoming Treaty discussions at which a quadripartite decision on this vexed question might be possible. The Austrians have modified their original proposals, and have informed the Russians that they have until the 1st February to accept or refuse them. If no agreement is reached by that date the Austrian Government will recover their freedom of action and refer the question to the Allied Council or to the Deputies in London. The Austrians now offer to buy back all properties, including Zisterdorf, within a period of weeks, for Austrian schillings. An express reservation is made exempting United Nations property from transfer to the Soviet Union.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The main characteristic of the Christmas Eve message to the country by President Beneš was its admonitory tone. In striking a high moral note, he was following the tradition of his great predecessor, T. G. Masaryk, who always sought to employ his prestige in the service of infusing worthy principles into public life. Dr. Beneš pointed to three specific evils which at the moment beset Czechoslovakia—and, it may be added, other countries in Europe. First, he deplored the appearance in the ranks of all political parties of numbers of opportunists singularly lacking in public spirit, a phenomenon that may be partly attributed to the doubtful recruits gathered from other discredited affiliations. Secondly, he expressed concern at the demoralisation of youth—its indolence, moral laxity and irresponsibility. While this may sound a rash generalization, it is probably true to say of Czechoslovak youth that it is now more than normally out of phase with the seriousness and purposefulness of its elders. The contrast has been greatly increased by the different war experience of the two age-groups, the one cut off from the outside world and carrying on an individual revolt against an inimical authority, the other—notably the exiled Ministers—submerging self in a vast international effort at co-operation.

The Czechoslovak educational authorities themselves appear to be alive to the implications of the President's words. Within the limits of currency and other shortages, and Communist suspicion, the authorities have encouraged student visits abroad and received foreign guests in return—as for example the December visit of the Headmaster of Charterhouse. Another interesting experiment is the Czech school set up, with the help of the British Council, at Bishop's

Stortford by the Social Democrat Workers' Academy of Prague. The Sokol movement—particularly valuable at the moment as a vehicle for whole family, not merely youth, training—still flourishes, and preparations are on foot for a big *Slet* in 1948. This physical culture organisation has resisted the Communist attempts to engulf it, and will, it is hoped, withstand attempts at infiltration.

President Beneš touched on a more difficult matter in referring to the poor showing which Czechoslovak youngsters had made in response to the labour conscription regulations imposing part-time work in the fields, mines and factories. Not schooled in compliance to public necessity—for labour shortage is one of Czechoslovakia's overriding difficulties—youth, particularly the students, apparently feels this a heavy burden in addition to the rather exacting and somewhat academic requirements of the educational system.

The third fault, increase in alcoholism, may right itself more easily. It is attributable as in other European lands to the same complex causes, and to the fact that Czechoslovakia possesses an abundance of the raw materials of alcohol, sugar, potatoes, barley, hops and fruits and a shortage of other consumers' goods.

In the matter of labour conscription, the action of the Government in transferring Magyars from southern Slovakia to the depopulated industries of Bohemia, raises a number of issues. The Government can argue that they cannot afford—while still unable to reach agreement with Hungary on the transfer problem—to waste their badly needed reserves of labour, and that all citizens of the state are liable for such labour service. Hungarian criticism is thus being described as an unwarrantable intrusion in internal affairs, and Cardinal Mindszenthy has, on these grounds, been refused a visa to discuss the subject in Prague. On the Hungarian side, at least among the Social Democrats, there has been an attempt to tone down the wildness of accusations against Czechoslovak "brutality," and the contacts now established between Dr. Beneš and Count Karolyi are a hopeful augury of some working arrangement.

The labour force, already receiving Bulgarian recruits, may soon be further augmented by Roumanian and Italian workers, as a result of present negotiations.

POLAND

His Majesty's Government's Note of the 22nd November concerning the forthcoming elections in Poland (see *Summary* No. 370) was recently answered by a sharply phrased Note from the Polish Government. The British Note was based on the complaint that the Polish Government was not fulfilling the obligations which it accepted under the Yalta and Potsdam agreements. The Polish Note is a "*tu quoque*" accusation that these agreements are also being violated by H.M. Government. The tenor of its seven-point indictment is that H.M. Government, in pursuance of a policy of favouring the former Polish Government in London and conniving at its alleged attempts to foment a third world war, are indulging in a whole series of actions prejudicial to the interests of the re-born Polish state. Such actions include delaying the repatriation of Poles who choose to return to Poland, retention of Polish gold and of Polish ships allotted to the Royal Navy during the war, and the unilateral concellation of the agreement whereby fixed quotas of Germans expelled from Poland were to be admitted into the British zone of Germany.

On the question of the actual elections, the contention of the Polish Government is that, although the Yalta and Potsdam agreements contained the obligation to hold free and unfettered elections, they did not prescribe any particular method of fulfilling it. The British Note stated that the manner in which the elections were held would necessarily affect the views of His Majesty's Government formed as a result of them. To this the Polish Note took particular exception, on the ground that it was a reflection on their sovereignty.

Inside Poland, the population is showing a marked apathy concerning the elections, the general opinion being that the way in which a vote is cast will have no influence on the final outcome. Considerable unrest is reported from certain country districts, especially south-east of Warsaw. The activities of the forest bands have increased, particularly since the moment when the Government decided to send special groups of the Polish Army throughout the land to carry out the task of election propaganda. These groups attempt to incite the people against M. Mikolajczyk's P.S.L., in the hope that the latter will be provoked to actions justifying reprisals. The Polish press admits the seriousness of the terrorists' campaign, and calls for vigorous action against it.

That the recent mission to Washington of the Polish Minister of Industry, Hilary Minc, achieved a certain success is shown by the lengthy text of a State

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Department press release. Agreement was said to have been reached on the procedure of the payment of compensation to United States owners of enterprises taken over under the Polish Industries' Nationalization Act of the 3rd January, 1946. Payment is generally to be made in dollars, and facilities are to be granted to the American Embassy in Warsaw to lodge protests on behalf of the owners. The agreement covers property situated in former German territory both inside and outside the area allotted to Polish administration by the Potsdam Declaration of August 1945. Any differences are to be decided either by the two Governments in a spirit of mutual understanding, or by an umpire designated by them, or, in the last resort, by the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Simultaneously with the agreement, the Secretary of the Treasury informed the Polish Minister of Finance that Polish assets in the United States would be released from the 7th January, 1947, as well as the gold and the accounts of the Bank of Poland at present in the United States.

SOVIET UNION

The general tone of Soviet comment on the international situation at the turn of the year has been one of sober satisfaction, though no attempt has been made to gloss over the profound divergences of view still remaining between the U.S.S.R. and the so-called Anglo-American *bloc*. The results achieved by the United Nations Assembly were held to have proved the possibility of international co-operation and to have justified the existence of the organisation. "The year now ending has shown how necessary, how vitally necessary, is an international organisation such as the United Nations." All credit for the positive results achieved was, of course, attributed to the Soviet delegation, while the blame was laid chiefly on Great Britain for what was said to be the main disappointment—namely the failure to reach agreement over the issue of troops in foreign territories.

Although there do seem to be some signs of improved feelings in the general Moscow atmosphere, anti-British and anti-American propaganda has not been allowed to die down. *Pravda* indeed displayed goodwill by hastening to make handsome amends for the offensive article on British convoys by Captain Andreev in *Krasny Flot* (see *Summary* No. 373). *Pravda* paid full tribute to the gallant work done by the convoys, which was "universally known" and trounced Captain Andreev roundly for his ill-conceived article which had drawn misleading inferences from the record of one operation. Regret was expressed at the capital which had been made out of the article by the London press two months after its publication; the hue and cry, it was argued, was quite out of proportion to the importance of the episode.

Mr. Bevin's broadcast declaration on Sunday, the 22nd December, was summed up very fairly without comment by *Tass* in two-thirds of a column. Much publicity was given to the revolt of a section of the Labour Party on the question of foreign policy, with special reference to the second of Mr. A. J. P. Taylor's series of broadcast talks in the Third Programme opposing too close an association with the United States. The most uncharitable of the remarks on Great Britain during recent weeks were put out by *Krasnaya Zvezda* in an article on the colonies which claimed that the British concern for the welfare of colonial peoples was due mainly to the desire to mobilise the natives in a possible future war.

The impending visit of Field Marshal Montgomery has been announced by *Tass;* no comment was made from Moscow, but the Roumanian radio welcomed it as an indication of the "continued consolidation of Anglo-Soviet relations."

The Anglo-Egyptian negotiations have come under fire; it was alleged that the British had consistently broken their promises to evacuate the country, and the Egyptian delegate to U.N.O. was criticised for having withdrawn his recent motion under British pressure. The Egyptian Minister in Moscow has apparently been behaving in a curious fashion, setting himself up against his own Government and telling his Soviet guest at a large party that the U.S.S.R. had much to learn from Egypt; this has not endeared him to the Soviet authorities who, while ready to use him for propaganda purposes, regard him with anything but respect.

French affairs have again come into the foreground; after some delay the Viet Nam situation has been discussed by *Izvestiya*, which blamed "certain French circles which were not interested in a peaceful solution of the Indo-Chinese problem," of attempting to wreck the work of the Fontainebleau Conference. However, M. Blum's speech was treated as evidence of the Government's

good intentions. The French action in the Saar was condemned by *Pravda* as an unilateral act, in a sharp and critical tone in striking contrast to the friendly treatment of France in recent months. It seems that the Soviet Government do not trouble to conciliate French public opinion where their major interests in Germany are concerned, or where they discern a threat to the fulfilment of the Potsdam Agreement.

The activities of the Russian Orthodox Church in the Middle East are continuing and will be intensified in the New Year, when Pariarch Alexei is expected to visit various countries in the area. In the meantime the aged but still active Metropolitan Grigorii of Leningrad has been on a tour of Palestine and Egypt. In Jerusalem he stated that his visit had no political object and that he was not going to deal with the vexed question of Russian Church property. He made the interesting promise that Russian pilgrims would again be visiting the Holy Land in the spring. Archimandrite Anthony, head of the local opposition faction of the Russian Church in exile, owing allegiance to the Synod of Metropolitan Anastasy, took measures against the Metropolitan, which included stationing Roumanian nuns armed with staves round the Aim Karim convent to prevent his entry. Metropolitan Grigorii had some contact with the Orthodox in Beirut, but apparently took little interest in the question of the Arabophone Orthodox of Palestine which constantly agitates the Jerusalem Patriarchate. Towards the Greeks his attitude was perfectly correct. In Egypt Metropolitan Gregorii paid a visit to the Coptic Patriarch, whom he is said to have invited to Moscow to discuss the question of the Coptic Churches joining in a union of Orthodox Churches under the auspices of the Russian Church. This curious statement seems somewhat doubtful as the Copts are technically heretics, and the Russian Church has hitherto been ecclesiastically most correct.

The Moscow Patriarchate has won a great and presumably unexpected success in the U.S.A. At the 7th general Sobor of the Russian Orthodox Church of America a resolution was adopted acknowledging the spiritual authority of Patriarch Alexei of Moscow and breaking with the Karlovtsy Synod. The only proviso made was that the American diocese should retain its autonomy, including the right of appointing its own bishops, and that Metropolitan Theophilus, the present head, should retain his position. The resolution was adopted by 187 votes to 61, a majority that is surprising in view of the vigorous opposition of many of the Bishops and clergy to Moscow. The minority could apparently hardly contain themselves when they heard the result, and forgot their episcopal dignity. The Exarch of the Moscow Patriarch, Metropolitan Benjamin, cordially welcomed the decision and anticipated that Moscow would confirm Metropolitan Theophilus in his post, in spite of his past anti-Soviet record.

M. Gromyko, permanent Soviet delegate to the Security Council and former Ambassador in the U.S.A., has been appointed one of the five deputy Foreign Ministers of the U.S.S.R., presumably filling the vacancy left by the appointment of M. Lozovsky last July as head of the Soviet Information Bureau. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Georgian S.S.R., M. Bakradze, has resigned on the ground of ill-health. His place has been given to M. Shkubianishvili. Several awards of the Order of Lenin have been made recently; Marshal Rokossovsky received the order on his fiftieth birthday and Shostakovich and Tikhonov have also been given the decoration. The awards to the two last-named are of interest seeing that the recipients had both been severely criticised in the recent ideological campaign. Pudovkin's film on Admiral Nakhimov, which was condemned last autumn by the Party authorities, is now, in a slightly revised form, being given an enthusiastic reception.

New Times is in future to appear weekly instead of fortnightly.

SCANDINAVIA

Denmark

The authorities of all four Zones in Germany have now agreed to receive those refugees at present in Denmark who were formerly resident in each of the Zones (also see *Summary* No. 367 under "Germany"). This will mean about 12,000 for the British, 1,500 for the American, 500 for the French and about 15,000 for the Russian Zone. In addition the French and American authorities have undertaken to bring their total up to 12,000 each. In view of M. Stalin's original offer to receive into the Russian Zone half of these refugees, provided the remainder were taken over by the other three Zones (see *Summary* No. 349),

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the Danish Minister in Moscow, M. Doessing, has, on instructions from Copenhagen, approached the Soviet authorities and asked them to receive a number equivalent to the total to be taken into the three other Zones, namely 36,000. His Majesty's Minister in Moscow is taking a similar step and is at the same time expressing the hope that appropriate instructions can be sent to Berlin so that this essentially quadripartite problem may be discussed between the authorities responsible for the four Zones. According to M. Doessing, M. Dekanozov, with whom he discussed the matter, while obviously aware of M. Stalin's offer, stressed the practical difficulties arising out of the fact that the Soviets have meanwhile accepted into their Zone a large number of Germans from Poland and Czechoslovakia.

The presence of these German refugees in Denmark has been a long-standing Danish grievance, born, it must be admitted, with commendable patience, although they have made their presence an excuse for delaying the sending of a Danish military contingent to Germany. Allied occupation forces in Germany were, of course, well aware of this state of affairs and only too anxious to relieve the Danes of their burden, but the practical difficulties in the way were very substantial; one of the most serious being the fact that the majority of the refugees hailed from the Russian Zone, and the Russian offer mentioned above was never officially confirmed, nor steps taken to put it into practice. It was, therefore, hardly necessary for Mr. Fiorello H. La Guardia to address a somewhat officious message on the subject to the Allied Control Commission "for their thoughtful consideration," as it may only strengthen any sense of grievance the Danes may have without giving any constructive help. Moreover, it seems a little absurd to single out Hitler's "model protectorate" for a eulogy of its "heroic effort at recovery and rehabilitation." Denmark suffered less destruction than any other country, and the Danes have had little chance of proving their heroism.

The majority of the Danish press are still in a very belligerent mood when the subject of Anglo/Danish trade negotiations is discussed, and British demands are described as entirely unreasonable. A discussion which took place at the annual meeting of the "Twelve Men Association," the union of larger agriculturists, sheds some light on this aspect of the situation. The Chairman of the Association, M. R. Fabricius, said that it had been proved time and again that Great Britain agreed to Danish demands if she became aware that she could not press down the prices of the goods in question, and that, therefore, the Danes "should pull themselves together and state that unless the British agreed to their terms they would obtain nothing but that part of the production which could be disposed nowhere else." Another speaker, M. Flemming Juncker, was slightly more conciliatory. The two countries were really too poor to trade with one another. This was regrettable, but it would be still more so if they fell out about it. The British could easily pay higher prices for the small quantity of Danish goods which meant little compared with their total imports, but they feared the consequences with the Dominions. Great Britain had more "currency humps" than Denmark, and she had economic obligations which far exceeded anything the Danes could imagine.

In view of the unyielding public attitude in Denmark towards the Anglo/Danish trade question, an article in *Information*, the organ of the Resistance Movement, strikes a refreshing note which, oddly enough, seems to echo M. Christmas Moeller's clarion call for a change of heart (see *Summary* No. 371). The paper blames the Danish people for still taking as the starting-point for their reactions the comparison with the "normal *pre-war* standard of living" and regarding restrictions of this standard as an injustice forced upon them by malicious foreign Powers. "The war was also our war and we must pay our share of the cost" . . . . "the Danish people have not been able to realise fully that after six years of war, the world is far far poorer and that the distribution of poverty cannot be avoided."

(See also under "Germany.")

THE LOW COUNTRIES

The Netherlands

Questions raised by members on the Government statement on the Cheribond Draft Agreement [see *Summary* No. 373, 18th December] during the debate in the Second Chamber brought forth a lengthy reply from M. Jonkman, Minister of Overseas Territories (19th December). On the one hand, said the Minister, the Government were being urged to "speed up matters," and on the other to

"give the replies in writing." The Government, however, had taken a *via media*—speed without precipitancy. M. Jonkman agreed that the Government had failed to keep the public adequately informed, but that had been "unavoidable." In any case he thought that additional information "would not have prevented the sharp controversies." He wanted to convince his opponents, he went on, that it was "best" to vote for the Agreement. The Government, which called itself progressive, looked to the future, and anyone who did that showed himself to be a supporter of the Agreement. A "big sacrifice" had been made in order to achieve "something worth while." Above all, the Agreement was a "political concord," whose provisions were so few that there was "room for a round-table conference." Turning to the question of the "binding minutes," M. Jonkman said that there had been discussions between the two parties (at which the British representative was not present), when agreement had been reached as to what had to be done in the future. Minutes had been taken of these agreements; but the Minister thought that the Chamber would not press for their publication, because to do so would be harmful. To those who felt uneasy about constitutional issues, M. Jonkman would say that, while the written Constitution was "rightly being upheld" in the debate, circumstances had arisen which could "never have been foreseen." What, he asked, was the Agreement's aim? "Freedom for the N.E.I. in a greater unity with the Netherlands." A quadripartite State would be called upon to implement demands which had yet to be formulated. The Indonesians would be the framers of the Constitution of the United States of Indonesia; but "one task" had been set aside in this connexion for the Netherlands to perform. M. Jonkman ended his speech with criticism of the Anti-Revolutionary member, M. Schouten (a prominent opponent of the Agreement), whom he accused of wanting to return to the "old power under certain new conditions"; adding that the time for M. Schouten's ideas was before the Japanese capitulation—"not now." The Chamber then rose. During the resumption in the evening, Professor Romme, leader of the Catholic People's Party, supported by several prominent members of the Government parties (his own and the Party of Labour), the Right (Anti-Revolutionary, Christian Historical Union and State Reformed Party) and the Freedom Party (a Centre party), tabled a motion urging the safeguarding of "the victims of circumstance in Indonesia and of the internees." A second motion by Professor Romme endorsed the Government's policy. Both were carried—the first by 84 votes to 10, the second by 67 to 30. It was then M. Schouten's turn. Having once again expressed his disapproval of the Government's policy, he proceeded to table a motion inviting the Government to "convene at the earliest possible date a conference of the Realm." In addition to his own party (Anti-Revolutionary), he was supported by the two other Right parties and the Freedom Party. His motion was, however, defeated by 65 votes to 29. There was one (Catholic) abstention.

In a statement to the Curaçao States-General on the 23rd December, Dr. Kasteel, the Governor, said that M. Jonkman was preparing certain constitutional amendments which would enable Curaçao to elect a responsible Government. A Dutch Parliamentary Commission (whose terms of reference are presumably similar to those of the van Poll Parliamentary Commission to the N.E.I.) is shortly to leave for the West Indies. The names of the Commissioners (announced on the 19th) are as follows: Second Chamber—Dr. Bierema (Freedom Party), M. Meijerink (Anti-Revolutionary), Professor Logemann (Party of Labour) and M. Wagenaar (Communist); First Chamber—Mr. Kropman (Catholic People's Party) and Professor de Zwaan (Christian Historical Union).

Belgium

An unofficial strike of 13,000 stevedores at Antwerp, which began on the 16th December, and which—but for emergency measures—at one time bid fair to paralyse the port, shews no sign of ending. The situation has been further aggravated by a strike of tug-boat workers, who ceased work the same day. The two are apparently unconnected, though their objects are similar—namely, wage increases (in the case of the stevedores, a 10 per cent. increase), which in the opinion of M. Troclet, Minister of Labour and Social Insurance, would have "an adverse influence on prices." Broadcasting on the 18th an appeal to the stevedores to return to work, M. Troclet explained that the strike was due to measures that came into force on the 1st October to combat abuses by the dockers of the Minimum Living Allowance Regulations (proposed by the Joint Harbour

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Committee and approved by the Minister), which provide for payment of a minimum living allowance to stevedores unemployed because of lack of work in the port. Owing to absenteeism, demand for labour had, for some time, been greater than supply; and the Unemployment Insurance Fund had refused to pay the minimum living allowance to workers unemployed when demand for labour exceeded supply. Absentees, who "counted on the solidarity of ill-informed fellow-workers," declared M. Troclet, were responsible for the strike. He warned the strikers that the Government would deal with them with the "utmost severity." In addition to the Minister's appeal, the strikers have been addressed by representatives of the Transport Union and of the Christian Transport Workers' Union, and by a Communist Deputy, but in vain (19th and 20th). On the 20th, the Prime Minister, M. Huysmans, received a deputation of stevedores. He promised an enquiry; but reminded the deputation that 16 food ships awaited unloading, adding that he would not tolerate the Food Minister's difficult task being made still more difficult by strikes "for which no trade union was willing to assume responsibility." Unloading was eventually begun by the military on the following day (21st).

FRANCE

The new Socialist interim government, acting upon the advice and information supplied by M. Robert Schuman (see last week's *Summary*), is presenting the budget proposals for the first three months of 1947 to the National Assembly in two parts. The Assembly adopted on the 22nd December those proposals which are of immediate urgency, including an article providing for the dismissal on the 1st February, 1947, of 50,000 temporary and auxiliary civil servants, and arrangements for dealing with tax evasion. Military credits amounting to 40 milliard fr. were voted, also for the first three months of 1947. This shows no reduction on the expenditure planned for 1946, but is in fact 30 per cent. lower than the rate of actual military expenditure last year. The less urgent proposals will be presented by the Minister of Finance and National Economy in the form of a law to be debated in January. The Assembly also voted a bill re-establishing the principle of collective bargaining, the value of which is mainly psychological, to mark the return, in theory, to a peace-time régime. To meet the exigencies of the period of reconstruction and recovery, such bargaining will not be valid except with the express approval of the Minister of Labour, and will not for the present affect the Government's responsibility for fixing wages and prices.

After the appointment by the National Assembly of 42 Councillors of the Republic, according to the numerical importance of the party groups in the Assembly itself (see *Summary* No. 372), the balance of forces in this second Chamber remains the same, except for a slight proportionate increase in right-wing representation; Communists and M.R.P. each received 12 seats, Socialists 7, R.D.G. 5, P.R.L. 3, other right-wing parties 2, Independent Moslems 1. The remaining 8 councillors to be chosen by the Assembly will be appointed later on a different basis; 5 will represent Frenchmen in the protectorates and 3 Frenchmen living abroad. The 44 councillors from the overseas territories, distinct from the overseas departments, have not yet been elected.

The inaugural session of the Council of the Republic, held on the 24th December, was devoted to a speech by its *doyen*, the Radical Socialist ex-Senator, M. Gasser. He urged the council to bear in mind the lessons of the past and not to fear unpopularity, but to state clearly present necessities and future dangers. His references to the fashion, since the liberation, of denouncing the conservatism of the Senate, and to the present importance of party discipline, were not to the taste of his left-wing colleagues, and the Communists especially gave his speech a cool reception. Two days later M. Champetier de Ribes, M.R.P. candidate, was elected President of the Council of the Republic, but not before two unsuccessful attempts had necessitated the withdrawal of the Socialist and R.D.G. candidates. The Socialists then voted with the Communists, while the R.D.G. voted with the Right groups for the M.R.P. candidate.

At the end of last week, shortly after the Communist Party's central committee had issued a communiqué denouncing "the intrigues of the reaction" in favour of a President of the Republic who is an "enemy of the constitution," General de Gaulle made it clear in a reply to questions put to him by press representatives that he stood firm in his decision not to serve under the present "exclusivist régime of the parties" and the constitution which perpetuates it: he refused to "preside impotently over the impotence of the State." Left-wing opinion is relieved of its anxiety; the Right parties and the Radicals are loud in

their approval of the General's reasons for declining to stand for office; only the M.R.P. who, although popularly regarded as his "own" party, cannot deny that they form an important part of that "exclusivist régime" which he condemns, are disappointed by his decision. Two names continue to be mentioned for the presidency: the Radical-Socialist leader M. Herriot, whose recent support of the Communist claim for a National Defence portfolio may have assured their support, and the Socialist President of the National Assembly, M. Vincent Auriol.

M. Moutet, Minister for Overseas France, Admiral Thierry d'Argenlieu, High Commissioner for Indo-China, and General Leclerc, until last July Commander-in-Chief of the French forces in Indo-China, arrived last week in Saigon. (See under "Far East.") The Minister, who, with M. Blum, gives his full support to Admiral Thierry d'Argenlieu, hopes to re-establish an atmosphere favourable for the resumption of Franco-Annamese relations. In this he could not have a more satisfactory colleague than General Leclerc, who has the respect and confidence of French and Annamese alike. General Leclerc will report to the French Government on the military situation.

The question of the future of Cochinchina remains crucial, and the chief hope of the French, once order has been restored, appears to lie in the possible emergence of some well-led section of the Annamese nationalists, with a less fanatical concern for the inclusion of Cochinchina in Viet-Nam than M. Ho Chi Minh, with whom as head of the Viet Minh party now in power the French have hitherto negotiated.

An agreement for the suppression of visas between France and Algeria, on the one hand, and Great Britain and Northern Ireland on the other, will come into force on the 1st January, 1947.

(See also under "Germany.")

SPAIN

Sir Victor Mallet arrived at a London air port on Christmas Day after a 24-hour hold-up in Spain due to bad weather. H.M. Ambassador has been withdrawn from Madrid in accordance with the recommendation in the Resolution on relations between Spain and the United Nations adopted by the General Assembly on the 12th December (see *Summary* No. 373).

It is impossible as yet to get any clear picture of reactions in a Spain still vibrating from the effects of the sudden fall of the sword of Damocles suspended so long over the head of the Spanish Government. General Franco with his usual luck has been able to cover up a little of the obvious disquiet of his Government under a spate of what Mr. Polly would call "verboojuice." This particular red herring has been provided for him in the shape of the recent U.P. and A.P. reports attributed to "an authoritative Government source" published in New York on the 18th December under a London date-line to the effect that the "British Diplomatic Mission in Spain was engaged in the unusual task of contacting various political groups with a view to supplanting Franco" (and that it would not be surprising if the United States were doing the same thing). The reports referred also to the possibility of Army support for an interim Government set up by right and left wing "centrists" to hold the fort in Spain until elections could be held.

H.M. Ambassador paid a farewell visit to the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the 21st December. Aware that a Spanish Note of protest was in the offing and suspecting that Señor Artajo was waiting his chance to produce it, Sir Victor took the initiative and seized this last opportunity to make clear beyond all doubt that this was the end—the Spanish people must now do their part to clear out Franco or commit social and economic suicide. Señor Artajo, rather wanly and without much conviction, replied that he could not be expected to be disloyal to his Chief. He attempted to minimise the validity of the United Nations Resolution by pointing to the abstention from voting of such countries as Canada, South Africa and Egypt, and the pressure brought to bear on many smaller Latin American countries, from whom, Señor Artajo said, he had since received messages attempting to explain and to justify their attitude. Señor Artajo then mentioned the "unparalleled and impressive demonstrations" which had taken place in all the principal cities throughout the country: the Spanish people were behind the Government in defending the national dignity, the feeling was perfectly genuine—whether the demonstrations (as H.M. Ambassador had asserted) had been organized or not. General Franco had been recognized at

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the close of the civil war by every country save Mexico and the Soviet Union—why had the nations changed their tune? The Generalissimo's war record was better than that of M. Stalin who by his famous pact with Germany had precipitated the war. What had happened at New York in relation to pressure from the Soviet Union, Señor Artajo thought, was dangerously akin to the attitude taken by the Western Powers towards Hitler in 1938. He was very pessimistic about the future of the world. And so forth and so on. H.M. Ambassador pointed out that Russia had fought with the Allies while Franco had been abetting the Axis—it was such openly-expressed axophilia which damned him with all sections of the British public. Señor Artajo then went on to add that the Resolution of the General Assembly was simply another check on General Franco's plans for liberalising the régime. But he was glad to say that General Franco, undeterred, intended to press on with the process of "*evolución*." Only the day before he had taken steps to ensure that the period of the "amnesty" should be prolonged so that Spanish emigrés slow to make up their minds might still return to the homeland. The Generalissimo was considering further steps.

Finally Señor Artajo produced a draft of the Spanish *note verbale* which, he said, H.M. Ambassador would probably be receiving that same day. He regretted having to bring up such a disagreeable subject at their last meeting, but he had no alternative in view of the extensive publicity given to the agency messages in the world press. The draft expressed, as was to be expected, the Spanish Government's profound surprise at "this incredible revelation." Reports had been received repeatedly of H.M. Embassy's contacts with persons attempting to overthrow the present régime, but the Spanish Government had always preferred to accept the explanation given to them. After a hasty perusal of the draft H.M. Ambassador said that he would await its receipt and H.M. Government's comments before making any formal reply. But the charges were ludicrous—H.M. Government's policy had always been one of strict non-intervention in Spanish internal affairs, and every Ambassador met a number of people of all shades of opinion in the course of his normal routine and social round. He himself had met a great many important and interesting people, both Monarchists and Republicans, who did not hesitate to declare their strong opposition to the present régime. Señor Artajo then pointed out a passage in the draft which alleged that the U.S. Government had already refuted the imputations of Ambassadorial plotting—he hoped that H.M. Government would publish a similar denial. For very good reasons H.M. Government are not in favour of issuing a public statement on the matter, but H.M. Chargé d'Affaires has been instructed to send a formal communication to the Minister of Foreign Affairs rebutting the charges of undiplomatic conduct.

The Spanish Foreign Minister must, of course, keep up appearances, though H.M. Ambassador has reported that not once during the interview did Señor Artajo put up a serious defence for the Caudillo personally. Furthermore Sir Victor Mallet in the course of visits to other high officials in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was struck by their apparent agreement that the present situation was now impossible and that General Franco must go.

ITALY

The President of the Council, Signor De Gasperi, has been invited by the U.S. Government to visit America early in the New Year. Subjects of interest to both countries are to be discussed, including the resumption of normal trade relations. During his visit Signor De Gasperi may address the Council on Foreign Relations, a body with interests similar to those of our Royal Institute of International Affairs, at a forum to be held at Cleveland. Signor De Gasperi expects to be back in Italy by the middle of January.

Signor Nenni, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, has received a formal invitation to visit this country, but will not be able to arrive before the 20th January owing to Signor De Gasperi's absence in the U.S.A.

The Italian Trade Delegation has now returned to Italy after concluding its talks with the Board of Trade on ways and means of resuming normal trade relations between the two countries. The Italian Delegation stressed the necessity of saving their sterling resources for those raw materials and semi-manufactured goods essential to Italy's industrial recovery and as coming in this category, the British Delegation mentioned rubber, wool, cotton and petroleum products which should be available against payment in sterling. No formal Trade Agreement was signed since these talks were initiated to discover the most practical

ways of resuming normal commercial and industrial relations. It was agreed, however, to set up a committee of officials of both Governments to meet when necessary in order to review the situation, help in the solution of any difficulties which may arise and to consider any further measures which may become necessary as trade relations develop. Dr. Mascia, the Head of the Italian Delegation, is reported as having said that the establishment of this committee was considered by experts to be of greater importance than the signing of a formal Trade Agreement.

Following a meeting at the Prefecture of Bari, attended by the Minister Cingolani, two Under-Secretaries and Signor Rapelli, Secretary of the Italian General Confederation of Labour (C.G.I.L.), the general strike was brought to an end. Emergency Food supplies, greater assistance to the unemployed and the immediate undertaking of public works were promised, and Signor Cingolani also promised to inform the Cabinet of the unanimous desire of the region to start work on irrigation schemes both in Apulia and in Lucania. Disturbances began with an attack on the Prefecture while a delegation of unemployed was presenting a demand for a large increase in unemployment allowance. The disorder gradually developed until the police had to intervene, and shots were fired. Unemployment, which is acute throughout Apulia generally, with the consequent inability to buy sufficient food is the cause of the trouble.

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

Yugoslavia

Some of the delegates from North America to the Slav Congress in Belgrade remained behind after the close of the Congress to visit other parts of Yugoslavia. The American Senator Bubanj spoke in Ljubljana on his impressions of the country and assured his audience that American foreign policy would have to change once the "real facts" about Yugoslavia became known in the United States. A great welcome was given to some Canadian Slavs visiting Macedonia.

While Trieste has almost completely dropped out of the news Austria has become the focus of attention. The Austrian Government have been reviled in the Yugoslav Press for allowing a so-called "Committee of Experts" to publish a pamphlet proposing a frontier adjustment in the area of Maribor in favour of Austria, for staffing the Carinthian police with ex-Nazis, for offering Austrian nationality to a number of *Volksdeutsche* expelled from Yugoslavia, and for persecuting the Carinthian Slovenes. Of course, according to the familiar refrain, Yugoslavia does not want anything belonging to another, but she will not renounce one particle of what is hers (meaning in this case Carinthia).

The decision of the Security Council to send a committee of investigation to both sides of the northern frontier of Greece was not favourably received in Yugoslavia, where it was styled as insult and an injustice. The investigation should be conducted in Athens, it was stated, and not in peaceful Yugoslavia.

A Yugoslav Government official has admitted that 100 German technicians have accepted contracts of about four years' duration to work in Yugoslavia. Most of them will be employed on a five-year plan for electrification, but some are believed to have contracted to train Yugoslav specialists in the armaments industry.

The United States Reading-room in Belgrade has been reopened after lengthy negotiations, but on condition that nothing but purely cultural material may be displayed.

The text of the economic agreement with Albania of the 27th November which was ratified by the Yugoslav National Assembly on the 27th December has now been published. By this agreement the economies of the two countries are to be brought into line according to a common plan. The Albanian lek is to be equalised with the Yugoslav dinar. Yugoslavia undertakes to supply Albania with all the materials necessary for the reconstruction of the country. A proportionate circulation of currency is to be established and price levels co-ordinated. Customs frontiers and customs are abolished. The agreement is to last 30 years. A second economic agreement between the two countries was ratified on the same occasion, but the text was not published. General Djilas in presenting the texts for ratification pointed out that such an agreement with any country other than Yugoslavia would have reduced Albania to a state of vassalage, whereas, on the contrary, the present treaty actually guaranteed Albanian independence.

Greece

On the 20th December the Security Council finally agreed to send a commission to inquire into conditions on the frontiers between Greece and her

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neighbours. The commission will be representative of all the Governments at present composing the Security Council and will have authority to conduct its investigation in "northern Greece and such other parts of Greece, Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia as the commission considers should be included in its investigations." The commission is to be sent not later than the 15th January, but only the American members of it have yet been named.

Raids by bandits have continued and there have been further heavy casualties among the Greek gendarmerie. The amnesty law is having some effect in Thessaly where ill-equipped bandits are feeling the pinch of winter, but surrenders in Macedonia and Thrace have been few. A number of incidents have been reported from districts more remote from the frontier. This has given rise to a suggestion that the sponsors of the bandits are anxious to distract attention from the frontier itself in view of the approaching arrival of the commission of investigation. Left-wing agitators are trying to provide evidence to support the Slav contention at the Security Council meetings that Greece's troubles are to be ascribed not to foreign intervention but to Greek maladministration throughout the country.

Considerable publicity was given to a report that, on the 26th December, the commander of the Greek troops at Drama had threatened that rebels crossing the border "in retreat before the Greek army" would be pursued into Bulgarian territory. Official circles in Athens, however, were inclined to dismiss the story as "mere journalism" and stated that, even if the report were true, such a threat could merely be the outcome of one commander's personal exasperation at seeing his quarry escape him and must not be interpreted as an expression of Greek Government opinion.

Before M. Tsaldaris left the United States he discussed Greece's economic difficulties with the State Department. On his return to Athens he made a statement to the Press that he had been assured that the U.S. Government would explore all possibilities of rendering immediate and long-term economic assistance to Greece. A communiqué to the same effect was given out in Washington on the 25th December. An economic mission headed by Mr. Paul Porter is to leave for Athens during January.

Despite M. Tsaldaris' successful presentation of Greece's case to the Security Council and apparently also to the State Department, demands for a broadening of the Greek Government have continued during the parliamentary recess and will presumably have to be met now that the Premier has returned.

Albania

A long, evasive, truculent and entirely unsatisfactory reply to His Majesty's Government's note of the 9th December was received on the 21st from the Albanian Government through their Chargé d'Affaires at Belgrade. They refuse to acknowledge any offence or to make any apology, and they reject completely H.M. Government's demand for compensation and reparation. The definition of the channel as an international waterway is not accepted, and H.M. Government's charges are all either denied or ignored. Pretending that they are themselves only too anxious to respect international law, the Albanian Government once more argue that the British warships were not "on innocent passage" through the Corfu Channel and that their penetration into Albanian territorial waters was unauthorised and provocative. They also disclaim all responsibilty for the mines, alleging that these were laid by some third party—doubtless *agents provocateurs*: (the Greeks appear to be meant). How could the Albanian authorities have been capable of laying mines in the channel, says the note, when they were considered to be unable to sweep it themselves by the Central Mines Clearance Board?

H.M. Government are now considering whether to invoke Article 39 of the United Nations Charter or the less grave Article 34. The latter empowers the Security Council to "investigate any dispute, or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute." Article 39, on the other hand, is concerned with "the existence of any threat to peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression." The more moderate course is the likelier.

The text of the economic agreement concluded between Albania and Yugoslavia on the 27th November and referred to in *Summary* No. 373 was published by the Albanian telegraph agency on the 28th December. The principal points agreed upon are given above under "Yugoslavia." At the time of its ratification at Tirana on the next day the Albanian Minister of National Economy is reported to have announced that it would now be possible for work to be begun during 1947 on constructing a railway system—something which Albania has

hitherto lacked, apart from a primitive line connecting Tirana with Durazzo. One project would link Valona with the Yugoslav system at Bitolj (Monastir) and so connect up eventually with Salonica. Another scheme aimed at linking Tirana and Durazzo with the Yugoslav system further north.

Bulgaria

One of the three Opposition newspapers, the Democrats' organ *Zname*, has been permanently suppressed. An official statement issued on the 24th December said that in spite of repeated warnings the paper had continued to publish tendentious articles misrepresenting the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and other friendly countries, and had tried to poison relations between them and Bulgaria. This may be interpreted without much difficulty. Offence was undoubtedly given to the authorities by a series of articles in *Zname* seeking to prove (with supporting quotations from Russian ethnologists) that the Bulgarian-speaking Macedonians—whom Marshal Tito proposes to detach—are not a separate nation apart. Another article, which perhaps annoyed the Government still more, hinted that the continued presence of the Soviet Army of Occupation was scarcely helping Bulgaria to settle down, and implied that her present rulers owed their authority less to popular support than to Russian backing. (Everybody, of course, knows this to be true.) It may be remarked that when it is a case of even really slanderous attacks in Government party newspapers against Great Britain or the United States—as when, for example, *Trud* (7th December) published a scurrilous cartoon depicting Mr. Bevin as Hitler and Mr. Byrnes as Mussolini—no official action whatever is taken, and General Biryusov doubtless grins as broadly as anyone.

The trial, for "treason," of General Popov and his 26 "fellow-conspirators" was due to begin at Sofia on the 30th December (see *Summary* No. 373). To offset this, an amnesty list was approved by the Cabinet on the 17th, under which 407 (mostly quite obscure) political prisoners and 94 criminals are to be set at liberty—for the time being at least—early in January. The trial of the 22 leading Social Democrats arrested 2 months ago, directly after the elections, has again been postponed. It is now announced that M. Lulchev himself is, after all, to stand his trial with the rest (see *Summaries* Nos. 367 and 371).

According to a statement broadcast from Sofia on the 18th December, apparently on official authority, the total strength of the Bulgarian army has been reduced already to 64,159, including 7,600 frontier guards (but naturally not the militia). The treaty allows Bulgaria a land army of 55,000 men, including frontier troops, and besides this 1,800 anti-aircraft personnel.

M. Yordan Bozhilov, Minister of Trade and Supply, is to lead a delegation to Moscow very soon to negotiate a new trade agreement with the U.S.S.R. for 1947.

(See also under "Greece" and "United Nations.")

[*Corrigenda: Summary* No. 373, page 18, line 4 from the bottom, for "the" read "that"; and page 19, second paragraph, last line but one, after "Bulgarian regular forces" read "and peasants in revolt."]

Turkey

On the 4th December the Grand National Assembly authorised the prolongation for another six months of the state of siege in the six vilayets in European Turkey and on the Asiatic shores of the Straits. By virtue of the exceptional powers thus conferred on the military authorities the Government proceeded on the 17th December to nip a Communist movement in the bud. The so-called "Socialist Party of Turkish Workers and Peasants" and the "Turkish Socialist Party" together with affiliated clubs were all suppressed. Some forty Left extremists were arrested, and the offices of half-a-dozen mushroom newspapers, whose Communist sentiments were with little doubt inspired by the Soviet Embassy, were closed down after mounting public indignation had led to student demonstrations against them. The Cabinet, who were perhaps influenced by the encouraging news from Azerbaijan, appear to have taken these steps after an all-night sitting. An obviously well-informed article in *Akşam* explained in unveiled terms the reasons for the Government's action. The two parties which were suppressed, it said, were working in Russian interests to overthrow the Turkish Government by force and to set up a Communist régime; the documents seized, especially those in Russian, proved that the object of the movement was

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to turn Turkey into a second Bulgaria and hand the Straits over to Russia; everything was allowed in Turkey, the article concluded, except selling the country to a foreign Power. Communism and Fascism being both forbidden in Turkey, the Government gave their action an air of impartial legality by suspending at the same time two extreme Right papers, of which one was a daily of Fascist tone and the other a Pan-Turanian weekly. Ignoring this sop Russian broadcasts denounced the suppression of the Communist movement as reactionary repression.

The Soviet Government were informed on the 28th November that H.M. Government adhered to the opinion that there was no longer any purpose in direct correspondence about the Straits between each of the three Governments and Turkey, and that further discussion on this subject should be at an international conference. It remains to be seen whether the failure of a movement obviously designed to lead to the establishment in Turkey of a pro-Russian Government will make the Kremlin any less insistent on dealing with Turkey by herself.

Recent debates in the Grand National Assembly have shown the difficulty of introducing anything like a parliamentary spirit among immature politicians now that there is a substantial Opposition. By a narrow majority the Government obtained the invalidation of the election of a Democrat, on the ground that in 1920 he had refused Mustafa Kemal's call to the War of Independence—a heinous offence. A Democrat leader retorted that he could name members of the Republican People's Party who were guilty of the same thing, and two days later a newspaper accused M. Şükrü Saracoğlu, the former Prime Minister, and two former Ministers. This caused a great stir, more charges and counter-charges, and a further embitterment of the relations between the two parties. Finally, the Prime Minister, when replying to the Democrats' criticism of the budget, characterised some of them as "revolutionary-minded" and one gentleman as "neuropathic," and the Democrats marched out of the Chamber. Visits to the President of the Republic ensued, and on the 27th December an official statement expressed the regret of President Inönü (who is leader of the Republican People's Party) that one party felt itself aggrieved, his conviction that mutual respect and good will existed and his desire that the normal work of Parliament might be resumed. Though normally phlegmatic, the Turks have yet to learn not to be carried away in the heat of debate. President Inönü, while anxious for a united front against external dangers, was no doubt prompted to intervene by his well-known desire for the two-party system to develop successfully.

THE MIDDLE EAST

Egypt

Hopes of an agreement between His Majesty's Government and the Egyptian Government over the interpretation of the Sudan Protocol appear to be as far from realisation as ever. Sidky Pasha's incorrect picture of his conversations in London, and the antidote supplied in the Governor-General's statement of the 7th December (see *Summary* No. 372), have resulted in the importance of the termination of the appointment of the Grand Qadhi, an Egyptian, and his replacement by a Sudanese, being unduly magnified in Egyptian eyes. A question on the subject has been asked in the Senate, and in conversation with His Majesty's Ambassador Nokrashy Pasha, in spite of his knowledge of the facts, has made a strong appeal for the decision to be revoked. He, in common with other Egyptian politicians, charges the Sudan administration and the Governor-General in particular with encouraging separatist ideas amongst the Sudanese, and with using their position in the Sudan to obstruct the fulfilment of Egyptian aspirations. The fact that two other high legal posts hitherto held by British officials are now being taken over by Sudanese is unlikely to alter their view. It is, in fact, difficult to believe that Egyptians give more than lip-service to the idea of Sudanisation.

Both Nokrashy Pasha and King Farouk (in an audience granted to His Majesty's Ambassador on the 26th December) believe that the solution of the Sudan question rests with His Majesty's Government. Nokrashy Pasha has expressed the hope that His Majesty's Government might authorise a statement to the effect that they had no intention of encouraging the Sudan to separate from Egypt, and that if it eventually chose to remain united with Egypt they would place no obstacle in the way and would be happy to see this happen. Nokrashy's own claims of the permanency of the Union between the two countries

make it unlikely that the Egyptian Government will be ready to make an equally clear declaration of neutrality, in spite of Sidky Pasha's agreement in London that the Sudanese have an inherent right to independence under the United Nations Charter, which governs the whole of the Treaty.

Saiyid Abdur Rahman al Mahdi has returned to Khartoum from London, and on the 29th December said that he had an assurance from Mr. Attlee that His Majesty's Government recognise the right of the Sudanese to decide their own future. His statement has been attacked in the Egyptian press; the *Saut al Umma* (Wafdist) professes to regard it as repeating the Governor-General's challenge to Egypt, and wonders why Mr. Attlee should allow a person with no official status to make such an important statement on his behalf.

On Christmas Eve six bombs were thrown in various places in Cairo, including one in the Anglo-Egyptian Union. There were no British casualties, but three Egyptians were injured. Three arrests were made; all three were Muslim Brethren.

Syria

As not infrequently happens in the Levant States, public rumour of the Cabinet's resignation preceded the event by some days (see *Summary* No. 372). On the 21st December it was announced that the President had accepted the resignation of the Cabinet, and a week later, on the 28th December, Jamil Mardam had formed a new Government. The members are as follows:—

Prime Minister, Interior and Health: Jamil Mardam.
Foreign Affairs: Naim Antaki.
Finance: Sa'id al Ghazzi.
Defence: Ahmad Shurabati.
Education: Emir Adil Arslan.
National Economy: Hikmat al Hakim.
Justice and Public Works: Adnan Atassi.

It had previously been stated in the press that Jamil Mardam was forming a new political party, which was said to be receiving some support from prominent people.

The Syrian Government are proposing to reorganise their army and to reduce the total numbers from 9,000 to 6,000 men. The new army will be based upon three armoured car regiments, and should provide a reasonably efficient and mobile force for the maintenance of order.

Iraq

Nuri Pasha's new Cabinet, which was formed at the beginning of December, is composed as follows:—

Prime Minister and Acting Minister for the Interior: Nuri Pasha as Sa'id.
Finance: Salih Jabr.
Foreign Affairs: Dr. Fadhil al Jamali.
Defence: Shakir Mahmud al Wadi.
Supply: Muhammad Hadid.
Economics: Baba Ali.
Justice: Omar Nadhmi.
Education: Sadiq al Bassam.
Social Affairs: Jamil Abdul Wahhab.
Communications and Works: Ali Mumtaz al Daftari.

The hopes which had been expressed that this coalition Government heralded a new era in 'Iraqi politics have been short-lived. By the 23rd December Muhammad Hadid and Ali Mumtaz were threatening to leave the Cabinet and to boycott the elections on the ground that they were being rigged by Salih Jabr with the Prime Minister's connivance.

Muhammad Hadid comes of a wealthy Mosul family, and graduated from London University with an Honours Degree in Economics, and returned to 'Iraq in 1931. He was elected deputy for Baghdad in 1937, and when Parliament was dissolved he went into business. On the recent formation of political parties he returned to politics and became deputy leader of the left-wing Hizb al Watani al Demokrati (National Democratic Party).

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Ali Mumtaz graduated from the Law College in Baghdad, and entered Government service about 1918. His first important post was Director-General of Revenues. He was appointed Minister of Finance in October, 1941, by Nuri Pasha, and again held the Finance portfolio in December, 1943.

One of the first acts of Nuri's Cabinet was to drop all the cases brought against newspaper editors by the Umari administration. Nuri Pasha outlined his programme at a press conference on the 4th December, making a plea for co-operation in internal policy, and pointing out that party government as it is known in some countries is not possible in 'Iraq. As regards external policy, the safety and interest of the country must come first, and Nuri Pasha, with some courage on the eve of the elections, said that 'Iraq would align itself where its national interests were likely to be best served, *i.e.*, with Great Britain.

Palestine

The World Zionist Congress at Basle completed its work in the early hours of Christmas Day. The most important decision taken by the Congress was a resolution, approved by 171 votes to 154, that "in existing circumstances the Zionist movement will not participate in the London Conference. If a change should take place in the situation the General Council of the Zionist Organisation will consider the matter and decide whether to participate in the Conference or not."

This decision represents a victory for the large group of American Zionists who accept the leadership of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver over the supporters of Dr. Weizmann: and although Dr. Weizmann appeared at the Congress to have lost none of his personal popularity, there were other signs that politically he had lost ground. A good deal of support was given to a proposal to appoint him Honorary President of the Zionist Organisation, and to reserve the active President's place for some more radical figure. Dr. Weizmann not unnaturally refused to accept a nominal appointment of this nature, and the Congress dispersed without having elected a President. There was equally a failure to elect the new Executive, and powers to do so were delegated by the Congress to the "Actions Committee." Some changes in the membership of the Executive are to be expected; in particular it is likely to reflect the greatly-increased influence of the American Zionists.

In addition to the decision not to participate in the London Conference, the Congress approved resolutions reaffirming the Biltmore Programme (which demands the transformation of Palestine into a Jewish Commonwealth), condemning the 1939 White Paper and rejecting the Morrison autonomy plan, which was described as unacceptable even as a basis for discussion.

Reaction among the Jews in Palestine has not been altogether favourable to the proceedings of the Basle Congress. There appears to be a feeling of uneasiness at the increased influence of the American Zionists, and, specifically, the Jewish Press has criticised the Congress for its failure to decide the question of the Presidency, for its inconclusive bargaining about the constitution of the new Executive, and for its failure to put forward a clear-cut political programme.

His Majesty's Government have proposed that the London Conference should be resumed on the 21st January and the Governments of the Arab States have been informed accordingly. In view of the Zionist decision not to attend, and the unco-operative attitude of the Palestinian Arabs, there is little prospect of a solution of the Palestine problem by agreement. The proposals of the Arab States' Governments, which aim at preserving a unitary State, are entirely unacceptable to the Zionists. The Palestinian Arabs (upon whom the Arab League are now exerting some pressure to send a delegation to London) have also found the proposals unsatisfactory, and have made acceptance of them conditional on (*a*) a reduction of the proportion of Jews to Arabs in the provisional Government from 1 Jew to 2 Arabs to 1 Jew to 6 Arabs; (*b*) the deletion of the clause empowering the High Commissioner to appoint the provisional Government, and (*c*) the incorporation of a provision placing an absolute restriction on the sale of land to Jews.

The prospects of the relatively peaceful interlude in Palestine continuing appear slender. Although the self-imposed "truce" declared by the terrorists has so far been broken only once, with the kidnapping and flogging of a British officer and British N.C.Os as a "reprisal" for a sentence of flogging on a Jewish terrorist, the illegal broadcasting station of the Irgun Zvai Leumi has threatened that the terrorist campaign will reopen unless the discussions of the Basle Congress prove to be a signal for general action by the Zionist movement.

There are also unmistakable signs of a mustering of forces on the Arab side The Arab Higher Committee, which functions from Cairo where the Mufti is still residing, have virtually severed their contacts with the Government of Palestine and are exploiting every opportunity to embarrass the administration and to incite popular feeling. The Mufti remains the dominant figure in Palestinian Arab politics, and his ascendancy leaves little scope for more moderate influences. The Arab Higher Committee have already addressed a memorial to the Palestine Government attributing to it any "evil consequences which may ensue as a result of the present immigration policy." There are signs that the Arab para-miliary youth movements Najjada and Futuwa are preparing to play a more active rôle in resisting Jewish immigration, and fears have been expressed in responsible Arab circles that a campaign against "traitors" (a reference to the more moderate Arabs) may start in the near future. Although, in spite of these indications, the danger of large-scale disturbances from the Arabs in the immediate future does not seem to be grave, there is, without doubt, a growing restiveness and increased dissatisfaction with the administration, principally on account of the continued admission of Jewish immigrants to Palestine. In this connection the announcement by His Majesty's Government that the cost of maintaining Jewish deportees held in Cyprus would be found out of Palestine funds has been badly received, and the Arab Higher Committee have threatened to cease paying taxes if the decision is carried into effect.

Persia

The situation in Azerbaijan is rapidly returning to normal. Public delight at the Central Government's victory appears to be still in evidence: on the 17th December students were reported to have assembled outside the Tabriz Town Hall, where, in front of a large crowd, they burnt text-books issued by the Azerbaijan Democrats. The Persian General Staff estimate that about 200–300 "Fidais" and others who had made themselves hated by their brutality were killed in Tabriz by outraged inhabitants before the arrival of Government troops. Dr. Javid, former Governor-General, and Shabastari, former President of the Provincial Council, have been sent under escort to Tehran, where they were placed under arrest. The officer commanding troops in Tabriz has announced that all those arrested for sabotage or other offences will be tried as early as possible by the military courts. Under Persian law persons sentenced by these courts are deprived for one year of all rights of appeal. General Kabiri, head of the Fidais, has already been condemned to death, and a similar sentence is expected to be pronounced on Ibrahimi, Azerbaijan Democrat Prosecutor-General.

Ali Mansur has now been appointed Governor-General of Azerbaijan, though Sadiq, Minister of Communications, was originally nominated to fill the post. Ali Mansur is generally considered to be the more suitable of the two, and news of his appointment has been received with considerable satisfaction in Tabriz. He has held his new post on a previous occasion, from April 1927 to January 1931. He was Prime Minister under Reza Shah from June 1940 until September 1941, when he resigned as the result of the Allied occupation of the country. From February 1942 until the autumn of 1945 he was Governor-General of Khorassan. While he held this post the Russians had considerable dealings with him and have no grounds for complaining that he has an anti-Russian record.

On the 20th December various Cabinet changes were announced. Nikpay and Farman Farmayan (see *Summary* No. 366) have resigned in order to stand as candidates for the Majlis. Aramish, Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Labour, becomes Minister of Labour and Propaganda, and Hakimi, Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Posts and Telegraphs, replaces Nikpay. Ghulam Husain Farouhar, a senior official of the Ministry of Finance, becomes Minister of Communications. Homayunjah, Under- Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and Fariduni, Under-Secretary at the Ministry of the Interior, become acting Ministers of their respective Ministries.

On the 24th December Aramish made a statement on the discovery of a subversive plot in Mazanderan, engineered by the Tudeh. Small arms of all kinds, including machine-guns and hand grenades were found in the possession of factory workers. It is believed that their intention was to cut communications between the capital and Mazanderan and the other northern provinces. Owing to prompt action by the Government the insurrection was nipped in the bud.

The country having recovered its equilibrium after the Azerbaijan *coup*, there now seems to be good grounds for expecting the elections to begin very soon.

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Inspectors have already left for the various constitutencies, and as soon as the newly appointed provincial administration is installed in Azerbaijan, instructions will be given for the elections to start. The officer commanding in Fars has, however, issued a proclamation to the effect that the elections will not begin until the principal places have been occupied by the security forces and all the arms taken from the troops and gendarmerie have been handed back to the military depots.

THE FAR EAST

China

On the 25th December China's first Constitution was adopted by the National Assembly in Nanking. The new Constitution is due to be promulgated on the 1st January and the date selected by the Assembly on which it is to come into force is the 25th December, 1947. This latter date was chosen in preference to the two other dates considered, the 10th October ("Double Tenth," China's national day, on which the first shot was fired for the Republic at Wuchang in 1911) and the 12th November (the birthday of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the Founder of the Chinese Republic).

The text of the Constitution is not yet available, but a memorandum written by Dr. Wang Chung-hui was distributed to each of the delegates attending the final session of the National Assembly, in which the salient provisions of the Constitution were given as being:—

the equality before the law of all persons, irrespective of sex, religion, race, class or party affiliation;
universal suffrage and secret ballot;
the guarantee of personal liberties and rights;
the supremacy of the National Assembly as the organ of the people;
the election by the National Assembly for a term of six years of a President, who may be re-elected to serve one additional term only;
the composition of the five branches of the Government, the Executive Yuan, the Legislative Yuan, the Judicial Yuan, the Examination Yuan and the Control Yuan;
the relationship between the Executive and Legislative Yuan, in which the Executive Yuan is made responsible to the Legislative Yuan;
clarification of the degree of authority vested in the Central and Provincial Governments, respectively;
local self-government under an electoral system for all provinces and counties (hsien);
and that the interpretation of the Constitution shall rest with the Judicial Yuan.

Unless Dr. Wang's pamphlet, entitled "High Lights of China's Constitution" was intended to serve as a memento, the exact purpose of its distribution among the delegates is not clear, since they themselves have been concerned throughout the last six weeks in weighing, assessing and discussing all the provisions of the Constitution on which they were about to cast their vote. The draft—which in the end showed little change from the revised state in which it was presented for deliberation by the National Assembly on the 28th November—had been severely criticised by the more liberal element in the Assembly, who disliked the statement that the Republic is founded on the "three people's principles," which phrase, they claimed, branded it as an exclusively Kuomintang instrument. They also complained that in this draft the Executive Yuan was not made sufficiently responsible to the Legislative Yuan; that it vested too much power in the President; made it too easy to deprive the people of their rights; and contained insufficient provision for local autonomy. The reactionary elements in the Kuomintang, on the other hand, drew a stern rebuke from their leader for their determined efforts to introduce amendments calculated to preserve, under a superficial coating of democracy, that dominating power which their party had enjoyed throughout its eighteen years of political sway. Indeed it was due almost entirely to General Chiang's firm, albeit undemocratic, stand that no change was made in any of the fundamental principles of the revised draft and that its adoption by unanimous vote followed an almost uninterrupted third and final reading.

President Chiang Kai-shek accepted the Constitution on behalf of the Government and in a short speech promised that immediate steps would be taken

to implement the "interim measures" agreed upon by the National Assembly for the gradual replacement of the existing one-party rule.

In the meantime renewed efforts are afoot to entice both the Democratic League and the Communists to resume negotiations. Already it is claimed that there are signs that the League leaders, who played an important rôle in the revision of the original Kuomintang draft Constitution, might welcome a renewed invitation to take part in a Government which is intended to undergo immediate reorganisation on an all-party basis. Encouraged by the categorical denial by the Communist spokesman, Wang Ping-nan, of rumours that his party was about to set up a rival "National Assembly" and that an independent draft Constitution was in the course of preparation, renewed hopes of a reconciliation with the Communist Party are also germinating. Plans were formulated by General Chiang Kai-shek for the despatch of a peace delegation to Yenan with proposals for the immediate resumption of negotiations. Unfortunately news of General Chiang's intention found its way prematurely into the press. It is suspected that this embarrassing leakage was deliberately engineered by some of the reactionary members of the Kuomintang in the hope that the project would be nipped in the bud. Be this as it may, the news was rudely received in Yenan, where the Communists announced that any such advance would be quite useless since the Government were not prepared to dissolve the National Assembly and agree to a return to the military positions of January 1946. Nevertheless, it is confidently expected that General Chiang will persist in his intention to send a representative to Yenan with instructions to base a final appeal on the ground that a Constitution has been adopted in conformity with the Political Consultative Council resolutions; that the Executive Yuan is about to be broadened to include those who are individually most qualified, irrespective of party; and that a State Council will be set up in which seats will be reserved for the delegates of both the Communist Party and the Democratic League. The Communists are concerned to keep the situation fluid lest the United States Government should decide to throw the whole weight of American support on the side of the Nanking Government. To this end their representatives in Nanking have asserted that not only have they no desire to shut out American mediation, but hope that General Marshall may see his way to continue his efforts. But it is felt that they have little desire to effect an actual settlement with the Kuomintang and that, therefore, they are certain to reject General Chiang Kai-shek's contemplated appeal. Indeed, according to a press report of the 30th December, the Yenan spokesman Chou En-lai, in commenting on President Truman's recent statement on United States policy in China, reiterated that peace talks with the Nanking Government could be resumed only if the two essential conditions already made known to them were fulfilled.

On the 18th December, President Truman re-stated American policy toward China. He made it clear that the United States intends to persevere in the policy expressed in his statement of the 15th December, 1945; and he stressed that "it was a matter of deep regret that China had not yet been able to achieve unity by peaceful methods," but that, despite the fact that negotiations had been broken off by the Communists, his special representative, General Marshall, would remain there because of the seriousness of the problem and the importance of reaching a solution. "The United States" he said "stands ready to help China as she moves toward peace and a genuine democratic government." President Truman traced the reasons that had governed the stationing of American troops in China and pointed out that while last year these forces in China were large—"they had to be"—(113,000), today they were being reduced to less than 12,000.

Far from a cessation of fighting, it seems obvious that the state of full-scale civil war interrupted by General Chiang Kai-shek's cease-fire order of the 11th November, has been resumed with considerable vigour. According to recent reports, Government forces are engaged in major operations in northern Kiangsu where large pockets of Communist troops are said to be threatening their lines of communication. There is also extensive military activity in Hopei, in the vicinity of Paoting. Communist forces are closing in on the northern section of the Peiping–Hankow Railway with Paoting as their primary objective, and Government forces in this area are said to be holding their positions with difficulty. In Manchuria, too, the Communists are assuming the initiative and threatening the railway between Changchun and Kirin. In some quarters it is thought that the Government are about to launch a really large expedition with the object of liquidating the Communist forces in Shantung and Manchuria and that the ports of Chinwangtao and Tsingtao, which have been declared closed to foreign shipping, are to be used as bases for this expedition. No explanation

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of the closing of these two ports, however, is known to have been furnished in official quarters.

French Indo-China (see also under "France")

Attacks launched on the 19th December by the Viet-Nam Army on all French garrisons in Tonking and Northern Annam suggest that hotheads in the Viet-Minh Party have temporarily gained the upper hand. It is difficult to believe that they seriously expected to win complete independence by force of arms, but they may have hoped to force the pace. Several days before the outbreak the Viet-Nam Government withdrew from the capital, Hanoi, to Hadong, 6 miles south-west.

North of the 16th parallel, which formed the dividing line between Chinese and S.E.A.C. forces when Indo-China was first re-occupied, French garrisons at Hanoi, Langson, Huë, Tourane and elsewhere have been hard pressed but are reported to have the situation under control. Only at Vinh a French force was compelled to surrender in order that the lives of local residents might be saved. Reinforcements are on their way out from Europe, and General Leclerc, who has gone out to study the situation, has arrived in Saigon.

Admiral d'Argenlieu, the High Commissioner, and M. Moutet, Minister for Overseas Territories, have, since their arrival in Saigon, made it clear that the French authorities will not submit to violence nor will they be bound by conventions that the other side violates. So far, therefore, from accelerating a settlement, Viet-Nam action seems to have set the clock back. A statement by M. Moutet at an official dinner that "we are sure that your young Government (the Provisional Government of Cochin-China) will acquire the necessary authority and penetrate deeply among the peoples it is destined to lead" is significant: the proposed referendum that was to decide the future of Cochin-China seems to have receded further than ever into the background.

For their part the Viet-Nam Government seem to have become doubtful of the wisdom of the course they were pursuing, for they have been broadcasting suggestions of a resumption of negotiations for several days past. Present indications, however, are that the existing Viet-Nam Government is hopelessly discredited in French eyes.

Rumours from China also say that a group of Annamite exiles in Nanking reported to hold more moderate views, but not commanding sufficient support in Viet-Nam, and also two pro-Chinese parties who opposed Viet-Minh at the elections, are putting out peace feelers, and indicate that some sections at least of Viet-Nam opinion are willing to come to terms with the French. None seems, however, to have a leader in any way comparable with M. Ho Chi Minh. The High Commissioner mentioned in conversation with H.M. Consul-General at Saigon that the possibility of the reinstatement of the ex-Emperor Bao Dai, formerly a member of M. Ho Chi Minh's Government, should not be overlooked.

A Viet-Nam broadcast has been calling on the Cochin-Chinese to rise but the territory remains calm, though as a precautionary measure curfew has been declared.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

As the present year, with its record of industrial unrest, draws to a close in the United States there is still anxiety regarding the bid which organised labour is making for substantial wage increases in 1947. A further indication of what that bid is likely to involve was provided by Mr. Philip Murray on the 18th December, after the executive boards of the three major C.I.O. unions—the automobile, steel and electrical workers—had met in Pittsburgh to "co-ordinate strategy." Mr. Murray announced that his own union, the United Steel Workers of America, would ask for a guaranteed annual wage, for the provision of medical and retirement funds and for the recognition of the workers' right to "portal-to-portal" pay—*i.e.*, pay for time spent on employer's premises while moving to and from work. (The steel workers and several other organisations are at the moment taking advantage of a Supreme Court ruling of last June on the Wage-Hour Act of 1938 to bring suits against industry for the recovery of an estimated 6,000 million dollars of such pay). Yet the fact that Mr. Murray and his union are apparently prepared to enter into negotiations with the employers next month without previously committing themselves to specific pay increases is taken in some quarters as a sign that a compromise will eventually be found and that

there will be no repetition of last year's strikes. Mr. Murray has in fact stressed that there will be none. Mr. Walter Reuther has also intimated that he would be ready to modify his recent demand for a 23½ cents an hour increase for his United Automobile Workers if it could be shown conclusively that such an increase would necessitate a rise in prices. At the same time some of the other more reassuring aspects of the American industrial picture have been emphasised in the first report of the President's Council of Economic Advisers set up under the Employment Act of 1946. This predicts "great prosperity" in the New Year if there are no adverse developments such as another round of strikes or "international tension verging on war," and it holds out the hope of 1947 being followed by "some years of high production, employment and purchasing power."

The two weeks preceding the first meeting of the 80th Congress have witnessed growing interest in the 1948 Presidential campaigns, for which much of the coming activity on Capitol Hill is likely to serve, directly or indirectly, as a prelude. On the 17th December Mr. Harold Stassen caused surprise in some political circles by frankly announcing his candidature for the Republican nomination two years hence. He added that he was opening a Washington office in the New Year and that his main interest would lie in finding a policy to avert strikes, make restrictive labour legislation unnecessary and raise the standard of living of the much-neglected "white collar" workers. By his "courage" in thus defying the tradition which insists that Presidential ambitions be carefully concealed at so early a date in the political calendar the youthful ex-Governor of Minnesota has apparently enhanced his prestige among the Liberals of his party. His more guarded fellow-aspirants, on the other hand, are still maintaining the customary *nolo episcopari* pose. Senator Vandenberg stated on the 17th December that he was not a candidate for the Presidential nomination, adding that he "anticipated no campaign on his behalf." He also said that he would give up his present United Nations work in order to be able to devote himself more completely to Senate affairs, but he made it clear that he would continue to give his full support to Mr. Byrnes and that he would hold himself available for any further duties which the President or the Secretary of State might deem it essential for him to undertake. Mr. Dewey has refused to be drawn out on his Presidential aspirations, although his recent decision to support Representative Charles A. Halleck, a former follower of Mr. Willkie, for the key post of House Majority Leader has been taken to indicate a desire to participate in the shaping of Congressional policy so that the Republican record in both the House and the Senate may be an asset rather than an impediment to the party in 1948. On the Democratic side Mr. Truman is reported to regard himself as a candidate for the 1948 nomination, although when questioned on the subject at his press conference on the 18th December he replied that he had no comment.

Since the adjournment of the United Nations General Assembly in New York there has been a sharp decline in the volume of press and radio comment devoted to international affairs. Editors and broadcasters have in general expressed profound satisfaction that the Allied nations could celebrate the second Christmas of peace in such an unusual atmosphere of harmony and with the prestige of the United Nations Organisation, in the words of the *New York Herald-Tribune*, "at the highest point it has yet reached." Opinion is divided as to whether it has been Mr. Byrnes' policy of "patience combined with firmness" or the pressure of conditions at home that has induced the Soviets to make what another newspaper describes as "their first adventure in compromise" at Lake Success and the Waldorf Astoria. Mr. Walter Lippmann asserts that the agreements reached by the Foreign Ministers in any case merely "register an acceptance of the spheres of influence which were marked out when the victorious Soviet and Western Powers met." Yet further encouraging, though by no means conclusive, evidence of a change of heart in the Kremlin has been detected in M. Gromyko's acquiescence in the United States proposal for a special commission to investigate conditions on the northern frontier of Greece.

The curiosity of some newspapers regarding Anglo-American interests and intentions in the Antarctic, which was stirred at the beginning of the month by the departure of Admiral Byrd's large task force and by rumours of a race for uranium and oil deposits, has now been re-awakened by the announcement that Commander Finn Ronne, who accompanied the Admiral on two previous voyages to the South, is to take a small party of "scientists" to Marguerite Bay in the British possession of Graham Land. In a badly informed article of the 23rd December the *New York Times* suggested that His Majesty's Government had been requested by the State Department to withdraw one of the British parties at present in

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Graham Land—which has been defined by Letters Patent as British since 1908—to make way for Commander Ronne. It has been the subject of an official *démenti* in London, in which it has been pointed out—as it was previously pointed out—to Commander Ronne through the State Department in Washington—that, while every assistance would be given to any American party visiting the British station at Marguerite Bay, the supplies of seal meat available there would only be sufficient to feed a few more human beings and no more dogs. A further denial that the United States Government had asked for the removal of the British expedition was issued at his press conference on the 27th December by Mr. Dean Acheson, who also pointed out that, while the United States Government had never formally registered any claims in the Antarctic, they had not recognised any claims of other nations and had reserved all rights which the U.S. might have there. Meanwhile, Commander Ronne has called upon His Majesty's Ambassador in Washington and has explained that the purpose of his expedition to the Antarctic is solely scientific, and that it is not his intention to establish any territorial claim there. Nevertheless this present disclaimer of any political motives is difficult to reconcile with the fact that he himself left territorial "claim sheets" for the United States in the Marguerite Bay area in 1940.

LATIN AMERICA

Inter-American Affairs

The United States Ambassador to Argentina has now returned to Washington for consultation, but no statement has been made up to the time of writing about a settlement with Argentina. This turns upon whether Mr. Messersmith can convince Mr. Byrnes that Argentine action against ex-enemy nationals and property has been sufficient. Just before his departure Mr. Messersmith saw President Perón, Dr. Bramuglia and Sr. Miranda, and when he complained of the delay in liquidating German firms, Sr. Miranda denounced the Junta de Vigilancia as corrupt and suggested that Axis property should be transferred to the Central Bank and thus to his own control. General Perón said that he had made his wishes plain, but had been disobeyed, and thereupon gave orders that the Central Bank should take over. With regard to the question of enemy aliens, it was resolved to send 30 of them who were under arrest straight to Hamburg and that the Argentine Government should announce the names of 22 others who were alleged to be hiding. Mr. Messersmith professed himself satisfied with this arrangement and convinced of General Perón's good faith. In fact, only 13 Germans sailed for Hamburg before Mr. Messersmith's departure, though Dr. Bramuglia gave a further assurance to H.M. Ambassador on the 23rd December that all the Germans in hiding would be arrested. A special Government Decree has since been passed naming the 52 Germans concerned and ordering their arrest and expulsion.

Meanwhile, Senators Vandenberg and Brewster, both Republicans, have made pronouncements in favour of normal relations with Argentina, and Mr. Braden's references to totalitarianism in the Americas in a recent broadcast were perhaps more guarded than usual. The contest between Mr. Messersmith and Mr. Braden may well take place soon after the meeting of Congress on the 4th January.

UNITED NATIONS

Atomic Energy Commission

In accordance with the request of the recent General Assembly the Atomic Energy Commission held a number of meetings in the last fortnight of December to make ready its report to the Security Council "by the end of the year." At the first of these meetings on the 17th Mr. Baruch in a brief speech formally moved the adoption of the United States proposals which have been the basis of the Commission's work, and the other delegates, with the exception of the representatives of the Soviet Union and Poland, gave their assent, Canada's representative, General McNaughton, however, securing approval for some modifications in the original wording. It was decided that the Baruch draft as amended should be incorporated in the Commission's report. At its meeting at Lake Success on Monday, the 30th December—the most important since the debate on the American proposals opened six months previously—the Baruch plan received ten affirmative votes, but the delegates of the Soviet Union and

Poland abstained, and M. Gromyko made it plain that the Russians have not budged on their attitude of opposition to any scheme for the international control of atomic energy which should involve abrogation of the "rule of unanimity of the Great Powers," *i.e.*, the veto. This outcome of six months' incubation cannot be said to be surprising, especially as the United States delegation had insisted, at a meeting of the Commission on the 5th December, not only on dotting the i's and crossing the t's of the proposal for an international authority outside the Security Council but also on specific provision for the abolition of the veto on action to be taken in respect of violations of such international control system as the nations might create by treaty. It was this last point on which the Russians stood absolutely firm.

The 30th December was Gromyko's day. Apart from moving the adoption of the draft report Mr. Baruch kept silence, and the other delegates made only brief interventions. The Russian delegate, speaking in English—which language he uses normally only when in the Chair—declared that the Soviet Union could not accept a plan which in their judgment contradicted the General Assembly's Resolution on disarmament and which virtually would have the effect of revising the United Nations charter—when the Assembly itself had now gone on record as opposing any revision of the veto power. The Atomic Energy Commission, he maintained, must necessarily take the Assembly's disarmament resolution as its basis, and there it was in black and white that the United Nations should be required to devise an international control system wholly "within the framework of the Security Council." In fact the disarmament resolution leaves the question of the veto and action in respect of violations open. The Baruch plan was "a retreat from the principle of unanimity" since, on its own authority, the Commission thereby was effecting a revision of the Charter by asking for "a voluntary relinquishment of the so-called veto." Sir Alexander Cadogan, taking up this point, argued that there was no real discrepancy between something done "within the framework of the United Nations" and "within the framework of the Security Council," since the greater included the less. But M. Gromyko had his instructions from Moscow—he had deliberately postponed speaking until he was fully briefed—and the only piece of good cheer that he contributed was to express the willingness of his delegation to debate in detail the Baruch proposals despite their "serious defects" so as to make "absolutely necessary corrections in them, having in mind the Draft Convention submitted by the Soviet Union in July!" (This was a reference to the Soviet plan for a convention to outlaw the use of atomic weapons and for the destruction of existing bombs which M. Gromyko had submitted to the meeting of the Commission on the 26th July—see *Summary* No. 353).

The same day, 30th December, was notable for the formal acceptance by the Commission of the report from its Scientific and Technical Committee (passed unanimously on the 26th September last) on the elaborate controls necessary to prevent the diversion of atomic energy to military purposes. An international atomic energy authority is envisaged operating under the Security Council, whose functions might range from keeping watch over uranium mines to the detection with the help of aerial surveys of illicit mining and the actual management of plants engaged in the later stages of the processing of atomic materials. The representative of the Soviet Union, Professor Alexandrov, was alone in refusing to discuss the project for aerial surveys.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary

No. 375

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
8TH JANUARY, 1947

Copy No. 143

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EUROPE

GERMANY

The 1st January, 1947, marked the coming into force of the new bi-zonal economic arrangements, which will mean increased responsibility for Germans. At the same time the Anglo-U.S. economic policy boards began their work in Berlin, where they are likely to contrast by the speed of their deliberations with the protracted debates characteristic of Four-Power Committees at the highest level (although not always of the lower Directorates). By the 1st January the *Laender* in the British zone should have completed the assumption of the responsibilities granted to them under the new ordinance (see *Summary* No. 369), and on this date executive authority was given to Germans in the British sector of Berlin, thus bringing it into line with the system prevailing in the U.S. sector since March 1946. During the past two months new German Governments have been formed or elected throughout Germany (except in the Saar). These have sought to keep in line with the election results in the Assemblies or at lower levels, although the SED, for example, considerably strengthened its position in the Soviet zone. In most cases these Governments represent all the stronger parties, and only in Bremen and Hamburg, where the Christian Democrats have declined to join the cabinets, are there as yet genuine parliamentary oppositions. Despite the differences of structure and powers between these seventeen units the measure of responsibility in German hands is very real compared with the situation in January 1946. In the British zone in particular the next few months should provide a wider outlet for political activity hitherto directed largely into the channel of verbal criticism. There is, however, no sign that politicians in any quarter of the country enter the new year in a new spirit of give-and-take towards rival parties.

Ordinary Germans, gripped in a spell of icy weather, look at 1947 with numb apathy alternating with bitterness. In the British zone, where the new bi-zonal plans have not had time to take effect, anxiety

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about food, housing, fuel, dismantling prospects and financial reform, still holds first place. Although rations have in principle been pooled with those of the U.S. zone and have the same calorific value, there is bound to be discontent over the fact that the British zone ration for the next four weeks contains less meat and fats. In the U.S. zone, although conditions are not so acute, industry is also threatened by coal shortages. New Year messages from the East (which are intermingled with attacks on the bi-zonal arrangements as a means of Allied exploitation) seek to stress achievements in economic recovery and include appeals to the Germans to work as never before. This exhortation has been coupled in broadcasts over Leipzig radio with a rather surprising renewal of the theme of collective guilt which contrasts strongly with recent remarks by Herr Steltzer (see last week's *Summary*). The cry of misery and self-pity, however, creeps in even here. Dr. Paul of Thuringia, pleading for a conciliatory spirit at the Moscow talks, declared "soon we shall be at the end of our strength"; and the only hope for 1947 offered by Dr. Ostrowski, Lord Mayor of Berlin, is that "in its first half our plight will reach new depths and this will force upon us the decision that we must master our misery."

With the approach of peace treaty discussions, it is only natural that Germans who look beyond day-to-day difficulties are more than ever concerned with the problem of German unity; their reflections illustrate only too well some of the obstacles in the Treaty's path, quite apart from those of Allied disagreement. The Lord Mayor of Leipzig proclaimed with undue assurance on 31st December: "The coming year will bring us the Peace Treaty—a harsh peace. But it will go hand in hand with the establishment of a Reich Government and a unified administration." The new Bavarian premier, however, has already expressed his unwillingness to work for Berlin—although not opposing economic unity—whereas the leaders of the other two south German States show their eagerness to lead them back into the arms of the *Reich*. As early as the 27th November the Free Democrat organ *Hamburger Freie Presse* carried a pessimistic article fearing that if present trends persisted there would be no such thing as one treaty for the whole of Germany. The article contended that the East was being drawn away from German culture and tradition and that to bring it back a treaty in the name of the United Powers was necessary, however harsh. On the other hand, a writer in *Die Welt* of the 21st December takes the view that the absence of a central Government will not prejudice Germany's case at the peace conference. He concludes that the Allied Control Council has the power to put a peace treaty into effect on their own and that the Germans should retain a purely advisory rôle at this stage. He argues that it would be wiser not to burden the new democracy with the balance-sheet of the Nazi régime and reminds Germans of the blow suffered by the Weimar Republic through its responsibility for signing the Versailles Treaty.

As regards territorial losses, the picture is simpler. Adenauer has taken up Steltzer's declaration (see last week's *Summary*) and proclaimed in a New Year Message for re-settlers: "Tell them that no Christian Democratic politician will sign a peace treaty which recognises the Oder–Neisse Line . . . ." The SPD is not likely to seek political suicide by repairing this omission. The position of the SED, however, would appear to be veering again towards acceptance of the inevitable. *Berliner Zeitung* has now denied that the Eastern Frontier is merely provisional and on the 2nd January a Leipzig broadcast was directed against the *Lebensraum* theory. That this is likely to reflect the official party line is revealed in a private statement by one of its leading members some weeks ago. ". . . . If we were simply to accept the facts, we would appear as advocates of the separation—that would not benefit us. We must show the German people that there is only one solution: the destruction of Reaction and the guarantee of a truly democratic régime by the decision of the masses. Our living-space is not the space in which we live but our trade relations with other countries." The Allies can only applaud the admirable sentiment in the last sentence.

An important Trade Union Conference took place in Hanover on the 18th December under the auspices of the World Federation of Trade Unions. Delegates from all four zones represented some six million members (peak membership before 1933 was about eight million). The Communist-controlled *Freie Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund* supported by the WFTU was defeated by the Western trade unions in its attempt to gain control over all trades unions in Germany by establishing a central organisation in Berlin. It was merely resolved to hold regular meetings for consultation. But pressure by the FDGB will certainly continue and will probably come to a head next July when

the WFTU will consider the question of readmitting German unions. A resolution criticising the denazification policy of the Western Occupying Powers was also rendered harmless by the efforts of the Western Unions. In the British zone these unions have enhanced their reputation over the Bode-Panzer strike. (See *Summary* No. 372.) Although started by the Communists, the Trades Unions later took the initiative and concluded negotiations to the satisfaction of the workers while preventing Communist-inspired sympathetic strikes in over one hundred other concerns.

An amnesty for Nazi small fry in the U.S. zone was announced by General McNarney on Christmas Eve. All minor offenders who did not profit financially from the *régime* or who are 50 per cent. disabled will be exonerated. It is estimated that this will apply to some 800,000 persons out of approximately 3,000,000 Germans liable for prosecution in the zone. Plans are also being prepared to speed up denazification in the British zone.

Changes in Christian Democratic leadership in Berlin and the Soviet zone may occur following an article in *Telegraf* of the 4th January accusing the Deputy-Chairman Ernst Lemmer of writing anti-Allied articles in the Belgian paper *Le Soir* which had come under Dr. Goebbels' influence. Damaging extracts are quoted, but Lemmer has denied that the reports which he transmitted expressed his own opinion and says that the CDU were well aware of his activities as a correspondent between 1933–1945. This is at best a dubious qualification for his present post, which was secured for him by the Russians after Hermes had been ousted. Lemmer is believed to have given the Russians confidential information about the CDU. His removal, while temporarily embarrassing to Kaiser, would in the long run be advantageous. His disappearance might also help co-operation between Kaiser and Hermes. The latter recently visited Berlin and since his return to the British zone has been trying to organise opposition to Adenauer. Kaiser himself is planning a serious campaign to break the hold of the right wing in the British zone, but Adenauer's position is still strong.

AUSTRIA

The New Year was marked in Austria with messages from President, Chancellor, members of the Federal Government, and Provincial Governors, all with the same note of hope that a treaty would be concluded early in the year, after the disappointments of 1946. General Mark Clark is reported to have begun discussions with Allied and Austrian authorities on various points of the Austrian Treaty, before the London talks at which he will be the United States deputy.

One of the main points to be cleared up during the treaty talks will be the displaced persons issue. Herr Ludwig, a People's Party deputy, spoke at a meeting of the Inter-Parliamentary Union Economic Commission in Paris, saying that it would be unbearable if occupation troops were to be retained in Austria under the pretext of this unsolved problem. Austria, with a population of approximately 7,000,000 had some 600,000 displaced persons. The Minister of the Interior, Herr Helmer, has spoken of the anxiety caused by foreigners who "ruthlessly use arms" and have caused "considerable losses" among the police and gendarmerie. Apart from the political and security problems, the material burden on Austria's strained resources is heavy, and the provision of supplies, both financial and material, for U.N.R.R.A's displaced persons operations in Austria in 1947 rests with the Austrian Government. Little progress has been made in repatriation, and there are still 46,366 repatriable displaced persons in the British Zone, 15,652 stateless persons, together with 15,956 *Reichsdeutsche*, 27,643 *Volksdeutsche* eligible for resettlement in Germany and 12,557 for whom no provision was made in the Potsdam agreement. Although there has been favourable comment among many Austrians on the possibility of absorbing some of these people, particularly *Volksdeutsche* from parts of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, into the Austrian economy to help in reconstruction, even advocates of this course emphasise that it would be strictly limited by economic and political considerations, and any attempt to force a large-scale settlement and naturalisation of foreigners would be strongly resisted by the Austrians.

The Jewish refugees, of whom there are thought to be 30,000 now in Austria on their way from Eastern Europe to Palestine, have protested at their being "lumped together with the other displaced persons." They say that their food supplies are no burden to Austria since their entire rations come from "allied gifts."

The acute shortage of fuel and electric power has caused the worst crisis yet. Holiday restrictions on steam trains were

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extended until the 5th January, and during the week-ends there are no passenger steam trains at all, except for international expresses. Parts of Vienna have had to remain in complete darkness, and the population spend their days in cold dark rooms, heated at best for a few hours each day with scraps of wood and coal, and lighted often for a few hours only by candles. The Austrian Power Directorate announced on the 5th January that industrial undertakings, most of which have already been closed since the 19th December, must remain closed for at least another fortnight because of the fuel shortage. The result is likely to be that the slight recovery in industrial production during the Autumn will be lost.

There have been protests in French and American-controlled organs on the reported ban on the import of Dr. Schuschnigg's memoirs into Austria. They have been published in Switzerland under the title "Requiem in Red-White-Red," and have apparently occasioned "violent outbursts" against Schuschnigg from Communist and Socialist quarters.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The New Year pronouncements made by the Czech political parties were, on the whole, optimistic but critical. M. Gottwald broadcast on the 1st January in a programme celebrating the official start of the Two-Year Plan, the groundwork of which, he claimed, had already been successfully established. Not to be outdone, however, by the somewhat sombre Presidential address of Christmas Eve (see last week's *Summary*) the Prime Minister delivered an attack upon black marketeers and the "whispering propaganda of obscure elements" among the rural population. New regulations have indeed been passed recently to deal more rigorously with black marketing.

M. Gottwald's reference to farmers and their part in the Plan, coupled with his remarks on canvassing carried out by a "fifth political party of the Agrarian and Stribrný type," is of some significance. The Czech Communist party during the election campaigning last year paid considerable attention to the rural communities, whereas its strongest opponent, the Czech Socialist party, concentrated upon the towns. The non-Communist parties have since attempted to rectify this tactical error, and have invited applications from former Agrarians where politically desirable. One instance of this is Dr. Feierabend, a moderate Agrarian who redeemed himself by abandoning his cabinet post under Beran in January 1940, and escaping to England to join the Government-in-exile. M. Feierabend, known outside his own country mainly for his expert financial knowledge, was, during the summer, eagerly sought after by the Communists, both on account of this knowledge and his following in Agrarian circles. The Communists were, however, disappointed, Feierabend threw in his lot with the Socialists. The Communist party, with the help of the Minister of Information, thereupon began to accuse Feirerabend, and others who had joined the Socialists, of attempting to revive a fifth party, which has, of course, been denied. Faced with persistent and mainly successful counter-propaganda during December, M. Gottwald is now compelled to take refuge in vaguer accusations. (The counter-propaganda had found its main expression in Parliamentary criticism of budget expenditure, particularly of the Ministry of Information, and in the Socialist press campaign against Communist predominance in Czech broadcasting.)

M. Gottwald's passing reference to Stribný is of topical interest. The trial of this unscrupulous Czech Fascist has just opened in Prague. A brilliant and forceful personality, he began his political career as a Socialist, but his restless nature and will-to-power led him to form a league more favourable to his ideology. He became leader of the "yellow" press in Czechoslovakia, owning the biggest newspaper (see *Summary* No. 369) and was one of those Czechs who voluntarily aided Hitler.

The People's Party organ, *Lidová Demokracie*, claimed to give a fair representation of the views of the man-in-the-street upon the developments of 1946. The article expressed satisfaction at the solid achievements in recovery, the expulsion of the Germans, the holding of free elections, the growth of effective Parliamentary criticism, Press freedom and free speech. On the debit side it places the unparalleled growth of party influence in every sphere of life. The People's Party loses no chance to attack the growth of bureaucracy and excessive State expenditure. As a result of such criticism, a Control of Expenditure committee has been set up in the Assembly, and drastic pruning, *e.g.*, the removal of 100,000 or more civil servants and their transfer to industry, foreshadowed. (See also under "Hungary.")

POLAND

In spite of considerable difficulties, M. Mikolajczyk's Polish Peasant Party succeeded in putting forward candidates in all the fifty-two constituencies into which Poland, including the former German areas under Polish administration, is now divided. M. Mikolajczyk is reported to have stated that up to the last day for handing in the party lists of candidates, namely the 20th December, means had been found to obstruct their presentation in no less than 18 constituencies; but that after he had raised the matter at a Cabinet meeting the General Electoral Commissioner had issued orders that all the lists were to be received. Since then they have been under consideration by the Divisional Electoral Commissions, and it is not yet known how many, if any, may be declared invalid by these Commissions. M. Mikolajczyk is said to have gained his point only after threatening to appeal to the three Great Powers; and he is still uncertain whether the disabilities under which his party is placed may not prove so great as to make it undesirable to contest the elections. A meeting of the party executive council on the 8th January is likely to bring the matter to a head; and the party's decision to participate may depend (*a*) on whether its lists of candidates are declared valid in all constituencies; (*b*) on whether the party's "observers" are allowed to attend the polling-area committees without being required to produce recommendations from the local authorities (as prescribed by the Electoral Regulations).

M. Mikolajczyk's party has received the adherence of a small group of seceders from the Socialist Party, including the veteran leader, M. Zulawski, who, with two others, is included in the Party's central list of candidates.

Strenuous attempts are being made to organise government employees and those of Cooperative Societies, together with Trades Union members, into marching in a body to the poll on the day of the election and vote openly for the "*Bloc*." In Upper Silesia canvassers spent the Christmas holidays in securing, it is said, over 1,000,000 signatures to a promise to vote for the "*Bloc*"; those who refused to sign being threatened with unpleasant consequences.

Polish civil law has now been codified, and the differences due to the Partitions, some of which persisted through the inter-war period, have been abolished.

The trial of four major German war criminals opened in Warsaw on the 17th December. The accused are Fischer, Governor of the Warsaw district; Leist, Governor of the City of Warsaw; Meisinger, Commander of the Security Police in Warsaw; and Daume, Commander of the Ordnungspolizei.

The Polish press reports a decision of the Council of Ministers of the 19th December raising, in respect of secondary industries, the limit imposed on enterprises that may remain in private hands from 50 to 100 workers per shift.

SOVIET UNION

The outstanding event in Anglo-Soviet relations this otherwise uneventful week is the visit of Lord Montgomery to Moscow. Though only mentioned in the most meagre terms by the Soviet press and wireless, there can be little doubt that the visit is arousing considerable interest in Moscow. The *Daily Worker* of the 6th January (which, in such matters, may be taken as reflecting the official Soviet attitude) warmly welcomed the C.I.G.S. The fact that this invitation, first made by Generalissimo Stalin at Potsdam, was renewed by Marshal Vassilievsky on the 14th October last, when Anglo-Soviet relations seemed, on the surface, none too cordial, was, according to the *Daily Worker*, an indication of basic Soviet goodwill towards this country.

The Soviet press has recently been paying considerable attention to all items concerning Anglo-American military co-operation, especially rumours and reports of standardisation of arms and training. A London *Tass* message of the 4th January emphasised that Anglo-American military collaboration is growing closer, despite the Security Council discussions on the limitation of armaments, and concluded with a reference to President Truman's statement about the continued existence of the Combined Chiefs of Staff.

One of the most conspicuous omissions from the Soviet press throughout the past year has been the situation developing in French colonial territories. The course of events there was eventually summed up in a long article in *Izvestiya* on the 28th December. After referring to the failure of French and British troops to crush Viet-Nam independence, it noted the recognition by France in March, 1946, of Viet-Nam as a Free State, with its own Government, forming part of the Indo-China Federation and the French Union and the "subsequent violation of the agreements." The article then referred to the Fontainebleau Conference, where "certain French

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circles,'' especially Admiral d'Argenlieu, were accused of attempts to prevent a peaceful settlement, a *modus vivendi* being, nevertheless, achieved '' thanks only to the efforts of the Viet-Nam delegation and French democratic forces.'' *Krasnaya Zvezda* (the 5th January) described the present position, following widespread armed clashes, as very serious and as being complicated by the formation of another Viet-Nam Government by the refugee Annamite Kuomintang leaders in China. The view was endorsed that a policy of force in Viet-Nam would be opposed by '' 20,000,000 men and women.''

The long silence maintained by the Soviet press on the fusion of the United States and British zones of Germany suggests that the detailed criticism that has finally appeared in *Izvestiya* (the 1st January) is mainly a statement for the record. It fits in neatly with the sharp Soviet reaction to the recent French measures in the Saar (see *Summary* No. 374). Such prolonged delay in rising to the bait is the usual Soviet method of treating cases where a *fait accompli* has been presented. The article was certainly severe, stating that the real purpose of the Agreement was the withdrawal from Allied (presumably Quadripartite) control of powerful military and economic resources and their utilisation for purposes of political and economic pressure. The usual charges of contravention of the Potsdam Agreement and failure to implement agreed reparations policies were, of course, brought forward. Finally the fusion was described as '' a dangerous attempt at the political and economic division of Germany;'' it would impede the restoration of political unity and would serve the Anglo-American purpose of turning Germany into a '' Union of States.''

The Soviet Government have accepted the Government of Siam's proposal to resume diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. Writing to the Soviet Minister in Sweden, the Siamese Minister to Sweden stated that the present Government of Siam completely disapproved of the attitude towards the Soviet Union of Siam's former Government and wished to maintain friendly relations with the Soviet Union and to exchange Ministers. The Siamese Government had followed an anti-Russian policy for many years until in March 1941 negotiations were opened to establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. These negotiations resulted in an exchange of notes to establish diplomatic, consular and trade relations between the two countries; owing to the subsequent severance of communications between Bangkok and Moscow, following the outbreak of the Soviet-German war, and the occupation of Siam by the Japanese in December 1941, no exchange of diplomatic representatives actually took place.

By stigmatising the Persian Government as reactionary, persecuting democrats, terrorising workers, &c., the Soviet Union is building up a case in public through the press and wireless which would enable it, if need be, to indict the Government, either before U.N.O. or the W.F.T.U. Action in this direction will, however, probably be postponed until a definite decision has been taken by the Majlis about the proposed Soviet oil concession in Azerbaijan.

A Delegation of Soviet scientists has left Moscow to participate in the forthcoming Congress of Scientists at Delhi. They will report on the achievements of Soviet science and visit Indian scientific institutions. This is the first time that the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences has been officially represented at an Indian Congress of this nature, and the visit is symbolic of the present efforts to establish closer links between the Soviet Union and India.

Further evidence has come to hand of the determination of the Party leaders to strengthen central control and tighten up discipline generally. The latest move, as announced in *Pravda* of the 14th December, is the creation of a new Administration for the examination of Party Organs, the personnel of which have been taken over from the former Department for Organisation-Training. The new Administration ranks as a third beside the existing Administrations for Cadres and for Propaganda set up by the 18th Party Congress. Its purpose was stated to be '' to improve the direction of local party organisations, to ensure control over their activities and to centralise control of their work in a single organ.'' A group of inspectors are to work under the new Administration; apparently they are to encourage rank-and-file Party members to speak out freely in criticism of the higher local officials. The administration must have existed in fact for some months, for, during the summer, there were accounts of a searching visit to the Astrakhan and Udmurt oblast committees from one such inspector, during which higher Party officials were shown up for bribe-taking and general slackness.

Metropolitan Nikolai Krutitsky, on his return to Moscow from the Slav Congress in Belgrade, has expressed warm appreciation of the hospitality extended to him by

the Serbian Patriarch Gavrilo, with whom he stayed throughout his visit, and his conviction of the '' unshakable and sincere friendship between the two churches.'' Patriarch Gavrilo, in private conversation with representatives of the Russian clergy, is reported to have said that the centre of Orthodoxy was in Moscow and that the remaining small autocephalous Churches could only find the right path for their historical life in unison with the Russian Church. Too much should not, however, be read into this statement for the union referred to need mean no more than the natural unity already existing between sister Orthodox Churches.

SCANDINAVIA

Finland

The close of the year saw a marked increase in political tension, and a growing threat of accelerated inflation as the price and wage truce neared its date of expiration—the 31st December. Opposition towards the Government most clearly showed itself during the debate on the State Police (see *Summary* No. 368), and again when the Diet considered the bill for the punishment of persons involved in the arms dumps affair. Until the matter is finally settled it will continue to hang like a sword of Damocles not only over M. Pekkala and his Government but over the Finnish people as a whole, as the rejection of the bill may easily have the most disastrous consequences. The vast majority of Diet members fully realise this fact and are prepared to compromise with their consciences; but the position is further complicated by the Finnish Constitution which stipulates that bills involving departures from Constitutional Law must be passed with a majority of not less than five-sixths. While it is true that the so-called War Guilt Bill, passed in September 1945, required and obtained this necessary majority, it should be borne in mind that the Opposition has since then become bolder.

Evidence that fear of the Soviet Union still plays a major part in Finnish parliamentary affairs was, however, afforded when the Government recently asked for the prolongation of the Defence of the Republic Act, which motion was passed by 133 votes to 47. This is the second occasion upon which the Diet has perpetuated an unpopular war-time measure giving the Government special emergency powers. The Act will now remain in force till the signing of the Peace Treaty, but in no case beyond the end of 1947. A few days later the President actually invoked this Act when issuing a decree temporarily empowering the Ministry of the Interior to censor matter for publication which has a bearing on Finland's relations with foreign Powers. One periodical was, in fact, suspended for consistently printing anti-Soviet propaganda. The chief offenders, though the decree is naturally not directed against them in the present instance, have undoubtedly been *Vapaa Sana* and *Työkansansamomat* which have distinguished themselves by their vituperations against Great Britain, and to a lesser extent the United States; it may be recalled that H.M.'s Minister last year lodged a protest with the Finnish Government. Whether the Communist Minister of the Interior will be prepared to curb the wild attacks of his party's press against the Western democracies is, of course, open to doubt.

Despite these political developments, the greatest difficulty with which the Government had to contend was the redemption of a pledge given to the farmers, at the time of the price and wage truce, that they would be permitted, after fulfilling their quotas, to sell surplus produce in the open market. This arrangement did not materialise, and for several weeks before a settlement was reached the Agrarians pressed for a decision under threat of withdrawal from the Government. Having secured certain concessions they agreed to remain in the Government, while Social Democrats and Communists continue to exchange recriminations in an effort to make political capital of the question.

Alarmed by the prospect of a steep rise in the cost-of-living index, the Government, on the 15th December, agreed, in principle, to a five per cent. price reduction on all home-produced goods. Noteworthy exceptions include all agricultural produce; house rents will also remain unaffected by the decision. In a speech Minister Härmä made it clear that the Government considered the continuation of the price and wage truce to be essential, though wages of farm labourers would have to be increased by about eight per cent. early in April. The position of other groups, for instance civil servants, will probably also have to be reconsidered. The practicability of implementing the decision for a general price reduction has since been questioned.

The heavy economic burden imposed by the war reparations was further emphasised by M. Lauri Kivinen, Chairman of the War Reparations Commission, who

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recently revealed that the value of goods which had fallen behind scheduled delivery dates now amounted to between four and five million dollars. With a fine of five per cent. per month on all undelivered goods, M. Kivinen feared that, if the same tendency continued throughout the third reparations year, the aggregated fine would, at its close on the 19th September, 1947, amount to not less than 2,400,000 dollars. The position was worst in the shipbuilding industry which was now 1,400,000 dollars behind with its deliveries. Many bottlenecks unfortunately existed, owing chiefly to delays in obtaining certain materials from abroad. M. Kivinen specifically mentioned that orders placed in Britain for metal piping and metal drilling equipment frequently only arrived several months after promised delivery dates. Orders placed in Sweden, were as a rule fulfilled more promptly, but here too delays had occurred.

Some hope for a brighter future was, however, unexpectedly held out by the Russians when, on New Year's Eve, the Control Commission announced that the control of Malmi airport, serving Helsinki, would immediately be transferred to the Finnish authorities. A Finnish enquiry as to whether this implied permission for Finland to open air traffic on overseas routes received a negative reply. The relaxation only affected Finnish aviation in as much that aircraft engaged on flying within the country would now be permitted to use Malmi. It is also possible that the Russians wish to give a favourable impression to passengers travelling on the Swedish-Soviet link service between Stockholm and Moscow by exhibiting the field under Finnish control. As Sweden, the ex-neutral, is benefiting from the use of the airport the moment is considered opportune for Great Britain to secure facilities for operating a civil airline to Finland, and the Finnish Government will be asked to agree to this in principle. The final decision still rests with the Soviets, and, since a link service to Leningrad or Moscow, similar to the Swedish-Soviet one, is not contemplated by H.M. Government, certain objections are likely to be raised by the Russians.

Norway

A Norwegian-Soviet commercial agreement was signed in Moscow on the 27th December. It covers a two-year period, with provision for future extension. According to the Norwegians the exchange of goods is at present on a very small scale, and during the negotiations a Norwegian offer of 5,000 tons of whale oil was met with derision by the Russians. The Norwegians thereupon doubled the figure, in exchange for a promise made by the Soviets to supply Norway with Polish coal. Coal was in fact Norway's most important requirement, but small quantities of wheat, fodder, timber, and phosphates were also secured. The Russians on their part showed great interest in Norwegian aluminium, and were promised that part of the output would be set aside for them when production is resumed. Russia will also obtain Norwegian fish.

THE LOW COUNTRIES

The Netherlands

In a strongly-worded broadcast talk on the Cheribon Draft Agreement, ex-Prime Minister Gerbrandy vigorously denounced the Agreement as being unconstitutional, and made a personal attack on Dr. van Mook, whom he referred to as "a Civil Servant with insufficient reverence for the Constitution, who is wilfully abusing the Royal Speech of December, 1942, in which the Indonesian peoples were promised great, though not unlimited, independence" (2nd January). Professor Gerbrandy, who is a Conservative (Anti-Revolutionary), addressed his listeners in his capacity of Chairman of the "National Committee for the Maintenance of the Unity of the Empire," whose formation, he declared, had been "enthusiastically hailed in all parts of the country," and whose weapons were "spiritual." "We live in a State based upon law," said Professor Gerbrandy; "but, despite the Second Chamber decision, it is our right as citizens of this State to realise that our Constitution is being threatened and violated by the Government. It is our duty to resist this. We feel that for months past we have been exposed to a *coup d'état*, resulting in a policy against the true patriotic sentiments of the nation, and leading to acts which are by no means approved by the people . . . . We must try to obtain a policy for the Netherlands Indies which will enjoy the support of the entire nation. It is still not too late. The drama has not come to an end with the decision of the Second Chamber." The conclusion of such an Agreement, he went on, meant a *de facto* change in the Constitution, since, for the purpose of concluding the Agreement, another State—unknown to the Constitution—had been created on the "national territory."

As the first point in its programme, the National Committee for the Maintenance of the Unity of the Empire had accepted the principle that no change affecting the structure and organization of the Empire could be made except on strictly constitutional lines. The machinery for constitutional changes was there—the dissolution of Parliament followed by a national referendum. A majority of at least two-thirds of all votes cast was prescribed by the Constitution before any change could be effected. What would happen to the N.E.I., asked Professor Gerbrandy, if the present policy continued? It would mean "helping into the saddle" the Republic "created by Japanese money and born of injustice"—a Republic which would be the "official ruler" of Java, Sumatra and Madoera, the "pseudo-constitutional" camouflage of whose structure did nothing to alter the fact that the existing Kingdom was "being dissolved." The Government apparently believed that their support of "this not quite Communist group of intellectuals" was wise; but they withheld their support from other groups "who refused to have anything to do with this policy," and in so doing, exposed "85 per cent. of the population of the N.E.I. to this adventure." Some 5 million Dutchmen had to decide on this matter—"quite different" from the 150 members of the States-General; but the fact was that, at the moment, the Dutch Constitution was being changed—not by the 5 million, nor yet the 150—but by one Dutchman alone, against the wishes of the people, of the Crown, of even the Cabinet and the States-General. That solitary Dutchman was Hubertus Johannes van Mook, who would—if he could—see to it that the nation "wake up one morning" to find their Kingdom dissolved. Dr. van Mook might, perhaps, believe this policy to be necessary; but certainly he had not the Constitution "at heart." One *fait accompli* was being heaped upon another, until at "long last" the Dutch flag would be "hauled down in a dissolved Kingdom." The problem was not a party matter; it was "too national, and too important."

The inevitable Government rebuke, apart from a defence and justification of its policy, was naturally also devoted to an apologia for Dr. van Mook. The Government felt bound to register an emphatic protest against the "slighting manner" in which Professor Gerbrandy had "thought it necessary" to attack Dr. van Mook, who was "devoting himself with such perseverance to his heavy task." Two highly pertinent questions are then put to Professor Gerbrandy, about his pre-war relations with Dr. van Mook. If, before the Royal Speech of December, 1942, Professor Gerbrandy knew "what he now believes he must say about the person of Dr. van Mook," why did he (who was then Prime Minister) support Dr. van Mook and appoint him successively Minister for the Colonies and Lieutenant-Governor-General? Again, why did Professor Gerbrandy, in October 1944, appoint Dr. van Mook Lieutenant-Governor-General in addition to his office of Colonial Minister, since, by so doing, he was conferring upon Dr. van Mook "more powers" than had "ever before" been enjoyed by a Colonial Minister or a Governor-General?

The resignation of Dr. Oud, Burgomaster of Rotterdam, from the National Committee for the Maintenance of the Unity of the Empire, was announced on the 3rd January. Dr. Oud said that he had expected "a more satisfactory solution" of the Indonesian problem after the recent Government statement on the Agreement.

The Parliamentary Commission for the West Indies (see last week's *Summary*) left Holland by air on the 8th. It is expected to arrive at Paramaribo (Surinam) on the 12th.

Belgium

A conference between the Foreign Ministers of the Netherlands and Belgium (Baron van Boetzelaer van Oosterhout and M. Spaak) took place in Brussels on the 4th January, at which the principal subject of discussion was the attitude to be adopted by both countries towards the German problem at future international conferences. In a statement issued to the Press, M. Spaak said that the meeting had shewn that the attitude of the two countries was identical on almost every point. Advantage had been taken of Baron van Boetzelaer's visit to discuss a number of outstanding matters relating to the Dutch-Belgian Trade Agreement. A settlement had virtually been reached on financial problems—notably, the granting of further loans to the Netherlands by the Belgian National Bank,—which would be submitted to the Dutch and Belgian Finance Ministers for final approval. There was another conference on the German problem on the 5th.

FRANCE

France is now enjoying, albeit for a short period only, the advantages of government by a single party instead of by a coalition whose members pull in all

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directions at once, and the results are so much appreciated that it is widely hoped that the experiment will continue and that M. Léon Blum will change his decision to retire again to private life on the election of the President of the Republic. The Government lost no time in tackling the economic situation and the new "expérience Blum" is a brave attempt to reverse the inflationary trend which nearly trebled the cost of living between January 1945 and October 1946.

M. Blum broadcast to the nation on New Year's Eve and announced that all industrial, commercial and agricultural prices were to be cut by 5% as from the 2nd January and that there would be a further cut of 5% in 2 months' time. The decrees which embody this decision show that all prices, including entertainments, catering and professional and public services and excluding only rents and certain imported goods, are affected. Steel prices are cut by 16·6%, but this reduction does not entirely compensate the 20% increase recently decided by the administration. Similarly, the 5% cut, even though it is increased to 10 or 20% in some cases, will only offset in part the big increases in the price of public services, such as gas, electricity, coal, postal rates and the Paris underground, which were decided only two weeks ago in order to remove the need for State subsidies to these services.

In a second broadcast speech on New Year's Day M. Blum explained that he intended his decision to give the "psychological shock" needed to start a downward movement in prices. The Government believe that the inflationary situation is due not to excess of money in the hands of the public but to lack of confidence in the currency and the tendency of producers and business men to hold on to stocks in expectation of higher prices. This theory is not entirely unassailable, and critics point out that the budget deficit has also played its part in inducing inflation. However, after some initial hesitation, the experiment has been very favourably received, and an undoubted movement for price reduction, often going beyond the 5%, has begun all over the country. The Government have organised an intelligent propaganda campaign since they realise that they have not the means to enforce their decision and must rely on the co-operation of sellers and buyers. The reaction of the peasants is particularly important and cannot yet be judged. The Government have the unanimous support of the press although some reserve is shown by the Communists who are clearly envious of the popularity now being gained by the Socialist Government.

The Government have been promised the support of the employers' associations and of the trade unions. M. Blum has also stated that the C.G.T. has confirmed its support of the man-power recommendations of the Monnet Plan (see *Summary* No. 371) and has accepted a 48-hour working week. The 40-hour week still stands in principle and the 48-hour week will be paid at the rate of 50 hours. Difficult wage and salary negotiations still lie ahead, and the C.G.T. has now laid claim to a minimum wage of 7,300 fr. a month for all workers, this figure to be reduced if there is a genuine reduction in prices. It seems to be recognised that the figure of 7,300 fr. is quite reasonable. The C.G.T. has also produced a plan for fiscal reform which includes the introduction of a system of pay-as-you-earn.

The balance of parties in the Council of the Republic for 268 out of 315 seats is as follows: Communists and allies, 78; M.R.P., 74; Socialists, 51; *Rassemblement des Gauches*, 32; Right-Wing, 23; Independents, 2; Algerian moderates, 4; Algerian nationalists, 4.

An agreement between H.M. Government and the French Government on the war-time use of shipping was signed on the 3rd January. It provides a settlement of the claims put forward on either side arising from the use of shipping during the war and leaves a balance of £5,750,000 due to the French Government. M. Jules Moch, Minister of Public Works, came over to sign the agreement; he had an informal conversation with Mr. Attlee and handed him a letter from M. Blum which appealed for British assistance in solving the French coal problem and raised again the question of an Anglo-French alliance. In his reply Mr. Attlee said that he would welcome a visit from M. Blum, as the latter had suggested, but that in view of our own grave difficulties he could not hold out any hope of increasing coal exports from this country in the near future.

The results of the census of the 10th March, 1946, have now been published and show that at that date the population was 40,517,923, including 38,847,194 Frenchmen and 1,670,729 foreigners. These figures show a fall of 1,389,133 on the figures for 1936, there being 606,355 fewer Frenchmen and 782,778 fewer foreigners. 312,105 Frenchmen were, however, serving on ships or in forces outside France at that date.

A trade agreement between France and Italy for the year 1947 was signed in Rome on the 22nd December. It provides for exchanges amounting to 4 milliard fr. in either direction. France is to import from Italy raw silk, hemp, oils, sulphur, pyrites, seeds, fruit and vegetables, machinery, &c. and to export phosphates, potash, scrap iron, bauxite, clay and machinery.

(See also under "Middle East" and "Far East.")

SWITZERLAND

Delivering the Presidential New Year broadcast, M. Philippe Etter said that his first wish was that the coming year might bring to all nations a just and lasting peace. We were still in a transition period, and the nations which had suffered so much as a result of the war now required a breathing-space in which to reconstruct their political and economic organization and their social and spiritual life. International co-operation, however, presupposed the existence of organised and free States. Switzerland had hitherto always shown herself sincerely anxious not to hold aloof from a new community of nations. But for all that she neither could nor should renounce her traditional neutrality. Wherever they looked beyond their frontiers, the Swiss people saw poverty, famine and material and moral ruin; and they had employed all their resources to mitigate it wherever possible. Swiss nationals living abroad had not escaped these bitter trials and in many cases they had lost the fruits of long years of toil. Turning to home politics, the President referred to the exceptional measures which the Government had been obliged to take during the war, but which had not weakened the nation's democratic institutions. These measures had now been abolished and the people were again free to speak their minds. During 1947 several matters of considerable importance to the nation would be put to the vote—*e.g.*, the proposed economic regulations by which the connection between State and business would be regulated by constitutional procedure, in order to ensure the existence of a healthy and prosperous peasantry, middleclass and working class and to preserve justice and peace in the field of labour; the social security measures generally and old age insurance in particular; the election of the new National Council in the autumn. Opposition and differences of opinion would doubtless arise, perhaps the more strongly because of the war-time restrictions on self-expression.

On the 19th December, in the National Council, M. Stampfli, Minister for Public Economy, referred to "the precarious state of Switzerland's food supply." To-day's rations were slightly below what was regarded by doctors as normal. After Germany and Austria, Switzerland was the nation with the most severe bread rationing. Switzerland was not enjoying any privileged position, as many seemed to think. On the contrary, countries which had not suffered throughout the war were more favourably treated, Switzerland being often forced to buy her allotted share under most burdensome conditions. Meat-producing countries, such as Denmark, were prepared to sell to Switzerland, but the international organisations opposed this. The position was similar in regard to dairy produce. As for sugar, Switzerland was the worst treated of all countries except Austria and Finland. In the matter of food, Switzerland was definitely subjected to discrimination. Sometimes she was compelled to purchase in conditions made worse by high prices and difficult and expensive transport; sometimes the countries assigned to her to purchase from could deliver only a fraction of the required amount; even when freedom of purchase was permitted, it was often found that the large nations had got in first by means of long-term contracts and bought up all the available produce. What was the cause of all this, and why was such unfavourable treatment reserved for a small nation that had willingly put her industry and her resources to the service of reconstruction and international aid? In the opinion of many, the treatment Switzerland had received was due to the fact that foreigners judged the nation by its hotels and their menus, forgetting that the hotel industry was one of Switzerland's main sources of revenue and that it had therefore to be maintained at a high standard. Moreover, the smooth working of the rationing system, the absence of queues, the splendid window-displays, and the almost total absence of black market activities produced on the visitor the impression that the food supply generally was satisfactory and that additional imports were unnecessary. It was to be hoped that the Powers would stop thinking of Switzerland as "privileged" and that in the third post-war year, she would be treated on an equal footing with other nations.

THE VATICAN

In his Christmas Eve message the Pope, as he has so often done before, appealed to Christians even beyond the wide limits of

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his own Communion, to follow the Star of Bethlehem and save the world for justice and charity. Two years after fighting had ceased the vanquished were in misery and the victors disillusioned, pursuing conflicting aims. Despite much devoted toil by statesmen, the treaties were *opus imperfectum*. For millions life was uncertain. This uncertainty must be ended before the amazing resistance of suffering humanity broke down and civilisation perished. A definitive peace must be quickly signed: standards of justice must be restored: peace treaties must have the possibility of revision "as soon as the majority of the nations and the voice of reason and of equity indicate desirable and perhaps necessary modifications." But the Pope, while urging, as every Christian must, that victor and vanquished must behave as brothers, fraternise in fact, speaks openly of the origin of the last war, and the need for guarantees against its repetition: "Undoubtedly such a disastrous war, unleashed by an unjust aggression and prolonged beyond permissible limits, *i.e.*, after it had become clear that it was irreparably lost, could not end with a peace not providing guarantees against the recurrence of similar acts of violence. But all measures of repression and prevention must . . . . remain subordinate to the ultimate aim of real peace, which consists in bringing victors and vanquished gradually together . . . . to work for the reconstruction of the whole family of nations," so that "a Christian Commonwealth may rise again, in which the law of love will be supreme."

The Message also had a reference to the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms "now mere shadows of themselves," to the needs of hungry Europe, and to the "upsurge of anti-Christian violence," against which the Pope bade Christians stand firm. These anti-religious forces had been active in Rome, denouncing the Roman Catholic Church and its Head as fascists, *etc.* On Sunday, the 22nd December, the Pope had addressed a vast rally of the faithful who had come to St. Peter's Square to protest against what he then described as "desecrators of divine objects and adorers of materialism." It seems that the Vatican has decided to counter-attack in face of the growing assaults of the materialists. Where the materialist headquarters is situated could be discovered from the Pope's recent address to the new Austrian Minister to the Vatican, and from the Vatican comment upon it. "Austria," said the Pope, "lies at the meeting-place of opposing currents from East and West, where social ideologies clash"—"the East," as the Vatican broadcaster explained, "which stands for the suppression of political and civil liberties: man reduced to a machine: spiritual problems solved by firing squads and intellectual problems by police corporals."

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

Hungary

Relegating all other news to a position of secondary importance is the Ministry of the Interior's announcement of "a dangerous and widespread anti-republican conspiracy" to restore the Horthy régime upon the withdrawal of the Soviet Army from Hungary. The "Committee of Seven" which directed the movement had, so the report states, organised an underground armed force and, in addition, possessed several aeroplanes. The conspirators had not reached final agreement as to the composition of the new Government, but it was expected that General Lakatos, a former Premier, would be placed at its head. Six of the "Committee" have been arrested and are said to have admitted their guilt. The seventh, General Veres de Dálnok, escaped to Transdanubia in the hope of crossing the Austrian frontier. M. Nagy, the Premier, appears to think that the charges are not unfounded. The matter, which is being investigated by the Politico Military Police, has become the concern of M. Rajk, the Communist Minister of the Interior. Certain quarters believe that General Bartha, the Smallholder Minister of Defence, may in consequence feel his authority to be shaken. Prague radio has twice alleged that the conspirators intended not only to overthrow the internal régime, but also to "induce riots among Hungarians outside Hungary, mainly in Czechoslovakia."

A Memorandum published by five of the older members of the Social Democratic Party comes as an indication of growing dissatisfaction within the Party's ranks. The signatories, headed by M. Peyer, the leader of the Social Democrats until his internment by the Germans at Mauthausen, criticize both the leadership and the conduct of domestic and foreign affairs. They complain, *inter alia*, that former Arrow Cross supporters have found their way to highly lucrative positions through Party channels, that ability is not made the test of office, and that the land reform was carried through by a man (M. Veres of the National Peasant Party) whose

earlier record was compromised by his association with the anti-Semitic "Defenders of the Race Movement." They deplore the "reactionary and Fascist method" of denouncement to the police, and speak of broken pledges to the workers, whose low standard of living they contrast with the abundance enjoyed by the wealthy. Readiness to attack the Labour Party in Great Britain is condemned as a grave error. Social democracy has prospered only in those countries where it has not been afraid to pursue an independent policy, the Memorandum states, and deep misgivings are felt about the Party's future under its existing leadership. The signatories, however, lay stress on three further points: they do not want a breach in Party unity, they desire to continue cooperation with the Communists, but this must be on an equal footing, and they recognize the geographical and economic situation which makes friendship with Soviet Russia imperative. A reply was immediately issued, condemning as an infringement of discipline the publication of the Memorandum before it had been discussed by the Party's Executive Committee. It will receive more detailed attention at the forthcoming Social Democratic Congress.

While the Communist attitude to the Smallholders' recent Declaration of policy may be summed up in the words "well said, but not well done," the Social Democrats appear satisfied with the extent to which the demands of the left-wing *bloc* have been met. The questions dealt with are economic rather than political, and agreement in this field was always easier to obtain. The Smallholders' Three Years Plan differs little, according to M. Nagy, from the Plan proposed by the Communists, and his statement on another occasion that since the meeting of the Freedom Party it has become clear where reaction is to be found suggests one of the ways in which the Smallholders may fight reaction, as the Declaration promises. A further concession to left-wing pressure has been the resignation of M. Pfeiffer, Under-Secretary of State in the Ministry of Justice. M. Pfeiffer, whose past is impeccably anti-German, is also fearlessly anti-Communist. His unpopularity with the Left was greatly increased by the part which he played in bringing to justice a number of persons, including several Communists, in connection with a "mob" murder at Kunmadaras in May 1946, the Communists having hoped to shelve responsibility for the crime on Smallholder "reactionaries." M. Pfeiffer has, however, been blamed by representatives of all the Parties for his leniency in dealing with speculators and black market offenders, and the Smallholder newspaper, *Kis Ujság*, considers that his resignation is therefore in the interests of democracy. The Social Democratic *Népszava* reports that M. Imre Bencze is likely to be appointed his successor.

Yugoslavia

Miša Trifunović, a former Prime Minister of the Royal Yugoslav Government in London, has been sentenced to eight years' imprisonment with hard labour and loss of civil rights, and an ex-Army officer and two journalists (one of whom was employed by the U.S. Embassy) have been condemned to death in Belgrade on a charge of espionage. Three other people, including Konstantin Stanković, a son-in-law of Trifunović and contractor to H.M. Embassy, were sentenced to hard labour. This trial which lasted from December 31st to January 6th is a sequel to the closing of the U.S. Reading Room in Belgrade last September by the Yugoslav Government. At the time there appeared to be various reasons for this action, such as the unwelcome publication in Belgrade of the American case in the shooting down of the U.S. transport planes over Slovenia in August, the appearance in the American press of highly critical articles by Mr. Pridonoff, former Labour Attaché at the U.S. Embassy, but chiefly alleged political activities under the cover of diplomatic immunity. The Reading Room has just been re-opened on certain conditions (see *Summary* No. 374, 4.1.46). In this trial the U.S. Embassy was made to appear a hotbed of political intrigue and espionage. Mr. Shantz, former Counsellor and Chargé d'Affaires in the absence of Mr. Patterson, Mr. Pridonoff, and the Naval Attaché, were mentioned as persons who had bribed some of the defendants to supply secret information on Yugoslavia's Armed Forces and defences. Mr. Pridonoff was violently criticised for having received and published abroad "false" reports of the situation in Yugoslavia. The real crime of most of the defendants seems to have been that of grumbling to members of the U.S. Embassy, and Trifunović admitted that he had transmitted a pamphlet entitled, "The Subašić–Tito Agreement, the Yalta Declaration and Tito's Régime in Yugoslavia" to Mr. Shantz or to Mr. Stenbock of H.M. Embassy, he couldn't remember which.

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H.M. Embassy was not otherwise mentioned during this trial, but its turn may come when Mr. Zollner, a temporary representative of the Board of Trade who was arrested in September 1946 on a charge of espionage, is brought to trial in the course of this month.

Since Mr. Peake's interview with Marshal Tito on the 13th December there has been a slight improvement in the prospects for British air communications in the Balkans. At Mr. Peake's suggestion the Yugoslav General Staff have submitted two alternative routes to Sofia and Bucharest, only one of which touches Yugoslavia near the Roumanian border, and both of which avoid the dangerous crossing of the Carpathians. The Yugoslav Government also appear amenable to the opening of British reading rooms at Sarajevo and Split, and to the arrival of additional Consular personnel, long overdue.

Marshal Tito, in his New Year Message, rebuked lazy and extravagant officials, grumblers and rich peasants who hoarded their produce and evaded taxes. He also issued a warning against infiltration of the National Front and of local government bodies by dissident elements. The Prime Minister of Bosnia, after he had reorganised his Government and had sacked one or two people of uncertain loyalties, spoke in almost identical terms.

Bosnia, Macedonia and Montenegro all began the New Year with the adoption of their new Constitutions by their respective National Assemblies.

Greece has dropped out of the news for the time being, but Austria is still a target of criticism, and there is more publicity for developments in Zone A, complaints of the bad behaviour of Allied troops and stories of the forcible removal of private and industrial property from Pola prevailing.

Greece

New Year messages issued to the Greek people by leaders of all parties expressed the hope that 1947 would see an end to the unrest and hardships at present oppressing them and to the hostile propaganda campaign being waged against Greece by Russia and her satellites. The King, after referring sadly to the allies' rejection of Greece's claim against Bulgaria, was driven, in his search for words to comfort his people, to borrow from the coming year and to say that "1946 has, however, restored to the mother country the Greek Dodecanese."

The forthcoming investigation of conditions on Greece's frontiers by the United Nations Commission has been warmly welcomed, but the realists and cynics have been quick to observe that the Commission may be expected to see little, if anything. Not only will the Commission's activities be hampered by the difficulties of transport in a mountainous region in the depths of winter, but there is every likelihood that the advance notice of the Commission's visit will enable the bandit leaders to clear the border area of all signs of activity. There is already a marked reduction in the number of raids reported from N. Greece and this cannot be wholly attributed to the severe weather. Moreover, in order to lend colour to the theory of civil war rather than foreign intervention, the bandits are increasing their activities in Central and Southern Greece. Meanwhile the members of the Commission are to meet in Athens between the 28th and 30th January and lengthy discussions are being held on the provision of transport, accommodation, interpreters, rations and so forth. There is some controversy on the question whether or not the Commission should follow a prearranged and published itinerary.

M. Tsaldaris' economic discussions in Washington gave rise to much optimistic comment in the Greek press, arising largely from a statement made to the press by M. Tsaldaris himself on his return to Athens, but reports from the U.S.A. suggest that, despite the State Department's communiqué (see Summary No. 374), M. Tsaldaris made an unfavourable impression on U.S. Government officials. It is said that the net result of the visit was to lower the Premier's stock in the eyes of State Department and Treasury officials. It did not, however, influence their desire to give economic aid to the Greeks.

On the 6th January a report was issued in London by the Parliamentary delegation who visited Greece in August. After apportioning the blame for the present strife in Greece between the extreme Right and the extreme Left they reported a growing desire for a policy of reconciliation and urged the formation of an all-party government, possibly excluding the extreme Left. They also made the timely comment that, in looking for foreign aid, the Greeks should not forget that they must themselves do their utmost to put their own house in order. No Greek comment on the report is yet to hand.

Albania

In the course of a New Year message broadcast to the Albanian people Enver Hoxha has once more accused the U.K. and U.S. Governments of unfairness and hostility towards Albania. "The policy of the U.S. Government towards our country has been one of sending continual notes full of threats and menaces," declares this pugnacious message . . . . "The attitude of the British Government has been particularly offensive and hostile, and the conciliatory and friendly spirit consistently shown on our part has called forth nothing but a series of notes full of provocative slanders, together with numerous arbitrary, threatening and intimidating acts. British ships have thrice over brutally violated the sovereignty of our country. They have purposely created incidents at sea in order to charge our people with things for which they have not the least responsibility . . . The British Government now threatens to bring up the Corfu Channel incident before the Security Council. The Albanian Government, however, had already three times before this brought up before the Council the question of the violation of its sovereignty by British ships, and they therefore ask that their demand should be examined first." There followed a dark reference to the sinister machinations of certain British officials in their dealings with Albania; after which Hoxha went on to announce—somewhat unexpectedly—that the Albanian Government welcomed the Security Council's decision to send a commission of investigation to the troubled Greek border regions, adding: "We shall ensure them the fullest co-operation if they come to Albania: we have nothing to conceal."

While they have not yet lodged their complaint against Albania before the United Nations, H.M. Government, in accordance with the code of behaviour which Mr. Bevin commended to his colleagues in New York, have sent full details of the case to the Governments of the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., France and China.

Bulgaria

With the 10th February—the day on which the treaties with the five Axis Satellites are to be signed—now hardly more than a month ahead, and with no sign whatever that the unrepresentative Bulgarian Government is to be even slightly broadened in accordance with the Moscow decision of December 1945, the question of its *de jure* recognition or otherwise by H.M. Government and the U.S. Government has come once more to the fore. So far as is known, the U.S. Government remain of the same mind as when, last October, they confidentially informed H.M. Government that, whatever the technical peacemaking difficulties involved, they would be extremely reluctant to extend recognition. H.M. Government, for their own part, have been anxiously considering precisely what would be gained, in the concrete, were they to take up that attitude themselves, and they strongly incline, although with reluctance, to the view that the general interest will best be served by our according *de jure* recognition at the time when the peace treaty is signed, but at the same time issuing a declaration that our action is a purely formal step which does not by any means imply that we condone the undemocratic activities of the Bulgarian Government. Unsatisfactory though such a course may be, it would undoubtedly facilitate the unambiguous conclusion of a peace treaty with Bulgaria—which alone can bring into operation the obligation on the Soviet Government, accepted by them last June, of withdrawing their military forces within 90 days of the treaty's coming into force. This it is which H.M. Government desire above all to secure.

As a result of the highly objectionable cartoon published recently in *Trud* to which reference was made in last week's *Summary*, General Oxley has been instructed to take up with the Allied Control Commission the matter of the increasingly frequent and offensive references to Great Britain to be found in more than one of the Government parties' newspapers. An apology has already appeared in three newspapers on behalf of *Trud*, as a result of representations to the Minister for Foreign Affairs by Mr. Barnes.

There have been some lively scenes in the Grand National Assembly during the last month or so. Petkov, a brave man, has been conspicuously outspoken. On one occasion he derisively rallied Dimitrov himself on the subject of his luxurious and secluded manner of living; and another time he accused Yugov, the Communist Minister of the Interior, of being a common murderer; in the ensuing argument Yugov thought it best to admit having committed two political murders—a notable understatement.

Turkey

As a result of the mediation of the President of the Republic recorded last week the Democratic deputies, after ten days' abstention, returned to the Grand National Assembly on the 28th December.

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The debate on the budget continued in an atmosphere of exemplary calm. President Inönü's intervention between the Democratic Party and his own Republican People's Party has brought home the constitutional need for the Head of the State to be above party. At the same time the President has increased his prestige in the eyes of all sections except the die-hards of the Republican People's Party. The Prime Minister, M. Recep Peker, a forceful person, is reported to have tendered his resignation twice, but to have been told by the President to carry on and face the economic situation created by his devaluation policy.

The attention attracted to the Communist movement by its recent suppression in Istanbul, Izmir and many other towns led to the question being raised both in the press and in the Grand National Assembly whether religious teaching should not be resumed in the schools. Since the introduction of secularism by the Republic (in 1924), it was pointed out, there had been a notable decline in religion, life had largely lost its moral basis, and Communism had in consequence tended to creep in. The Prime Minister is reported to have replied—with some truth—in the Assembly that worship was free and that Turkey had suffered much in the past from clericalism; he therefore thought that the proper defence against Communism was to encourage, not religion, but patriotism. It is patriotism, however, which seems to have been showing itself inadequate as the foundation of Turkish life.

By recalling their Minister from Madrid "for consultation" the Turkish Government evidently seek to comply with the United Nations Resolution on the Spanish question—on which Turkey absained from voting—without giving offence to the Franco Government.

THE MIDDLE EAST

Egypt

On the 31st December, as the result of a demand by the Opposition for discussion of the Sudan situation arising from the Governor-General's statements, Nokrashy Pasha declared that it had been the concern of the present Cabinet since it came into office to remedy that regrettable situation, but he failed to say anything to put the Governor-General's statements in proper perspective. He referred to the Governor-General's letter to himself about the termination of the Grand Qadhi's appointment and his own representations to His Majesty's Government on the subject, and to the Governor-General's speech of the 22nd December. He said that the Chamber had reason to be displeased with such activity and such declarations by the Governor-General, and that he had represented to His Majesty's Government that it was necessary to know whether or not they were deliberately following a policy designed to sever the ties between Egypt and the Sudan. Unfortunately, he said, he had received no official information to reassure him on this point. He asserted that the unity of Egypt and the Sudan under the Egyptian Crown was confirmed by the will of the Sudanese themselves, and he expected His Majesty's Government to give a precise indication of their attitude towards this expression of Sudanese wishes.

This statement was followed by an enthusiastic demonstration of approval by Makram Obeid Pasha, now leader of the Opposition and by others, and a motion was unanimously passed supporting the Government in "its clear attitude for the safeguarding of the country's rights."

The Cairo press made favourable comments the next day, and Makram's paper, *al Kotla*, referred to "the patriotic and historic" meeting of the Chamber. The Wafdist *Balagh* appears to have been alone in criticising the Prime Minister, who was blamed for making things even worse than he found them.

The situation in the Sudan has eased somewhat as a result of the efforts of the Governor-General and his staff to re-create that feeling of confidence in the policy of His Majesty's Government which was so badly shaken by Sidky Pasha's statements. The Umma and Independent leaders succeeded in persuading their followers to resume co-operation with the Government, and their representatives finally agreed to attend the meeting of the Advisory Council on the 1st January and the administrative conference which follows it. Opinion in the northern provinces is against any drastic changes, and fears too speedy a hand-over of power to the Sudanese effendi class almost as much as increased Egyptian participation in the Government or a revival of a Mahdist régime under Saiyid Abdur Rahman. The pro-Egyptian Ashigga party has been weakened by internal dissensions resulting from the Egyptian refusal to agree to ultimate self-determination, but they continue to be helped to some degree by fear that the Independents aim at putting Saiyid Abdur Rahman on a throne.

Palestine

The new Zionist Executive, which was finally elected on the 29th December after protracted negotiations, is composed of eight General Zionists, seven members of the Poale Zion, and four Mizrachi. A ninth General Zionist has been added as a deputy member with a seat in Jerusalem. Mr. David Ben Gurion has been appointed Chairman. The new Executive has been received with little enthusiasm in Jerusalem, as it is regarded as unlikely to achieve unanimity on major issues.

Extensive searches have followed the kidnapping and beating of a British officer and N.C.Os. in Palestine, and a large number of Jews has been "screened" or detained for further examination. On the 2nd January the Irgun Zvai Leumi announced by posters in Tel Aviv that they would resume their attacks on military vehicles and stores of arms and supplies. Since that date there have been numerous incidents resulting in casualties, including the death of one British officer.

A sentence of flogging passed on a young Jew has been confirmed by the General Officer Commanding. This, according to the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, is regarded in responsible Jewish circles as an open provocation of the Yishuv. A member of the Irgun who participated in an attack on a police station on the 23rd April, 1946, and was wounded and has been in hospital since, was condemned to death by a military court on the 1st January.

Hussein al Khalidi and Emil al Ghuri returned to Palestine from Cairo on the 30th December, and the Arab Higher Committee was summoned shortly afterwards to hear of important decisions taken in Egypt. The nature of these decisions is not known but may be inferred from a statement made to the Arab News Agency by al Ghuri in which he said that all faith in the good offices of Great Britain and America has been finally lost, and a life-and-death struggle must now be started. The murder of an Arab well known for his relations with the Jews and for the facilitation of land sales shews that the Mufti again controls an underground organisation capable of intimidating or liquidating first, "traitors" to the Arab cause, and later, persons obnoxious to himself on personal or political grounds.

Rumours that the Arab Higher Committee is to be enlarged by the addition of eight new members have not been confirmed. There is, however, reliable information that the Mufti has already incorporated four notorious renegades in it.

(See also "United States.")

Transjordan

The Amir Feisal of Saudi Arabia arrived in Amman on the 30th December for a private visit. It had been originally intended that political questions, particularly that of Aqaba and Ma'an, should be discussed. Towards the end of December, however, the Transjordan Minister in Cairo was told by Yusuf Yasin that the Amir Feisal was ill and would not be returning to London for the Palestine Conference, but would like to visit Amman on the understanding that the state of his health would preclude political discussions. King Abdullah replied that he would be welcome in any case.

On the 6th January King Abdullah, accompanied by his younger son, Naif, embarked at Haifa for Turkey, where he is to be an official guest for some days.

Lebanon

The final party of French troops left Beirut on the 31st December, 1946, in accordance with the agreement of the 23rd March. In announcing this the Lebanese Foreign Minister paid a tribute to the generous spirit of understanding in which the French Government had concluded and carried out this agreement. The Prime Minister, Riad Bey as Solh, in the Chamber of Deputies also referred in complimentary terms to the punctuality with which the engagement had been fulfilled.

Iraq

Muhammad Hadid and Ali Mumtaz both eventually tendered their resignations, which were accepted. They had accused Salih Jabr and Sadiq al Bassam of malpractices in connection with the elections. These two also have resigned, according to one account because of this accusation, according to another, in order that they may be free to take part in the elections without Cabinet ties. The Cabinet has been reconstructed by the inclusion of Abdulillah Hafidh as Minister of Supply and Minister of Finance, and Abdul Hadi Chalabi as Minister of Communications. Jamil Abdul Wahhab, Minister for Social Affairs, will also act as Minister of Education.

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Persia

On the 4th January it was announced that polling would take place in Tehran between the 11th and 17th January. As yet there is no news of the polling dates in the provinces. The vote is open to all male Persian subjects over twenty, with the exception of members of the armed forces, municipal and judicial officers, "political offenders" (a sufficiently elastic term), and those who have officially renounced the Moslem religion.

It is reported in the press that students of Tehran University, demonstrating on 5th January with demands for free elections, came into conflict with the police and that a number of casualties resulted on both sides. A deputation of students afterwards went to the Palace seeking an audience with the Shah. The Minister of Labour and Propaganda, Aramish, has emphatically denied allegations that the elections will not be free, saying that, as the voting has not yet begun, such accusations can have no foundation and can only come from those who are certain of defeat at the poll.

According to General Hashimi, Officer Commanding in Azerbaijan, there are still approximately 1,000 Democrats in hiding in Tabriz. They are reported to be receiving assistance from the Russian Consul, though nothing definite has been proven. The Russians are, however, constantly complaining of molestation and attacks on their property. These complaints are without justification, their object being apparently to intimidate Hashimi and provide the Soviet Ambassador in Tehran with pretexts for "warning" the Prime Minister. Hashimi is having difficulty in disarming the populace. Even with more men under his command he anticipates that the operation will take a long time. However, public opinion in Tabriz is favourable to him, and the people feel that he is equal to the task.

During the last two months the power of the Prime Minister's Iran Democrat Party has grown steadily, while that of the Tudeh appears to be waning. In Kerman, formerly a redoubtable Tudeh stronghold, the Democrats have won a very large following in spite of dissensions among their more influential members, while Tudeh fortunes and morale have declined. In Isfahan, despite poor leadership and lack of organisation, the Democrats have also gained a substantial following, though the power of the Tudeh is still considerable. Gilan province has seen a marked reduction in Tudeh activity with the appointment of a new military governor with wide powers. The arrest of several notorious Tudeh members at Pahlevi, including the Mayor and Harbour-master, has had beneficial results.

Nevertheless, the Tudeh are still strongly entrenched in Abadan and Khorramshahr, in both of which towns Democrat gains have been very slight. The Mazanderan rising, reported in last week's *Summary* (and probably intended to revindicate the pro-Soviet faction after its set-back in Azerbaijan), indicates that the party may still have some power—in spite of Qawam's repressive policy. Tudeh denunciations of this policy have been loud and vehement in recent weeks. On the 16th December the party issued a manifesto to the effect that, owing to the abolition of freedom in the country by the imposition of martial law in the industrial areas, and the prohibition of political meetings, they would take no part in the forthcoming elections. The Tudeh have doubtless taken this line in order to avoid the loss of prestige which would result from a decisive defeat in the elections and thereby reduce the effectiveness of their future activities.

Mulla Mustafa of Barzan is once more causing trouble in Kurdistan. He is at present encamped at Naqadeh, 40 miles north-west of Mahabad, with a following variously estimated at between one and two thousand and three field guns. He has asked the General Officer Commanding to try and obtain pardon for him from the 'Iraqi Government or, failing that, permission for him to reside in Persia. The matter is under consideration by the Minister for Foreign Affairs; meanwhile a Persian cavalry brigade has been sent to counter the threat to security which his presence constitutes.

The disunity in Kurdistan mentioned in *Summary* No. 369 is borne out by a reported split in the Mahabad Kurds into two parties, one under Mulla Khalil of the Mangur tribe, and the other under Ali Agha Haji Ilkhani, son of Haji Karrani Agha of the Mamesh. The Mangur, Mamesh and Dehmukri tribes are reported to have fallen out with the Komala Kurds who are, or were, friendly towards the Azerbaijanis. Both Qazi Muhammad, the leader of the Kurdish "Democrats," and Mulla Mustafa are reported to have received considerable Russian assistance during the period immediately preceding the operations in Azerbaijan, although, possibly as a result of internal dissensions, they have shown little activity for some time.

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THE FAR EAST

Indonesia

The return of the Commission-General, armed with the Netherlands Government's authority to sign the draft Agreement on the understanding that its provisions shall be interpreted strictly in accordance with the additional Minutes submitted, is awaited by the Indonesian leaders with little enthusiasm and a good deal of apprehension. Much valuable time has been lost, and the lengthy explanation supplied to the Netherlands Government and the latter's final statement have created an uneasy feeling in Java that, however necessary it may have been to appease the opposition parties in Holland, the outcome may mean modifications totally unacceptable to the Indonesians. Furthermore, in the interior, opposition to the draft Agreement is reported to be gathering strength. So far, in the Central National Committee (the Provisional Parliament of the Republic of Indonesia), which has a total membership of 205, the following Parties have declared for the adoption of the Agreement:—

The Socialist Party with 34 seats,
The Communist Party with 1 seat,
The Catholic Party with 2 seats,
Socialist Youth Party with 2 seats,
Laskar Rajat (People's Army) 2 seats,

while the following have declared for the rejection of the draft Agreement:—

P.N.I. (Partai Nasional Indonesia) with 46 seats,
(The P.N.I. was founded by Dr. Soekarno, and numbers four Republican Ministers among its members),
The Masjoemi Party (Moslem Party) with 37 seats.

Eleven other minor parties, plus a number of non-partisans have not yet recorded their decisions. It is expected, however, that when the Central National Committee meets on the 27th January, it will support the Indonesian Cabinet, especially as Mr. Sjahrir has a considerable following in the Masjoemi Party.

Unfortunately, far from the military situation tending to ease the steadily mounting political tension, mutual recriminations concerning the failure to arrange a workable truce have been freely voiced in the local press. On all parts of the perimeters the temporary lull that followed the Truce Agreement gave place to considerable firing on both sides; skirmishing at Medan, Bandœng and Padang became particularly brisk. While early in December the position at Padang showed a temporary improvement, as the outcome of a mutual agreement to patrol a two kilometre neutral zone by civil police of both sides, the confidence that showed signs of emerging from this happy arrangement was rudely shattered but a week later by adverse developments at Buitenzorg. The precise initial causes of this outbreak are obscure. One Dutch report states that the Republican radio station in the town, contrary to the truce undertaking, persisted in broadcasting "fresh information of a tactical nature" and that, therefore, the station was occupied by Netherlands armed forces and the Mayor and staff detained for interrogation. Another report is that the electric power station in Buitenzorg, which supplies Batavia, was occupied by a detachment of Netherlands troops after a brush with the Indonesian police, and the Indonesian Mayor, his Secretary and two Assistants were arrested for their share in permitting an infraction of existing agreements. The development of an ugly situation was only prevented by a joint Dutch-Indonesian mission of investigation, which decided to release the Mayor and to refer the incident to the Joint Commission for the political application of the truce. The unfavourable impression created still lingers, however. And, together with the expulsion of three Republican journalists from Den Pasar, this episode is reported to be stimulating public opposition to acceptance of the Draft Agreement.

Nor has the political atmosphere been improved by a broadcast delivered from Jogjakarta on the 26th December by General Soedirman, Commander-in-Chief of the Republican Forces, in which he is reported to have declared that the actions of the Netherlands forces were endangering the independence of the Republic and that Indonesians must refuse to be intimidated by Dutch might, and, therefore, his orders were: "Fight; consolidate and improve co-operation between all available forces; despatch medicines, arms and forces to the front line; operate in unison, not as isolated units; and always be prepared, strong, careful and on your guard."

Dr. van Mook's reply to this outburst in his New Year speech was not conciliatory. He pointed out that General Soedirman's statements were apt to lead to renewed conflict and so to delay, or even endanger, the solution of their problem. He maintained that, while the Dutch had adopted a clear-cut attitude particularly regarding the draft Agreement, Indonesian aims were becoming increasingly obscure. He thought

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that General Soedirman's broadcast was based on preconceived ideas which had little relation to the facts of the situation. And he declared that the Netherlands were determined to adopt a strong policy against irresponsible elements. The report adds that Dr. van Mook concluded his speech with the statement: "The use of force is necessary sometimes to compel those who are unreasonable to listen to reason."

The note of "law and order" stressed both in this and the speeches delivered by the Lieutenant-Governor at the Den Pasar Conference is reported to have been so enthusiastically received in local reactionary circles that the newspapers warned him that he was in danger of becoming quite popular with his own people.

Although the unpleasantness caused by General Soedirman's outburst is reported to have been smoothed over by Mr. Sjahrir, it has undoubtedly had widespread repercussions. According to the latest reports, the military positions in various sectors have registered a marked deterioration. More especially is this so at Medan and Palembang, at which latter place it has been found necessary to reply to Indonesian attacks by using rocket-firing Mitchell bombers.

The Den Pasar Conference was preceded by a series of preliminary conferences, presided over by Dr. Hoven, Netherlands Commissioner for Borneo and the Great East, at which the tasks of the future Government of the new Great East State were outlined. Journalists who arrived at Den Pasar on the 11th December included three who were reported to be carrying propaganda material for distribution among the delegates to the Den Pasar Conference. Some of this material, including a political caricature of Dr. van Mook, in which he is asked by soldiers "Shall we drop bombs again, boss?" and replies: "Wait, I have to talk peace first," was pronounced to be at variance with the letter and spirit of the Cheribon Draft Agreement and likely to undermine Netherlands-Indonesian co-operation. The three offending journalists were accordingly deported from Den Pasar and with them went other journalists who claimed to have been sent by the Indonesian Ministry of Information.

On the 18th December, the many times postponed Den Pasar Conference—the successor to the Malino Conference—for the Outer Islands was convened by Dr. van Mook. The Conference was attended by Delegates from all the islands comprising the "Great East," *i.e.*, from and including Celebes to, but not including, New Guinea.

It was decided to establish a State of East Indonesia, and to base the constitutional structure of the new State on the principles agreed upon at the Malino Conference. East Indonesia, of which Macassar is to be the Capital, will become a member State of the United States of Indonesia, enjoying equal rights with other members. There will be a Commissioner of the Crown to assist in the preparation of the State organisation, general administration and legislation. And a Committee of five, which included two representatives of Dutch nationality, was elected to work out a Constitution.

Tjokordo Gde Rate Soekawati was elected Temporary President of the new State. Soekawati, born in 1899, is described as a Balinese nobleman. He entered the Civil Service of the Netherlands East Indies in 1918 and in 1924 was appointed a member of the People's Council, which office he held until the Japanese invasion in 1942. He is not known to have collaborated with the Japanese, but resumed work in connection with the civil administration of Bali immediately after the Japanese capitulation. Najamoeddin Daeng Malewa was appointed Prime Minister and entrusted with the task of forming a Cabinet. Najamoeddin, a native of Celebes, is well known as an opportunist and a collaborator with the Japanese. The Provisional Parliament is to hold its initial meeting on the 1st March, 1947, and the first item on the Agenda is to be the colour of the State flag, which Dr. van Mook appears anxious should not be the red and white of the Indonesian Republic.

French Indo-China (see also under "France").

According to press reports, M. Moutet, Minister for Overseas Territories, who has been making a rapid tour of Cochin-China, Cambodia and Laos, has received from the competent administrations assurances of co-operation with the French Government in the task of building an Indo-Chinese Federation within the framework of the French Union. He has also visited Hanoi, where he is reported to have made an announcement that the Viet-Nam attack had been proved to be premeditated and that a military decision was necessary before any negotiations could be undertaken. M. Sainteny, French Commissioner for Tonking, appeared to underline this statement when he said that the Viet-Nam people had been criminally deceived (by their Government) and that it would be the task of the nation to discover men

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with sufficient capacity to take over the direction of affairs. It is a little difficult to reconcile these statements with M. Moutet's subsequent talk to the press in Saigon in which he is reported to have said that the French attitude to President Ho Chi Minh was unchanged, but during his visit to Hanoi the President had made no effort to get in touch with him. But since he added that possibly Ho Chi Minh was not a free man, the suggestion may be that the French would be prepared to treat with him if he could throw out the military hotheads and form a new Government.

Meanwhile the High Commissioner, Admiral d'Argenlieu, in a Christmas message, has cleared the air by a re-statement of French policy. He is reported to have said, in part: "France has moral and material interests which she can neither compromise nor discuss. She regards as essential the preservation and development of her cultural influence and economic interests, the protection of ethnical minorities, the implementation of her international obligations and the security of the strategic bases for the common defence of the Federation and the French Union. She does not wish to re-establish her sovereignty in its old form; she does not want to interfere in the administration and internal government of the Indo-Chinese States, but she cannot at the present stage grant them unconditional and total independence." This statement accords with various pronouncements of the French Government and of M. Moutet in person.

The military situation has changed little. French press reports give the total strength of the Viet-Nam army at 100,000. It is estimated that the French forces now amount to 85,000 and that further reinforcements shortly to embark will add another 10,000. On the other hand it is understood that the training and equipment of the Viet-Nam forces is inferior to that of the French. French casualties up to 1st January are given as 183 killed, 386 wounded and 28 missing; of civilians, about 150 are known to have been killed and the same number to be missing, but figures are incomplete and uneasiness is felt as to the possible fate of a number taken as hostages. Laos and Cambodia are quiet, but there is great disorder and lawlessness in Cochin-China.

Chinese communities in Haiphong, Hanoi, Huë and elsewhere, have suffered severely. Government circles in Nanking are quoted as stating that China relies on France to protect her nationals in Indo-China and would not deal with Viet-Nam or with any dissident party in China. With the knowledge of the French authorities, the Chinese Consul-General in Hanoi is negotiating with local Viet-Nam forces for their withdrawal from quarters where there is a large Chinese and Indian population, and is being assisted by his American and British colleagues.

Radio Paris reports the publication of a new Customs tariff for Indo-China instituting uniform duties for all countries in the Federation as a prelude to an Indo-Chinese Customs union.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The 80th Congress of the United States—the first to be elected since the Second World War and the first in sixteen years to have a clear Republican majority in both the Senate and the House of Representatives—is now in session. The two Houses assembled to swear in new members and to elect their principal officers on the 3rd January. Business began in earnest three days later when they met in joint session to hear the President deliver his Annual Message on the State of the Union. On this anxiously-awaited occasion Mr. Truman said much that he had previously been expected to say. He outlined a four-point programme to deal with the problem of labour. This included the early enactment of legislation to outlaw "jurisdictional" strikes, the extension of facilities for collective bargaining under the ægis of the Department of Labour, the development of a more liberal programme of social legislation to give the workers a sense of security, and the appointment of a temporary joint commission by Congress to inquire into the whole question of relations between employers and labour. (The appointment of such a commission had originally been recommended by the President at a joint session of Congress during the railway strike last May). Turning to the international picture, Mr. Truman said that, whatever the defects of the peace treaties, he was convinced that those for Italy, Bulgaria, Roumania and Hungary were "as good as we can hope to obtain among the principal wartime Allies." Early in his Message the President admitted that there might be "honest differences of opinion" between himself and Congress. Yet, he added, "there are ways of disagreeing: we who differ can

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still work together together sincerely for the common good. We shall be risking the nation's safety and destroying our opportunities for progress if we do not settle any disagreements in this spirit without thought of partisan advantage."

The message has had a good press but it remains to be seen how the Republicans on Capitol Hill will respond to this and other recent appeals for co-operation. In the House of Representatives, the principal Republican spokesman, Congressman Joseph W. Martin, followed his election as Speaker on the 3rd January with an eloquent plea for "unsurpassed" collaboration between the two parties "for the constructive accomplishment of good government." Yet the good-will now existing between the President and Congress is likely to be put to an early test as the Republicans unfold their own labour policy. Congressman Harold Knutson, the new chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, is also likely to subject the situation to some strain if he persists with his plan for retrenchment in the Federal Government and for a 20 per cent. reduction in the private income tax.

In the Senate the first meeting of the 3rd January found the Liberal Democrats of the North in unusual agreement with the Republicans against their own Conservative party-colleagues from the South. This was on a motion by Senator Glen H. Taylor (Democrat, Idaho) to prevent the notorious Senator Theodore G. Bilbo (Democrat, Mississippi) from taking his seat until the Rules Committee had studied evidence of coercion of negro voters and of bribery by Mississippi war contractors which had recently been collected against him. With the party's National Committee on the look out for ways and means of winning over the negro vote in the North in 1948, the charges against Mr. Bilbo could not fail to be grist to the Republican mill. Meeting in Washington on the 31st December, the Republican Steering Committee decided to place the fight to unseat the Mississippi Senator at the top of its agenda. In the Senate on the 3rd January a handful of Democrats from the deep South retaliated by threatening to talk indefinitely (*i.e.*, to "filibuster") so that a vote on Mr. Bilbo's fitness to serve could not be taken. On the following day, however, a truce was reached when it was announced that Mr. Bilbo was in any case leaving Washington for a serious cancer operation. The senior Senator from Mississippi at the moment draws his salary and allowances without taking his oath—which means that the Republicans can still debar him by a simple majority (which they command), instead of having subsequently to expel him by a two-thirds majority (which they do not command).

The Bilbo case, along with all the publicity which has been given to it, is significant in that it has tended to distract attention from the internecine jealousies which the scramble for posts in the new Congress has disclosed in the Republican party itself. These jealousies have recently reached the pitch at which Senator Charles W. Tobey, who ranks fifth among Republican members of the Upper House, has publicly joined issue with Senator Taft and the "Old Guard" for endeavouring to dispose of Senator Committee appointments (now reduced in number under the La Follette–Monroney Act) without waiting either for the preparatory meeting of the Republican Senators and Senators-elect on the 30th December or for the opening session of Congress itself on the 3rd January.

As it emerged from the preparatory meeting of the 30th December and from subsequent Republican "caucuses," the list of party and Senate appointments is heavily weighted in favour of Mr. Taft and his friends. The ubiquitous Senator from Ohio—who was once described as "the man with the Senate's most brilliant nineteenth-century mind"—himself retains the chairmanship of the Republican Steering Committee, which is henceforth to enjoy the more expressive title of "Committee on Policy." (The Committee has meanwhile been packed with Middle-Westerners sympathetic to Senator Taft's views and interests) Senator Taft is also to become chairman of the Senate Committee on Labour and Public Welfare, although Senator Vandenberg, who becomes Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, has been chosen as President of the Senate *pro tempore*. Senator Taft's influence with the Chairman of the Republican National Committee is said to have been responsible for the recent dismissal of the party's chief woman officer, Miss Marion E. Martin, who had been supporting the Senator's principal rival, Governor Dewey. Governor Dewey himself, however, seems to be in no danger of losing his front seat in party affairs. Under his sponsorship, Congressman Charles A. Halleck of Indiana has managed to secure the much-coveted post of Republican Majority Leader in the House of Representatives. Governor Dewey's inaugural address at Albany on the 1st January, in which he dealt much more with national and international than with New York State affairs,

has also given him a useful opportunity to keep his Presidential qualifications before the public.

On the 31st December, by proclaiming the "cessation of hostilities of World War II" as of 12 noon that day, President Truman forestalled those Republican leaders who have been pressing for the early abolition of the remaining war controls and powers. As it was worded, his proclamation meant that about twenty war-time statutes ceased to be effective immediately and that another thirty-three would expire within periods ranging from six months to two years. Much of this legislation is purely domestic in scope, and it includes the all-important War Labour Disputes Act—the so-called "Smith–Connally Act"—of the 25th June, 1943, under which the Government has authority to seize strike-bound industries until the "cessation of hostilities" and to go on administering those already seized until six months thereafter. Other legislation affected is that to expedite the admission of G.I. brides into the United States, to permit U.S. forces abroad to receive tax-free tobacco, to extend loans to stabilize farm prices, to regulate the immigration of agricultural workers from Western Hemisphere countries and to dispose of surplus United States property. The entire position is, however, complicated by the fact that many of the wartime Acts are not limited in duration by the "cessation of hostilities": they continue as long as the "national emergency" proclaimed by President Roosevelt and the "state of war" are in force. On the 31st December Mr. Truman made it clear that he had not terminated either the "national emergency" or the "state of war." In any case he seems to have issued his proclamation without reference to the United States Service Departments, which stand to lose much of their authority when the war really ends, and he also apparently acted without waiting for the Attorney-General's Office in Washington to finish a study which it has been making of the constitutional difficulties involved in the whole transition from war to peace.

Further representations have been made by His Majesty's Ambassador in Washington regarding the advertisements appealing for funds to support resistance in Palestine which have appeared in the New York press. In this connexion an attempt has been made to impress upon Mr. Byrnes the reluctance of His Majesty's Government to have a situation develop in which it could be pointed out to the United Nations that it is becoming difficult to carry out the Palestine mandate because of interference by the nationals of another United Nations member like the United States. In replying to these representations Mr. Byrnes has been sympathetic, but he has not been able to hold out any promise of preventing the offending advertisements from re-appearing.

On the 7th January the President announced that he had accepted the resignation of Mr. Byrnes as Secretary of State and that he would nominate General George C. Marshall to take his place. In making this announcement—which apparently took the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations (the body in the Upper House with which the Secretary of State is most closely associated) completely by surprise—Mr. Truman released two letters from Mr. Byrnes which indicated that, as early as the 16th April, 1946, the latter had been advised by his doctors to "slow down." General Marshall, who is 66 years of age, was United States Chief of Staff from 1939 to 1945. In 1945 President Truman sent him as his personal envoy to China to try to compose the differences between the Chungking Government and the Communists.

LATIN AMERICA

Argentina

Since his assumption of presidential power General Perón has had less time for the affairs of his "beloved shirtless," and the task of holding the affections of the mass has devolved upon his wife. Dona Evita has visited various provinces for declamatory purposes, and her appearance at Tucumán attracted such a concourse that the police were unable to control her admirers and several persons were crushed to death. Sra. Perón has succeeded in completely overshadowing Sr. Freire, the present head of the Secretariat of Labour and Social Security. While, therefore, unions hasten to offer their adherence to the régime and the President's lady, they are not always prepared to accept the discipline of the Secretariat, and there have been numerous unofficial stoppages of work. Nevertheless, the organisation of labour continues to progress. The *Confederación General del Trabajo* now claims 700,000 members, and hopes to reach a million in a few months, thus surpassing in size the Mexican organization and

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becoming the largest in Latin America. The Argentine C.G.T. is fully determined to play its part in politics, and its Secretary-General, Sr. Luis Gay, has recently compared it with M. Jouhaux's C.G.T. in France, the C.I.O. in the United States and the Chilean Confederation. In view of Sr. Gay's reference to the C.I.O., it is interesting to note that when an invitation was extended to the two United States labour organisations to visit Argentina, the radical C.I.O. refused on the ground that Argentina was still under Fascist influence, while the A.F. of L. has accepted.

Brazil

The focus of interest in Brazilian politics at present is the holding of elections for State governors and legislatures, but the national political situation continues to become steadily confused in a peculiarly Brazilian way. At the beginning of December the "opposition" U.D.N. authorised their members to co-operate with the Government, while not committing themselves to support of the Government's policy (see *Summary* No. 372). As a result, two U.D.N. Ministers were appointed, Sr. Raúl Fernandes to Foreign Affairs and Sr. Clemente Mariani to Health. The reconstruction of the cabinet, which began last September, was thus completed, and President Dutra found himself with five non-party members, one member of the Republican Party, two of the "opposition" U.D.N. and two of his own P.S.D., as follows:—

Justice: Dr. Benedito Costa Netto (P.S.D.).
Foreign Affairs: Dr. Raul Fernandes (U.D.N.).
Communications: Dr. Clovis Pestana (P.S.D.).
Agriculture: Dr. Daniel de Carvalho (Republican).
Education and Health: Dr. Clemente Pariani (U.D.N.).
Finance: Dr. Pedro Luiz Correia e Castro (Non-party).
Industry: Sr. Morvan Dias Figueiredo (Non-party).
War: Gen. Canrobert Pereira da Costa (id).
Marine: Almirante Silvio da Noronha (id.).
Air: Brig. Armando Trompowski (id).

The weak representation of the P.S.D. is due to the secession, or threatened secession of much of the party to ex-President Vargas. Nevertheless, the result is likely to annoy all members of the P.S.D. who are loyal to President Dutra, and to precipitate the secession of those who are Vargas' men. There is, moreover, a division of opinion in the U.D.N. on the question of co-operation with President Dutra which Dr. Mangabeira, the party leader, favours, but others, including Virgilio Mello Franco and José Américo, oppose. Should Dr. Mangabeira be elected Governor of Bahia this month, as seems likely, he would leave the U.D.N. in a highly friable condition.

Meanwhile, the anti-Communist campaign has been fed by one or two incidents—the withdrawal of a Brazilian second Secretary from Moscow, following an incident in a restaurant, and the arrest of an official of the Minstry of War, who admitted having orders from the Brazilian Communist Party to copy correspondence and search waste-paper baskets.

Mexico

The cabinet appointed by President Alemán (see Summary No. 372) is perhaps most noteworthy for the proportion of "non-political" members. True, the President has protected himself by awarding the Ministry of Health to the Chairman of the "Institutional Revolution Party" (alias P.R.M.), but about six of those designated do not belong to any party. In view of President Alemán's business interests, it is perhaps not surprising that the newcomers include industrialists and business men. President Alemán is reported to be on good terms with ex-President Abelardo Rodríguez, latterly Governor of Sonora and strongly anti-Communist. The new Minister of War is a former associate of General Rodríguez. But whether this and the fact that he has broken with revolutionary tradition by appearing in that reactionary garment, the boiled shirt, really means that President Alemán will shake off the left-wing influence of General Cárdenas, remains to be seen. Two of the new ministers, those of Agriculture and Labour, are pronounced left-wingers, and President Alemán was endorsed up to the hilt by the powerful labour leader Sr. Lombardo Toledano. A broadcast report recently quoted Lombardo Toledano as denouncing Communist interference in the Mexican Unions, but such a striking change of face requires confirmation.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 376

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
15TH JANUARY, 1947

Copy No 143

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EUROPE

GERMANY

Preparation of the report for Conference of Foreign Ministers was the chief subject of discussion in the Co-ordinating Committee and the Control Council on the 8th and 10th January. Where disagreement arose, which it did in particular over the removal of equipment from Germany, the usual division between the delegates was followed, but the impression of a desire for personal friendliness on the Soviet side becomes more apparent at every meeting. While the Soviet representatives remained perfectly firm on issues which they considered vital, they were obviously at pains to be as conciliatory as possible and to avoid a break down—in the face of American unwillingness to make any sacrifices in order to secure a report. As regards former German armed forces, the Western representatives on the Co-ordinating Committee wished to include in the statement on the numbers of prisoners inside Germany, the figures for those held outside the country and to give similar information about Germans absorbed into the armed forces of the occupying Powers. When the Russians contended that the Council should not deal with matters outside Germany, General Clay replied that in that case he would not supply any figures at all. At the Russian request, the matter was referred to the Control Council. In the Council, Marshal Sokolovsky categorically denied that any German Generals, officers or soldiers were held in military units either in the Soviet zone or in the U.S.S.R. or that any German service men had been absorbed into the "qualified armed forces" in either region. He further stated that no prisoners-of-war were held as such in the Soviet zone, but that he knew nothing about those in the U.S.S.R., although if the Conference asked for information it would "probably" be

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given. The Committee is still trying to reach an agreed report. It may be noted, however, that all reports so far received almost certainly prove, not only that numbers of ex-officers and technicians are employed to advise or instruct the Soviet forces (although the Russians may not consider them to be absorbed in those forces), but that in at least one case a German unit under Russian officers was located in the Soviet zone within the last two months, and that other small formations were to be found outside the country. Information has not yet been received to show that these have been disbanded. Despite the Soviet assurance on prisoners-of-war, numbers of ex-officers are known to be held in camps in the Soviet zone although they may be classed as "internees." A major clash occurred when the Soviet delegate in the Co-ordinating Committee sought to elicit from the Western zones a complete catalogue of industrial plants destined for removal or retention or which had already been removed, although he showed no intention of furnishing such information himself. He maintained that the Foreign Ministers would call for this information if needed. General Clay refused to supply any details on these terms, and both the U.K. and U.S. representatives are consulting their respective Governments.

Signs of a more pliant attitude on the part of the French were revealed in a statement to the Committee that French delegates were willing to take part in discussions on Central Administrations. Next day, the 9th January, General Noiret told General Robertson that he had hopes of a solution to this problem, provided France was assured that Central Administrations would not lead to a highly centralised Government structure. It is unfortunate that the occasion of this encouraging statement should have been General Noiret's visit to complain of the Anglo-U.S. decision to charge the French zone in dollars for exports from the Joint Zone. The French Government are stated to take a serious view of the step, believing it to be a contravention of the four-Power conception of Germany which will result in the creation of customs barriers between the zones. General Noiret was assured that this was not the intention and that the step had, of course, been forced on the two Governments by the French refusal to participate in the fusion plan.

Other matters dealt with in the Coordinating Committee included the destruction of damaged German warships held by the Russians (discussed in *Summary* No. 370). H.M. Government had tabled a formal note on the subject. At long last the Committee was informed that a reply was being handed to H.M. Embassy in Moscow stating that the Soviet Authorities had not been able to get on with the work of destruction as they lacked resources to carry out such a large task, but they were now taking the necessary measures to fulfil their obligations. (Previous evidence had suggested that some ships were being repaired.)

Reports over the last few weeks (some of which were discussed in *Summaries* Nos. 375 and 373) raised the question of one of the most important undecided political factors in Germany—the relative strength of those Communists who are at all costs subservient to Moscow and those who ultimately place "German" interests first. Among the leaders the former class is likely to be composed mainly of *emigrés* trained in Moscow. There has always been a strong faction among German Communists who are Germans first and foremost, but the dividing line is blurred by uncertainty among these whether German interests can best be served by leaning on Russia or by speaking out when her policy conflicts with German desires and thus maintaining the popularity of the party with the German public. There have recently been signs of reaction against Russia, particularly among Communists in the British zone. This was referred to in *Summary* No. 373, when it was stated, however, that there is yet no real indication of a fundamental change in SED policy or that the party as a whole is ready to come into open disagreement with Russian economic aims. In general the latest reports confirm this view, but throw interesting new light on SED aims and tactics. Immediately after the Berlin election, several SED leaders privately blamed their defeat on dependence on the Russians and also complained of the undue influence of *emigré* leaders. Representations were also made to the Russians about the deportation of scientists and in strong terms about the Eastern frontier. The latter complaint, coming shortly after Stalin's statement on the 29th October that the frontier was final, may have seemed little short of insolent to Moscow and might tend to raise doubts in Russian minds about the possibility of working in alliance with the present or indeed any other SED leaders. In public, however, the SED has continued to stress the need for Germany to lean on Russia. Disinclination to oppose Russian economic policy, and possibly a degree of deception, is reflected in the confident statement of a SED leader that reparations from current production will cease with the coming of a peace treaty. This view conflicts with the Soviet approach to General Clay offering a scaling up of German industry in return for agreement to take reparations from current production. In general the SED appears to be biding its time and to be prepared to put up for a time with a degree of unpopularity among the Germans (which they will try to counteract by energetic campaigns against "Reaction") in return for Russian support. The attitude of an SED leader, originally of the SPD, towards the Eastern frontier reported in last week's *Summary*, seems typical of the difficult course which the party is trying to steer between the Scylla and Charybdis of pro-Russianism and chauvinism. Other reports indicate, however, that the same leader and a number of his colleagues do not really believe that the last word has been said about the Eastern frontier, they have vehemently denied, it appears, that they would ever abandon a foot of German soil. In the opinion of a leading member, Germany's only hope is to prove herself "democratic" (although he admitted the outlook for this was not bright) for then Russia would prefer a "democratic Germany" east of the Oder to a "national-fascist" Poland. He was convinced that Russia did not wish to swallow up any German territory and that it was not necessary for the Germans to turn Communists to satisfy the Russians.

A delegation from the South Schleswig Association accompanied by the Danish Consul in Flensburg was received by the Danish Premier and Minister for Foreign Affairs on the 7th January. It is understood that the Danish Government has been asked to forward to the Council of Foreign Ministers a request that South Schleswig should be granted autonomy during a transitional period until a fresh plebiscite can take place. The demands are not new, and this latest step is most unlikely to contribute towards a solution of the problem. It is of interest that this is the first time the Association has been officially received in Copenhagen by the Danish Government.

AUSTRIA

The Austrian Government have sent a Note to the British Government asking that a representative should be allowed to state the Austrian case before the Deputies meeting in London to discuss the Austrian Treaty.

General Clark, who is to be the U.S. Deputy at the talks, is to be succeeded as High Commissioner in Austria by Lieut.-Gen. Geoffrey Keyes, Commanding the Third Army in Germany. General Keyes is now General Clark's deputy, and will take over from him "probably in the early summer," as General Clark told a press conference on the 6th January. The exact date of his departure for his new appointment in the United States depends upon the success of the Treaty talks. He had "great hopes," and spoke of his Russian colleagues' "increasing desire for co-operation."

The Allied Council met on the 10th January, and the meeting was again cordial. The main item was the discussion of the food supply for the next rationing period. The food plan originally submitted by the Austrian Government showed a deficit of 25,000 tons of flour, but this was reduced to 12,885 tons by the arrival of U.N.R.R.A. supplies and the use of 6,000 tons originally earmarked as a winter reserve for inaccessible places. Before the meeting the Soviet and United States High Commissioners had reached agreement in bilateral discussion on the use of reserve indigenous supplies from their zones, and their proposals to use these stocks and a small amount from the British zone were put before the meeting. The British representative protested that these so-called contributions from the U.S. and Soviet zones were indigenous resources at the full disposal of the Austrian Government, in accordance with the often-repeated resolutions of the Allied Council. The plan was, however, passed, and the amount of indigenous food consumed in excess of the quota is to be replaced by later UNRRA imports. Unsatisfactory features of the arrangement were the fact that a bilateral agreement was made and placed before the Council for approval; and the fact that the U.S. authorities had offered the Government 500 tons of flour from military stocks on condition that this should be consumed only in the U.S. zone and in Vienna, which, again, is against the principle that all food supplies should be pooled.

General Kurasov then proposed that displaced persons should be excluded from the next food plan, and stressed the need for ridding Austria of displaced persons. While the British, U.S. and French representatives agreed with him on the urgency

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of the problem, they did not agree that their rations should be stopped. The British representative pointed out that many displaced persons were working and thus entitled to food rations. The inconclusive discussion ended without a decision.

The Council considered a letter from the Chancellor drawing attention to the fuel and power crisis, and asking for Allied support in getting additional coal supplied from abroad. He also asked for the curtailment of coal consumption by the occupying Powers and that any saving should be given to the Austrian Government. The urgency of the problem was fully appreciated by the Council, and a special meeting of the Executive Committee on the 14th January is to deal with the matter and take immediate steps.

The fuel crisis in Austria has reached a point where almost the whole of Austrian industry is at a standstill, schools and all entertainments are closed, papers have ceased publication and the Alpenland radio transmitter closed down, while from the 15th January passenger railway traffic, both steam-driven and electric, has stopped on all Austrian railways.

There have been some changes in the Austrian Government, but the party representation remains the same, a fact which has aroused Communist indignation and a renewed plea for new elections. Dr. Frenzel, Minister of Food, has been replaced by Otto Sagmeister, another Socialist, and a member of the Co-operative movement. Franz Rauscher, Under-Secretary of State in the Ministry for the Safeguarding of Property is replaced by Karl Mantler, a prominent Trade Unionist who spent the war in Dachau and Buchenwald, and Lois Weinberger, Minister without Portfolio, is replaced by Erwin Altenburger, who comes from the Catholic Trade Union movement. Dr. Frenzel, who is not of high calibre, has resigned on health grounds, and Weinberger is said to wish to devote himself completely to his work as Vice-Burgomaster of Vienna.

The Conference of the Socialist Parties of the Danubian States met in Prague in mid-December. Accounts of a closed meeting held at this Conference go further than accounts published at the time. Apparently the Austrian delegation went so far as to advocate complete freedom of trade for all goods between the Danubian States, the removal of passport and visa restriction and the co-ordination of transport. It was recognised that this programme could not be immediately realised, but that, nevertheless, it was "essential for the unity of the Danubian States." This is an important indication of policy from the Austrian Socialist Party.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Czechoslovak delegation attending the London discussions on Germany and Austria is arriving here about the 14th January. M. Masaryk will be accompanied by Dr. Lisický, a career diplomat attached as special envoy to the Embassy in London and one of the leading delegates in Paris and New York. Dr. Heidrich, Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Dr. Hajdu, Head of the Peace Treaty Division of the Ministry, are the other leading delegates. Their personal sympathies are, on the whole, towards the western democracies, but Czechoslovakia manifests the age-old hostility of Slav to Teuton which means that its attitude to German problems goes rather deeper than that of a country which suffered temporary obliteration by Hitler. Germany, in the form developed under Prussian domination and, subsequently, Nazi hegemony, haunts the mind of Bohemia, and therefore Czechoslovakia will judge the outcome of the peace talks by the extent to which that ghost has been laid. Apart from Soviet influence upon policy, public opinion obliges Czechoslovak statesmen to take up what appears to be an uncompromising position in this matter. Members of the moderate parties, fearing the undue capital likely to accrue to the Communists, sound uncompromising nationalists, even going so far as to embarrass the Foreign Minister and Under-Secretary by the zeal of their representations.

One complication for M. Masaryk is the fact that the most important territorial claims against Germany are those where Czechoslovakia marches with Polish-occupied Silesia. Here the Czech claims to the Zittau (Zitava), Glatz (Kladsko) and Leobschutz (Hlubčice) salients conflict with Polish interests. Despite manifestos on either side, the friction, originating in the dispute over Teschen (Těšín) and augmented by the Polish occupation, has not been removed.

Unless modified in the light of the Polish *fait accompli*, and the probably unfavourable attitude of the Great Powers, Czechoslovak claims on Germany will be for a general straightening of the frontier and an advance of some ten to twenty kilometres into Bavaria, Saxony and Silesia. The claims are based upon historical, economic and military arguments. The first are not very strong,

although, in the case of Glatz and Zittau, they are stronger than the Polish claims. Economically the acquired territory would increase Czechoslovakia's already considerable forest resources, although these suffered as a result of German exploitation and the loss of Ruthenia to the Soviet Ukraine; the claim on Silesia would improve the north Bohemian communications system and take in the Waldenburg coalfield. From the point of view of defence against Germany the gains would be of local tactical value, but would not alter the general strategic picture.

Czechoslovakia's relations with Austria are not to be compared to Czech-German relations, seeing that both share a dislike of German imperialism. Austria, too, in itself offers no direct threat to Czechoslovak security. Bohemia at least, if not Slovakia, has strong cultural affinities with Austria which were not destroyed by the rupture of the old Empire. Post-war developments between these two Danubian States have indeed been more amicable than between Czechoslovakia and Poland. It is possible that the request for a small exchange of territory north of Bratislava may be renewed at the conference in London.

POLAND

The elections for the new Polish Constituent Diet are to be held next Sunday, the 19th January. The most important single event in Poland during the past week has been the decision of the Polish Peasant Party Executive, under M. Mikolajczyk's leadership, to persist in contesting the elections in the 42 constituencies (out of a total of 52) in which the party candidates' lists have not been invalidated by the Electoral Commissions. The more sober members of the party have long expected that the elections will be neither free nor fair, but they believe that a contested election can hardly fail to give evidence, as the Referendum did last year, showing that the party would have had a sweeping majority had it been a fair contest, and they still hope that this object will be realised.

No such favourable evidence is at all likely to be shown by the officially published results. For one thing, these results are not to be announced until the 31st January, twelve days thus being allowed for any manipulation that might be found necessary. And the scales are already, it might be thought, sufficiently weighted. The 10 constituencies, in which the Polish Peasant Party has been disfranchised by the invalidation of its lists, contain over one-fifth of the population of Poland, and will return 76 candidates who will belong to, or may be relied on to vote with, the Government *bloc*. In the rest of the country, obstacles of every kind continue to be placed in the way of the Polish Peasant Party. A week ago 104 of the party's candidates were actually under arrest. The names of many candidates have been cut out of the lists. Everywhere prominent supporters of the party have found their names deleted from the electoral roll, only a very small number of appeals against such deletions being allowed, or even attended to. Leaflets printed by the party, which state that all citizens have the right to vote secretly, will be difficult to distribute owing to the arrest of its workers on an ever-increasing scale; and it is reported that so large a proportion of the party's voting slips have been removed in a raid that it may now be impossible to distribute them in sufficient quantities to reach all the prospective voters.

At the same time a series of much publicised political trials have recently been staged, in which the evidence has been marshalled so as to imply the betrayal of Polish interests by M. Mikolajczyk and his party owing to their connection, real or alleged, with illegal underground movements and with the Poles in Great Britain.

A renewed note of protest has been addressed to the Warsaw Government by the United States Government. The American note refers to previous intimations that the electoral proceedings were not felt to be compatible with the undertakings given by the Polish representatives at Potsdam and contend that those proceedings are quite contrary to the conditions under which recognition had been given to the Polish Provisional Government. His Majesty's Government have also used the occasion, presented by the need to reply to a Polish Note of the 20th December on various grievances, to reiterate their very grave concern at the reports of widespread arrests and discrimination in connexion with the elections, and their insistence on the Polish Provisional Government's obligation to hold free and unfettered elections on the conditions laid down.

The culmination of the Government's propaganda is probably to be found in the suggestions of the Public Prosecutor in the latest political trial, seeking to implicate H.M. Ambassador at Warsaw as having allegedly used the accused as a means of

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getting in touch with members of an illegal underground movement. This, no doubt, is intended as a counter-accusation to H.M. Government's charges of unfair election procedure. But it is also intended to serve at the moment as a red herring to direct the attention both of the Polish public and of the foreign press correspondents now in Warsaw from the great mass and variety of methods of pressure to which the Government *bloc* is resorting.

As regards the attempt to implicate the British Ambassador an official statement made at the Foreign Office has stated: "We are satisfied that Mr. Cavendish Bentinck has not been engaged in any improper activities, still less in activities directed against the Polish State. On grounds of democratic principle we are unwilling to withhold any evidence which may be required by a court of law, and we have accordingly authorised the Ambassador to answer in writing any questions in connexion with the case which may be forwarded to him on behalf of the Court by the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs."

SOVIET UNION

A large number of articles in the Moscow press enlivened by cartoons of the favourite Soviet *bêtes noires*, Franco, Hearst, Yalchin, etc., reviewed the past year and the prospects for 1947. Great emphasis was laid, in all the articles, upon peace and the struggle of the Soviet Union to ensure peace. *Trud* emphasised the changed political set-up whereby the peoples have become masters of their fate and, in common with all the papers, referred repeatedly to the success of the policy of international collaboration on a basis of equality and open diplomacy.

The Anglo-Egyptian treaty negotiations were again given considerable publicity in the Soviet press last week, in terms which confirmed still further the direct Soviet interest in the outcome of these negotiations. A long article in *Komsomolskaya Pravda* on "the struggle of the Egyptian people for their independence" stressed the dissatisfaction felt in Egypt over the British attitude to the Sudan and the general criticism of Nokrashy Pasha and doubt of his ability to satisfy the "demands of the Egyptian people" on this score and for the evacuation of British troops. The British and United States delegations were accused of having exercised pressure on the Egyptian delegation at the last United Nations meeting to obtain a "softened" version of the Egyptian resolution demanding withdrawal of troops stationed on foreign territory without the consent of the appropriate Government. Growing dissatisfaction was alleged to exist in the United Kingdom at the Labour Government's policy in Egypt and the Near East, and a special tribute was reserved for Egyptian youth for "laying bare the manœuvres of the British to the broad masses."

The official Soviet view of the negotiations between the Government of the U.S.S.R. and of Norway concerning Spitzbergen has now been put out by *Tass*. According to this account, during discussions carried on with the Norwegians in 1944 and 1945 the question was raised from the Soviet side of revising the Treaty of Spitzbergen of the 9th February, 1920, which conferred the sovereignty of that territory and of Bear Island on Norway. The Treaty was said to have been signed without the knowledge of the Soviet Union and without its participation; the fact that the U.S.S.R. adhered to it without reservations in May 1935 was conveniently glossed over. In fact the Soviet Union might have appended its signature even sooner, had it not been for Article 10 of the Treaty, which stated that the recognition of a Russian Government by the High Contracting Parties was a necessary precondition of Russian adherence. The U.S.A., one of the original signatories, did not recognise the U.S.S.R. until 1933. The *Tass* statement went on to make the unfounded assertion that Bear Island was a Russian island—actually its first discoverers were Dutch and it never belonged to Russia. Against the continued validity of the Treaty was advanced the dubious contention that some of the original signatories had fought against the Allied Powers. The statement concluded by saying that agreement had been reached with the Norwegian Government about the necessity of joint defence of the Spitzbergen Islands, and that the negotiations for consultation with the Allied Governments concerning the revision of the 1920 Agreement had not yet been completed. In fact, it should be pointed out, only private conversations between the Norwegian Foreign Minister and our Ambassador in Oslo have taken place on this subject. (See also under "Norway.")

A démenti has been issued by *Tass* denying the statement made by Drew Pearson, basing himself on the American Military Attaché in Angora, that the Soviet Union is concentrating troops on the Turkish frontier.

The Soviet Union is among the many countries now showing interest in the Antarctic, and the first Soviet whaling expedition left for the Antarctic at the end of December. The Soviet whaling industry is a relatively new development, having started in 1932. In a recent interview to *Tass*, Alexander Akhimovich Ishkov (U.S.S.R. Minister of the Western Fishing Industries) recalled that a Russian expedition navigated the Antarctic continent at the beginning of the last century and discovered Peter I Island (now Norwegian), Alexander I Land (now British) and the Bellinghausen Sea. A Soviet delegation attended, for the first time, the International Whaling Conference held at Washington last November and intimated that the Soviet Government intends to adhere to the International Whaling Convention, which has been in force since 1937. The Soviet Whaling Flotilla which will operate in the Antarctic this season consists of the factory ship *Slava* and eight catchers. It is difficult to believe that Soviet interest in the Antarctic will remain confined to whaling, and territorial claims based on Admiral Bellinghausen's discoveries of 100 years ago may shortly be expected.

The work of the World Federation of Trade Unions has again come into the picture, both *Trud* and *New Times* devoting many columns to Tarasov's impressions of the session of the Executive Bureau in December. He spoke at length on the participation of the W.F.T.U. in the Economic and Social Council (a step forward, despite its limited nature), the campaign against Franco Spain (another first step), the decision to send delegations to Greece and Persia, German Trade Unions (where the W.F.T.U. are establishing free trade unions which could take an active part in de-Nazification and "democratisation") and the questions of African Trade Unions and the establishment of industrial sections of the W.F.T.U.

The Komsomols have been taking their share in the general campaign for overhauling Soviet and Party organs and gearing them to the tasks of the five year plan by holding a series of report and election meetings throughout the country. The meetings appear to have been used as a forum for general criticism of personnel, and appreciable changes in Komsomol cadres have been traceable since they were held. The most recent move has been the convening of Republican Komsomol congresses, which had not been held for six years. The first two to meet were those of Kirghizia and the Ukraine; the latter, being the more important, was addressed by Mikhailov himself, first secretary of the All-Union Central Komsomol committee. Mikhailov especially criticised the weakness of Komsomol work in the educational and cultural field. The Ukrainian youth press was charged with having given vent to nationalist sentiments, publishing low-grade literature of little ideological value. Komsomol leaders, according to Mikhailov, had often been chosen on grounds of personal feelings rather than of political worth, and a number had had to be removed on account of "incorrect behaviour." The criticism put out at the Kirghiz Congress was remarkably similar, the only notable addition in the latter case being the charge that among Kirghiz youth were found feudal relics and superstitions which were taking "most monstrous forms." The total Komsomol membership in the Ukraine was given as 1 million as against 35,000 at the time of liberation, and in Kirghizia 60,000, but the rate of intake of new members was said to have diminished in both Republics.

Electioneering for the forthcoming elections for the Supreme Councils of the constituent Republics is now in full swing throughout the country, and press announcements on the candidatures of Generalissimo Stalin and other members of the *Politburo* have occupied a great deal of space normally devoted to other issues. According to the now well-established practice, the leading members of the Government and the Communist Party were immediately nominated for many seats. The constituencies finally allotted to them will only be made known later.

SCANDINAVIA

Norway

Following a report in the British Press that the Soviet Union had asked Norway for facilities to establish military bases on Spitsbergen, the Foreign Ministry in Oslo on the 10th January released an official statement. According to this statement the Soviet Government approached the Norwegian Government, then in London, as far back as 1944, with a request for the revision of the 1920 Treaty, whereby the sovereignty over the islands was conferred upon Norway. Both parties, the statement continues, recognised the fact that the abrogation of the Treaty would require the consent of the other signatories, with the exception of ex-enemies. The *Storting*

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Foreign Affairs Committee had been informed of the Soviet demands, as had also the United States, Great Britain, and France.

The original Russian proposals were for the abrogation of the 1920 Treaty and its replacement by a Norwegian-Soviet condominium over Spitsbergen, and the cession of Bear Island by Norway to the Soviet Union. On the 9th April, 1945, the Norwegians presented counter-proposals which suggested that Spitsbergen should remain under Norwegian sovereignty, but that the defence of the islands should be undertaken jointly by the two countries. All reference to Bear Island was deliberately omitted. The Russians appeared to accept this as a basis for further negotiations, and a joint declaration was drawn up.

In the course of a recent interview which M. Lange, the Norwegian Foreign Minister, had in New York with M. Molotov the latter indicated that the U.S.S.R.'s interests in Spitsbergen were not purely strategic but also economic. Russian mining interests, for instance, M. Molotov thought, ought to be given preferential treatment to those of other signatories of the original Treaty. M. Lange was unwilling to discuss the economic exploitation of mineral resources on Spitsbergen and maintained that this formed a question entirely separate from that of defence. Throughout the negotiations the Norwegian Government, on their part, emphasized that Norway could agree to a change in the status of Spitsbergen only if this received the sanction of the signatories of the 1920 Treaty and of the Security Council of the United Nations Organisation. They also emphasized that the *Storting* had to approve the final agreement. Although the majority of the Norwegian Government consider themselves bound by their offer of the 9th April, 1945, there can be little doubt that they would like to see the *status quo* preserved. The attitude of His Majesty's Government will be determined as soon as a full report on the strategic importance of Spitsbergen has been received from the Chiefs of Staff, and the views of the Canadian Government ascertained. (See also under "Soviet Union" for Spitzbergen.)

Iceland

So far all efforts to form a new Government have failed, and the retiring Ministers are still carrying on. The attempts by the Conservative Acting Prime Minister, Herra Olafur Thors, to form a Government with the Socialists (9 seats) and the Communists (10 seats), failed, partly because of the Communists' excessive demands. They had asked for the Ministry for Foreign Affairs or for the establishment of State import monopoly under the control of a Communist Minister. A minority Government by the Conservatives and the Socialists alone, on the French model, has apparently not been seriously considered. At one time the President had accepted a suggestion that each of the four parties nominate three representatives to try and reach an agreement on an all-party basis. As was to be expected, however, this four-party Government did not materialise, largely owing to the general reluctance to accept responsibility for the threatening economic crisis and partly because of the enmity between the leaders of the two largest parties, the Conservatives (20 seats) and the Progressives (13).

According to a broadcast from Sweden, Herra Thors has now advised the President that he is unable to form a Government and Herra Stefan Stefansson, Chairman of the Labour Party, has been entrusted with the task; if he should also prove unable to do so, the only course apparently open to the President would be to take the matter out of the hands of the *Althingi* and arrange for a non-parliamentary Government, as happened in 1942 in similar circumstances.

(See under "Germany" for South Schleswig.)

THE LOW COUNTRIES

The Netherlands

Professor Gerbrandy wasted little time in broadcasting a reply to the rebuke which he received from the Government for his critical broadcast of the 2nd January [see last week's *Summary*]. A week later he returned to the charge with the facts behind Dr. van Mook's dual appointment of Colonial Minister and Lieut.-Governor-General of the N.E.I. In October 1941, said Professor Gerbrandy, when the portfolio of Colonies was vacant, and war with Japan was probable, he took the opportunity "to sound the opinion" of the Governor - General, Jhr. Tjarda van Starkenborgh-Stachouwer, with the result that it was decided to appoint Dr. van Mook as Colonial Minister. "I was thus fully entitled," added Professor Gerbrandy, "to suggest the appointment to Her Majesty." Then came the Japanese war; and, after further consultation with the Governor-General, who needed his services more than Professor Gerbrandy, Dr. van Mook asked to be released from his Ministerial duties, whereupon Professor Gerbrandy himself became Colonial Minister. Soon afterwards came the Governor-General's request that Dr. van Mook be appointed Lieutenant-Governor-General—a request which was immediately acceded to, as it was considered essential to have someone of his standing in the U.S.A. and elsewhere; for by law a Governor-General is not allowed to leave territory of the N.E.I., whereas his Lieutenant is free to do so.

It was in such circumstances, then, that Dr. van Mook became Lieut.-Governor-General. On the eve of the occupation of Java in March 1942, continued Professor Gerbrandy, they had to decide upon the future course of action of the N.E.I. officials; and it was agreed that, whilst the greater part of the officials—including the Governor-General, who had decided for himself—should remain behind, a number of "suitable persons" be sent to London to "strengthen" the Government there. These included Dr. van Mook. "We then had to decide," declared Professor Gerbrandy, "how this co-operation would have to be regulated, and decided that Dr. van Mook should be appointed Minister of Colonies, and thus be bound to the joint policy and 'collegiate' character of the Cabinet as well as the Commission of Ministers dealing with the direct conduct of the war. I was appointed Minister for the General Co-ordination of Warfare for the Kingdom by the Queen. The natural view was that Dr. van Mook would later return to the Netherlands Indies as Lieut.-Governor-General."

As for the combination of the offices of Colonial Minister and Lieut.-Governor-General, which he agreed he had called "a constitutional monstrosity" in the autumn of 1944, Professor Gerbrandy said that there was no question of this combination of powers having "serious consequences." At the time they hoped for the speedy liberation of the Netherlands, and they thought that the moment had arrived for Dr. van Mook's return to the N.E.I. as Lieut.-Governor-General. It was therefore arranged that he retain membership of the Cabinet as Colonial Minister "committed to co-operation" with them. "Legally speaking," that "construction" was a monstrosity; but it was a "practical" war emergency measure. But, with the hope of Dutch liberation unfulfilled, Dr. van Mook was told that his tenure of the combined offices would have to be terminated—a fact which the recent Government declaration omitted to mention. As Lieut.-Governor-General, Dr. van Mook of course had to be invested with special powers, and, moreover, demanded them, but was not given all he asked for—"not by a long chalk!" He was re-appointed Lieut.-Governor-General subject to "an all-decisive limitation," which Professor Gerbrandy emphasised he had "personally announced" to Dr. van Mook on behalf of the Crown and the Cabinet: "Your present appointment in no way ties us down regarding your successors . . . You will only become Lieut.-Governor-General, and will only very temporarily exercise the functions of Governor-General. Should you remain Lieut.-Governor-General—a fact which we shall not be able to decide—you will only be able to remain at your post as a subordinate official to Jhr. Tjarda van Starkenborgh-Stachouwer, after his liberation." Dr. van Mook's broadcast from London on the 17th October, 1944, shortly before his departure for the Far East, contained the "most unambiguous confirmation" of the above.

One now realized, said Professor Gerbrandy, in his concluding remarks, that that policy had been "completely reversed" by the two succeeding Cabinets. Jhr. van Starkenborgh-Stachouwer had been forced to resign, because his policy, which was Professor Gerbrandy's, had been rejected in favour of Dr. van Mook's. The official statement had said that the Government would proceed to an elaboration of the Agreement. What on earth could that mean?—the elaboration of an agreement which neither party had yet even signed nor probably would ever sign? A policy which helped "the abominable Republic into the saddle" and quickened the pace of Netherlands-N.E.I. separation was incomprehensible. The Government had protested against the manner of his attack on a man who was "working with such perseverance at his heavy task." He often heard of a Lieut.-Governor-General who, "blindly followed" by a Cabinet and without its concurrence, worked with "perseverance" at establishing new States unknown to the Constitution, and at conferring with men who called themselves Ministers but who lacked "everything" which characterized a Minister. But he heard "very little" of that official's "fulfilment of the duty" which the Indies Constitution imposed upon him above all other duties—that of protecting the native population from violence of any kind, which now, more than ever before, cried out for fulfilment.

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Belgium

Details of the recent meeting between the Belgian and Dutch Foreign Ministers in Brussels [see last week's *Summary*] were given by M. Spaak to H.M. Ambassador during an interview on the 8th January. On the question of the settlement of Germany M. Spaak said that he and Baron van Boetzelaer wanted a system of federalization which would place the great bulk of political power in the hands of the individual states, leaving only a very little in the hands of the central government. They were agreed upon raising German industrial output to a point which would alleviate present conditions, provided that there were wholly adequate safeguards against the possibility of military production. They also favoured indefinite occupation, in which Belgian and Dutch forces should participate. With regard to territorial and economic claims against Germany, M. Spaak said that he had left Baron van Boetzelaer in no doubt that he objected to the Dutch claims; but he confessed to H.M. Ambassador that he was awkwardly placed, for, if these claims (and, for that matter, those of Luxembourg) were admitted, he would be compelled to ask for concessions of comparable weight on Belgium's behalf, although he himself was opposed to the idea.

FRANCE

M. Léon Blum arrived in London on the 13th January for a visit of a couple of days. He is the first French Prime Minister to be the guest of this country since 1940, and the visit was arranged as a result of the exchange of letters between him and Mr. Attlee (see last week's *Summary*). While the Prime Minister made it clear that there was no hope of an immediate increase in coal exports to France from this country or from the Ruhr, he warmly welcomed the prospect of a visit from M. Blum and said that H.M. Government were most anxious that economic relations between France and the U.K. should be put on the closest possible footing. (The question of harmonising reconstruction plans within the two countries is one that comes within the purview of the Anglo-French economic committee (see *Summary* No. 360) which is due to meet soon). M. Blum expressed himself as much touched by the warmth of the invitation extended to him and said that he was not expecting supplies of coal to be immediately available but only that some hope might be held out for the future. Negotiations started on the 14th January and made good progress.

M. Blum has already emphasised, in conversation with Mr. Duff Cooper on the 26th December, how glad he would be to do anything during his short tenure of office which would permanently improve Anglo-French relations. In contrast to M. Bidault, who has always insisted that an Anglo-French alliance would be valueless without previous agreement on the German question, M. Blum said that he would consider the possibility of concluding an alliance while the German question was still under discussion. Moreover, the change in the Communist attitude which, he said, had now become almost identical with that of M. Molotov, meant that there was little difference between the Communist views on Germany and those of the Socialists as expressed by M. Goutin last spring (see *Summary* No. 338). M. Blum was therefore hopeful of the prospects of reaching agreement with the U.K.

The life of M. Blum's all-Socialist Government is quickly drawing to a close. M. Blum will resign when the President of the Republic is elected on the 16th January, and, in spite of the very favourable impression made by his Government, it is unlikely that they will be asked or will agree to remain in office. M. Blum himself does not think it possible for a minority Government to retain power for long, and while the M.R.P. and the Right would be willing to see the maintenance of the present Government the Communists have declared their hostility to this suggestion. Negotiations for a coalition Government are therefore likely to be resumed. M. Blum might be induced to lead it, but it is doubtful whether his health would stand the strain. Candidates for the presidency of the Republic are likely to be put forward by each of the four main parties; the most-favoured candidate is M. Vincent Auriol. The Presidents of the legislative chambers were elected on the 14th January at the beginning of the new session; M. Auriol was re-elected President of the Assembly and M. Champetier de Ribes, after tying with the Communist candidate, M. Marrane, secured re-election in the Council by virtue of being older than his opponent.

The Government's price policy has so far been successful, and local vigilance committees are being set up everywhere to bring the pressure of public opinion to bear on producers. Model shops are to be set up by the co-operative movement to show what prices should really be. M. André Philip, the Minister of Finance, has introduced a further set of financial measures which, through the raising of interest rates and the obligation placed on prospective clients of the banks to disclose their stocks, are intended to bring hoarded goods on to the market. He has also decreed that all nationalised undertakings must accept common standards of accountancy and publish figures of costs of production. At a meeting of the Planning Council on the 7th January when the Monnet Plan was unanimously approved, the success of the Plan was shown to depend on the success of the programme of price stabilization. M. Blum told the press on the same evening that the Government would begin to put the Plan into immediate execution.

The demand of the C.G.T. for a minimum wage (see last *Summary*) has not been the only problem which the Government have had to face in the field of wages. The Civil Servants unions have been pressing for interim salary increases pending the completion of the new salary-scales promised for the 1st January. The Government have given them a temporary bonus but refused their full demands. Another and most inconvenient dispute has been the strike of the rotary machine minders in the newspaper printing shops which has left Paris without newspapers since the morning of the 9th January. The newspapers say that they cannot afford to pay higher prices for printing while the printers' men threaten to reveal the failure of many papers to pay their printing bills. Meanwhile it is feared that the absence of newspapers may endanger the success of the Government campaign for price reduction.

M. Moutet and General Leclerc arrived back in Paris from Indo-China on the 12th January. They were received separately by M. Blum and the Cabinet will review the situation at the earliest opportunity.

SPAIN

Fourteen political offenders including Socialists and members of the C.N.T., were tried by court martial on the 9th January on charges of conspiracy against the Franco régime. They had been held in prison since December 1944 following a large-scale round-up by the Spanish police of persons of Monarchist and Republican sympathies suspected of attempting to form a coalition to oust General Franco. The great majority of those arrested at the time—some of them more as a sharp reminder of what might be expected to happen to them if they persisted in their plotting—were set at liberty almost immediately. Certainly no one belonging to the political groups of the Right was detained for long, and many of the Left elements—in certain cases through the intervention of H.M. Embassy—were released soon afterwards. But for some reason or other the unfortunate fourteen have been left to languish in gaol until now.

General Aranda, who was believed to have been a moving spirit in the 1944 conspiracy, but who had been left unmolested by the police, had been subpœnæd—with his legal adviser—to appear as a witness for the defence. The General, however, was not able to give evidence. He had been hurriedly banished to the Balearics by order of the Captain-General of Madrid for reasons not yet disclosed and had actually left for his destination the night before the trial opened. His legal adviser, also,—who had seen the General off—had to excuse himself from attendance at the trial "on account of illness." The trial proceeded in orderly fashion and the defence, despite the deprivation of its two star witnesses, was, it appears, admirably conducted. The defence asked for the acquittal of all the prisoners on the plea that the whole charge was nothing but a pre-arranged conspiracy on the part of the police. It maintained, moreover, that the activities in question, though hostile to the Régime, were within the law, and alleged in justification of the prisoners that such prominent personalities as Señor Lequerica (then Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs), Señor Sangroniz (Ambassador to the Quirinal) and the Papal Nuncio, in addition to General Aranda, had in fact been associated with the activities called into question.

The Spanish authorities have not imposed heavy sentences. They obviously feel that they have to move more warily than in the old days when death-sentences were the rule in such cases rather than the exception. The public mention of prominent personalities will certainly cause much gossip in Spain and may well lead to repercussions by encouraging into the open many erstwhile timid critics. General

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Aranda, for instance—who has been on the retired list for four years—has never hesitated to voice his opinion that General Franco has served his purpose and should make way for a return to Constitutional rule. In his endeavours to bring moderate Right and Left elements together the General has in fact recently cut-in on the negotiations which have been going on for some time between the representatives of the Left grouped in the *Alianza de Fuerzas Democráticas* and the Monarchist and moderate Right elements (represented by Gil Robles) in Lisbon (see *Summary* No. 365). General Aranda all along has taken the view that a restored Monarchy must first rid itself of the outmoded ideas of prestige and privilege still held by some of Don Juan's adherents, and this has not made him popular with more reactionary Monarchists who would be prepared to see the Monarchy restored by means other than democratic—for instance, through a military *coup*. Don Juan himself is not believed to share these ideas, but he was recently constrained to intimate to General Aranda that he must move more slowly—the time had not yet come for action. A similar lack of confidence between Spaniards is demonstrated in the message from Gil Robles and Sainz Rodriguez to Señor Luque, the new C.N.T. representative in the Alianza (the original envoy to Lisbon having been ousted because, apparently, he neglected to report immediately to his own group the result of his mission and was said to have exceeded his instructions). Señor Luque has been informed that General Aranda possesses no authority to speak for the Lisbon groups. The answer is, of course, that General Aranda has no authority from any source but is first and foremost a patriotic Spaniard with more political acumen than most of the others. Once again jealousy and rivalry are hampering Spanish efforts to get together long enough to force Franco out.

The C.N.T. Executive Committee, in reply to an invitation from Don Juan for the new representative to visit Lisbon, has set out finally and authoritatively its position "in face of the grave situation in Spain." In this document (apparently taken to Lisbon by the Duke of Alba) the old negative apolitical attitude of the days before the civil war is repudiated and the C.N.T., "in union with the Republicans and Socialists," is pledged to seek a restoration of sovereignty through the nation itself by constitutional methods. On his part Don Juan is asked to publish a manifesto, modifying that issued in March 1945, in which he will undertake to make no claim to take up his historic rights until the Spanish people through a nation-wide plebiscite has made its own decision. The issue is clear. The Left groups are prepared to accept a Monarchy restored by constitutional methods, but they would adopt an attitude of uncompromising antagonism to a Restoration by military *coup d'état*. They make pertinent reference to the example of the late King Alfonso, Don Juan's father. In the face of conflicting counsel from his advisers and the probable intransigence of some of the Generals Don Juan has now to make up his mind.

H.M. Chargé d'Affaires has been forced to protest to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs against an offensive attack on the alleged activities of H.M. Embassy and on H.M. Ambassador in particular, which was broadcast by the Spanish radio on the 28th December and reproduced on the front page of *Arriba* on the 2nd January. Mr. Howard expressed his surprise at the attack in view of the apparent acceptance by the Spanish Government of H.M.G.'s note of explanation, dated the 27th December, with regard to the recent charges of subversive activities (see *Summary* No. 374). Señor Erice, the Director-General of the Ministry, expressed his regret, but suggested that some sort of public announcement might usefully be made with regard to H.M.G.'s denial of the imputations. H.M.G. are not prepared to agree to any such thing. In the meantime the Spanish press has received orders to lay off such articles.

The Italian Ambassador and the Dutch Minister have now left Spain and the Turkish Minister, also, has been recalled for consultation by his Government. Señor Pedro Radio, the new Argentine Ambassador, arrived in Spain on the 5th January.

Details of Spain's 1947 Budget figures have now been published in the *Official Gazette*. Revenue amounts to approximately 13,000 million pesetas and expenditure to more than 14,000. Grants to the three Services and to the Ministry of the Interior all show large increases on 1946 figures, the total figure accounting for more than half the Budget. Expenditure for Morocco has also increased from 612 to 673 million pesetas. As in 1946 the amount of the subsidy to the Falange remains something of a mystery, but the Party, apparently, has to manage on its 1946 income.

ITALY

The Socialist party Congress opened in Rome on the 9th January with a speech by the leader of the party. Signor Nenni, who rose amidst loud applause began by saying that he had not wanted a Congress in the present circumstances, not because he was afraid of the judgment of the members but because he had thought that the pact of unity between the Socialist and Communist parties, received with unanimous approval, was so important that it should have led to an entirely new attitude in the party. This, however, had not come about, and the lack of success of the Socialist party in the municipal elections, due partly to the fact that the pact of unity had not been satisfactorily explained, had caused further difficulties. He himself had been about to clarify the resulting political confusion, when Signor Saragat's article in the *Giornale d'Italia* had appeared. This changed the discussion from one of political organization to the question of fusion which had, he thought, been buried at the Congress in Florence, and this was the reason that he had advanced the date of the Congress, because a party could not exist in a permanent state of discussion. Signor Saragat had said that a party could not adhere to one, two or three policies according to the moods of some of its members. "Let us accept this principle" said Signor Nenni "and agree that when the Congress has shown the way this must be followed by the party."

Signor Nenni then dealt with the accusations of the dissident group, represented at the Congress by Signor Matteotti, who charged the Socialist party with forsaking its democratic ideals and organization and, influenced by one group which was receiving help from outside, with creating an atmosphere of intimidation in the rank-and-file. This terrorism, said Signor Nenni, must not be taken lightly, but he had always done his best to moderate the various influences. To prevent a difference of ideas growing into a personal difference, he himself was ready to remain outside the Executive and to give up all his appointments. After speaking at length on the aims of the Socialist party Signor Nenni said that the pact of unity was a necessity in view of the fact that the working classes in Italy were divided into two parties and on account of present conditions in the country, but that no other party abhorred the idea of totalitarianism as much as the Socialist party.

On Saturday the 11th January Signor Saragat addressed the Congress. He began by stating that the party was "riddled" by Communists and that the methods they had introduced had brought discord among members. The result of the Congress in Florence, where the complete independence of the party was approved, had been the cause of the Socialist Party's success at the National Elections. Vice versa the party's losses in the municipal elections were due to blindly following the Communist policy of strikes for unimportant increases of pay, to the pact of unity and, above all, to the Party taking its place in the Cabinet when its interests would have been better served by staying out. The Socialist party was radically wrong in trying to form a *bloc* with the Communist party, and the whole "popular front" was thereby threatened. The Communists in Italy were doomed since they were splitting the country into two political camps, a dangerous thing to do in a country like Italy. Signor Nenni's policy had reduced the Socialist party's influence to nil both at home and abroad. Signor Saragat finished his speech by stating that he and his followers had decided they could be of no further use in the party. Their road, he said, would be hard, but very many comrades would come with them into "that great international Socialist family to which we belong in the sense in which Socialism has always been taught in Europe."

After leaving the University Hall where the Congress was taking place, Signor Saragat went on to the Palazzo Barberini to address a large number of his adherents. Many veteran Socialists had gathered there and in turn addressed the meeting. Finally Signor Saragat appeared and said that he would announce the formation of a new party on the 12th January. An outline of the new party's policy was duly given by Signor Saragat, in which he traced the essential differences between his party and the Communists. Despite Signor Togliatti's attempt to prove that the new party was anti-Communist Signor Saragat denied that this was so. Many of the Communists' decisions were approved of by the masses because they were just, but all conditions in that party were imposed from the top. Although the new party would have discipline, everyone would have the inalienable right to decide what was right and what was wrong.

The latest report in the Press says that 40 Socialist members of Parliament have joined the new party. There remain 75 Socialist members of the Constituent Assembly, but they have not all yet declared themselves in favour of Signor Nenni. Signor Saragat has resigned as president of the Constituent Assembly.

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THE VATICAN

Each year the Roman Patricians give their Christmas Greetings to the Pope. This Christmas the Pope's reply was an appeal to the Patricians not to stand aloof, but to put all their devotion and experience at the disposal of the State. He condemned the abstentionist, "*l'émigré à l'interieur*" as he called him, who neglected his Christian duty to his fellow-countrymen. In a passage which Italian Communists will appreciate he told the Patricians to "direct their activity towards the welfare of the whole community rather than that of a single class." By this common welfare, which is the aim of the State, he meant the establishment of conditions under which individuals and families could lead a life according to the Law of God, regulated and happy. Passing naturally to the burning issue of freedom of the press, he said that the maintenance of the common welfare demanded the defence of public morality. Thus, if the State, by granting unconditional freedom to press and cinema, allowed them to undermine religion and morality, it would be "legalising licentiousness."

On the 10th and 11th January the Vatican broadcast an outspoken pastoral letter on the German situation by the Apostolic Delegate to Germany, Bishop Muench of Fargo, Dakota. Two short quotations show the contents of the letter. "That forced labour is described as reparations does not change the fact that it is slavery. We would be hypocrites were we not to regard as crime that which we did not hesitate to call crime when the enemy committed it." "We condemn the Mosaic principle of an eye for an eye, because Christ condemned it, and taught us to regard our fellow men as brothers."

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

Hungary

Further disclosures concerning the alleged plot to overthrow the present Government and re-establish the Horthy régime in Hungary (see last week's *Summary*) link the activities of the conspirators with those of foreign "reactionary" elements in the West, possibly including General Anders' Polish Army. The *coup d'état* was to have been effected with the help of Hungarian Fascists brought for the purpose from Bavaria, Austria and Italy. According to a communiqué issued by the Ministry of the Interior, documents belonging to General Szentmiklosi reveal the existence of a plan to demoralize Hungary by inducing the peasants to hoard their produce and by flooding the country with forged forint banknotes in order to undermine stabilization. On the 11th January it was stated that the number of arrests had reached ninety-three and that other arrests were anticipated. Investigations are being conducted into the records of all officers formerly belonging to Horthy's General Staff. The law protecting the democratic order against which the conspiracy is said to have been directed provides for the punishment of offenders by the death sentence, penal servitude for life or a term of imprisonment ranging from five to fifteen years, according to the degree of complicity. Those who knew of the plot and failed to report it are liable to imprisonment for a maximum of five years. To this is added the loss of civic rights and the total or partial confiscation of property.

While all parties are at one in condemning the conspirators the Smallholders feel acute anxiety about the ends to which the incident may be turned. In their newspaper, *Kis Ujság*, they ask that its importance should not be exaggerated and that none of the parties should use it as a weapon against the others. Their fear is well-grounded for the Communist organ, *Szabad Nép*, has already called for a drastic purge. Recent reports state that Hungarian Communists are demanding the expulsion of all right-wing members of the Smallholders Party, and that if they succeed in enforcing their demands Hungary is expected to have a new left-wing Government by Thursday. The Ministry of the Interior has also declared that the "Committee of Seven" thought to achieve their purpose chiefly by winning over the Smallholders and the Peasants' Federation which is under Smallholder influence. Several of their Deputies have been accused of occupying prominent positions in the movement.

The most forcible denunciation of Communist rule over a non-Communist majority comes from the Prince Primate, Cardinal Mindszenty, in his approach to the U.K. Representatives in Hungary. While allowance must be made for the Cardinal's well-known right-wing sympathies his point of view should still be recorded. He lays particular emphasis on the so-called economy reductions in the Civil Service, which, in his opinion, are merely a political ruse for replacing non-party or Smallholder officials by others belonging to the Left, since new civil servants are being trained to fill the vacancies occurring after the dismissal of the 120,000 employees who, an official announcement acknowledges, were B. listed. In addition, he deplores the economic control which the Soviet Union has obtained over Hungary, the nepotism, corruption, misery and lack of security in the country, and the restraints imposed on religious freedom, in proof of which he adduces the imprisonment of priests, the confiscation of buildings belonging to the Church, the ban twice imposed on the Bishop's pastoral letters and the arrests carried out by the Hungarian police of persons attending services.

The expatriation of Swabians, which was suspended at the request of the U.S. authorities in Germany is to be resumed as from the 1st April. In November of last year the numbers of those evicted amounted to 120,000, and it is expected that a further 120,000 will be transferred. M. Veres of the National Peasant Party points out that the Potsdam Agreement allowed Hungary to expel a total of 500,000. It is reported that a few hundred have returned and that some of them have been arrested.

Hungarian circles express great satisfaction with the Hungarian-Yugoslav Trade Agreement signed in Belgrade, according to which Yugoslavia will provide Hungary with iron ore, timber, copper, soda and other raw materials in return for Hungarian engineering, electro-technical and chemical products.

Roumania

A Roumanian Trade Delegation left for Moscow on the 11th January. It is led by Dr. Gheorghiu-Dej. As a preliminary condition for talking business the Russians appear to have stipulated for substantial concessions for the benefit of Sovrom Petrol.

It is becoming evident that the Russian plan is to secure as firm a hold as possible on all Roumanian resources before evacuating the country after the conclusion of the peace treaty. Before the war the oil companies had the right under annual agreements to buy back from the State the crude oil which was due as royalties, and to refine this for their own purposes. Since the Armistice the royalties have had to be delivered to the Government in kind. This crude oil was refined by one of the Sovrom group of companies and was then taken over by the Government and delivered to Russia on account of reparation. The Russians now demand that 75 per cent. of this payment in kind on account of royalties shall be refined in one of the Sovrom Petrol refineries, Redeventa or Creditul Minier and the products sold by Sovrom Petrol for export by which means the Russians secure free currency. As a result the Roumanian Government will now have to increase the quantities taken from British and American firms in order to maintain the deliveries under the armistice.

Under the Petroleum Law of July 1942 companies could ask for new concessions every December. Sovrom Petrol now demand that, since they have no allotted areas for exploration, they should be given preference in all new areas. They have also been granted exclusive rights in the Banat, where preliminary work had already been done by Astra and Româna-Americana.

About six months ago Roumania, inspired by the Soviet Union, asked for the withdrawal of the Apostolic Delegate from Roumania, and for the appointment of an American bishop in his place. One reason for this may have been to leave the way open for the Russian representative to become Dean of the Diplomatic Body. Bishop O'Hara of Savannah was nominated, and the Soviet authorities at that time objected. The objection has now been withdrawn, and Bishop O'Hara is on his way to Bucharest.

Generally speaking, Roumania is passing through a period of suspense which is likely to continue until after the signing of the treaty of peace, when further developments may take place. (The prevailing opinion amongst the British residents in Roumania is that the existing state of affairs will continue.) The Allied Control Commission will come to an end, but Russia will continue in effective control through Dl Bodnaras. There are rumours that Russia is embarking on a face-saving course and is seeking to secure some moderate support for the Government: in connexion with this move, it is reported that certain prominent members of the Government are anxious to find fresh fields of activity and are looking with longing eyes at the post of Minister to the Quai D'Orsay which is vacant. One of the candidates, Dl Patrascanu, at present Minister of Justice, is credited with a desire to form outside Roumania a Roumanian National Communist Party, whose Communism would be of a different quality from the Russian variety.

Yugoslavia

The recent espionage trial in Belgrade (see *Summary* No. 375) in which the American Embassy was so conspicuously involved, was obviously intended as an

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object-lesson to all who would pour out their woes into the ears of foreign representatives. It will certainly lead to the greater isolation of Western diplomatic establishments from the life of the country. Close supervision by the political police is the least price that the ordinary individual may have to pay for acquaintanceship with a member of the Embassy. Travel is more restricted than it was formerly and the red tape round travel permits takes longer to untie. Perhaps the authorities realise that members of H.M. Embassy, in their travels, have gleaned interesting information about conditions and opinion, which is not of the kind that Tanjug likes to publish.

It would appear that dissatisfaction with the régime is very widespread, though it is expressed mainly by ineffectual grumbling in a spirit of hopeless resignation. In the less accessible parts of Bosnia and the Lika, also in Slovenia, there have been sporadic disorders since the end of the war. Recently quite a number of Communist and local government officials have been attacked; during September nearly two hundred are said to have been murdered in Croatia alone. There have been attacks on buses, and on a train on the Zagreb–Split line. Items in the press about the trials of " Križari " in Split and Maribor substantiate these reports. In Macedonia former supporters of I.M.R.O. have been unearthed and brought to trial.

Possibly with a view to the control of listening, though ostensibly to increase the State revenue, the Yugoslav Government have ordered the registration and licensing of all wireless receivers, at a cost of 40 dinars a set.

As a precaution against forgery, said to be very prevalent, all 1,000 dinar banknotes are to be withdrawn from circulation by the 27th January and to be replaced by a new issue.

H.M. Ambassador recently presented two notes to the Yugoslav Government concerning British property in Yugoslavia and the effect of nationalisation.

The Yugoslav Government have formally protested to H.M. Government and the U.S. Government against the delay in handing over Italian war criminals. It is the view of H.M. Government that this question should be settled as between Italy and Yugoslavia, whereas the Yugoslav Government maintain that it is a joint U.S.-British responsibility.

Greece

The United Nations' preparations for the despatch of their Commission to Greece have continued and almost all the members of it have now been appointed. An advance party is to make detailed administrative arrangements in Greece before the main party's arrival. Meanwhile, there is more news from Greece of local preparations for the Commission's visit. On the one hand there has been a further decrease in bandit activity near the frontiers; on the other, all women and children in Salonica under sentence of deportation are being released and other deportees are being rapidly shipped southward. The Left press has made caustic comment on this obvious clearing of the prisons just now.

The British Parliamentary Delegation's report published on the 6th January has been the subject of extensive comment in the Greek press. Right-wing papers deplored it, taking the line that its suggestions trespassed on Greece's independence and were both partial and misinformed. Centre papers, expressing great satisfaction, interpreted the report as all-round condemnation of the situation in Greece and as endorsement of the Liberal Party's appeasement policy. The warmest welcome came from the extreme Left press which heralded the report as a complete denunciation of the present Greek régime and of Mr. Bevin's policy towards it. *Rizospastis* had published a *résumé* of the report as long ago as 2nd November based it seems, on an early draft to which *Rizospastis*' London correspondent obtained access in October. A Greek translation of this draft, which contains several divergencies from the final text, was printed in pamphlet form on the 5th December, and public comment in Greece has been based on this rather than the authoritative version. KKE/EAM have accepted its recommendations as a basis for all-party agreement and a new deal.

Most of the bandit activity which has been reported confirms suggestions that KKE is diverting attention away from the frontier. Several attacks have been made on road and rail communications between Larissa and Volo, and there has been some activity in the Lamia area. There has, however, been an attack made by some 1,000 bandits on Kyriaki near Soufli in western Thrace. Casualties on both sides are said to have been heavy, but the village was finally re-taken by the Greek army.

The Crown Prince Paul has been making a tour of Greek frontier posts and Crown Princess Frederica has distributed relief to the orphans of men killed in encounters with the Communist bands or massacred by the Bulgarians. It has also been

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reported that foreign aircraft have been dropping supplies to rebels on Greek territory.

Hopes that M. Tsaldaris would face the question of broadening the Government promptly after his return from Washington have been dashed by his statement to the Press. In it he said that he saw no need for further discussions between the parties before the Chamber reassembles on the 16th January, and added that he intended then to renew his offer to the Opposition to join his Government according to the parties' relative strengths in the Chamber. M. Sophoulis, whose party holds one-seventh of the seats in the Chamber, remains determined to join the Government only as Prime Minister.

Albania

A brief note was presented on the 9th January to the Albanian Chargé d'Affaires at Belgrade by H.M. Ambassador there, requesting him formally to notify the Albanian Government that their reply of the 21st December could not be accepted by H.M. Government as a satisfactory answer to their own note of the 9th December, none of the demands contained in it having been met, and that consequently H.M.G. were going to bring up the matter before the Security Council.

This step was taken on the 10th January when a letter was addressed by Sir Alexander Cadogan to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, enclosing copies of all three notes mentioned above and concluding: " In the view of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, the Albanian Government's reply of the 21st December is entirely unsatisfactory, and H.M.G. have accordingly instructed me to bring this dispute to the early attention of the Security Council under Article 35 of the Charter." It will be noted that H.M.G. are not invoking the graver Article 39 (see *Summary* No. 374).

Somewhat ironically, a polite telegram was received by the British Foreign Secretary on the very next day from Enver Hoxha in the rôle of a suppliant, reminding him of Albania's sacrifices in the Allied cause and also of the Paris Reparations Conference's recognition, last November, of her right to some share in German reparations, and then going on to beg that her authorised representatives might be permitted—so far as H.M.G. are concerned—to state their case in greater detail before the next meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers to be held in Moscow.

Meanwhile, an article in the Government newspaper *Bashkimi* (12th January) reverted to the sore subject of the anti-Communist Albanians who found refuge in Italy in November 1944 and have been allowed to remain there ever since. The theme of the article is that these " traitors " are being " sheltered " by the Allied military authorities in Italy out of spite, but that their day of reckoning will come when times have changed. The implications seem clear enough.

Turkey

The suppression on the 17th December of the Communist movement in Istanbul was wholeheartedly approved by the general public—and by the Democratic press no less than by papers supporting the Government. Besides being outraged by the increase in Communist propaganda, national feeling had been inflamed by reports of Communist persecution of Turks in Bulgaria and Greece. On the 11th December students seized all available copies of Communist newspapers and burnt them in the streets. These demonstrations seem to have been genuinely spontaneous and not to have stopped until the police intervened. In any case they provided an occasion, as mentioned in *Summary* No. 374, for the authorities to liquidate a movement, evidently inspired from Moscow, at the moment when it was becoming a menace. About eighty extreme Leftists were arrested. They included all the active Communist propagandists in Turkey and were largely young officers and technical students and other young intellectuals impressed with the inefficiency and corruption of the Administration. The authorities also took into temporary custody the Sertel couple and Cami Baykurt, formerly prominent Left-wing journalists. Some 300 other persons were kept under surveillance. The chief leaders seem to have been two: Şefik Hüsnü, an elderly Dönme (crypto-Jewish) doctor who is something of a Marxian doctrinaire and ran several Communist papers; Esat Adil Müstecaplioğlu, a former judge and prison governor whose Communism seems more opportunist than that of his rival. According to fairly reliable reports which have still to be confirmed, the Soviet Press Office in Istanbul put £T400,000 (say £30,000) at the disposal of its agents, most of whom were connected with Şefik Hüsnü. But Müstecaplioğlu, too, was pretty clearly

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in Soviet employ. Şefik Hüsnü's agents are stated to have been particularly active in Izmir and Adana and at Trabzon and other places on the Black Sea. Centres representing ramifications of the movement have been closed down in these places and as far towards the south-east as Gaziantep.

The tone of the suppressed papers was not merely pro-Soviet. It was also bitterly anti-British. This is but another indication that the ultimate purpose of the movement—though not perhaps of all its Turkish dupes—was to detach Turkey from Britain and throw her into Russia's arms. The Turkish Government thus seem to have rid themselves of a fifth column which might have been embarrassing when the Soviet Union next presses its claim to control the Straits.

On the 30th December the Grand National Assembly passed a Government bill terminating the special régime which has been in force in the Tunceli (Dersim) area since the last Kurdish rebellion of 1937–8. This mountainous region, which was notorious as the core of Kurdish resistance, is now to be administered like other vilayets, and no longer on a semi-military basis. Some thousands of Kurds, who had been deported further west, are to be allowed to return. It may be assumed, therefore, that the Government regard their policy of assimilation as having had a measure of success, but both in the Chamber and in the press there were indications of fear lest the last has not been heard of Kurdish rebelliousness. The ban on travel in the area makes it difficult to say how far such fear is justified.

As a sequel to the visit paid by the Secretary-General of the Turkish Foreign Ministry to Amman at the end of November, King Abdullah of Transjordan, accompanied by his son and Foreign Minister, arrived in Angora on a State visit on the 8th January. In deference to the King's religious convictions official hospitality was less convivial than is customary at Angora, but the speeches exchanged by President Inönü and the King abounded in mutual goodwill, and on the 11th January a treaty of friendship was signed. It was noticeable that both speakers referred to Turkey's friendly relations with Iraq and the Lebanon, but that neither mentioned Syria. The Syrian Government took umbrage at the negotiations, suspecting perhaps that Turkey was arranging to support the King's claim to a Greater Syria in the event of Syria claiming the restitution of the Hatay (district of Alexandretta). When Turkey's interest plainly lies in promoting harmony among the Arab States, it would be impolitic of the Turkish Government to try to profit by Arab disputes, and the Secretary-General has declared that his Government had no such intention. The Soviet Government also look askance at the agreement—on the ground that it is another step in the Turkish *rapprochement* with the Arab countries.

THE MIDDLE EAST

Egypt

Although full-dress negotiations have not been resumed His Majesty's Ambassador in Cairo is in constant touch with Nokrashy Pasha on the subject of the new Treaty, and in particular is exploring the possibility of devising a formula which will ensure the rights of the Sudanese ultimately to decide their own future, while recognising at the same time Egyptian susceptibilities on the subject of the sovereignty of the "whole of the Nile Valley." Nokrashy Pasha's die-hard speech of the 31st December (see last week's *Summary*) in which he confirmed his earlier references to the permanence of the union of Egypt and the Sudan, in whatever sense it may affect the popularity of his administration, has created an additional stumbling-block to agreement between the Egyptian Government and His Majesty's Government. Indeed, it has resulted in a set-back to the hopes of the less partisan Egyptians who would like to see a friendly settlement as soon as possible. In some quarters it is suggested that Nokrashy's term of office is unlikely to be a long one, and there are even hints of a coalition Cabinet with Wafd participation. No appointment of a successor to the Egyptian Grand Qadhi of the Sudan has yet been made. He was due to leave Khartoum on the 10th January, but, apparently on instructions from Cairo, deferred his departure until the 17th. Meanwhile the Cairo press has referred to the possibility of a decision being taken by the Al Azhar 'Ulama that only a Muslim authority can made the appointment. Such a decision would still further complicate the matter, although it would be no more than an unsolicited opinion expressed by the doctors of the law and would not necessarily have any validity, apart from

the fact that it would ignore all precedents in the case.

On the 5th January three missiles believed to be hand-grenades were thrown at the Palestine train shortly after it left Cairo station. Eleven British troops were injured. The Egyptian police are reported to suspect the Muslim Brethren, but there is no news that any arrests have been made.

Palestine

Representatives of the Arab States will attend the Palestine Conference, which is to re-open in London on the 21st January. The Officer Administrating the Palestine Government had a long conversation on the 6th January with Jamal Husseini, who said that if the Arab Higher Committee were invited to the Conference the Mufti would not wish to go, and his name would not be put forward. An invitation has therefore been sent to the Arab Higher Committee inviting them to choose a delegation, and asking them to submit the names of those proposed. This invitation was conveyed to Jamal al Husseini on the 10th January, and on the 13th he handed a letter of acceptance to the Officer Administrating the Government proposing the following as the Palestine delegation :—

Jamal al Husseini,
Dr. Hussein al Khalidi,
Emil al Ghuri,
Mu'in al Ma'adi.

All are members of the Higher Committee who have not agreed to nominate Arabs from outside their number.

There is no change in the official Zionist attitude to the conference. "Existing circumstances" (see *Summary* No. 374) have not changed so as to free them from the decision not to participate. The nature of the conditions favourable to their taking part may be deduced from a Jewish Telegraphic Agency report of remarks by Mrs. Meirson, the Head of the Jerusalem Political Department of the Jewish Agency, who is said to have endeavoured to impress on Sir Henry Gurney that "it would greatly contribute to the pacification of the country and increase the chances of Jewish participation in the London Conference if the transfer of the Cyprus refugees to Palestine were speeded up, no further deportations of visaless immigrants were caried out, and the withdrawal of the Morrison Plan were officially announced." Mr. Shertok, her predecessor in Jerusalem and now in charge of political work in all countries, has also referred in a press conference in London to the "Morrison Plan" as a stumbling-block to participation, although he made it clear that any Government alternative would have to be acceptable to the Zionist organisation before they would agree to send any delegates.

On the 12th January a serious explosion damaged a district police headquarters building in Haifa and caused the death of five policemen, two of whom were British.

Transjordan

H.M. King Abdullah arrived in Istanbul on the 12th January for a private visit of four days. A Pact of Friendship between Turkey and Transjordan was signed in Angora on the 11th January. (See also "Turkey.")

During the visit of the Amir Feisal to Amman (see last week's *Summary*) it appears that King Abdullah referred on numerous occasions to the Greater Syria plan. In mentioning this to His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires in Damascus Shaikh Yusuf Yasin expressed the opinion that, if these intrigues went on, the Arab League might find itself obliged to expel Transjordan, an act which could not fail to have repercussions on the relations of His Majesty's Government with other Arab States.

Persia

On the 5th January the newspaper *Mardim*, which has now replaced *Rahbar* as the official organ of the Tudeh party, published long statements by a body describing itself as "The Provisional Executive Committee," indicating that the party is to be drastically reformed. Past mistakes, inexperience and ineptitude—attributable to the presence of harmful elements in the party—are admitted, and full confession is made of the error of supporting the Azerbaijanis. The party, purged of those whose misconduct has brought it into disrepute, will, it is stated, seek in future to achieve its aims solely by legal and parliamentary methods. These aims are the cultivation of friendly relations with all foreign Governments respecting Persian independence, supported by a home policy of "liberty and progress within the framework of a constitutional monarchy." The

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party professes to be opposed neither to private ownership, nor to capitalism nor to religion. It remains to be seen whether this move represents a split in the Tudeh party between a moderate section and the hard core of Soviet-inspired Communists, or is simply a political manœuvre by the latter. Though the Tudeh still propose not to contest the elections officially (see last week's *Summary*), a member of the new Tudeh Central Committee has stated that the party will not discourage its members from voting. Since under Persian electoral law there is no formal nomination of candidates, as in this country, and any voter may cast his vote for any qualified person he can think of, there is nothing to stop Tudeh sympathisers from voting for any of the Tudeh leaders. Thus, whether the Tudeh like it or not, the voting will reveal the extent of the popular support which they enjoy.

It is reported that a right-wing Opposition group has been formed during the last month, composed of the Mardum, or People's party, the University Students' Union, the Radical Socialists and four other small parties. The group also has the support of elements of Saiyid Zia's former National Will party and the Edalat party. The leaders of this group have formed themselves into a committee which directs the work of the various parties, collectively called the Jamiyat-i-Vahdat-i-Iran (the Iran Unity Group). So far little has been heard of this group, and as the parties comprising it are all of very minor importance, its influence is not likely to be great.

An important step in the development of the Persian Trades Unions has been the recent decision to set up non-political factory councils for the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company workers at Abadan. Qawam, in a recent interview with His Majesty's Ambassador, stated that the Trades Unions in the country have now ceased to have any official contact with the Tudeh. This seems to be an exaggeration, for while the hold on Persian labour which the Tudeh used to exert has undoubtedly slackened, the Tudeh union is shewing considerable activity and is receiving strong support from Soviet propaganda. Qawam has now consented to admit a delegation from the World Federation of Trade Unions to Persia, but he does not intend to invite them. The Persian Government has invited the International Labour Office to send a delegation to investigate social conditions in Persia.

During the past few weeks the Persian Government has been exposed to an increasing volume of provocative propaganda from the Russians (see last week's *Summary*, under " Soviet Union "), who, in addition to giving asylum to Pishavari and his associates, are allowing them to broadcast inflammatory speeches from a clandestine station near the Persian frontier. So far the Persian Government have shewn commendable restraint in the face of this provocation.

Several Tehran papers have recently taken up the cause of Bahrein. *Mashrutiyat* (Centre), in a series of articles written in December, states: " There is no difference between Azerbaijan and Bahrein from Persia's point of view. . . . . We favour the integrity of the entire country. . . . . Foreign penetration in any part of the island is intolerable to us. . . . . The Government should insist on the establishment of its power in Bahrein, just as it did in Azerbaijan."

Arab League

The Council of the Arab League, at its recent meeting in Cairo, accepted a draft cultural treaty prepared by its Cultural Committee. The treaty contains nineteen articles and aims at comprehensive measures of cultural co-operation between the League States. Article 2 provides for the exchange of teachers and professors; Article 3, for the exchange of pupils and for steps to harmonize educational syllabi and standards of examination. An important article provides for " work for the standardisation of scientific terms . . . . and to make the Arabic language convey all expressions of thought and modern science."

This announcement is a reminder of the belief which was widely held in British official circles during the months immediately preceding the formation of the League, that differences between individual States were too deep to give any great hope of success in political co-operation, but that valuable work could be done in the cultural and economic fields, which in the latter would follow up and profit by the activities of the Middle East Supply Council. Little has happened to belie this prophecy; the cracks in the structure of the League caused by internal dissension are barely covered by the plaster of a common policy towards the Palestine and Egyptian questions, while in this plaster itself small cracks appear from time to time.

THE FAR EAST

Japan

At the year-end General MacArthur issued a message to the Japanese people, in which American correspondents, who have criticised previous utterances on the score of their supposedly extravagant optimism, detect a note of more sober realism. He said that during the past year " there have been many successes, some failures; many strong points, some weak." After listing some of the reforms, he continued that the success of these and other projected reforms was dependent upon the manner in which the people themselves discharged their new responsibilities. Unless the people assumed in full reality the mantle and dignity of sovereign power, there could be but superficial and temporary change. This reminder that paper reforms are useless without the determination on the part of the people to put them into effect forms the key-note of the whole message.

The occupation authorities announce that all Japanese ex-servicemen and civilians in U.S.-controlled areas in the Western Pacific have now been repatriated. They total 991,559. The only large body of Japanese not yet repatriated is that held by the Soviet authorities; estimates range from 800,000 to 1,500,000. The Soviet authorities have now agreed to the return of 50,000 monthly.

The Japanese Government have extended the " purge " to industrialists. The original political purge was carried out in compliance with a S.C.A.P. directive of 4th January, 1946, which debarred from public office exponents of nationalism, militarists and influential members of secret societies, ultra-national political associations and companies engaged in aggressive overseas expansion. Persons coming under the new ban will be excluded from financial, economic and publishing activities.

The Government are also trying to eliminate so-called patriotic labour associations. These are nothing but reservoirs of cheap labour, ruled by a " boss " who farms out the men at so much per head for labour or any other service for which they may be required; on occasion in the past they have been used for " dirty work " and their leaders wield a sinister political influence behind the scenes in consequence. Since the occupation the " bosses " are said to have accumulated considerable funds from contracts for the Government and for the occupation forces. The dissolution of these labour combines, if effective, should aid in clearing the coming local elections of corrupting influences.

It appears from Allied Council discussions that the purge of industrialists will not be completed before the 15th April and that the local elections will take place some time thereafter. The Soviet member expressed concern at the repeated postponements which, he implied, were due to Government obstruction, but the Chairman denied that there had been any delay.

The extraordinary session of the Diet closed on the 26th December, 1946. Among the laws it passed were those which (1) re-enacted the rules for the Imperial succession (proposals that female succession and the abdication of the Emperor should be permitted were rejected); (2) transferred to the State Imperial property estimated at 1,600 million yen and put the Emperor on an annual income to be voted by the Diet; (3) decided the form of the " House of Councillors " which is to replace the House of Peers (it is to consist of 250 members, elected by the " whole people," *i.e.*, all those entitled to vote for the members of the House of Representatives. It will be shorn of some of its power.

The regular session of the Diet, now in recess, is expected to open on the 20th January. If the Japanese press is to be believed, Premier Yoshida is holding his Cabinet together with difficulty. One *bloc* wants to reconstruct the Cabinet by throwing out all who do not belong to the Progressive and Liberal Parties, thus forming a purely conservative Government, prepared to fight the general election on that basis. The other *bloc* wishes to bring in Social Democrat members to form a Coalition Government. The Social Democrats for their part insist that the Yoshida Government should resign as a first step. But the right and left wings of the party are said to disagree on the subject of the Government then to be formed. The former seem prepared to accept Yoshida as Premier, the latter not.

Korea

A broadcast by two officials of the State Department on the 28th December was calculated to attract attention to the magnitude of the task carried by the United States in South Korea and to justify the American commitment. 1946

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had been a hard year. "Beset by bad crops, floods, cholera, the breakdown of transportation, food shortages, political dissension . . . . we have had to play a lone hand in our zone." The need to keep up a steady flow of food, consumer goods and raw materials into Korea was emphasized. "If we do not do our share in rehabilitating southern Korea, we can expect serious food riots and a complete breakdown of production and distribution in the near future. Under these circumstances democratization would become an impossible goal."

Nor was there any optimism as to long-term prospects. Neither expressed any confidence that discussions with the Russians would be resumed in the near future. "So our job is to go ahead and do the best we can for the Koreans in our zone . . . . to train them to educate their own people, to train their own mechanics (*sic*), as far as is possible in a country that is arbitrarily divided, to run their own country. A friendly, prosperous, democratic Korea can be an important stabilizing factor in the Far East and a peaceful Far East is a most important objective of United States foreign policy."

The general impression given by the broadcast was that the American people must be prepared for a long and costly occupation.

Nevertheless, a press release of the 10th January revealed that hopes of a resumption of the Joint Commission had not been entirely abandoned. In a letter of the 26th November, General Christiakov expressed the view that no Korean who had "compromised himself" by active opposition to the terms of the Moscow decision should be admitted to consultation with the Commission. In his reply of the 24th December General Hodge proposed that any person or party that now adhered to the Moscow declaration should be eligible but should be consulted only so long as he or it refrained from agitation against the declaration.

Philippines

On the 16th November, 1946, the Philippine Republic and the United States signed a Treaty of Conciliation, to take effect from the date of exchange of ratifications at Manila, under which the two Governments agree to submit any disputes to a Commission of Conciliation for investigation and report.

Negotiations for bases for mutual defence continue. According to Washington press reports, the U.S. now asks for a dozen military and naval bases, apart from many minor installations. The Navy is said to be primarily interested in the southern stretch from Leyte Gulf to the tip of Mindanao. The Army is understood to be thinking of the Islands as a powerful detection and bombardment air arm base for the Northern Pacific. The Philippine Government accept mutual defence as a basic principle but final agreement has not yet been reached on detail. Manila press comment on the unsuitability of bases in close proximity to principal centres such as Manila and its complaint at times of the top-dog attitude of some of the American troops suggest points that require adjustment.

Press reports, which appear reliable, of the impressions gained by President Roxas from a tour of the southern islands, present a melancholy picture of the damage done to their social and economic welfare by the war. Apart from the devastation and disorganization, lawlessness is rife and the efficiency and honesty of the local administrations are at a low ebb. The President is credited with the determination to weed out undesirables irrespective of party associations. He discouraged over-optimism as to war damage claims compensation, pointing out that these will take a considerable time to settle.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

General George C. Marshall has now been formally confirmed in office as Secretary of State by the new United States Senate. In ratifying the appointment the Upper House displayed an enthusiasm and a unanimity that are likely to be rare in the next two years of its history. Its Foreign Relations Committee took only twelve minutes on the 8th January to decide that General Marshall was the right man to succeed Mr. Byrnes. Waiving its long-standing rule whereby new appointments must "lie over" for a day before consideration is given to them, the Senate itself thereupon immediately endorsed the nomination without a dissenting vote. Lavish tributes to the new Secretary of State and to his predecessor, Mr. Byrnes, were paid by Senators from such scattered parts and of such widely different views as Connally (Democrat, Texas) and Lodge (Republican, Massachusetts), Pepper (Democrat, Florida) and White (Republican, Maine).

Similar cordiality towards both General Marshall and Mr. Byrnes has been shown by the press, which takes it for granted that the new Secretary of State will continue what Senator Vandenberg recently described as the "rugged policy of firm but friendly candour to the Soviet Union." As the *New York Times* has observed, "the man who directed America's greatest war is not likely to compromise America's security after winning it." There is also satisfaction that Mr. Dean Acheson, the Under-Secretary of State, has consented to stay on in office as long as General Marshall needs him. Yet thoughtful observers profess to find it "disconcerting" that Mr. Byrnes should have departed so suddenly and so unexpectedly, just as he was apparently getting into his stride with the peace-making and just as he stood "on the threshold of a still greater task—the negotiation of the German treaty." While praising General Marshall personally, the *New York Herald Tribune* has expressed its concern that henceforth "no fewer than five of the posts most critical to the relations of [the United States] with the rest of the world will be held by professional soldiers." This, it believes, "presents a disturbing situation . . . . because it reflects the barrenness of present methods for the civilian conduct of foreign affairs." Yet others have hastened to point out that General Marshall received invaluable training in the conduct of foreign relations when he accompanied President Roosevelt to Casablanca, Teheran, Cairo, Quebec and Yalta, and that, by his tactful handling of civilians while Chief of Staff, and by his recent activities in China, he has in any case been able to demonstrate that "no military man was ever less of a militarist."

By selecting General Marshall for the exalted post of Secretary of State Mr. Truman is believed in some quarters to have made him *ipso facto* a possible candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1948. Mr. Truman is known to have referred to General Marshall more than once as "the greatest living American" (a writer in the Liberal-left-wing *Nation* maliciously retorting that "the little artillery captain from Missouri has an unlimited awe of top-rank officers"). In any event the absence of a Vice-President leaves the Secretary of State the heir-apparent to the Presidency under the Presidential Succession Act of 1886. Yet the General's sixty-six years (*plus* the fact that recent public opinion polls have shown army men to be extremely poor vote-winners) will probably prevent him from running far in the Presidential race, even if he himself is willing to line up for the start. When asked by newspaper correspondents at Honolulu on his way home from China if he was a Democrat he replied evasively that he was "an Army officer and an Episcopalian." Yet the General's father was a staunch Pennsylvania Democrat, and he himself has made his home at Leesburg in the traditionally Democratic State of Virginia.

It is perhaps indicative of the interest with which Americans now follow matters relating to foreign policy that the newspaper headlines this week have been dominated by the resignation of Mr. Byrnes and the appointment of General Marshall, rather than by the President's important report on economic policy and his Budget Message to Congress. Both the 54-page report, which Mr. Truman submitted on the 8th January in accordance with the Employment Act of 1946, and the Budget Message, which followed on the 10th, are in reality the first direct challenge to the Republican majority in the 80th Congress. In his report, Mr. Truman argued that it was unsound to reduce taxation while employment was at its peak and while the national income was high. He also emphasized that, as far as international trade was concerned, the readiness of other countries to eliminate import quotas and other restrictions would depend upon the willingness of the United States to reduce its tariffs. In his Budget Message, covering the fiscal year 1st July, 1947–30th June, 1948, the President made it even plainer that he stood unalterably opposed to any immediate tax reductions. On the contrary, he proposed that postal rates be raised and that the war taxes on luxury goods be re-imposed when they expire next summer. He anticipated a revenue of about $37,700 million, as against an expenditure of about $37,500 million, thus presenting the first balanced Budget since 1930. More than three-quarters of all the proposed expenditures would be for the armed forces, veteran's services and benefits, debt repayments and tax refunds, or for meeting international obligations. The last-named included an appropriation to enable the United States to discharge by the 30th June, 1948, about three-fourths of its commitments under the Anglo-American Financial Agreement.

Congress has the better part of a month in which to study the Budget in the House Ways and Means and Appropriations

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Committees and in the Senate Finance and Appropriations Committees. Senator Taft has, however, already publicly joined issue with the President on some of the latter's more controversial proposals. Without cutting the armed services, he suggests, it should be possible to "squeeze" expenditure down to about $33,500 million. (He could not propose economizing at the expense of the Army and Navy without flying in the face of public opinion, which, according to a recent Gallup poll, is overwhelmingly opposed to retrenchment in the defence programme.) On the other hand, qualified support for Mr. Truman's reciprocal trade policy has been given by Senator Vandenberg, the new chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, at the Cleveland Forum on Foreign Affairs on the 11th January, at which Mr. Byrnes also spoke. Arguing that "peace and economics are inseparably kin," Senator Vandenberg expressed his confidence that the United States would "continue the device of reciprocal trade agreements, in one form or another."

In exercising their constitutional privilege of deciding how many of their opponents shall continue to serve on the Standing Committees—on which they themselves are henceforth to be in the majority—the Republicans in the Senate have proceeded with a ruthlessness that has called forth protests from the Democratic minority leader, Senator Barkley. On the important Labour and Public Welfare, Rules and Public Lands Committees the Republicans have given themselves a representation of eight to five. On the Appropriations Committee their ratio to the Democrats is to be twelve to nine, and on the other eleven Committees, seven to six. To make the humiliation of the Southern Democrats more complete, Senators Wayne Morse of Oregon and William F. Knowland of California have also introduced bills to curb the age-long practice of "filibustering" against unpalatable legislation.

Among the Democrats in Congress, where it was in any case the Conservatives who best survived the electoral landslide of November, there have so far been no pronounced repercussions from the split within the Liberal wing of the party which has been developing from the formation of two rival groups in New York and Washington on the 29th December and the 4th January respectively. The first of these groups—the so-called "Progressive Citizens of America"—has Mr. Henry Wallace as its mentor and seems determined to temporize on the Communist question. The second—the "Americans for Democratic Action"—is resolutely opposed to the U.S. Communist Party and all its works. Its inaugural meeting was attended by an imposing array of New Dealers, including Mr. Leon Henderson, Mrs. Roosevelt and Mr. Wilson Wyatt, as well as by a sprinkling of important C.I.O. officials.

LATIN AMERICA

Inter-American Relations

The resignation of Mr. Byrnes and his succession by General Marshall is likely to cut across the tussle in the State Department between those who favour the "tough policy" towards Argentina and those who desire a settlement. General Marshall is said to be one of the originators of the Hemisphere Defence proposals intended to give the Pan-American system "teeth," and United States commentators have accordingly prophesied the fall of Mr. Spruille Braden, whose reluctance to admit Argentina to discussions of the defence proposals is responsible for the existing standstill.

In a speech reviewing United States foreign policy, Mr. Byrnes has demanded a "reasonable and substantial compliance by Argentina" of her hemisphere obligations before the Rio de Janeiro Conference is held. In return, Senator Vandenberg has said that the Conference should take place without further delay, since the elimination of German interests was a matter for joint decision and not for the United States alone. The question of United States-Argentine relations is thus likely to become an immediate issue.

Mr. Messersmith, the United States Ambassador to Argentina is still in Washington, and he and Mr. Braden are reported to have refused to meet.

Bolivia

Presidential and congressional elections were held on the 5th January and have been described as the most orderly and least corrupt in the history of Bolivia. Of the 130,000 registered electors, some 80 or 90 per cent. are reported to have voted. The presidential candidates were Dr. Enrique Hertzog (Union of Republican Socialists) and Dr. Luis F. Guachalla (representing

the P.I.R., the Liberal Party and *Acción Democrática*). Incomplete results gave Dr. Hertzog a slight lead, but polling was so close that it may fall to Congress to make a final decision. In the elections for the Senate and Chamber of Deputies the left-wing P.I.R. is reported to have won less seats than was expected.

Dr. Hertzog enjoys a considerable reputation as a medical man and politician. He studied in France and during the war was actively and openly pro-British. He began his political career as prefect of La Paz and was on several occasions a minister in the days of President Salamanca (1931–34).

Colombia

The *Confederación de Trabajadores Colombianos* split into two groups in August 1946, the one being specifically socialist and the other led by Communists. Neither the Colombian Government nor the Colombian workers were apparently able to decide which group was the legal one, as the documents of the C.T.C. conveniently disappeared. In view of recent suggestions of a less pro-Communist attitude by Sr. Lombardo Toledano (see last week's *Summary* under "Mexico"), it is noteworthy that the C.T.A.L. inclined towards the socialist section as against the Communists. Its intervention was successful, and two of the Unions formally put forward a settlement which was accepted early in December. The much-criticised socialist leader, Sr. Medina, stood aside and Sr. V. J. Silva, also a socialist, became chairman, the next two posts being assigned to pro-Communists. It remains for the reconstituted C.T.C. to obtain official recognition.

Cuba

President Grau San Martin's administration has lost popularity during recent months, and the press has on several occasions criticised him for governing in a dictatorial manner. At the beginning of December, a small group of "*Autentico*" Senators (*i.e.*, of the President's own party) condemned his methods and accused the Minister of Education, Dr. Aleman, of malversation, bribery and murder. The accusation of corruption was couched in such a way as to involve President Grau's sister-in-law who is the First Lady and adheres closely to the system established by previous First Ladies of enriching herself in devious ways. President Grau is further popularly charged with wishing to retain the presidency for a second term, which is unconstitutional, and with allowing the army to revert to its former evil ways, the two revolts of June and October last being regarded as "fake" movements for furthering the ends of the commander-in-chief. Despite these accusations, Cuba is prosperous, and there is no immediate suggestion of any action against the President.

Peru

The assassination of Sr. Francisco Grana, the editor of the principal opposition newspaper, *La Prensa*, has caused a political crisis. While it was first asserted that the murder was a crime of passion, the fact that the *Prensa's* offices were attacked last April during a political demonstration, allegedly by Apristas, could not fail to give it a political colouring. After long discussions the three Aprista Ministers retired from the Cabinet in order to give the President "freedom to investigate the origin of the crime"; the rest of the Cabinet also resigned. It seems likely that the A.P.R.A. may take this opportunity of withdrawing from the responsibilities of Government. A new Cabinet has now been formed under Rear-Admiral José Alzamora, who becomes President of the Council, and Minister for Justice and Labour. Sr. Enrique Garcia Sayan continues as Foreign Minister. Other Ministers are:—

Interior: General Manuel Odria.
War: General Del. C. Marin.
Finance and Trade: Luis Echegopar Garcia.
Public Works: Alfredo L. Fort.
Marine: Capt. Manuel R. Nieto.
Health: Alberto Hurtado.
Air: General Armando Revoredo.
Agriculture: Pedro Venturo.
Education: C. de Losada y Puga.

Venezuela

The Constituent Assembly opened on the 17th December and Dr. Andres Eloy Blanco was elected President of the Assembly, of which some 150 out of 160 members were present. The two members of the U.R.D. were absent in protest against the arrest of their leader, Sr. J. Villalba, and Dr. Rafael Caldero, the leader of COPEI, strongly attacked the Government. However, the Government majority is overwhelming, and the President's message, together with that of the Minister for War, Lt.-Col. Delgado Chalbaud, to the armed forces, was designed to suggest that the whole country was as resolutely on the side of *Acción-Democrática* as the Assembly.

The official return to constitutional government was duly announced.

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UNITED NATIONS

Security Council

Trieste

The Council met on the 10th January and voted by 10–0 in favour of the following U.S. motion approving the Trieste settlement :—

> "The Security Council, having received and examined the annexes to the proposed Peace Treaty with Italy relating to the creation and government of the free territory of Trieste, including an arrangement for the free port, hereby records its approval of the three following documents :—
>
> (1) Instrument for the Provisional Régime of the free territory of Trieste,
>
> (2) the permanent statute for the free territory of Trieste,
>
> (3) the Instrument for the free port of Trieste; and its acceptance of the responsibilities devolving upon it under the same."

Australia's delegate abstained from voting. At the meeting of the Council on the 7th January he had questioned the right of the Security Council under the Charter to exercise the powers proposed in respect of articles 10 and 37 of the Statute of the Free Territory. The three new members of the Council expressed similar fears. Sir Alexander Cadogan argued that Article 24 of the Charter gave the Council the necessary authority, and the Soviet delegate also supported this view.

Disarmament

The Security Council finds itself faced with three resolutions on how best to proceed with disarmament. A Soviet resolution urges it to "work out practical measures on the implementation of the General Assembly's decision of the 14th December, 1946, on the general regulation and reduction of armaments and armed forces and on the establishment of international control assuring the reduction of armaments and armed forces . . . . to establish a Commission of the representatives of countries members of the Security Council, to submit to the Security Council within a period of from one to two but not later than three months its proposals in accordance with paragraph 1 of this decision." H.M. Government regard as ill-considered the attempt to enforce such a time-limit to the solution of what is in fact the problem of world security.

The U.S. resolution urges the Council to "give first priority to the establishment of international control over atomic energy," and to consider and act upon the forthcoming report of the Atomic Energy Commission as soon as received. It will thereafter consider what further political measures it should take. . . ."

The French resolution is the now normal French compromise. It includes most of the Russian resolution, with the time-limit, but instructs the Commission to submit within three months the proposals "which it may be in a position to formulate." In other words, the whole problem need not be solved in three months. It expects the Council to consider the Atomic Energy Commission's report, not as the American draft enjoined, at once, but "as soon as possible." Its original contribution is a request to the Military Staff Committee, whose work Russia had so long held up, to submit within three months the recommendations for which it had been asked by the Security Council on the 1st February, 1946, concerning the organisation of an international force in pursuance of article 43 of the Charter. Such a request is in harmony with the traditional French search for security. The resolution finally asks the Military Staff Committee to make recommendations within 3 months on the Assembly's resolution concerning the withdrawal of troops. To do this the Military Staff Committee would have to enter the political field, a move which the U.K. delegation thinks inappropriate.

At its meeting on the 9th January the Security Council formally accepted the recommendations contained in the Assembly's resolution. In the course of the debate, the Chairman (Australia) suggested that the Council might at the same time establish a Commission, accept the Atomic Energy Commission's report, and refer to the Military Staff Committee the question of speeding up Article 43 agreements and information on forces. He was supported in his comprehensive suggestion by the French delegate. The Soviet delegate accused the U.S. of attempting to cause delay and making acceptance of the U.S. atomic energy plan the price of a disarmament system. To this the U.S. delegate replied that no disarmament system was thinkable without agreement on atomic energy control.

Post-U.N.R.R.A. Relief

The problem of post-U.N.R.R.A. relief was considered by the General Assembly of

the United Nations on the 11th December, 1946. The Assembly took note of the U.N.R.R.A. Council Resolution No. 100 of the 16th August, 1946, and of the related resolution of the Economic and Social Council of the 3rd October, recommending that the General Assembly should establish or designate agencies to perform certain functions in respect of relief. These were to include (*a*) a review of the needs in 1947 for financing urgent imports of the basic essentials of life, particularly food and supplies for agricultural production (after the termination of U.N.R.R.A. programmes) to the extent that they could not otherwise be met, and (*b*) the making of recommendations on the financial assistance which might be required to meet such needs as were found to exist in consequence of foreign exchange difficulties which could not be dealt with by existing agencies. It was recognised by the Assembly that certain countries would need financial assistance in 1947 to provide for imports of food and other basic essentials of life and that this need might not in all cases be met by international and other institutions available for this purpose. After reaffirming the principle that at no time should relief supplies be used as a political weapon, and that no discrimination should be made in the distribution of relief supplies because of race, creed or political belief, the Assembly decided to establish a special Technical Committee whose functions should be—

(1) to study the minimum import requirements of the basic essentials of life, particularly food and supplies for agricultural production of countries which the committee believes might require assistance in the prevention of suffering or economic retrogression which threatens the supply of those basic essentials;

(2) to survey the means available to each country concerned to finance such imports;

(3) to report concerning the amount of financial assistance which it believes may be required in the light of (1) and (2).

It was then decided that the Committee should consist of ten experts in the field of finance and foreign trade to be designated by the Governments of Argentina, Brazil, Canada, China, Denmark, France, Poland, U.K., U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.—to serve in their individual capacities and not as representatives of the Governments by which they would be designated. Each Government was to be urged to select a person of outstanding competence. The Secretary-General was directed to transmit to the Committee the information called for in the above-mentioned resolution of the Economic and Social Council. The Committee was instructed to present its report to the Secretary-General for submission to member Governments as soon as possible but in any event not later than the 15th January, 1947. The Assembly also called upon all members of the United Nations to assist in the furnishing of relief when needed and where needed during the ensuing year and, in appropriate cases, by extending special credit facilities to the needy countries. The Secretary-General was to be kept informed of their plans and progress, and to forward the information to other members so as to avoid wasteful duplication of effort. He should, in addition, facilitate informal consultation among Governments concerning relief programmes and should furnish, within the limits of available staff and funds, such technical assistance in respect of the 1947 relief programme as Governments might request. A further resolution proposed by the Norwegian Delegation was accepted. This required the Secretary-General to consider the ways and means of collecting and utilising contributions by persons, organisations and peoples all over the world equilavent to the earnings of one day's work for the purpose of helping to meet relief needs during 1947; and to report on the results of such consideration to member Governments and the Economic and Social Council, at the earliest possible date. The Council was requested to study the report to be made by the Secretary-General and to take whatever action it might deem appropriate. These decisions were approved in a Plenary Session held on the same day. M. Gromyko said that the U.S.S.R. would have preferred the continuation of UNRRA relief. Although the Soviet Government had previously indicated their willingness to contribute towards a continued UNRRA organisation in spite of the fact that the U.S.S.R., being an invaded country, was not bound to do so, nothing was said as to whether or not the Soviet Government would contribute to the new scheme.

The Assembly has also established an International Children's Emergency Fund which will in the first instance utilise such of UNRRA'S assets as may be available after the completion of its work together with voluntary contributions. This fund

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should enable the continuation of one of the most important branches of UNRRA'S work, that of child feeding and welfare. Moreover, assistance from the fund will not be limited to the children of the countries which received assistance from UNRRA, but will, if necessary, be available for child health purposes generally. The Executive Board of the Fund met on the 7th January and elected its officers. Dr. Rajchman of Poland was elected chairman.

Apart from the functions which, it was agreed by the Assembly, UNRRA should pass on to the United Nations, the Director-General of UNRRA has arranged for the Food and Agricultural Organisation to carry on continued agricultural technical assistance to recipient governments after UNRRA missions have closed. The extent and exact source of the funds which it is proposed that UNRRA should make available for this work has yet to be decided.

In addition, as from the 1st December, 1946, the epidemiological reporting and other functions of the Health Division of U.N.R.R.A. under the two International Sanitary Conventions of 1944 were transferred to the Interim Commission of the World Health Organisation. From that date the work of the epidemiological and medical intelligence sections of the Health Division of U.N.R.R.A's European Regional Office was transferred to the Interim Commission European Office in Geneva. The Interim Commission also approved for signature a draft agreement whereby the sum of 1½ million dollars should be transferred by U.N.R.R.A. to the World Health Organisation to continue certain of the U.N.R.R.A. health programmes, in particular its fellowships scheme, the malaria and tuberculosis control programme and the medical and nursing programme in Ethiopia.

At its Geneva meeting in August the U.N.R.R.A. Council had recommended the transfer to the United Nations of some of U.N.R.R.A's social welfare activities. The General Assembly has now authorised the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Economic and Social Council, to make provision, with the co-operation of the specialised agencies where appropriate, for the continuance of the urgent and important advisory functions in the field of social welfare carried on by U.N.R.R.A., and to include in the budget of the United Nations for 1947 the funds necessary for the assumption of certain recommended functions. It will be for the International Refugee Organisation, of course, to take over certain of U.N.R.R.A.'s functions connected with the care and welfare of Displaced Persons.

Sixth Council Meeting of U.N.R.R.A.

The sixth session of the U.N.R.R.A. Council was held at Washington from the 10th to the 13th December, 1946. The U.S., the U.K. and the majority of the Council were opposed to the holding of any further session, but the U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia were not prepared to agree to this and it was necessary to seek a compromise. A Resolution was adopted providing for a final session of the Council to be held before the 30th June, 1947, unless the Central Committee decides by a unanimous vote that a further session is unnecessary. A Resolution regarding the completion of U.N.R.R.A.'s programme put forward by the U.S.S.R. was objected to by the U.S. on the grounds that it seemed to commit America to shipping supplies after the original final dates (31st December, 1946, for Europe and 31st March, 1947, for the Far East), and because it appeared to remove the Central Committee's right to alter programmes. A compromise resolution was eventually adopted by which supplying Governments were urged to make every effort to complete shipments by the 31st March, 1947, for Europe and the 30th June, 1947, for the Far East. U.N.R.R.A. was to be permitted to turn over to receiving countries any contracts uncompleted by these dates, subject to the consent of the supplying Government. Major-General Lowell Rooks was appointed Director-General from the 1st January, 1947, in succession to Mr. La Guardia, and a resolution was approved urging the employment of U.N.R.R.A. personnel by other international agencies.

Technical Committee

The Special Technical Committee set up by the Assembly held its first meeting on the 18th December. Henrik Kaufmann, the Danish representative, was elected chairman. The Secretariat was instructed to collect information regarding the needs of countries which had been assisted by UNRRA in 1946, in accordance with the resolution of the Economic and Social Council of the 3rd October, but this did not imply that these countries would be entitled to assistance in 1947. The Secretariat reported that, as regards Byelo-Russia and the Ukraine, information was scanty. Material from UNRRA, applicant Governments and information collected by the Secretariat should, it was

agreed, be circulated by the 23rd December to the Committee. Receiving countries were reported to be beginning bilateral discussions with the State Department. Since the meeting of the Committee grave fears have been expressed on the feeding of Austria after UNRRA supplies cease. And Mr. Theodore Waller, acting chief of the UNRRA mission in Byelo-Russia, has spoken of the serious effect which the stoppage of UNRRA supplies will have on that country. The Technical Committee began a series of meetings on the 6th January and examined reports of needs of countries receiving UNRRA relief with the exception of Albania, Byelo-Russia and the Ukraine which submitted no reports.

U.N.R.R.A.'s Balance Sheet

On the 8th January Lt.-Gen. Sir Humfrey Gale, personal representative of the Director-General of UNRRA in London summed up the situation. He said that the great investment made by the 48 member Governments in UNRRA now looked like being lost altogether, just at the moment when the further expenditure of a much smaller sum would guarantee a dividend in the shape of the real rehabilitation of war-ravaged countries. In most cases, he said, it would be impossible to bridge the gap between the end of the shipments and the 1947 harvest; lack of foreign exchange would prevent replenishment of food stocks from abroad, and the industrial rehabilitation of the needy countries was not generally sufficiently far advanced to allow them to earn the foreign exchange by their own production. Total UNRRA shipments to the 1st January, 1947, amounted to 19,258,000 tons, of a value of $2,281,759,000. These shipments completed operations to the extent of 78 per cent.; the remaining 22 per cent. would be delivered as procurement and shipping conditions allowed. In any case food shipments would end before the real effects of agricultural rehabilitation could be felt. It was, therefore, according to Sir Humfrey Gale, imperative to implement the United Nations recommendation that food should continue to be supplied to countries without foreign exchange. The deputy Director-General (Commander Jackson) said that the only hope of keeping the food supply lines open was that of national contributions, and about this prospect he was not optimistic. People who knew and understood the continuing needs of the war-damaged countries would probably hasten to help; but favourable public opinion was the only sure guarantee for the continuance of international relief, and such opinion seemed to be lacking.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary
No. 377

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
22ND JANUARY, 1947

Copy No 143

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EUROPE

SPECIAL ARTICLE

THE DANUBE

The principle of freedom of navigation on international rivers, which has taken a prominent place in recent international discussions, is not a new conception but was proclaimed over 150 years ago by the French Republic in 1792, when the Scheldt and the Meuse were declared open in the name of the Law of Nature. Broad principles of freedom of navigation of rivers were formally established by the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna in 1815, but were not at that time applied to the Danube.

As the U.K. Delegation to the Paris Peace Conference pointed out in September 1946, in a sense Russia may be called the inspirer of an international régime of the Danube, for it was Russia and Austria who agreed by the Treaty of St. Petersburg in 1840 to extend the principles of the Congress of Vienna to the Danube, and Russia did, in fact, undertake to carry out the necessary works to keep the mouths of the river open for navigation. By 1850, however, the channels at the mouth had become so badly silted up as to be dangerous to shipping, and to remedy this condition the Congress of Paris in 1856 decided to put the Danube under international control. Two Commissions were set up, the European and the International. The European Commission was composed of representatives of France, Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia and Turkey. The task of this Commission was to improve the navigability of the Danube from the sea up to Isaccea, about 19 miles above the apex of the delta, and it was given power to levy dues on navigation to cover the cost of any necessary works. It was to complete its task in two years. The International Commission was to be permanent and was to consist of representatives of purely riparian Powers, Turkey, Austria, Bavaria and Württemberg and of commissioners approved by the Porte for Serbia, Moldavia and Vlacchia.

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Its immediate task was to draw up police and navigation regulations for the whole river, and after the dissolution of the European Commission it was to succeed to all the powers of that Commission at the Danube mouth. The International Commission, however, faded out and held no sessions after 1859, although legally it continued to exist, whereas the European Commission had its life prolonged by agreements and its jurisdiction extended up-river to Galaţi in 1878 (Treaty of Berlin), and to Brăila in 1883 (Treaty of London). The Treaty of Berlin gave Roumania a place on the Commission. Between 1883 and 1914 there was no modification in the membership, powers or jurisdiction of the Commission.

From the beginning one of the European Commission's main problems was to establish satisfactory relations with the territorial sovereigns, who inevitably regarded its very existence as an encroachment on their sovereignty, although the Berlin Treaty of 1878 gave the Commission a guarantee of complete independence of the territorial sovereigns. Roumania was openly hostile to it. She refused to sign the Treaty of London in 1883 because it confirmed the Commission's independence and she therefore never recognised the extension of the Commission's jurisdiction to Brăila—and constantly attempted to encroach on its privileges. But in spite of difficulties the work of the Commission went on; the Sulina branch, the middle branch of the Danube mouths, was made the permanent channel for navigation by the building of moles and dredging. Loans were raised and repaid and from 1887 until 1914 the Commission was more or less self-supporting.

The Treaty of Versailles made provisional arrangements for the control of the Danube, and the Barcelona Convention and Statute of 1921 laid down general regulations on the régime of international waterways, but it was not until the 23rd July, 1921, that the Danube's future status and organisation were fixed by the Definitive Statute of the Danube, which brought the whole of the river from Ulm to the sea under international control. The European Commission was confirmed in all its powers and privileges from Sulina to Brăila, but its membership, by this instrument, was confined to Great Britain, France, Italy and Roumania.

From Brăila to Ulm the river was entrusted to a new International Commission, which consisted of one delegate each from the riparian States of Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Roumania, two delegates representing the German riparian States (Württemberg and Bavaria), and one delegate each from Great Britain, France and Italy. Russia had ceased to be a riparian State in January 1918 when Roumania occupied Bessarabia.

But the new International Commission was a body with very little power compared with the European Commission. The International Commission could make plans for major works of improvement, but the execution of all works was carried out by each riparian State in its own territory and the cost was borne by each State, which could raise navigation dues to cover the cost of long-term works. Similarly, in matters of policing, the Commission was to draw up navigation regulations on the basis of proposals submitted by the riparian States, but each State was responsible for the applications of the regulations within its sphere of control. In one part of the river only the Commission had rather more extensive powers, between Turnu–Severin and Moldova–Veche where a special régime for the Iron Gates was set up. Here the Commission shared responsibility with Roumania and Yugoslavia for the upkeep and improvement of facilities for navigation.

The European Commission, on the other hand, had complete control of all works carried out on the maritime Danube, and it fixed, collected and disposed of the navigation dues. It also drew up and administered its own navigation and police regulations and had its own police officials.

From the first both Commissions were hampered by the mutual jealousy and hostility of the riparian States. Roumania and Yugoslavia constantly obstructed the work of the International Commission on the ground that it interfered with their sovereignty. The story of the régime of the Iron Gates is one of perpetual disagreement between these two Powers or between them and the Commission. The European Commission suffered similarly from the bitter hostility of Roumania, who never departed from the attitude which she adopted at the Peace Conference in 1919, when she declared that the Commission was an anachronism. Finally, in 1938 France, Great Britain and Roumania met in conference and signed the Sinaia agreement (Italy having declined to take part in the conference), by which many of the powers of the European Commission were handed over to the Maritime Danube Board to be set up by the Roumanian

Government, and the European Commission was reduced to a position analogous to that of the International Commission.

In spite, however, of these difficulties and disagreements and of the complicated technical problems which the Commissions had to face, particularly at the mouth of the Danube, the general navigability of the river was much improved during the inter-war period. On the upper Danube the riparian States, with the International Commission's approval, spent very large sums on hydraulic works and other improvements. Even during periods of very low water 1,000-ton barges could carry 650 tons anywhere along the river. In the difficult stretch of the Iron Gates the annual transport capacity was estimated in 1944 at 10 million tons upstream, though the maximum figure recorded down to 1939 was 1·8 million tons. Unfortunately at the mouth of the Danube financial difficulties and lack of agreement between the British, French and Italian members of the European Commission, on the one hand, and the Roumanians on the other, prevented the adoption of the recommendations of the Commission's engineers for improving navigability.

Statistics of shipping on the Danube are defective, but tonnage was steadily increasing down to 1914, and rose rapidly between 1919 and 1939 except during the period of the economic crisis. During the nineteenth century and until 1914 shipping on the Upper and Middle Danube was almost an Austro-Hungarian monopoly. On the Lower and Maritime Danube Turkish and Russian shipping predominated; there was a small amount of British shipping, Greek and Roumanian shipping increased after each of these two countries had achieved independence. After 1918 there were naturally great changes in the distribution of shipping. Austria and Hungary lost shipping interests to the Succession States, Roumanian and Yugoslav tonnage increased and a new Czecho-Slovak company came into existence. The German Bavarian-Lloyd Company grew in importance and the interests of the non-Danubian Powers expanded.

In 1940 Russia occupied Bessarabia and thus became again, as she had been from 1829–1856 and from 1878–1918, a riparian State. Shortly afterwards, on the ground that all Danubian affairs were of interest to her, she demanded representation on a new Commission which Germany proposed to set up. By September 1944 Danubian affairs had become the concern of the Allied Powers, and H.M.G. proposed that immediately after the cessation of hostilities in Europe a provisional administration, in which Great Britain would participate, should be set up to cover the whole length of the river in order to restore and to maintain the Danube as a means of communication. No progress was made on these lines, and in March 1945 the functions of the European Commission were assumed by representatives of the U.S.S.R. and Roumania. In May 1945 H.M.G. decided to treat this Russo-Roumanian Commission as a merely provisional body, and the Russian Government were informed that in the event of the establishment of a control organisation by Russia, H.M.G. as a member of both former Danube Commissions would expect to participate. At the beginning of 1946 the supervision of the Iron Gates sector was being exercised by a joint Roumanian and Yugoslav Committee at Orşova.

At the meeting of the Foreign Ministers in September 1945, the U.S.A. Delegation proposed the establishment of an emergency régime for all European rivers. This was opposed by the Soviet Union on the ground that Allied Commanders should be able to control navigation on the stretches of rivers within their own zones. No decision was arrived at by the Foreign Ministers.

The Draft Peace Treaties with Roumania, Bulgaria and Hungary all contained proposals made by the United Kingdom and by the United States for establishing freedom of navigation on the Danube and a further U.K. proposal for convening within six months of the coming into force of the Treaties a conference of all interested States to establish a new permanent international régime for the Danube. These proposals were rejected by the U.S.S.R. and their supporters on the ground that the Danube question could not be solved by the Peace Treaties, as it must be settled with the participation of all Danubian States. On the 10th October in the Plenary Conference on the Roumanian Treaty a French proposal which was a modified version of the British and American was adopted by a two-thirds majority. The terms of the French proposal were as follows:—

(i) Navigation on the Danube river shall be free and open on terms of entire equality to the nationals, vessels of commerce and goods of all States.

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(ii) With a view to ensuring the practical application of this principle, Roumania undertakes to take part, together with France, the U.S.S.R., the U.K., the U.S.A. and the Danubian States in a Conference which shall be convened within six months of the entry into force of the Peace Treaty, with the object of establishing a new International Régime for the Danube.

This is a much less precise proposal than that of the U.K. and U.S.A. which laid down various rules about sanitary and police regulation and about dues to be charged. The main important difference, however, is that it applies to the Danube only and not, as did the U.K. and U.S.A. proposals, to its navigable tributaries and connecting canals. On the other hand, the second part of the French proposal defines the States described in the U.K. proposal as " interested."

During September and October the question of international traffic on the Danube was also under discussion at the Economic and Social Council. Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia complained to the Council about the retention by the United States of the Yugoslav and Czechoslovak barges removed by Germany to the Upper Danube. At this time the United States Government were making determined efforts in Paris to secure freedom of navigation on the Danube and they decided to make it clear at the Economic Council that the release of the barges depended on the implementation of an agreement on free navigation. On the 11th November, however, Mr. Byrnes unexpectedly announced at the Council of Foreign Ministers that the United States had decided to return the Danube barges to their owners, and on the 12th a similar announcement was made by Generals McNarney and Clark.

At the meeting of the Foreign Ministers in New York, M. Molotov refused to accept the French proposal but submitted one of his own which was finally adopted by the Council of Foreign Ministers on the 5th December. This article is confined to the question of navigation and contains a clause limiting the freedom of local traffic (" *petit cabotage* "), a limitation which had been enforced by Yugoslavia and Roumania during the inter-war period. It runs :— " Navigation on the Danube shall be free and open for the nationals, vessels of commerce and goods of all States, on a footing of equality in regard to port and navigation charges and conditions for merchant shipping. The foregoing shall not apply to traffic between ports of the same State." The Council further agreed to issue the following Four-Power declaration in regard to a Danube Conference :—

(i) The Governments of the U.S.A., U.K., U.S.S.R. and France agree to call within six months of the coming into force of the peace treaties with Roumania, Bulgaria and Hungary, a conference to work out a new convention regarding the régime of navigation on the Danube to be composed of representatives of the Danubian States :—U.S.S.R., Ukrainian S.S.R., Bulgaria, Roumania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, and representatives of the following States, members of the Council of Foreign Ministers :— U.S.A., U.K. and France.

(ii) Subsequent changes in this convention, should they become necessary, shall also be made by the Conference as indicated above.

(iii) Austria shall take part in the above-mentioned conferences after the question of a treaty with Austria has been settled."

Three points emerge from the above declaration. First, no mention is made of a future " international " régime of the Danube, secondly, the U.S.S.R. appears among the Danubian States, not with the other Big Three, in spite of the fact that the Ukraine is the only part of the U.S.S.R. which is a riparian State and the Ukraine is mentioned separately, and, thirdly, no provision is made for the representation of the German territories bordering on the river as was done by the Statute of 1921.

Both at Paris, during discussions on the Danube article in the Draft Peace Treaties, and at the meetings of the Economic Council in New York it was clear that the U.S.S.R., the Ukraine and Yugoslavia challenged the principles of freedom of navigation and of the international control of international rivers and held that only riparian States were concerned in the control of such rivers. The U.S.S.R. gave way on the first principle, but it is still doubtful if they will agree to international control. The view of the Western Powers was admirably expressed by Senator Vandenberg in Paris on the 30th September. He then said that, while the U.S.A. had no direct commercial interest in the Danube problem, they had emphatically an interest in international peace and security and in avoiding international trade barriers which invite discrimination and friction, factors

involved in the question of the Danube. The Danube, the longest navigable waterway in Europe, west of the Soviet Union, was an inevitable factor in the peace of the area it served, and was therefore a factor in the total and indivisible peace which the countries represented at the Conference were pledged to sustain.

GERMANY

The Socialist Unity Party announced on the 15th January the results of a conference with the Soviet Military Administration about the economic situation in the Soviet zone. " In reply to the submissions and proposals of the SED " (apparently made last October) the Russians had granted a number of important concessions. The SED *communiqué* said that no more plants would be dismantled, except in the case of seven coal-mines whose machinery was essential to the U.S.S.R. Deliveries of reparations from current production would be considerably reduced, and shoes and clothing would be exempted; it was admitted that difficulties had arisen over former deliveries. The 200 large enterprises transformed into Soviet joint stock companies would remain in Germany instead of being dismantled, and of these, 74 would be handed back to the German State Governments. It was intended to permit production to be raised two to threefold above the level permitted in the four-Power plan. Improved supplies of food, consumer goods and raw materials were also promised.

This method of representing a statement of Russian policy as being the result of pressure by the SED is a familiar Russian device for boosting that party's waning popularity and is no indication that it carries weight with the Russians or that its leaders were told much more than the Russians chose to tell the world. In the Co-ordinating Committee on the 16th January, General Clay asked General Kurochkin to define his position in regard to the announcement. Although the General was named as one of the negotiators, he appeared embarrassed by the question and replied that he had not authorised anyone to make such statements.

At the next meeting of the Co-ordinating Committee on the 21st February, General Kurochkin explained that, having liquidated the new potential in their zone, the Soviet authorities now desired to encourage the development of peaceful industries in co-operation with the initiation of the SED. They did not consider that the limits established by the Control Council in any way prevented the expansion of peaceful industry and agriculture. General Kurochkin was unable to confirm that the projected expansion applied only to industries categorised as " unlimited " under the Level of Industry Agreement. The statement is important primarily for its psychological effect on the Germans and is timed to strengthen the position of Russia at the forthcoming Conference of Foreign Ministers. This is in line with present Russian efforts to secure a Control Council report which is a favourable advertisement of their occupation methods, while permitting virulent broadcasts from the Soviet zone on alleged exploitation of Germany by the western Powers. If Russia has in fact obtained what she needs in the way of capital equipment she will probably be eager to implement the offer of economic unity in return for acceptance by the other occupying Powers of the principle of taking reparations from current production. Many Germans, however, will treat the latest statement with reserve, recalling that last May Marshal Sokolovsky announced that in general, dismantling had already ceased (see *Summary* No. 347). They may well consider that the whole process would begin again if it suited Russian policy.

It is not clear from the *communiqué* in what way reparations from current production will be reduced. This may merely mean public recognition of the fact that deliveries have never reached the rate demanded on paper and that therefore the target has been brought into line with facts. On the other hand, the flow of goods may be reduced below the present level either because the total demand has been reduced or because it is intended to extend the deliveries over a longer period or with the intention of making a genuine concession to German opinion. The exemption of some consumer goods is presumably a common-sense move to help maintain maximum output by giving the workers at least something on which to spend their wages. As regards the Soviet-owned factories, it is curious to recall that when the Russians were originally questioned about this matter they replied that " nothing like 200 " plants were involved. (See *Summary* No. 359.) An increase in the level of production had, of course, been forecast by Marshal Stalin. The dramatically magnanimous tone of the Russian offer has immense psychological advantages over the slowly deliberated Anglo-U.S. scheme for a revision of the original plan which is to be submitted to the Conference in March. In fact it is improbable that the new level

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could be reached in most industries for many years. 1946 planned output in the Soviet zone is estimated at 45% of the 1936 level, whereas the present plan permits from anything up to 100–150% of the 1936 level. It is a measure of the fluidity of Russian tactics that, while in December 1945 they opposed an annual steel capacity of more than 5 million tons, their new plan if applied to Germany as a whole would mean a capacity of at least 15 million tons.

The indecisions of SED policy, some of which were discussed in last week's *Summary*, were again illustrated at a meeting of the *Freie Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund* in Berlin on the 11th January. The main SED speakers were critical towards Russian policy, as well as that of the Western powers, and again spoke of their hope for a revision of the eastern frontier. SED members have, in fact, stated that it is the desire of the Russians that the SED should not cling too tightly to the apron-strings of the occupying Power. The doctrine now being preached to SED members admits that past tactics have failed. It is felt that the KPD would have had more influence than the SED, but that it is impossible to undo the results of fusion and that the SED in any case represents only a transition stage towards union of all "progressive" people. In order to achieve this the party must tread slowly, since it is believed that Germans do not dislike the idea of Communism but only the way it is put into effect. The SED is now to proceed on the basis of German mentality which it declares (surely mistakenly) to be a complete negation of the principles of force and radicalism. The SED feels it will be necessary to carry out a purge within the party while its external policy in the immediate future will be to try to win influence over the intellectual classes.

The intense cold in Germany at the beginning of January severely dislocated industry throughout the country. In the British zone mass looting of coal has taken place, and serious public discontent has been evident. Frequent signs that the tide of despair and disaffection is rising are to be seen in the sharpened tone adopted by hitherto moderate politicians and in the critical articles of most press organs. The right-wing weekly *Die Zeit*, following its mischievous interview with Steltzer (see *Summary* No. 374) carried on the 2nd and 9th January articles which almost appear intended as test cases for the tolerance of the occupying Power. The first article, making the assumption that the Atlantic Charter is binding *vis-à-vis* Germany (although this was denied by Mr. Churchill in May 1944) contends that Germany has fundamental rights which are being grossly violated by the Allies. The second article in condemning French action in the Saar, ends with the open threat that Germany will turn Communist. On the 8th January the Free Democrat paper *Hamburger Freie Presse* carried as its main headline "*Friedensdiktat in Sicht?*", thus recalling the approbrious title given to the Treaty of Versailles. Another article bitterly hostile to British policy declares that "England is internally not sufficiently free or strong to set aside as a now historically obsolete prejudice the once justified distrust" of Germany. Such views are not restricted to the FDP. Schlange-Schoeningen, speaking to peasants on the 11th January, gave a warning that "when the starving masses in the cities exploded with despair not even the remotest farmstead would be spared." He continued by saying that Germany could not exist within its present frontiers and that if Germany did not get the chance to put forward its opinions at the peace conference it was to be feared that a real peace would not come. It is refreshing, but unfortunately exceptional, to find a defence of British policy by Erich Noelting, the Economic Minister for N. Rhineland-Westphalia. Speaking of the coal situation on the 11th January, he said that it was wrong to blame all on exports and that this was a Nazi slogan disseminated to incite the people.

An important change in the bi-zonal economic administration took place when on the 17th January the economic executive committee passed a vote of non-confidence in its chairman Dr. Rudolf Mueller. In the place of Dr. Mueller, a non-party delegate from the U.S. zone, the committee elected the prominent Social Democrat Dr. Agartz who stands for a strongly centralised economic policy. This is the first demonstration of the powerful position of the SPD due to the fact that the members of the Committee are the Ministers of Economy for the respective states and that these posts have in every case been secured by this party. The first trade talks between the bi-zonal agencies and German representatives from the Soviet zone were held in Minden on the 16th and 17th January in order to negotiate further exchanges of goods.

It was announced on the 17th January that an interim reorganisation of steel producing plants is to be carried out in

the British zone. This does not prejudice final plans for socialisation but will mean a clean break from past association with big combines and industrial magnates. New managements will be formed to operate each undertaking separately.

(See also under "Low Countries.")

AUSTRIA

The special Deputies for Austria met on the 16th January in London in a favourable atmosphere, and made some progress in the initial stages of the preparation of the Treaty. It was agreed, on the suggestion of Mr. Gusev, that the Treaty should be called a "Treaty for the Re-establishment of an Independent and Democratic Austria." The five Allied Governments — Yugoslavia, Poland, Canada, South Africa and Australia— which have submitted requests to be heard on Austria, are to be heard separately by the Deputies at an early date. It was unanimously agreed that Austria should be invited to submit her views in writing immediately, and she will be heard orally at a later date. The Austrian delegation will include the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, and the Foreign Minister. The last-named has already arrived. No decision has been taken on which States should sign the Treaty, the French and Soviet Deputies arguing that it should be signed only by the Four Powers and Austria. During the discussions the Soviet Deputy made one reference to Austria's share of responsibility in Germany's war effort, mentioning the presence of Austrian troops during the Russian campaign, and said that consideration would have to be given to these facts in the Treaty, a point of view which has been further developed by Soviet spokesmen in sub-committees.

Yugoslavia has submitted a memorandum to the Deputies on her claims against Austria, and a Yugoslav delegation was heard on this subject by the Deputies on the 22nd January. These are a large part of Carinthia, including Klagenfurt and territory further north, with a population of 180,000; parts of Styria with 10,000 inhabitants, and "protection of the national rights of the Bergenland Croats," or an exchange of population with the Austrian minority left within the proposed new Yugoslav frontier. The Yugoslav claims have little or no justification. The present Austro-Yugoslav frontier was drawn after a well-conducted international plebiscite had determined the wishes of the inhabitants of the Carinthian frontier regions in 1920, and is an excellent strategic and economic frontier running along the high Karawanken mountains. The present Austrian Government have made important concessions to the Slovene minority on education, and on the resettlement and indemnification of the Slovenes expropriated under the Nazi régime. There is little doubt that the great majority of the Slovene-speaking population are satisfied with these concessions and have no wish for a change of régime. The claim for "protection" or transfer of the Burgenland Croats is curious. These people have lived contentedly under Austrian rule since 1919, having fled northwards from the Turks in the XVIth and subsequent centuries. They speak their own language and have their own schools and churches. They have never expressed any dissatisfaction, and would certainly not wish to be transferred to Yugoslavia.

Austrian hopes for the Treaty continue high, and the subject helps to distract attention from the present economic crisis. The Government issued an appeal to the people on the 14th January, urging them to stand together and endure their present hardships, and saying that the Treaty talks would give them strength to hold out during the next few weeks. The Executive Committee met to discuss the critical fuel situation on the 14th and 15th January. With half the month gone Austria has only received 19 per cent. of her coal allocations from abroad. The Soviet member was unco-operative, and the meeting was inconclusive; it was agreed that each Power should take measures to reduce its bid for coal in January, it being left to each Power to say how much, and that the amounts of any reductions should be notified to the Chancellor by the 18th January. It was also agreed that the Economic Directorate should investigate the fuel situation in its widest aspects.

It was announced at a Press Conference on the 13th January that the number of U.S. forces in Austria has been reduced to 16,000 officers and men and 900 civilian employees. To reduce the costs of occupation and to help the Austrian labour market, the number of Austrian civilians employed by the U.S. forces is to be cut down as far as possible.

The Austrian Newspaper Association has stated that the publication of all Austrian newspapers will be suspended on the 28th January owing to the shortage of newsprint. On the 16th January the Austrian printers' and paper industries trade union protested to the Austrian

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Government, declaring that in the event of a stoppage of Austrian newspapers the publications of the Allies in Austria would not be printed. The failure of the authorities to provide the minimum quantity of newsprint necessary, in a country so potentially rich in timber and pulp, has exasperated both newspaper proprietors and workers. And the heavy demands of the Allies on newsprint for their own publications has been a frequent subject for criticism in the Austrian press.

The Austrian Chargé d'Affaires in Moscow has been told by the Soviet authorities that there are only 30,000 Austrian prisoners of war in Russia. 20,000 are to be returned to Austria, and 10,000 who were in the S.S. and police detachments are to be retained. The Austrians believed that there were at least 200,000 Austrian prisoners in the Soviet Union, and their slow repatriation has caused much anxiety to the Government and the public. The Soviet statement seems to mean that Austrian losses in Russia, perhaps in the very severe winter of 1942–43, were very heavy. It is also known that no attempt was made, until recently, by the Soviet authorities to segregate Austrian from German P.O.Ws.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The memoranda presented to the Council of Foreign Ministers' Deputies in London are evidence that the Czechoslovak Government are approaching the problem of Germany in a statesmanlike fashion. The main concern is naturally for Czechoslovak security. They argue that *effective control* of Germany should be the paramount aim of the negotiations. To Czechoslovakia, therefore, the question of federation *versus* centralisation is stated to be of secondary importance, although the Government probably favour, especially in the political and economic spheres, a unified system which can be more easily supervised. Politically, Czechoslovakia fears that federation might lead to agitation for Austrian union, or to a repetition, for example by Bavaria, of the phenomenon of Prussia's rise to power. In addition, the memoranda embody the Czechoslovak desire to share in reparations on the basis of the conclusions reached by the Paris Conference, the disinclination to continue paying in dollars for rail transport across Germany (a serious drain upon the limited supply of foreign currency), anxiety to recover certain assets looted from Czechoslovakia and still held by Germany, and a claim to a free zone at Bremen as well as Hamburg (where facilities were possessed before the war).

Territorial claims have been considerably reduced, for the reasons suggested in last week's *Summary*. Dr. Clementis, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, claimed that this modification was only achieved after surmounting the opposition of the Ministry of Defence. West of the Polish occupation zone territory with only 25,000 inhabitants would be claimed. Demands for Silesian territory occupied by Poland have been shelved, no doubt under pressure from the Communists and in accordance with Soviet desires. The setting-aside of these Silesian claims, together with the Government's lack of support for the idea of federation, roused strong resentment in the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Constituent Assembly. It was only after facing this opposition that Dr. Clementis disclosed that the delegation had already been briefed, and the interested foreign Governments informed. In view of the fact that the Committee is representative of a large section of public opinion, the independent brief which the Delegation carries is not likely to be particularly popular at home. This sidetracking of the Committee is an affront to parliamentary authority which the Assembly will not let pass without having its say any more than it has a recent action by the Minister of Agriculture. In its broader aspects, however, the Government's predicament is understandable, since they need to balance Czechoslovak nationalist aspirations against Communist, Soviet, Polish and Western viewpoints.

In an address to foreign journalists on the 15th January, Dr. Clementis revealed that a demand would be made to Austria for the cessation of a small strip of territory at the confluence of the Morava and Danube. This was in connection with the planned Oder–Danube canal.

Czechoslovak–Hungarian negotiations on the Magyar minority problem are likely to be reopened shortly. Little progress has been made in this prolonged and exacerbated dispute, although contact between the Social Democratic Parties established at the Prague Conference (see *Summary* No. 373) and the latest Communist trends in Hungary may place it on a different footing. H.M. Government are exploring the possibilities of Four-Power assistance, in the shape of a Commission, to implement the February 1946 Agreement on the population exchange. It is felt in London that discussions are not likely to produce any results, judging from the experience of

the past year, and that conditions should not be allowed to deteriorate any further.

POLAND

The elections to the Constituent Assembly were held on Sunday the 19th January, with a few local clashes, but no large-scale disturbances. Foreign correspondents seem to have had greater freedom of observation than some of them had anticipated. "Open" voting took place fairly widely, though it is reported to have been the exception rather than the rule. An official spokesman on Monday said that on the basis of the preliminary (local) counts the "*Bloc*" had been allotted 327, and M. Mikolajczyk's Polish Peasant Party 24, out of the 372 seats for which voting took place by constituencies. The remaining 72 seats have to be allotted in proportion; so that the *Bloc* will have about 390 out of the total of 444. The final figures, which have to be issued by the 31st January, may in practice be published sooner.

As suggested in the last *Summary* these results would not have been obtained in an election conducted on the principles customary in "Western" countries. It had, however, long been expected that by one means or another results of this order would be produced. The Polish Provisional Government is a revolutionary government, based on the genuine support of a small minority. That minority, although it has increased, and is supported *faute de mieux* by many of the leaders of the Socialists, could certainly not yet win a general election that was free and fair according to western notions. But it has never been expected that the Provisional Government would passively submit to being turned out at a time when material conditions have shown very considerable improvement, and when control of the administration is largely in its hands. Hardly anyone in Poland, therefore, has been hoping for an Opposition success. It was felt, however, that the device used in the Referendum of last year, of having the votes recounted at regional headquarters, after large numbers of blank votes (counted as pro-Government) had been substituted for votes for M. Mikolajczyk's programme, would not be allowed to pass a second time. Everyone has, therefore, been guessing about the precise methods which would be used to fake the results.

Other devices of considerable variety and ingenuity have, in fact, been widely employed :—

(1) The peasant voters were presented with two "Polish Peasant Party" lists, so that some may have voted for the small secessionist group (which adds the name New Liberation to its title) in mistake for the real party, which was not permitted to add the name of M. Mikolajczyk.

(2) The electoral law disqualified from voting persons deprived of the right of legal action, and persons who co-operate with "underground fascist organisations" or "groups aiming at upsetting the régime." Advantage has been taken of these clauses, not only to disqualify a large number of P.S.L. members without necessarily any proof of such co-operation, but also to invalidate whole lists of candidates (some of whose supporters had been thus disqualified) by reduction of the number of qualified supporters below the statutory requirements. Individual candidates have also been disqualified in considerable numbers.

(3) Administrative officers have made it difficult for the Polish Peasant Party to obtain paper, to publish its daily journal, to print voting-cards for the use of its members at the polls, and to carry on the business of its central and regional committees.

(4) Armed gangs have broken into its offices and printing works and seized voting-cards or literature.

(5) A number of local party branches (about 10% perhaps) were closed. In all it is stated that 135 of the party's candidates are under arrest, or 18% of the total; that altogether 32% of its candidates were deprived of the right of standing; and that 22% of the population were thus prevented from voting for the party.

(6) Canvassers of the '*Bloc*' carried out an extensive campaign of suggestion that the vote would not be kept secret and that measures such as loss of work or eviction would follow if voters voted for the P.S.L.

(7) A large number of signatures were obtained, under pressure, in Upper Silesia to a promise to vote for the '*Bloc*.'

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(8) Workers' organisations were induced to resolve to proceed in a body to the polls and vote openly for the '*Bloc*,' leaving it to be assumed that those who did not do so would be voting for the P.S.L.

(9) Constant abuse was levelled at the P.S.L. in the Government Press, especially accusations of collaboration with the emigré Poles and the subversive movements in Poland.

(10) British actions have where possible been twisted and used to vilify the P.S.L., which is represented as the party supported by foreign Powers.

By these methods, many of which were already familiar in Poland before 1939, the Government has succeeded in getting the "sweeping majority" desired in order to enact a Constitution which, like that of Pilsudski 12 years ago, will put the régime in a position from which it will not be easy to dislodge it. M. Mikolajczyk has already announced his intention to use his right to appeal against the election, and to claim that a fresh poll should be held.

SOVIET UNION

Some justifiable perplexity must have been caused within and without the frontiers of the Soviet Union this week owing to the discrepancy between the hopes of better Anglo-Soviet relations aroused by Field-Marshal Lord Montgomery's visit to Moscow and the delayed-action bomb dropped by *Pravda* in its issue of the 15th January regarding the Anglo-Soviet Treaty of Alliance. The announcement that in his pre-Christmas broadcast of the 22nd December, Mr. Bevin had disavowed the Anglo-Soviet alliance, capped a recapitulation of the defects of the Labour Government's foreign policy and in particular its alleged failure to co-operate with the Soviet Union in the same spirit as with the U.S.A. *Pravda's* deductions were based on one sentence from Mr. Bevin's broadcast quoted (three weeks after the broadcast) out of its context in order to load the scales of the indictment. His Majesty's Government have protested through their Ambassador in Moscow to M. Stalin against the misleading interpretation of their policy given by *Pravda*. It was pointed out that the fact that the desire of both Governments to make the United Nations Organisation into an effective buttress of international security does not mean that the Treaty lapses merely because the United Nations Organisation has come into being, and that the Foreign Secretary, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, has several times urged an extension of the Treaty and has expressed regret that His Majesty's Government's proposals have not found acceptance by the Soviet Government.

Last week's spate of comment from Moscow on the Polish elections supported the Polish Government's propaganda regarding the situation. Emphasis was laid on the Polish people's approval of the Government's policy as reflected in the results of the referendum last year and, no doubt, the same specious conclusions will be drawn from the foregone results of the present elections. Soviet references to M. Mikolajczyk suggest that he is already being "framed" as an agent of the "reactionary underground," though so far he has not been described as its leader. The latest references to him in *Izvestiya* seem to pave the way for an even more sinister charge—all too familiar from the records of Soviet trials—that of treasonable connections with foreign Powers. "It is very significant," declared *Izvestiya*, "that the American Government, in its note of the 5th January, does not base itself on facts furnished by the Polish Government, which it has recognised, but on reports given by Mikolajczyk." As in the Soviet reply to the American note on the Polish elections, Soviet publicity has denied *en bloc* all charges of irregularity in the election campaign, and has countered the charges with the assertion of "criminal Fascist activities calling for repressive measures so as to ensure the conditions necessary for holding free democratic elections."

On the whole, the Albanian-British controversy has been relatively little discussed in the Soviet press. But the anti-British atmosphere which inspired the first analysis in *Krasny Flot* of the situation created by the explosion of the mines in the Corfu Straits last Autumn (see *Summary* No. 373) permeated the latest commentary on the subject from Moscow. Moscow wireless asserted last week that Albanian sovereignty was repeatedly violated by British warships penetrating Albanian waters off the port of Sarango "without permission and in a demonstrative manner." The point originally made by *Krasny Flot*, that the British warships "were navigating in Albanian waters" at the time of the accident was reiterated and the innocence of the Albanian authorities in regard to these mines was stoutly asserted.

Anglo-American reactions to the recent disclosure of Soviet-Norwegian negotiations regarding Spitsbergen evoked much bad-tempered comment in Moscow. Moscow radio charged *The Times* with "trying to present the Spitsbergen situation as akin to that in Iceland and several other places where Great Powers have, or are creating, naval bases", which would seem, on the face of it, a quite correct parallel, in view of the Soviet demand for bases in Spitsbergen. Following the original Soviet statement which was analysed in these columns last week, it is interesting to note that Soviet publicity now speaks of indisputable "territorial" interests in Spitsbergen.

The Collegium of the Ministry of Education of the R.S.F.S.R. has published a decision to "Reorganise radically the teaching of literature and literary research in the Pedagogical and Teachers' Institutes," in order to bring the work of these institutes in line with the "ideological and theoretical demands of the Party Central Committee on literature and art." Courses on Soviet literature are to be increased in number and duration. Graduates' theses are to be "revised" with the aim of increasing the number of themes devoted to Soviet literature. New text-books are to be published on Soviet and earlier Russian literature. There will be courses, too, on Western European authors and on the study of literature generally. All this is reminiscent of earlier criticism of the teaching of history (which had been alleged to give too little place to Soviet history and achievements and of the lack of a sufficiently ideological approach among teachers. It is also a logical stage in the campaign against Western influences which opened last summer with the attacks on Anna Akhmatova and Zoschenko (see *Summary* No. 358).

SCANDINAVIA

Denmark (see Summary No. 374)

The Anglo-Danish food, trade and financial negotiations were resumed in London on the 20th after a good deal of unofficial preliminary discussion between the two countries had taken place. A Danish suggestion that the conversations should be held in Copenhagen was turned down because, in our view, the British Delegation might easily have appeared as suppliants, and pressure groups might have had a chance of intensifying their influence. Hr. Waerum, the principal representative on the Danish side—who incidentally, has worked hard to bring about a favourable solution of all difficulties—admitted that the atmosphere in Copenhagen was bad for negotiations.

His Majesty's Government agreed that the question of Danish exports of food to Great Britain should be considered first, but only on condition that in making their offers the Danes should bear clearly in mind the effect that they would have on their balance of payment. H.M. Minister, in a conversation with M. Rasmussen, emphasised that our first consideration was not food exports or prices but means of balancing payments in 1947; our suggestions to this end had met with deadlock in 1946 because the Danish farmers had tied their Government to a quite unacceptable price for butter and had then refused to export meat and other products which raised no price difficulties and which would, if adequate quantities had been offered, have made a really appreciable contribution to payments. It had to be realised that we simply could not afford any extension of the indefinite credit which Denmark was now enjoying, nor could we easily provide dollar facilities; but we should be found sympathetic if substantial and precise suggestions were forthcoming. M. Randall also laid stress on the point that in any general reductions of her imports which Denmark might find necessary—a necessity which we admitted—Great Britain should receive a square deal.

In answer to some of the questions on points of detail the Danish Government advised His Majesty's Government on the 16th January that (*a*) a quantity of meat acceptable to Great Britain would be offered, (*b*) the additional quantity of butter made available by reduction of Danish home consumption would be 7,000 tons in a full year and 5,000 tons between January and September 1947, and (*c*) that, in the Danish view, an acceptable price for this additional quantity would be Kroner 6 per kilo, *i.e.* 315 shillings per cwt. or an average price of 229 shillings instead of 220 shillings to be paid during January/September.

By various indications part of the Danish press is endeavouring to prepare the public for acceptance of the idea that a certain amount of further sacrifice will be necessary to bring about an agreement with Great Britain. Thus *Berlingske Tidende*, Denmark's most widely read paper, has pointed out that the Danes were still inclined to blame other countries for their

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difficulties instead of asking themselves whether "agriculture is working as cheaply as possible or whether our living standard is such that we are competitive." On the other hand, *Børsen*, the leading financial paper, thought that if Denmark were to hold out long enough she would, like Canada, force Great Britain to pay the prices she was demanding for her butter and bacon.

(For Spitsbergen see under "Soviet Union.")

THE LOW COUNTRIES

The Netherlands

A sixteen-page Memorandum on Allied policy towards Germany was presented by the Netherlands Government to the London Conference of Foreign Ministers' Deputies on the 15th January. The Memorandum, which requests that the States bordering upon Germany be allowed to take part in a Treaty aiming at her demilitarization, emphasizes the importance of German economic recovery as essential for European economic recovery, but fears that German recovery might be accompanied by an increase of war potential. This difficulty could be surmounted "if, parallel with a reasonable degree of recovery . . . , the decentralization of the political structure and the deconcentration of economic power be carried through consistently." The occupation of Germany should ultimately be restricted to certain strategic areas, thus making possible the abolition of zonal boundaries and the conversion of the occupying forces into a body of police. Politically, the future Germany is seen as a loose confederation of States with a constitution containing effective safeguards against centralization, and with frontiers re-drawn in certain instances. Economically, the decentralization of large industrial concerns is suggested, together with the placing of the Ruhr and Rhineland industries under international control (in which the Netherlands would participate); the barring of German "governmental bodies" from receiving assistance in the shape of long-term foreign loans; the prohibition of the manufacture of arms; and the prohibition of "aggressive economic measures," *e.g.*, protective tariffs, "dumping," and export premia. In laying the foundations of economic recovery, it is suggested, the cost of the occupation should be reduced as far as possible; the dismantling of industrial installations restricted to "war plants"; and a central organization set up with responsibility for maintaining a "minimum standard of provisioning." Mindful of the great importance of fitting German "trade policy" into the "framework of European co-operation," the Netherlands was considering the "advisability" of concluding a trade agreement which laid down a "long-term commercial policy." In the field of German "cultural and spiritual" needs, the Netherlands could make an "important contribution," and, accordingly, might (under Allied supervision) be entrusted with "certain parts of Western Germany," wherein "guidance" could be given to facilitate "cultural and educational recovery."

Following the announcement on the 16th January that the Netherlands and Canadian Governments had agreed to raise their Legations to the status of Embassies, the Netherlands Government have appointed Dr. J. H. van Royen to be the first Dutch Ambassador to Canada. Dr. van Royen, who was born at Istanbul in 1905, studied law at Utrecht University, and received his first diplomatic appointment in 1930 as an *attaché* to the Dutch Legation at Washington. After a period as Legation Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he went to Tokyo in 1935 as Legation Secretary. In 1939 he succeded M. van Kleffens as head of the Diplomatic Affairs Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Three times imprisoned during the occupation, Dr. van Royen eventually escaped to London in October, 1944. He accompanied M. van Kleffens to the San Francisco Conference, and served in the Schermerhorn Cabinet (June, 1945, to May, 1946), first as Minister without portfolio and Deputy Foreign Minister, subsequently as Foreign Minister.

Belgium

The Antwerp dock strike, which began on the 16th December, 1946 (see *Summary* No. 374), ended on the 13th January, normal work being resumed next morning. A week earlier the strike received union recognition. A conference between representatives of the port authority and the strikers' committee had shortly before agreed to a wage increase of 24 francs, an unemployment allowance of 10 francs, and had promised a revision of rates of pay for dangerous or heavy work. Armed with this agreement a deputation from the port authority called on the Prime Minister, who was accompanied by the Minister of Labour and Social Welfare (M. Troclet) and the Minister of Economic Affairs

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(M. Libaert). M. Huysmans accepted the terms of the agreement, and promised to appoint a commission to examine working conditions with a view to improving them. As soon as the results of these conferences had been announced the strikers decided by a large majority—5,562 votes against 1,126, with 304 abstentions—to return to work.

Luxembourg

M. Pierre Krier, Socialist Minister of Labour, Social Services, Mines and Reconstruction, and leader of the Luxembourg Socialist Party, died on the 20th January at the age of 62. M. Krier, a prominent trades unionist who had been President of the Luxembourg Trades Union Council since 1917, entered Parliament in May, 1918. He had been a delegate to the International Labour Office since 1925; and was appointed Minister of Labour in November, 1937. He was a member of the Luxembourg Government in London during the war.

FRANCE

M. Léon Blum's visit to London (see last week's *Summary*) bore greater fruit than had been anticipated. The communiqué issued on the 16th January, the morning of M. Blum's return to France, stated that his visit had "provided an opportunity for a joint examination of a number of problems of common interest to the Governments of France and the U.K. and for a most useful exchange of views on a variety of questions." On the German question the communiqué said that—

> "it was recognised on both sides that it was in the interests of the two countries that effective steps should be taken to prevent the economic reconstruction of Germany, though necessary from many points of view, becoming once again a menace to the peace of the world. It was recognised that increased imports of coal were necessary to the economic recovery of France, and that increased coal production in the Ruhr was an essential factor in European reconstruction. It was admitted, however, that no immediate increase in exports from the Ruhr was possible, and that in order to ensure the rehabilitation of the Ruhr mines and a progressive increase in exports from Germany adequate quantities of coal must be retained on the spot."

It was, however, anticipated that by the end of April exports of Ruhr coal would be back to the level of last November before the cuts were made, and it was stated that every effort would be made thereafter to increase production and exports.

The communiqué then passed to the question of an Anglo-French alliance and went on :—

> "It was recognized that the two countries, having been twice attacked by Germany in a period of 25 years, have an equal interest in protecting themselves against a fresh German menace. It was therefore agreed that in these circumstances a Treaty of Alliance should be concluded between them at the earliest possible moment within the framework of Article 52 of the Charter of the United Nations and with the object of preventing any further aggression by Germany and of preserving peace and security. It was agreed that negotiations to this end should be opened as soon as possible. The two Governments were furthermore convinced that the conclusion of such a treaty would facilitate the settlement in a spirit of mutual understanding of all questions arising between the two countries."

Finally, the communiqué referred to the need for economic co-operation and directed the Anglo-French Economic Committee to press on with its task of examining and co-ordinating reconstruction plans in the two countries.

This announcement has been very favourably received in France although it is pointed out that the results achieved are moral rather than material. The Communists alone show real scepticism, but clearly future reactions will depend on the way in which this preliminary agreement is followed up.

The final step in the completion of the basic institutions of the Fourth Republic was taken on the 16th January when the President of the Republic was elected by the two Chambers, sitting together at Versailles. M. Vincent Auriol was elected at the first ballot, receiving 452 votes (10 more than the necessary absolute majority). M. Champetier de Ribes (M.R.P.) received 242 votes, M. Gasser (Radical) 122, and M. Michel Clemenceau for the Right, 60. The ballot was secret, but it is clear that M. Auriol received the votes of a number of electors outside the Socialist and Communist Parties which voted for him *en bloc*. In the circumstances, it is considered unfortunate that the M.R.P. and the Radicals put up their own candidates, although M. Auriol's reputation for impartiality

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serves to obscure the fact that he was elected by such a small majority.

The new President was an obvious choice, M. Herriot having refused to stand and General de Gaulle being out of the ring, and the skill he has shown in the past, as President of the Assembly and an experienced parliamentarian, in conducting negotiations between the parties, will continue to stand him in good stead. He is 62 and has been a Socialist deputy since 1914. He specialised in financial questions and was Minister of Finance in the Popular Front Government in 1936–7. In 1940 he voted against the grant of full powers to Pétain and was later imprisoned. He escaped to join General de Gaulle in 1943 and was a leading member of the Consultative Assembly and of the Constituent Assembly of which he became President at the beginning of 1946. He is a personal friend of M. Léon Blum and is liked by men of all political parties including the Communists.

M. Auriol's first task in his new post was to accept the resignation of M. Blum's Government and he immediately began receiving the leaders of the political parties with a view to choosing a Prime Minister. Under the terms of the new Constitution the Prime Minister is chosen by the President and then submits his programme to the Assembly which has to give him a vote of confidence before he and his Ministers can be definitely appointed. In fact, the procedure now being used scarcely differs from that used before the war, and the Prime Minister-designate necessarily has to assure himself of a majority before presenting himself to the Assembly. M. Blum having felt unable to lead a coalition, the President asked M. Ramadier, a veteran but uninspiring Socialist, to form a Government. His negotiations were held up by the attitude of the M.R.P., which has recently shown increased signs of internal division and has resented almost as much as the Communists the success of M. Blum's all-Socialist Government. However, the M.R.P. eventually agreed to the appointment of a Communist Minister of Defence and M. Ramadier, after receiving a big vote of confidence in the Assembly on the 21st January, was able on the following day to form a Government stretching from the Communists to the Independent Republicans.

Paris newspapers re-appeared on the 15th January after an interval of six days which will bear hardly on the finances of the independent papers. The dispute with the rotary machine minders is to be referred to arbitration.

General Mast, who has been Resident-General in Tunisia since 1943, has been replaced by M. Pierre Bertaux, former regional commissioner of Toulouse, who was *chef de cabinet* to M. Viénot, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in 1936 and recently held a similar post under M. Jules Moch.

M. Saadeddine Bencheneb, an Algerian and professor of Arabic literature at Algiers, has been appointed French representative in Saudi Arabia. He is the first Moslem to be given a French diplomatic post.

SWITZERLAND

According to a Swiss wireless report, 35 members of the "*Bund der Schweiz in Grossdeutschland*" — an organisation formed by a number of Swiss citizens living in Germany—are charged with plotting against the independence of the Swiss Confederation, participating in an illegal organization, subversive activities against the Swiss nation, political espionage, and illegal recruitment for a foreign military service. Fourteen of the men charged are still abroad. The others will be tried in the Federal Penal Court.

Low rainfall has been the cause of traffic cuts to save electric power. Urban tramways, the first to be affected, were required to reduce, from the 19th January, their power consumption by 20 per cent. by stopping heating in carriages, and curtailing Sunday services for 7 hours of the day. Railways must also expect cuts in their time-tables, probably from the 3rd February, unless adequate rain falls in the meantime.

The strict allocation by the Swiss authorities of quotas for the export of watches to countries in the sterling area has resulted in protests by manufacturers on the ground that it will cause unemployment.

Up to the present some 30,000 foreign workers have been imported into Switzerland. The enticement of labour from the clothing, footwear, fur and hosiery industries in northern Italy by the offer of higher wages by Swiss firms, has led to a local labour shortage and to demands for the restriction of emigration from Italy.

The export prohibition of arms and munitions has been prolonged for six months, but exceptions are now possible for small calibre material and dynamite for non-military purposes.

Switzerland will place several short-wave lengths at the disposal of the United Nations for the wireless service *Radio Nations*.

The Federal Council and the Danish Government have agreed to open negotiations with a view to regulating commercial exchanges in 1947. The discussions were started at Berne on the 14th January.

ITALY

Signor De Gasperi arrived back in Rome on Friday, the 17th January, after ten days in the U.S.A. and is said to be fully satisfied with the results of his visit. Amongst other advantages the Treasury Department has made available a second payment of 50 million dollars covering various services and supplies to the U.S. army in Italy; two ships have been put at Italy's disposal for the repatriation of prisoners of war and for Italian emigration and an assurance was given that if Italy desired to purchase a further 50 ships favourable consideration would be given to her request; an agreement was reached that negotiations for a new Italo-American commercial treaty should be opened as soon as possible, and finally Signor De Gasperi was informed that, after UNRRA had finished, Italy's needs would be included in the direct relief programme which will soon be submitted to Congress. It is also reported that the Export-Import Bank is willing to grant Italy a loan of 100 million dollars to "assist specific segments of Italian industry to restore and expand export markets."

In contradistinction to these satisfactory results, the political situation with which Signor De Gasperi was faced the moment he landed must have given him cause for disquiet. A feeling has been growing that it would be difficult to avoid a Governmental crisis, mainly owing to the repeated threats of the Republican party to withdraw from the Government. Once this intention was definitely confirmed and was followed by Signor Nenni's resignation from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a crisis became inevitable and on the 20th January Signor De Gasperi tendered his resignation to the President, Signor De Nicola.

Owing to the split in the Socialist party, Signor Nenni felt he could no longer continue in office but that he must devote his time to the reorganisation of the party, of which he is still Secretary-General. Opinions differ as to whether the matter can rest here, whether a re-shuffle of Ministries will be sufficient or whether a Government crisis of greater or lesser magnitude will follow. Signor De Gasperi, helped by the prestige which he has gained in the U.S.A., is believed to be confident of coping with the situation. A Government of all the major parties would be a satisfactory solution at this moment in view of the Peace Treaty to be signed in the near future. If this is not realisable —and in view of the split in the Socialist party, it hardly seems possible—then some combination of parties will have to be sought. Signor De Gasperi is reported as having said that he might try and re-form his Government with the support of the Communist party. Although in politics disputes between individuals and parties are probably taken more seriously by the outside world than by the participants, a predominantly Christian Democratic-Communist coalition hardly seems workable, particularly in view of Signor Togliatti's recent extremely bitter attacks on Signor De Gasperi. In Christian Democrat circles it is thought that Signor De Gasperi might manage to form a Government with the support of Signor Saragat's Socialists, the Liberals and possibly the Republicans. This seems even less likely, for the Republicans, who have been on the point of resigning from the Government for some time, seem hardly likely to combine with the Liberals, neither would this combination, even if it could be effected, seem to have much chance of survival if the Togliatti-Nenni combine were left out. Another possibility is that Signor Nitti may be asked to form a Government with Signor De Gasperi as Foreign Minister. Whatever the answer it all goes to show in what an unstable position Italian politics still are.

Signor Nenni has confirmed his resignation and is taking over the direction of the Socialist party newspaper *Avanti*.

The Minister of the Treasury, Signor Bertone, has stated that, although the final figures are not yet available, the total sum subscribed to the Reconstruction Loan would be about 240 milliard lire. In the view of the British Economic Adviser at the Embassy in Rome, this result is not satisfactory since Italy had a deficit last year of 380 milliard lire and is expected to have one of 250 to 300 milliards this year.

Irgun Zvai Leumi, the Jewish terrorist organisation, sent a letter on the 9th January to the Italian Prime Minister, other Cabinet Ministers and the British Ambassador which threatened an attack on "nerve-centres" in Italy unless the Italian Government used its influence to persuade H.M.G. to change their policy to a more lenient one towards the Jews in

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Palestine. Pamphlet bombs, containing anti-British propaganda, have been exploded in Milan and Padua and six other towns. Owing, however, to their amateurish construction, the bombs destroyed most of the pamphlets when they exploded. Telephone warnings of bomb explosions in an hotel and in a house occupied by British and American Service personnel have also been sent, but in both cases, after a search by the Italian police, nothing was discovered.

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

Hungary

The fall of the Coalition Government recently considered imminent has been averted by the refusal of the President, M. Tildy, to accept M. Nagy's resignation. This does not, however, mean that the left-wing *bloc* has ceased to clamour for a purge of the Smallholders' Party, or is failing to exploit the opportunity with which the unveiling of the "Fascist plot" presented it. Both Communists and Social Democrats are increasing their demands for a rectification of the purely "arithmetical superiority" obtained by their opponents at the General Elections. While it is true that the Smallholders' Party gave cover to many of the electorate who would have preferred to vote for a genuinely Conservative opposition had it existed, the Communists, at least, can ill afford to criticize, since their ranks include ex-members of the Arrow Cross who found the transition not a difficult one. The Social Democrats, indeed, admit the national character of the issue and demand equal punishment for the one member of their Party so far officially admitted by them to be involved. M. Szakasits also leaves the door open for future collaboration with an "otherwise respectable Party" if the Smallholders will abandon "the world of deceptive figures" in which they move by virtue of their majority in the National Assembly. The familiar argument is urged that they would actually gain in strength if they expelled their anti-democratic followers, and their peasant supporters are reminded of the conspirators' alleged intention to deprive them of such substantial benefits as land distribution which democracy brought in its wake.

That the Smallholders will undergo a drastic purge appears certain, since M. Nagy accepts the Ministry of the Interior's statement concerning the infiltration of his Party and the Peasants' Federation by the conspirators, and has already asked for authorization to carry it through. But he maintains that the other Parties are affected also, if to a less degree.

The predominantly military character of the plot is no longer emphasized, and the arrests which are steadily mounting now include that of M. Misténth, the Smallholder Minister for Reconstruction, who is said to have acknowledged his guilt. Members of the Legation staffs in Switzerland, Paris and London are being recalled to answer charges, and according to the Left press M. Sztankovits of the B.B.C., M. Lederer, a correspondent of *The Observer*, and Lady Listowel, the editor of *East Europe*, are likewise implicated.

The Peace Treaty with Hungary along with the other satellite Powers, has been signed by Mr. Byrnes.

(See under "Czechoslovakia" and "Yugoslavia.")

Yugoslavia

The Yugoslav Note to the British and U.S. Governments on the non-surrender of Italian war criminals was followed by a Press Conference at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and by the usual article in *Borba*. It has been pointed out that, in spite of the declarations of Moscow and Yalta, and in spite of three previous notes from the Yugoslav Government, the Anglo-American forces in Italy have done nothing to ensure the surrender of such men as Generals Gambara and Pirzio Birollo. And, as if that were not enough, they had even allowed a former officer of the Italian Second Army to publish a book on his exploits in Yugoslavia. The Allied Governments could not evade their obligations by throwing the responsibility on to the Italian Government. If no satisfaction were obtained from this latest protest the Yugoslav Government would lay the matter before the United Nations, as the situation arising therefrom constituted a threat to peace.

The imminent conclusion of the Italian Peace Treaty presents the British and American Governments with the more serious problem of the fate of the Yugoslav refugees in Italy, of whom there are many thousands, including not only genuine political refugees but a large number of Chetniks and Ustaši, whose surrender as war criminals or traitors has been requested by the Yugoslav Government. In many cases, though not in all, H.M.G. and the U.S. Government have agreed to their extradition, but such is the discipline and organisation of Chetniks at Eboli, under the efficient direction of the Royalist General Damjanović, that without a military operation of considerable dimensions it is impossible to trace and arrest them. The Ustaši are concealed by a different kind of "welfare" organisation, in which certain Croat Franciscans, with headquarters in Rome, play a leading part. Once the Allied forces withdraw there will be every inducement for the Italian Government to solve an awkward problem and to placate the Yugoslav Government by the forcible repatriation of all Yugoslav refugees, irrespective of their category. Thus, with a view to forestalling such an action, and also in the hope of speeding up the surrender of recognised traitors, H.M.G. are contemplating sending a special mission to Italy to sift the sheep from the goats in the whole flock.

Mr. Zollner, the representative of the Board of Trade who was arrested last September (see *Summary* No. 375), has been tried and condemned to six years' hard labour on charges of misappropriating gold belonging to the Yugoslav Government, of smuggling gold out of the country and of selling gold napoleons on the black market. He came to Yugoslavia in the summer on behalf of the Board of Trade, and was arrested as he was leaving the country. The case was contested on the basis of the ownership of the gold. Mr. Zollner believed it to be the property of H.M.G., whereas the Public Prosecutor argued that, if that were so, H.M.G. would have sought to recover it by the usual diplomatic means. The gold, on the contrary, was the illicit booty of the Mihajlovic organisation and now belonged to the Yugoslav Government. No charge of espionage was made, and the name of H.M. Embassy was kept out of the proceedings, although the Yugoslav authorities say that Mr. Zollner was abetted by an Embassy official.

Meanwhile, in connection with the Trifunović trial, the Yugoslav Government have rejected the U.S. Embassy's Note refuting the charges of espionage. At Sisak, in Croatia, an American citizen of Yugoslav origin has been condemned to death for maintaining contact with a subversive organisation.

There has been confirmation from no other source of a report in *The Times* of a secret meeting of important personages on the Hungaro-Yugoslav frontier, but the story is lent a little colour by a noticeable cordiality in the press of Yugoslavia towards her north-western neighbour.

(See under "Austria.")

Greece

While preparations have continued for the visit of the U.N. Commission, while sporadic outbreaks of bandit activity in Northern Greece have been reported and there have been several incidents of terrorism further South (including a few political murders in Athens itself), the Government crisis has overshadowed all else in the news from Greece.

At a Cabinet meeting on the 15th January the Premier was reported to have informed his colleagues of his political negotiations during the previous 48 hours. During his consultations with the leaders of the various parties certain differences of opinion had arisen. M. Sofoulis in particular disagreed with him both on the measures to be adopted to cope with the subversive movement and on the composition of a more broadly based Government. M. Sofoulis maintained that the revolt must be dealt with chiefly by a policy of appeasement through an amnesty, with repression only of those who continued rebellion after it. On the composition of the Government, M. Tsaldaris, making a concession to show his sincere desire for the inclusion of the Liberals, had proposed that he and M. Sofoulis should be Vice-Premiers under a Premier chosen by mutual agreement. In reply M. Sofoulis had insisted that only a Government under his own Premiership could apply his policy of appeasement. He had added that, on taking office, he would dissolve the Chamber and hold fresh elections as soon as normal conditions, which his policy would bring about, were restored. M. Tsaldaris had replied that such a solution would amount indirectly to the complete undermining of established order. He was sure the Cabinet appreciated that negotiations carried on in this spirit could not continue.

On the 16th January the Chamber reassembled after the Christmas recess but decided to postpone the resumption of work until the 20th. M. Tsaldaris publicly asked the Liberals to state by the 20th whether they were prepared to take part in a broadened Government. Otherwise, he declared, he would end the negotiations for such a Cabinet and proceed to apply his own policy.

Meanwhile, largely through Zervas and other intermediaries, discussions continued between M. Tsaldaris and the leaders of the EPE group. All these leaders, however, made it plain to M. Tsaldaris that

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they would not serve under him; he, for his part, felt that their participation in the Government was not worth buying at the price of the disintegration of his own party which his resignation would cause.

In the midst of these negotiations matters seemed to reach a crisis on the 18th when General Gonatas, the leader of the National Liberals, and M. Alexandris, the leader of the Reformists, resigned from the Cabinet taking with them the other four Ministers of these two parties who had hitherto supported the Populists. On the 20th, however, when a crowded Chamber met to debate a vote of no confidence in the Government, the two Ministers entered with M. Tsaldaris and proposed a few days' adjournment to give time for the parties to reach an understanding on the formation of a broad-based Government. They explained that it was to facilitate this that they had tendered their resignations, which had not been withdrawn. The motion was accepted, and the Chamber adjourned until the 23rd January.

On the morning of the 23rd it was reported that the leaders of seven Parliamentary parties, not including M. Sofoulis, had agreed on the programme and composition of a Coalition Cabinet.

One further factor which may influence the political negotiations is the EAM truce offer published on the 19th January. In it the EAM welcomed the forthcoming arrival of the U.N. Commission and proposed a suspension of the "Republican army's" hostilities during the Commission's visit, provided that governmental forces suspended theirs. This suspension would give the Commission complete freedom of movement for investigation of the real aims of the "Republican Army's" struggle. EAM would like to believe that internal bloodshed would end. Continuing on the subject of the Government crisis EAM repeated that only a radical change of policy could get the country out of its present *impasse*, and this could only be achieved by an all-party Government, including EAM, which accepted the principle of real authority of the people, of appeasement and of liberation of Greece from foreign interference. The dissolution of the present unrepresentative Chamber and the holding of free elections would allow the nation to return to normal life.

Albania

Early last week the Albanian telegraph agency began an anti-British propaganda campaign in the English language. Starting on the 13th January with a reference to the alleged provision of Greek bandits with British and American uniforms and arms, the agency proceeded on the next day —without directly placing the responsibility upon this country, it is true—to accuse the Greek authorities openly of "planning to land terrorists on the shores of Albania" with the deliberate intention of provoking grave trouble. On the 15th it gave further publicity to a long and bitter tirade against Great Britain which had appeared that morning in Hoxha's newspaper *Bashkimi*. "The Corfu Channel incident and the British note," declared this article, "are not considered by the Albanian people as something isolated, but as linked to other acts of the British Government which show the unfriendly attitude continually adopted by it towards our country. During the Fascist occupation of Albania British officers who were supposed to aid the Albanian people in their struggle for the common cause gave help to collaborators of the Germans such as Abbas Kupi . . ." [Abbas Kupi, who is now with ex-King Zog in Egypt, actually rendered services of definite value to the Allied cause in 1942–43. His real crime in Hoxha's eyes is that, like other prominent Albanians who are now exiles, but who for long did their best to collaborate with the L.N.C. resistance movement, he has always been opposed to Communism.] "It is the British," continued the article, "who, with Bevin at their head, in every gathering of U.N.O. have opposed Albania's admission . . . . At the Paris Conference the British delegates openly supported the greedy, aggressive monarcho-fascists of Greece who sought to dismember Albania . . . . British propaganda, by means of the London radio, Reuter's Agency and, many influential papers, has long been conducting a vast campaign of slander against us and lending support to Greek fascist calumnies and provocations besides . . . . The Albanian people, however, have strong nerves and will not permit their rights to be abused . . . ."

(See also under "United Nations.")

Bulgaria

It is now over six weeks since it was announced that General Ivan Popov and a group of 26 ex-officers associated with him had been arrested on a charge of treasonable conspiracy. The trial was actually started in the Courts on the 30th December, but it was quickly found that General Popov himself was quite unfit to plead, and so the case was postponed

sine die. It is believed, in fact, that the General—who until the recent army purge was Deputy Chief of the General Staff—was driven insane by the appalling treatment which he suffered at the hands of the militia while under arrest. As has already been recorded in *Summary* No. 373, one accusation against the defendants is that they were plotting, "in the event of war breaking out between the Great Powers, to give active help to a certain Western Power," and furthermore publicity has been given on the Sofia wireless and in the press to an allegation, virtually sponsored by the Bulgarian Government—and therefore, one may quite safely assume, by their masters on the Control Commission—that the accused were in close touch with "certain diplomatic representatives of foreign Powers." These absurd but potentially mischievous suggestions have led Mr. Maynard Barnes, on behalf of the United States Government, and Mr. Tollinton, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, to call separately at the Bulgarian Foreign Office in the New Year and to represent strongly to M. Georgiev that it would be in the general interest if all references of this kind should be dropped from the case. If these things go unchecked—are even deliberately staged—before the peace treaty takes effect, one cannot help wondering what will happen thereafter.

The Bulgarian Government have felt obliged to cut down the standard bread ration from 500 to 420 grammes a day, but have been able to increasee the monthly ration of vegetable oil from 200 to 300 grammes per head. Sofia had to go without its monthly soap ration last November, and there is still a great shortage of fats in general. The effects of two severe droughts in succession are still being felt, as in other Balkan countries. None the less, Bulgaria is probably less badly off for food than any other of them, and this seems to have been the case all along since the War came to an end.

Turkey

After emerging from last summer's elections as a substantial Opposition, the new Democratic Party seemed to suffer a decline, and it had financial difficulties. The support which "Big Business" at first accorded to it dwindled as it became plain that for at least another four years it would have neither contracts nor other benefits to confer; while the poorer of its early supporters became less ready to contribute to the funds of a party which seemed largely identified with the well-to-do Although the Democratic Party has steadfastly repudiated Communism, its fortunes at one time looked like being prejudiced by certain extreme Leftists who had joined it. However, some of these extremists broke away and others, together with some extreme Rightists, were expelled. Thus, towards the end of last year the party was once more gaining ground at the expense of the Republican People's Party, whose prestige inevitably suffers from its long tenure of office and the prevailing economic discontent.

On the 7th January, the first anniversary of the foundation of the Democratic Party, M. Celal Bayar opened its first congress, an enthusiastic meeting at Angora of about a thousand people. The event was warmly welcomed even by the Government press as a sign of the country's increasing political maturity. At the outset M. Bayar once more emphasised his party's entire devotion to the constitution as laid down by Atatürk. Of foreign policy there was no question, since in this field the Democratic Party is at one with the Government. The main resolutions of the Congress were that the Head of the State should not at the same time be the leader of a party, and that laws not in accord with the constitution should be modified. The Democrats contend that as long as President Inönü remains the leader of the Republican People's Party, the Democratic Party will have against it the dead weight of an Administration accustomed to identify the Republican People's Party with the Government. The Democrats also maintain that if they are to have a fair chance, the laws governing elections, the press and the police must be amended. Under the influence of President Inönü and other leaders who are anxious to see a two-party system evolve, the formerly omnipotent Republican People's Party has already shed some of its exclusive privileges. It may well go some way to meet the Democrats' present demands, with the deliberate intention of helping them to assume power in the course of a few years.

The treaty signed with Transjordan on the 11th January, as mentioned last week, seems to be on normal lines: perpetual friendship and peace, the exchange of diplomatic representatives, judicial matters, travel and residence. Disputes are to be settled by pacific means in accordance with Article 33 of the United Nations Charter. In the absence of a settlement such disputes are to be submitted to the Security Council under

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Article 37 of the Charter. Transjordan would not agree to a Turkish proposal that each party should support the other in the event of a dispute with a neighbour. Nor, in spite of ample protestations that Transjordan would never be involved in the Hatay question, would Turkey consent to exempt Transjordan from the application of the treaty whenever it might conflict with the obligations of Transjordan as a member of the Arab League. When asked by journalists whether there had been discussions about a Turco-Arab *bloc*, King Abdullah replied that the two countries would try to revive the union of past centuries. Suspecting presumably—and quite wrongly—that the new treaty was engineered by Great Britain, Moscow has been denouncing it as an instrument of British Imperialism.

THE MIDDLE EAST

Egypt

His Majesty's Ambassador, in further conversations with Nokrashy Pasha, has failed to move him from his standpoint that the Sudan really desires unity with Egypt, and that the insistence of His Majesty's Government upon a statement declaring that the Sudanese should have freedom ultimately to decide upon their relations with Egypt, assumes that they might desire independence—a hypothesis which he cannot accept. He objects also to the underlying implications that His Majesty's Government are posing as the defender of the interests of the Sudan against an Egypt with evil intentions, and that Egypt is refusing a right of choice to a Sudan desiring independence, while His Majesty's Government are defending that right. Nokrashy Pasha stubbornly insists that his approach to the question is "factual," while that of His Majesty's Government is theoretical.

The debates on the subject of the Sudan, postponed from last week, were started in the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies on the 20th January. An all-party resolution submitted to the Senate asserts the indivisibility of Egypt and the Sudan, denies the right of Great Britain to make any change in the status of the Sudan, and asks the Government for information on the steps they are taking to counter the hostile actions of His Majesty's Government. In the Chamber Makram Obeid Pasha spoke for two hours on the history of the condominium, and then asked what was Egypt's reply to the defiant attitude of the Governor-General. Nokrashy Pasha said that he fully appreciated the desire of the Chamber for a satisfactory solution, and recalled his earlier assurance that he would take every possible step to realise Egypt's two demands. He added that, if he were unsuccessful in his present efforts, he would take another course.

The press had already suggested that, in the event of a breakdown in the Treaty negotiations, Egypt might refer to the Security Council of the United Nations only the question of the evacuation of British troops, and might bring the Sudan question before the International Court of Justice. By such action they would hope to obtain a re-affirmation of Egyptian sovereignty over the Sudan, and possibly increased participation in the administration of the country.

Meanwhile, thirteen tribal leaders, representing some 1,200,000 Sudanese, submitted a memorandum to the Governor-General at the conclusion of the meeting of the Advisory Council for the Northern Sudan, of which all thirteen are members. In it they expressed their disappointment at His Excellency's ban upon political discussion during the session of the Council, and said they felt bound to put forward the following points in writing:—

"1. We reject totally any foreign sovereignty over the Sudan.

"2. We stick to the rights of nations for freedom and our right to determine our future by ourselves. We beg Your Excellency to expedite methods for the formation of self-government so that we shall be able in the nearest possible future to express our opinion with regard to our self-determination. We assure Your Excellency that the longer the delay in attaining this the more shall be our fears for not getting the freedom hoped for.

"3. Although we appreciate the efforts on the part of the Sudan Government for introducing proper administration, yet we look forward to speedy methods with a view to reach our objective—a free and independent Sudan."

Although an assurance is given in the text of the memorandum that it is entirely spontaneous—as indeed it is—this is unlikely to convince Egyptian opinion, which will see in it yet another example of the anti-Egyptian activities of the Governor-General and his staff and a further reason for a larger share by Egyptians in the administration.

The Grand Qadhi left Khartoum for Egypt on the 17th January and was seen off by a large crowd which is reported to have been "on the whole, orderly."

The 19th January was celebrated as a day of mourning in Egypt as the anniversary of the signature of the Sudan Agreement of 1899. All Arabic and European language newspapers, with the exception of the *Egyptian Gazette*, appeared with black borders. The day passed off quietly.

Palestine

There is no change in the Zionist attitude towards the London Conference, the opening of which is to be deferred for a day or two in order to give time for the Palestinian delegation to arrive.

A meeting of the Jewish Agency Executive is being held in London this week in which Ben Gurion, Shertok and Dr. Silver will take part in discussions on the line to be followed in preliminary talks which they expect to have with representatives of His Majesty's Government.

There has been no important terrorist activity in Palestine during the week. The Jewish Agency Executive is said to be discussing practical measures to combat terrorism, beginning with a propaganda campaign. At the monthly meeting of the Board of Deputies of British Jews Professor Brodetsky, the President of the Board, expressed unqualified abhorrence and condemnation of acts of terrorism by irresponsible groups "whose criminal behaviour is contrary to all the teaching of Judaism and can only harm the interests of the Jewish people."

Transjordan

Three bomb explosions occurred in Amman on the 15th January outside the houses of the Amir Tallal and the Prime Minister. No damage appears to have been intended, and no casualties were caused.

(See also under "Turkey.")

Persia

The elections in Tehran appear to have aroused little enthusiasm among the population. Polling was extended for one day, until the 18th January, to compensate for a religious holiday which fell on the 13th. But, apart from the apathy of the many, there has been much fervour in Tudeh and anti-Government groups among those who allege that Qawam has been interfering with the freedom of the voter. There appears to be no justification for this charge. Fifteen of Qawam's opponents, headed by Dr. Musaddiq, approached the Shah with their grievances on the 13th January and then proceeded to take sanctuary ("bast") in the Palace grounds, in accordance with traditional practice, and stayed there until the 17th January. Their influence is not great, and Musaddiq himself is a wild, unreliable character. He sponsored the Oil Law of December, 1944, which prohibited the grant of oil concessions until after the departure of all foreign troops from Persia, thereby infuriating the Russians. He has since consistently tried to make amends in their eyes by criticising any Government which attempts to resist Russian pressure.

During the last month there has been considerable agitation for the release of Seyyid Zia ed Din, leader of the National Will Party, placed under political arrest by Qawam early in 1946. The agitation has been led by a committee of journalists who style themselves the "Committee of the National Front." His detention is claimed to be quite unjustified and a violation of the principle of freedom.

There has been little news from the Provinces, and nothing to indicate when the provincial elections are to be held. Pre-election disturbances are, however, reported from Irak (Sultanabad) and Yezd. The Prime Minister has had a notable success in Fars, where the tribal leaders are believed to have dissolved the Fars National Movement (see *Summary* No. 363) and to have asked for admission to the Democrat Party.

THE FAR EAST

China

The news of General Marshall's recall was received with considerable surprise throughout China. Indeed, coming but three weeks after President Truman's statement that his Special Representative was remaining in China, "even though active negotiations have been broken off by the Communist Party," this decision might well have brought dismay as indicating a complete change in United States policy in China. Such fears, however, were largely allayed by the step taken by the United States Government a few hours later in sending a Note to both the Chinese and Soviet Governments calling their

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attention to "the current unsatisfactory situation with regard to the status and control of the port of Dairen"; and by the announcement which followed quickly on its heels of General Marshall's appointment as Secretary of State in Washington. The former was interpreted as an indication of continued United States interest in the welfare of China; while the latter gave "face" to China where otherwise "face" might have been lost. Even much of the sting in the General's "personal statement" to the Press was smothered in the high honour of his new appointment.

General Marshall left Nanking on the 6th January, to return to the United States by air. On the following day the State Department in Washington issued his statement in which he surveyed the principal reasons for the failure of his efforts "to bring about peace in China and a stable democratic form of government." In this statement the General declares that the greatest obstacle to peace has been the intense suspicion with which the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang regard each other; and, in a number of outspoken home-truths, he apportions the blame equally between the "dominant group of reactionaries" within the Kuomintang—who, he declares, have opposed every effort that he has made to influence the formation of a genuine coalition government—and "the dyed-in-the-wool Communists, who have not hesitated at the most drastic measures to gain their end . . . . without any regard to the immediate suffering of the people involved." General Marshall goes on to state that "the reactionaries in the Government have evidently counted on substantial American support, regardless of their actions"; while the Communists "are evidently counting on an economic collapse to bring about the fall of the Government." He then advances the opinion that the salvation of China would be the assumption, under the leadership of General Chiang Kai-shek, of the reins by the liberals in the Government and in the minority parties, whom he considers "a splendid group of men, but who as yet lack the political power to exercise a controlling influence."

General Marshall's statement was published in full by most of the leading Chinese newspapers, but, generally speaking, immediate press comment on this frank indictment of the extremists of both parties has been surprisingly mild. One left-wing paper, it is true, asserted that the General had acknowledged defeat and departed without having accomplished anything for the benefit of either China or his own country; while the independent paper *Ta Kung Pao* said that it was for China, rather than the General, to shoulder the blame for the failure of the United States efforts at mediation, which failure it confidently predicted would lead to the closing of Executive Headquarters and the withdrawal in the near future of United States forces in northern China. Ten days after the statement had been released the Communist spokesman, Chou En-lai, produced the expected Communist reply couched in the usual unpleasantly sharp and immoderate phraseology of Yenan; while in a lengthy apologia made to American press correspondents, Chen Li-fu, the leading light in the Kuomintang reactionary group, has advanced the opinion that General Marshall's appraisal of the situation might have proved more enlightening had he made a sounder choice of associates from among the Kuomintang leaders. For the rest, however, no doubt holding discretion the better part of valour in the circumstances, the General's statement has been glossed over by the Chinese press in favour of the more pleasing theme of personal praise for the sincerity of his efforts and expression of the belief that, as United States Secretary of State, General Marshall will find the rich fund of experience gained in China invaluable in moulding a balanced and realistic Far Eastern and Pacific policy.

In political circles the General's statement has been welcomed by the progressive section of the Kuomintang. Obviously with the encouragement of General Chiang Kai-shek, Dr. Sun Fo has seized the opportunity to make a renewed appeal to party leaders to bury the hatchet and come together in an all-Party round-table conference. Some progress is reported in this direction. At the same time General Chiang Kai-shek has been proceeding with his plans to despatch a delegate to resume peace talks in Yenan. His final choice of a delegate fell on General Chang Chih-chung, Chairman of the Sinkiang Provincial Government. It is thought that this choice was made in preference to other Kuomintang leaders whose names have come under consideration for the mission, because General Chang Chih-chung's experience in Sinkiang, his long-standing friendship with Chou En-lai, and the success that attended his previous negotiations with the Communists particularly fit him for the task. The good offices of the American Ambassador, Dr. Stuart, were obtained as a channel through which this proposal could be put before the Yenan leaders. No reply is so far officially known

to have been received, but, according to the latest press reports, the proposal has been rejected, the Communists persisting in their demand for the cancellation of the Constitution and the return to the military positions of January of last year before they enter upon any discussion whatsoever.

On the 12th January, several hundred former employees at the Shanghai Municipal Council paraded first in the grounds of the British Consulate-General at Shanghai, where they remained for nearly three hours, and then in the grounds of the French Consulate-General. The purpose of this demonstration, which was conducted in an orderly manner, was to present a claim for the refund of their superannuation contributions and compensation for loss of employment. They were referred to the Mayor as being both the representative of the Chinese Government and Chairman of the Liquidation Commission and, on H.M. Consul-General undertaking to ask the Mayor to make a statement, they dispersed. Three days later, however, they reappeared in the Consulate grounds and on this occasion dispersed only after the Mayor, several hours later, appeared in person and appointed delegates to discuss the whole question with him. It is thought that behind the staging of this demonstration was an unsuccessful attempt to embroil the British community in Shanghai with the local population, much in the same way as the people of Peiping and elsewhere were worked up recently over a girl student incident, in which U.S. Marines were involved.

In response to strong representations by H.M. Ambassador the Chinese Government announced on the 6th January, that the ports of Chingwangtao and Tsingtao had been reopened to foreign shipping. No official reason for their closure was offered, other than that the order had been issued by the General Staff without previous reference to other Government Departments; the Minister for Foreign Affairs asserting that he believed that the necessity for the order was caused by the activities of Communist forces in the neighbourhood of both ports. The real reason, however, is believed to have been pressure brought to bear by Chinese shipping firms in an endeavour to secure a monopoly of the carrying trade with these important ports.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

During the past week press and radio commentators in the United States have continued to take stock of the situation that confronts General Marshall on his assumption of office as Secretary of State. The result has been substantial agreement with the verdict of the *New York Herald-Tribune* that "Marshall's task will not be quite the same as Byrnes's." It has been pointed out that much that was still in the balance when Mr. Byrnes entered office in July 1945 is now fundamental to the policy which he is passing on to his successor. The United States is "committed against a policy of economic, no less than of political isolation"; there is no doubt as to where it stands in relation to the principles of the United Nations Charter; it is prepared to maintain its military strength as long as there is no effective general disarmament in order that its word may continue to count among the Powers; and its people are unanimous on most major international issues. The task of General Marshall, it is therefore suggested, will be largely to bring American objectives into sharper focus in those areas where they have hitherto not been defined with sufficient clarity—particularly in the Western Hemisphere and in China. In China especially, the General's own clear-cut assessment of the situation in his report of the 7th January is believed to betoken a more effective American stand, now that he is the mainspring, rather than the mere agent, of State Department policy. Mr. Walter Lippmann also suggests that the new Secretary of State "will hardly wish to go on with the three or four distinct and disparate American policies on armaments," and that it would therefore be wise to mark time at Lake Success while General Marshall reviews the entire American position and lays down "a coherent policy."

That the Republicans may insist upon General Marshall exercising even greater firmness than his predecessor in dealing with the Soviets at the forthcoming Moscow conference is suggested by the outstanding speech on foreign policy which Mr. John Foster Dulles delivered in New York on the 17th January. (In some quarters it is felt that the Republicans may even make such a stiffening of the American attitude the essential price of continuing the present "bi-partisan" approach to international questions.) The importance of Mr. Dulles' speech has been underlined by the fact that he submitted

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it in advance to Senator Vandenberg and Governor Dewey, and that both concurred in its main thesis. It was also delivered to an audience of publishers, whose newspapers and magazines have a combined circulation of something like one hundred millions. In the speech Mr. Dulles was more outspoken on the subject of Soviet-American relations than any other Republican spokesman of commensurate stature in recent weeks. The Soviet Union, he asserted, was aiming at world leadership with a double-barrelled weapon: "one barrel aims at social revolution throughout the world; the other barrel aims at nationalistic expansion." To meet this challenge the Allied statesmen who went to Moscow to frame the German treaty would do well "to think more in terms of the economic unity of Europe and less in terms of the Potsdam dictum that Germany shall be 'a single economic unit.'" The industrial potential of Western Germany ought to be integrated into the economy of Western Europe, so that not only Germany but all her Western neighbours could regain their prosperity and stability. The mere "pastoralisation" of Germany would make prolonged military occupation and charity feeding inevitable, and the American people would not "indefinitely keep in Germany the huge armies which would be needed to repress restless people," nor would they "indefinitely provide immense charity to prevent mass starvation which threatens only because artificial conditions are imposed."

In view of Mr. Dulles' plea for economic federation to buttress Western Europe against Communism, and of Senator Vandenberg's recent insistence at Cleveland upon the continuing need for "reasonable" American loans to restore "democratic stabilities" there, it is perhaps not surprising that the Republican press has been in general agreement with the offer of the United States Export-Import Bank to extend credits of 100 million dollars to Italy. Particular approval has been given to the stipulation that these credits will depend in each instance upon conditions in Italy and upon the degree of stability achieved there. For similar reasons the Republicans have, in common with the rest, generally welcomed the announced intention of His Majesty's Government to negotiate a treaty of alliance with France. At the State Department, the Director of the Office of European Affairs, Mr. H. Freeman Matthews, has intimated that an Anglo-French alliance would not be unwelcome to the United States Government, provided that it fitted into the general pattern of security offered in the United Nations Charter, and that it did not contain exclusive economic clauses in conflict with the tenets of the proposed International Trade Organization. The latter is a point upon which not only the State Department but also a substantial section of the press continues to be extremely sensitive. On the 14th January the *New York Herald-Tribune* caused some uneasiness by reporting that the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. John W. Snyder, was making representations to the Chancellor of the Exchequer regarding an alleged violation of the Anglo-American Financial Agreement in a clause of the recent Anglo-Argentine Agreement. Mr. Snyder himself declined to comment on the subject at his press conference on the following day, although he did remark that he "expected the British to live up to their loan agreement."

An attempt to revive interest in Palestine as an Anglo-American liability was made on the 18th January in a report presented to President Truman by Mr. Joseph Clark Baldwin on his return from a visit to this country and to the Middle East. Mr. Baldwin, a former Republican Congressman from the 17th District of New York, is now an official of the Political Action Committee for Palestine. He is urging the President to call an Anglo-American conference to deal with the military, political and economic situation in Palestine and to press for the recognition of Palestine as an "independent democracy" with the displaced Jews of Europe as potential citizens. Meanwhile the State Department in Washington is preparing legislation to admit a considerable number of these homeless European Jews to the United States. Two bills are in preparation, both to permit 50,000 a year to enter between now and 1950. The one admits this number under the existing quota system, whereas the other waives the present statutory limits; and Mr. Truman is to decide which of the two is finally to be submitted to Congress. Four similar measures have already been introduced independently into the House of Representatives by Congressman Emanuel Celler (Democrat, New York). Yet opposition on Capitol Hill is likely to be formidable. In the Democratic camp Senator Elmer Thomas of Oklahama is pressing for the cessation of all immigration, because he feels that the economic instability resulting from the war makes a further influx of population undesirable. On the Republican side, Senator Chapman Revercomb of West Virginia, who has been studying the immigration question for Senator Taft's Committee on Policy, maintains that it would be unwise to admit Jewish displaced persons from Europe on the grounds that they come from countries where left-wing movements are flourishing and that they are therefore likely to bring with them the virus of Communism.

On the 16th January it was announced at the White House that Secretary-of-War Patterson and Secretary-of-the-Navy Forrestal had reached "full and complete agreement" on the much-debated question of unifying the United States armed forces. The plan upon which they have agreed—and which Mr. Truman has described as "thoroughly practical and workable"—calls for the organization of the armed forces under a Secretary of National Defence, with subordinate Secretaries for the Army, the Navy and the Air Force. It now awaits the action of Congress, which shelved Mr. Truman's own proposals last session after long and at times acrimonious discussions in committee. There is apparently considerable support for the Patterson-Forrestal plan in both the new House of Representatives and the Senate, and Senator Chan Gurney, the Chairman of the Armed Forces Committee of the Upper Chamber (itself an amalgamation of the old Naval and Military Affairs Committees under the Congressional Reorganization Act), is known to favour unification of the armed forces in principle. Both Congress and the United States Service Departments are said to have been favourably impressed by the recent decision to appoint a Minister of Defence in Great Britain.

LATIN AMERICA

Inter-American Affairs and Argentina

The Argentine Ministry for Foreign Affairs has now issued a statement on Mr. Byrnes' parting remarks demanding Argentine "compliance with Hemisphere obligations" (see last week's *Summary*). The statement presumes that Mr. Byrnes' views are his own and not representative of United States policy, and asserts that Argentina has done all in her power to carry out her obligations under the act of Chapultepec. After questioning Mr. Byrnes' right to set himself up as a judge of Argentina, the statement quotes Senator Vandenberg's declaration that the calling of the forthcoming Rio de Janeiro Conference is a matter for all the American Republics and not for the United States alone.

In conversation with H.M. Ambassador Dr. Bramuglia stated that another seven of the obnoxious Germans (see *Summary* No. 374) were now in custody. The most obnoxious, a Herr Becker, is understood to be in Santiago del Estero, where the Governor of the province is protecting him. Dr. Bramuglia also spoke to H.M. Ambassador about United States' relations with Argentina, denouncing the "tough policy" of the State Department on the ground that it merely strengthened the extreme Nationalist supporters of Perón at the expense of moderates like himself. If the United States attitude were not modified, he would have to resign: if it were modified, the more Nationalist members of the Government could be got rid of.

Colombia

The Colombian Liberal Party, which recently seemed to be hopelessly divided, now shows signs of pulling itself together. Having lost last year's presidential elections owing to the split between the main body of the party and the followers of the demagogue Dr. Gaitán, the orthodox liberals not only failed to promote a conciliation, but also to find a leader for themselves. In December, however, a directorate of three was appointed: the attitude of two of these, Dr. Gabriel Turbay and Dr. Darío Echandía, was then unknown, and they subsequently withdrew, leaving Dr. Eduardo Santos as the sole leader of the majority faction. Dr. Gaitán's followers had thriven on the confusion of their opponents, but their fortunes appear now to have declined. Meanwhile, the Liberal deputies have given their authorisation to Liberals to hold cabinet office, and President Ospina Pérez's cabinet continues therefore to be a mixture of Conservatives and Liberals in equal parts.

Guatemala

The report of a recent statement by H.M. Secretary of State for the Colonies to the effect that the possibility of colonizing British Honduras with the aid of the British West Indies and an influx of displaced persons has produced a protest from the Guatemalan Government on the ground that this impairs Guatemala's "rights." As the Guatemalan Government appear to have adopted the unusual course of com-

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municating their note to the Press before its receipt in London, it seems likely that the recent lull in the Guatemalan agitation for "Belize" will end.

Paraguay

A state of siege was declared for a period of 30 days by President Morínigo. This appears to have been due to the rising political agitation of Liberals, supporters of Colonel Franco, and Communists, the emphasis being officially placed in the last-named. Colonel Franco was arrested, but apparently released later. The Cabinet is reported to have resigned, and the new ministers are a mixture of *Colorados* and soldiers.

Uruguay

The probable distribution of seats in the next Uruguayan Congress is likely to be slightly more favourable to the Batllistas than was suggested by the figures given in *Summary* No. 373. About 150,000 votes are reported to have been challenged, however, and the final scrutiny will probably modify the present strength of the parties. In any case the President-elect will have some difficulty in finding a majority, though he is likely to be more astute than Dr. Amézaga in conciliating divergent interests. It is reported that Sr. Berreta has already received an offer from the Communists, but the Batllistas are anti-Communist, and must presumably remain so as long as they hope to capture the working-class vote themselves. The recent Communist successes show the danger of leaving the *Union General de Trabajadores* open to Communist influence, and the Batllistas will doubtless use their tradition of sponsoring social service measures to emerge as a Labour Party.

UNITED NATIONS

Security Council

Corfu Channel

On the 20th January the Council decided by ten votes to nil to include on the Agenda the U.K. complaint against Albania. M. Gromyko, who abstained from voting, used an argument, coming with ill grace from a Soviet representative, that the U.K. had not exhausted the possibilities of direct settlement (article 33 of the Charter) before approaching the Security Council. It was a poor argument because Russia herself had more than once lodged complaints with the Council without having paid the slightest attention to Article 33. The U.K. who had been the target of these complaints and who had objected to this unchartered and discourteous procedure had been careful to come to the Council only after she had exhausted the possibilities of direct negotiations with Albania. M. Gromyko also contended that the incident was not a threat to peace and security. His third point was that, if there was an international minesweeping organisation it could regulate navigation in the Corfu channel. Sir Alexander Cadogan told M. Gromyko that such an organisation existed and had given authority for the sweeping operations carried out *after* the 44 British sailors had been killed. M. Gromyko was anxious to postpone matters until the arrival of an Albanian representative. This reasonable-looking suggestion would in fact give Albania power to tell the Council when it might hear the complaint, and the other ten members decided that the Chairman should fix the date of the next meeting.

Disarmament

M. Gromyko gave some explanation of the Soviet resolution at the Security Council's meeting on the 15th January (see last week's *Summary*).

It was designed, he said, not to sidetrack the Atomic Energy Commission but to make it easier for the Council to fulfil the Assembly's resolution of the 14th December. (It is always interesting to hear a Soviet delegate argue that the Council must obey the Assembly.) The Commission, which the resolution would set up, decides the nature of its work. Each Government chooses its representatives, bearing in mind that the task of the Commission would be first and foremost political. There could be military advisers. At the same time the Military Staff Committee would continue its existence. Sir Alexander Cadogan recalled the time which the League of Nations had wasted on preliminaries before discovering the best way to prepare for a disarmament conference, and pleaded that the United Nations should learn from its experience. At the same meeting the Australian delegate put forward a resolution based on the assumption that the United States and Soviet resolutions were complementary. It advocates the setting up of a Disarmament Commission, and calls for reports from the Disarmament Commission, the Atomic Energy Commission and from the Military Staff Committee, all by the 30th April, 1947. Meanwhile the United States delegation continues to be highly suspicious of Russia's motives.

Economic and Social Council

Human Rights Commission

The Commission on Human Rights meets in New York on the 28th January. Mr. Charles Dukes is U.K. representative on the Commission and it is thought probable that Mrs. Roosevelt will be elected Chairman.

2. Fundamental human rights and freedoms, which are mentioned eight times in the Charter, have not yet been defined internationally, and for this reason the first duty of the Commission will be to draw up what is commonly called an "International Bill of Rights." In this connection it will be recalled that an alleged violation of fundamental human rights in the complaint of the Indian Government about the treatment of Indians in South Africa provoked the Assembly to act as though Article 2 (7) of the Charter (limits of domestic jurisdiction) lost its validity when it was claimed that human rights were being violated.

3. Among fundamental freedoms must be counted freedom of information, for upon this freedom depend many others. The U.K. representative will give full weight to this point when presenting his views to the Commission and will press for the early establishment of a Sub-Commission on Freedom of Information. If this Sub-Commission is established it will immediately be faced with problems arising from the decision of the Assembly on the 9th December that a World Conference on Freedom of Information and the Press should be called in the course of 1947.

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L 695/6/405

Weekly Political Intelligence Summary
No. 378

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
29TH JANUARY, 1947

Copy No. 143

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EUROPE

GERMANY

While meetings of the Foreign Ministers' Deputies for Germany since the 14th January have been devoted mainly to questions of procedure, certain points of substance have been raised which may have important repercussions on the later negotiations and will arouse considerable German interest. On the 21st January Mr. Murphy, although not claiming to represent the official view of the United States Government, suggested that an international statute might be imposed on the German people or referred to them *ad referendum*. It might alternatively be accepted by leaders of the democratic political parties or by whatever "Provisional Government" was approved by the occupying Powers. He referred to the collapse of the Government after 1918 by virtue of the odium incurred through signing the peace treaty and feared the recurrence of a similar state of affairs. This is, of course, the argument already put forward in "*Die Welt*" as discussed in *Summary* No. 375. Sir William Strang at this stage has merely commented that if a peace treaty were very long delayed it might be convenient for the Four Powers to impose unilaterally certain provisions as a preliminary measure. The Australian delegate, Col. Hodgson, speaking on the 24th January, said that Germany was at present unfit for self-government. The terms of a peace treaty should, therefore, be incorporated in an interim (not final) agreement to be drawn up by all the effective belligerents (not merely by the occupying Powers). This would be an extension of the tri-partite Potsdam Agreement and should point the way to a central German administration, define the German Government contemplated by the Allies and set forth the principles on which frontiers were to be fixed.

Although it is too early to assess accurately German reactions to proposals for a "statute of peace" they would seem in general to be unfavourable. If there is a Treaty, it is thought that a central Government or German representatives specially chosen for the purpose may defend the country's interest in negotia-

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tion. This possibility would appear to be regarded as outweighing the advantages of shifting responsibility for signing a treaty. The SED in particular is encouraging the idea of collective responsibility. Pieck stated on the 14th January: "I desire that the anti-fascist democratic parties and the trades unions of the whole of Germany shall at joint deliberations arrive at an understanding on how they intend to defend the interests of the German people if they are summoned to the Moscow Conference." Schwerin Radio on the 18th January described the idea of an imposed peace as "a real shock." Kaiser, on behalf of the CDU, offered the compromise suggestion that as the treaty was likely to be drafted without German participation it could only be ratified by a general plebiscite. The SPD and LDP remain more guarded, although the former's paper "*Telegraf*" supported Mr. Murphy's idea for the not altogether laudable reason that, whereas a treaty was intended to be valid for a long time, a statute left considerable scope for later modifications. It is unlikely, however, that Germany will welcome proposals that this statute should be merely an extension of the Potsdam Agreement, thus providing no end to the uncertainty about Germany's future; the consensus of German opinion is probably given by "*Der Morgen*" (Liberal Democrat) which describes the Australian proposition as an attempt to by-pass the real difficulties which would perpetuate Germany's chaos. At the same time Germans watch warily and anxiously as the nations put forward divergent views on the future structure and economy of Germany and see so far Russia, with Poland and probably Czechoslovakia, supporting a Unitary State; Great Britain, the United States and South Africa advocating a form of federalism; Belgium and the Netherlands leaning more towards a confederation as championed by France

The views of the Australian Government were presented to the special Deputies for Germany by Colonel Hodgson on 24th January. He claimed for Australia the right of full consultation and association at every step of the peace-making process. As to the substance of the German settlement, he advocated a "Peace Statute" to be imposed upon Germany, in preference to a Peace Treaty to be signed with a German Government. With regard to frontiers Australia adhered to the view which she had expressed in Paris, that decisions should be based on the Atlantic Charter and on the Charter of the United Nations, though, in dealing with the settlement of Germany, there might be cases where claims made on grounds of security should be regarded as of paramount importance, and account should be taken of the effect of any change on the economy of Europe as a whole. On the following day the South African Government similarly claimed a much larger share in the peace-making process than had been accorded to them in the case of the satellite peace treaties. On German frontiers the South African Government considered that it was not in Poland's interest to move the German eastern frontier to the Oder. South Africa would object to the incorporation of the Saar into Metropolitan France, but not to an economic and customs union.

The view that the speed-up of dismantling in the Soviet zone during October and November was undertaken partly to remove any skeletons in the cupboard, such as experimental stations and war plants, from the prying eyes of inspectors of an Allied disarmament team, was confirmed on the 21st January in the Coordinating Committee. During an exchange between General Kurochkin and General Clay the latter stated that the present committees of inspection were really useless since they investigated only those plants indicated by the Zone Commanders. He then renewed the proposal—frequently rejected in the past by the Russians—for a general investigation covering all aspects of disarmament throughout Germany. Rather to everyone's surprise General Kurochkin accepted without hesitation, and the terms of reference for the investigating body are now being prepared.

A long, prepared diatribe against the British and U.S. delegates in the Control Council was delivered by Marshal Sokolowsky on the 20th January when he accused them of attempting to sabotage the report for the Foreign Ministers by their refusal to give information on reparations and on denazification. This attempt at shifting the blame from Russian shoulders was immediately repulsed by the British delegate and with particular firmness by the American delegate; it was made plain to the Russians that the Western Delegates had nothing to hide, that any responsibility for a breakdown lay not with them but with the Russians and that the Western Delegates would produce no more but no less information than anyone else. Further American firmness was shown by General Clay the following day when he said that until the U.S.S.R. gave the necessary information about their zone he did not intend to change the economic status of the U.S. zone—implying that

dismantling will not be continued for the moment. Some confirmation that the Soviet plan for increased production does not apply solely to industries in the "unrestricted" category (see last week's *Summary*) is given in a statement by the Socialist Unity paper "*Berliner Zeitung*" of the 17th January. This mentions for example that the capacity of the heavy engineering industry would rise from R.M. 74,700,000 to R.M. 260,700,000 and that of machine tools from R.M. 40,000,000 to R.M. 88,800,000.

Considerable publicity is likely to be given to a recently published report by an "International Committee for the study of European questions." It consists largely of reports selected from the press of recent months to convey the warning that the Nazi Party is reorganising underground for a return to power, that there are large amounts of German assets still hidden abroad and that, except for a small minority of Germans, the people "have on present showing in no way entered the path of democracy." While the last statement and the criticism of denazification, particularly in the South German States, is unlikely to be seriously disputed, the report as a whole gives a misleading impression. To impress readers it is represented as a discovery of hidden dangers against which the Occupying Powers seem to be taking no measures. The part attributed to underground organisations is grossly exaggerated. Small organisations do exist and their members are constantly being rounded up, but at present their influence as organised units in encouraging sabotage, hoarding or rumours is insignificant; hoarders and rumour-mongers are found in all classes of the population—not necessarily Nazis—and they need little encouragement from underground sources. Nor is an organised underground needed to account for the growth of self-pity, nationalism and xenophobia among the whole German population, as exploited openly by present politicians some of whom are strongly anti-Nazi. It is a pity that this real danger, of incalculable but serious extent, should be obscured by stories of a Nazi underground.

The now current belief in German circles that Great Britain is receiving huge sums from an uncalculated amount of reparation in the form of patents, foreign assets and dismantled factories was openly voiced in Hamburg City Assembly on the 15th January. It was unanimously decided to recommend the setting up of an Anglo-German Commission to determine the value of all reparation deliveries from the Hamburg area. Radio Berlin of the 16th January seized on this account and embellished the story with its own additions. These were that the entire gold reserve, the whole merchant fleet, and many German patents and inventions had been shared between Great Britain and the U.S.A. Many factories had been shipped to Britain. The value of these large assets had not been estimated or credited to the reparation account. U.S. experts had assessed the value to Great Britain and the United States at well over 10 milliard dollars. This broadcast abounds in untruths. Germany's gold reserve is shared among the nations deprived of their gold by Germany. Russia, who lost little if any, has renounced her claim. The merchant fleet is shared among the Allies according to their losses and Russia has received a handsome proportion. Very few reparation deliveries have so far been made to either Great Britain or the United States, certainly nothing like the value quoted. But, however devoid of truth, such reports are gaining ground, particularly in the British zone.

(See also under "France," "Low Countries," and "Scandinavia".)

AUSTRIA

On the 22nd and 23rd January the special Deputies for Austria heard the Yugoslav and Polish representatives. The major part of Yugoslavia's case was devoted to the justification, in familiar terms, of Yugoslavia's territorial claims against Austria. Attention was drawn in particular to Austria's alleged record of crime both before and during the war, and the suffering of the Slovenes in Austria. Demands were also made for reparation and the effective disarmament and denazification of Austria. When Dr. Vilfan, the Yugoslav representative, had presented his case, the Deputies did not discuss the Yugoslav case, except that Lord Hood briefly reminded Dr. Vilfan that the 1920 plebiscite in the contested regions had been conducted under international supervision after the Yugoslavs had been in occupation of part of the area for eighteen months. Mr. Gusev touched briefly on the problem of displaced persons in Austria, and the discussion was adjourned. The Austrian Chancellor and Foreign Minister are expected to appear before the Deputies on the 30th January.

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The Yugoslav claims have been the chief topic in the Austrian press during the week, and the anxiety that they have caused is reflected in the demonstrations of loyalty and resolutions passed in Villach, Klagenfurt, and many of the districts affected. The attitude of the Communists has aroused much criticism. At a meeting of the Communist Central Committee, Fuernberg, the Secretary-General, said that while the Yugoslav claims "were unacceptable to a democratic Austria," his Party demanded that the Government should at once ensure "complete equality to the Carinthian Slovenes," and the Government were criticised for failing to establish "friendly or at least neighbourly relations with Yugoslavia." The official *Wiener Zeitung* on the 24th, while attacking the territorial claims, called the Yugoslav reparation claims "a cruel joke."

The Polish representative, in his statement to the Deputies, also stressed Austria's responsibility in the war and claimed, among other things, that Austria should be responsible for the expenses of Polish citizens repatriated from Austria.

The Deputies agreed in principle to the clause in the treaty recognising the re-establishment of Austria as a Sovereign and independent State. The question of the Powers to be named in the Preamble as signatories to the treaty was referred to the Foreign Ministers for decision.

The Australian and South African representatives have also been heard, claiming their right to be brought into full consultation at all stages. The Australian delegation urged the adoption of clauses providing for treaty revision, fact-finding commissions for frontiers, displaced persons, and German assets, which they had put forward at the Paris Conference. After these hearings the Deputies discussed the idea of a Four-Power Guarantee for Austria. The French delegate wished the Four Powers to bind themselves to take action to resist any threat to Austria's independence or territorial integrity, while General Clark has proposed that in the event of such a threat the Four Powers will consult with one another and with the appropriate organs of the United Nations with regard to appropriate joint action. Mr. Gusev disapproved of the French proposal, on the ground that it could not properly be regarded as a "regional agreement" within the meaning of Articles 51–53 of the U.N. Charter, since after the conclusion of the Treaty the Four Powers would not in any sense be neighbours of Austria. The view expressed by the U.K. Representative is that the absence of any Austrian armed forces creates a special problem, and there might be a case for a special Four-Power guarantee for a limited period until Austria could defend her own frontiers. H.M.G. are opposed to a long-term Four Power guarantee, as they consider that it would be best not to take any step implying lack of confidence in the United Nations. They would not object however to including an article in the Austrian treaty stating that an *Anschluss* between Germany and Austria was forbidden, although any special measures towards that end would probably best figure in the German treaty.

In addition to the Austrian Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister, the Austrian Delegation includes representatives chosen by the three parties—Ing. Schumy, a former Vice-Chancellor and Minister of the Interior, for the People's Party; Dr. Koref, Mayor of Linz and a member of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party; and Ernst Fischer, previously Minister of Education in the Renner Government and one of the ablest of the Communists. This all-party representation is designed to obviate any criticism in the future that decisions reached on the treaty were the responsibility of one Party alone. The Provisional Governor of Carinthia and his deputy are also in the delegation, giving added emphasis to the frontier question.

At the Allied Council meeting in Vienna on the 24th January the atmosphere, cordial at recent meetings, showed a marked deterioration, and there was an almost total lack of agreement. General Kurasov reverted to the Soviet policy of obstructing the passage of Austrian legislation and picking holes in the Control Agreement. The Austrian request for supplementary rations for miners and forestry workers was rejected. The Council failed to agree on the long-standing question of the armament and strength of the Austrian police force, although the Chancellor had drawn attention to the deterioration of public safety and the need for re-equipment of the police.

In the House of Lords on the 28th January Lord Schuster (until lately head of the Legal Division of the British Element of the Allied Commission in Vienna), raised the question of H.M.G.'s policy towards Austria. He deplored the decision on the South Tyrol (in which he was supported by other noble Lords), and its disastrous effect on the Austrian people. He spoke on the necessity for a Minister, without departmental responsibilities, who would occupy the position between the Commission and H.M.G. which Mr. MacMillan occupied in Italy. Lord Schuster also criticised the extreme severity of the Denazification Law, as amended by the Allies (although he had taken the main part in negotiations on the British side). Lord Schuster expressed the unanimous condemnation of the House of the Yugoslav claims on Austrian territory, which Lord Pakenham, for the Government, roundly rejected as "not worth the paper they are written on."

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Magyar-Slovak problem was brought once more to the notice of the House of Commons on the 22nd January, when Mr. F. Willey asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to make a statement on the "mass deportations of Hungarian-speaking people from the frontier districts of Slovakia." In his reply, Mr. Bevin pointed out that the compulsory transfer of labour was based on the Czechoslovak Mobilisation of Labour Decree of 1945, and that, according to the official figures, the number of Magyars affected amounted to less than 10 per cent. of the total number of Slovaks involved. (The Czechoslovak Census of 1930 put the Magyar minority at 17 per cent. of the total population of Slovakia.) Over a million Czechs had been subject to direction, apart from the Slovaks. H.M. Government have made no representations on the subject.

On January 20th the Czechoslovak Representative in Budapest, General Dastich, made another approach to the Hungarian Foreign Minister in an effort to reopen discussions on the carrying out of the February 1946 Agreement on population exchange. M. Gyöngyösi replied that, as a preliminary condition to resuming the talks, his Government still insisted upon the cancellation of the labour regulations in so far as they applied to the Magyar minority. He offered, however, to place before his Government the Czechoslovak proposal that their cancellation should be made contingent upon discussions having first produced concrete results. In an interview later in the week with Mr. Helm, Head of the British Political Mission in Hungary, M. Gyöngyösi disclosed that he had subsequently arranged to meet Dr. Clementis at Bratislava on the 26th January for a private discussion of the whole problem. The Hungarian Government, he said, would warmly welcome the suggestion that, if they found it necessary, they should apply to the Great Powers for assistance in finding a solution to the question. He considered it unlikely, however, that the Governments of Czechoslovakia or of the U.S.S.R., would consider such a proposal very favourably.

A Czechoslovak-Egyptian Trade Agreement has been concluded in Cairo. This provides Czechoslovakia with a credit of about £1 million for one year at 3 per cent., to purchase Egyptian cotton. Dr. Ripka, in announcing the conclusion of these negotiations, referred also to the "satisfactory" supplies of cotton reaching Czechoslovakia from the Soviet Union. Without these, he claimed, the cotton factories would have been unable to carry on in the early days after the liberation, and the Soviet Union had thus saved the textile industries from serious loss and deterioration.

The November figures for foreign trade show a further overall increase, but the favourable trade balance has shown a slight decline. Switzerland still takes first place in Czechoslovak trade, followed by the Soviet Union and Sweden. The production of iron and steel last November was the highest since the liberation—and 100 per cent. higher than November 1945. Brown coal production has reached a figure in excess of the 1937 average, although supplies of ordinary coal and coke are still lagging behind the pre-war figures. Dr. Ripka forecast that the export target set up under the Two Year Plan was within sight, and that the prospect for Czechoslovak trade was favourable. Home requirements, however, would have to be reduced in order to fulfil the export programme. (For Czechoslovak-Swiss negotiations on compensation of nationalised property, see under "Switzerland.")

Following the announcement that Mr. Henry Wallace is to visit the United Kingdom on a short lecture tour, it is reported that M. Kopecký, the Czechoslovak Minister of Information, has invited Mr. Wallace to pay an official visit to Prague in the near future.

POLAND

The official results of the elections have not yet been published. Unofficial figures have been broadcast from Warsaw as follows:—

		%
Entitled to vote	12,709,056	...
Valid votes given	11,244,873	89·0
Votes for the Government *Bloc*	9,003,682	80·1
Votes for the Polish Peasant Party	1,154,847	10·3
Votes for the Work Party ...	530,979	4·7
Votes for the Polish Peasant Party—New Liberation ...	397,754	3·5
Others	157,611	1·4

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An unofficial forecast of the balance of parties has also been broadcast, viz. :—

Communists (PPR)	119
Socialists	119
"Peasant" Party	107
Democrats	38
Total *Bloc* parties	383
Polish Peasant Party (M. Mikolajczyk's)	27
"Work" Party	17
Polish Peasant Party—New Liberation	13
Others	4
Total	444

Thus the Communists and the "Lublin" Peasant Party together have 226 members, or just over half the Assembly, which renders them independent, at a pinch, of Socialist support.

The members elected include M. Mikolajczyk (in Warsaw) and M. Zulawski (in Cracow).

It is reported that at a Polish Peasant Party Committee meeting last week there was some opposition to M. Mikolajczyk, in which at least one of his two party colleagues in the Cabinet took part; that M. Mikolajczyk himself had contemplated a "boycott" of the Assembly; but that no decision was taken. A meeting of the general council of the party will probably be held before the 4th February, when the Assembly is expected to hold its opening session.

A Warsaw message has stated that it is proposed that the Security Police should now be disbanded, having done its work in liquidating the bandits. This announcement sounds almost too good to be true.

SOVIET UNION

Generalissimo Stalin's reply to Mr. Bevin's message of the 18th January throws light on the attitude of the Soviet Government to an extension of the Anglo-Soviet Alliance and in the considerations underlying *Pravda's* recent (and still unwithdrawn) attacks. As the Soviet Government had made no response to the previous British suggestions for an extension of the Anglo-Soviet Treaty, the dissatisfaction apparently felt in the Kremlin with its present scope and form was not known until Stalin mentioned the subject to the Chief of the Imperial General Staff during the latter's conversation with him. Marshal Stalin has now stated that the Foreign Secretary and himself "share the same viewpoint with regard to the Anglo-Soviet Treaty" but that the Soviet Government are not ready to extend the Alliance unless it is modified and freed from "reservations" which "weaken the significance of the Treaty in the post-war period." Pending clearer definition of these reservations in Moscow, they may be assumed to refer to Articles III and IV of the Anglo-Soviet Treaty. None of the parallel Soviet Treaties with European Powers (France, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia) contain similar clauses providing for the replacement of the Treaties by arrangements concluded within the framework of the United Nations Organisation. The present Soviet moves in regard to the Anglo-Soviet Treaty may therefore be aimed at re-drafting in this sense.

A vigorous campaign is in progress in the Soviet press against the conduct of affairs in Western Germany, presumably designed to prepare the ground for the Four Power Conference on Germany in March. *New Times* has returned to the familiar charges and added new ones to the effect that the Western Powers are failing to deliver goods from their zones as reparations to the U.S.S.R. while systematically extracting products for the benefit of their own countries. The most disquieting move has been the publication by *Tass* of Marshal Sokolovsky's critical statement made at the last meeting of the Control Council. Such unilateral disclosure of a subject still under discussion is quite contrary to the precedents hitherto observed in the Control Council.

The long discourse of M. Alexandrov, Chief of the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, on the anniversary of Lenin's death, in the main reiterated the current lines of Party propaganda, affirming the solidarity of the country as a whole with the Party. He described the leading *intelligentsia* of the U.S.S.R. as having given "fervent support" to the recent measures for suppressing "an impossible liberal attitude towards views alien to Bolshevism" and anticipated a renaissance in culture and the arts as a result of these measures. The speech was mainly interesting for its emphasis on the difficulties confronting the U.S.S.R.; it contained an admission of the acute food problem facing the Soviet authorities. In the sphere of foreign affairs Alexandrov once more raked up the old charge of delay in launching the Second Front, to which he ascribed much of the devastation from which the U.S.S.R. had suffered in the course of the war, and then went on to deprecate the value of the Second Front in the final stages of the war. He also

insisted on the need for Bolshevik vigilance, in view of the continuing strength of the "war-mongers" such as Mr. Churchill and his friends in Britain and the U.S.A. He comforted his hearers, however, with the reflection that world reaction was overestimating its strength, whereas the working class of the *bourgeois* countries had still not awakened to a full realisation of its rights and of its power in the struggle for peace.

Russkie Novosti, the pro-Soviet Paris weekly, has published (10th January) an account of the experiences of the first batch of repatriates who left Marseilles for the U.S.S.R. as newly fledged Soviet citizens on the 26th November. They were met at Odessa by V.P. Pronin, Minister of Labour Reserves of the U.S.S.R., who had come down from Moscow for the occasion. The Ukrainians and White Russians among the repatriates were sent to work in the Donbass. All the Russians were said to have been given work according to their qualifications, *e.g.* one was working in an electric power station near Kazan and another in the timber industry at Vorovsk, while another was put in charge of a buffet on a Volga steamer. As this information is derived from the repatriates' letters home, it must be borne in mind that the writers may have had one eye on the censorship.

Khrushchev, Chairman of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers, in an article in connection with the forthcoming elections admitted the serious effects of the drought in the Ukraine and also once more alluded to the activities of the Ukrainian nationalists, which are evidently still proving a thorn in the Soviet flesh. Reports have been received of forays by U.P.A., the Ukrainian nationalist guerilla army, in the eastern as well as western Ukraine, and printed manifestos have been seen openly displayed on factory walls grumbling at conditions.

The visit of the delegation from the Soviet Ukraine to Canada last August is now being returned. A party of Canadian Ukrainians, including the editors of the two main left wing Ukrainian newspapers in Canada, have just reached Lvov. It has not been stated how far their travels are likely to range.

Admiral Rodionov, Soviet Ambassador to Greece—who has been in Moscow since the end of August and had said, on leaving Athens, that he was not sure whether he would go back to Greece—has just applied for a visa to return to his post. His move coincides with the arrival in Athens of the Soviet delegation to the United Nations Commission investigating the situation on the Greek frontiers. The delegation is headed by M. Lavrishchev, head of the Balkan Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (See also under "France" and the "Middle East.")

It has been announced that the former East Prussian town of Tilsit, now in the Kaliningrad Province of the R.S.F.S.R. has been re-named Sovietsk. The same Soviet report states that the bridges over the Niemen which will link Kaliningrad Province with the Lithuanian S.S.R. are being repaired. Sovietsk is now the centre of a Soviet constituency and, in consonance with the new order, a woman agricultural worker has been registered as its candidate for the forthcoming elections to the Supreme Council of the R.S.F.S.R.

SCANDINAVIA

Sweden

The Swedish Royal Family and the people of Sweden have been plunged into deep mourning by the sudden death in an air accident of Prince Gustaf Adolf, the eldest son of Crown Prince Gustaf Adolf. The Prince was heir-apparent after his father and by his death the succession in the direct line will rest solely on his infant son, Prince Carl Gustaf, as the Swedish succession is governed by the Salic Law. Of the three brothers of Prince Gustaf Adolf only one, Prince Bertil, has retained his Royal status, the other two having married commoners and thus having forfeited their rights to the succession. The Crown Prince himself has one brother, Prince Vilhelm, whose only son Prince Lennart, has likewise married a commoner.

Denmark

M. Rasmussen, the Danish Foreign Minister, at a semi-official function, has referred to the Danish statement on the future of Germany which will be handed to the Foreign Ministers' Deputies in London. He said that, while the statement was still under consideration, it was natural that it would contain a request for Germany's complete disarmament, and equal political and cultural rights for non-German national groups within the country with the rest of the population; the opening of the Kiel Canal to ships of all nations; the re-establishment of normal economic relations between Germany and her neighbours, and equal right of access to Germany for all States. He also expressed the hope that the removal of German refugees from Denmark would not be indefinitely postponed.

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Speaking in Copenhagen on the 19th January, M. Hedtoft, Chairman of the Social Democratic Party, has outlined his party's attitude to the South Schleswig question in a refreshingly vigorous speech. A referendum about the national status of South Schleswig would be absurd. If Denmark was not prepared to abide by the results of a referendum it was not right to undertake it, and the Social Democrats were certainly not prepared to take the consequences of any such step. They would not lend a hand to the formulation of a policy which directly or indirectly meant a revival of a kind of Eider policy, and which might create a *bloc* of 200,000 Danes against 300,000 Germans in a united Schleswig. They would oppose such an adventurous policy. While they would secure for the Danish minority its rights of freedom, they declined to break with those principles of justice which had always been the foundation for the frontier policy of democratic Denmark.

Finland

Plans for the conversion of the British diplomatic courier service to Finland into a commercial air line operated by British European Airways are now well advanced (see *Summary* No. 375), and formal proposals to this effect have been made to the Finnish Government. These proposals included the granting of full reciprocal rights to the Finns; a fact gratefully acknowledged by the Finnish Foreign Minister. At first M. Enckell had stated that the permission of the Soviet authorities on the Control Commission would have to be obtained, but later he agreed to the expedient of merely acquainting the Russians with the contemplated change. In the meantime the British Element of the Control Commission have informed their Soviet opposite numbers of the proposals and have stated that they favour the conversion.

As a result of the Armistice Agreement Finnish aviation became subject to the control of the Soviets, acting through the Allied Control Commission, and although a limited amount of traffic, was allowed to continue after the signing of the Armistice, the service between Finland and Sweden was suspended early in March 1945 (see *Summary* No. 283). At the same time internal air traffic was brought to a standstill. The ban on internal flying was lifted in August of the same year, but Finland remained without any external air communications until the inauguration, in November 1946 of the Soviet-Swedish link service between Stockholm and Moscow (see *Summary* No. 370 under "Sweden").

Since the New Year Helsinki airport at Malmi has been under Finnish control, and it would therefore be difficult for the Russians, assuming that they so wished, directly to interfere with the arrival and departure of British commercial planes. The possibility of the aircraft being detained by the Finnish State Police, acting on direct instructions from the Russians, should, nevertheless, not be overlooked.

The Import and Export Bank of New York has granted Finland a long-term credit of 20 million dollars to facilitate Finnish purchases of American machinery needed for the rehabilitation of the Finnish timber and paper industries. Repayment will begin in 1954 and is to be completed before the end of 1958. At the same time two short-term loans, totalling 12 million dollars, were also granted and will be spent on essential food imports and cotton. They are to be repaid by the end of the current year.

THE LOW COUNTRIES

Belgium

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Briefly, the Memorandum on policy seeks the establishment in Germany of a "federal political *régime*"; economic unity with general industrial control; general control of "disarmament"; military occupation of the Rhineland; and "special" international control of the Ruhr. The political structure of Germany, says the Memorandum, was in process of being reconstituted on the foundation of "regional particularism" which, despite the "considerable degree of unity attained by Germany in recent years" had "preserved its roots in historical traditions and ethnical, religious and cultural differences." "A dozen States" were now being formed in Germany; and the Belgian Government believed that those States (whose frontiers would be "fixed rationally") ought to be given the "attributes of sovereignty." A "federal pact," it is suggested, might be concluded amongst them, for the purpose of "delegating to a central power" whatever authority is "strictly" necessary to ensure economic unity. That economic unity—"indispensable" to the solution of German domestic and foreign economic problems—would be the only responsibility of the "central power." Three guarantees are suggested as a means of preventing the recrudescence of German political and economic hegemony. First, with regard to general economic control, the Memorandum fully endorses the scheme presented by the U.S. Secretary of State on the 29th April, 1946, which provides for the close and effective supervision of German economy against the possibility of its being once more transformed into war potential. Secondly, "systems of particular control" should be instituted within the limits of the "general *régime* imposed on Germany"; and, in recommending the indefinite military occupation of the Rhineland after the end of the general occupation of Germany and the special control of the Ruhr, the Memorandum suggests that this should be effected by Belgium, France, the U.K., Luxembourg and the Netherlands jointly. Thirdly, it is urged that it should be made "impossible" for Germany "to use her commercial policy for encouraging the creation of a war economy" by enforcing her observance of "strict [unspecified] rules." "A certain degree of prosperity would be restored to her only if she remained inoffensive."

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C266907

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REPEAT
REPETER

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FRANCE

M. Ramadier's Government, formed on the 22nd January, is the first real Government of the Fourth Republic, established in accordance with the new constitutional procedure. M. Ramadier himself was a somewhat unexpected choice for the Premiership, but during the last week he has shown considerable ability in forming his team of Ministers. He is a veteran Socialist, 58 years old, with little pre-war ministerial experience. He broke away from the party with M. Paul-Boncour in 1933 but rejoined it in 1944. He was Minister of Food from November 1944 to May 1945.

The new Government is as follows :—

Prime Minister : M. Paul Ramadier (Socialist).
Deputy Prime Ministers : M. Maurice Thorez (Communist) and M. P.-H. Teitgen (M.R.P.).
Minister of State concerned with Planning : M. Félix Gouin (Socialist).
Ministers of State : M. Yvon Delbos (Rassemblement des Gauches—R.D.G.) and Dr. Marcel Roclore (Independent Republican).
Minister of the Interior : M. Edouard Depreux (Socialist).
Minister of National Economy : M. André Philip (Socialist).
Minister of Production : M. Robert Lacoste (Socialist).
Minister of Public Works : M. Jules Moch (Socialist).
Minister of Agriculture : M. Tanguy-Prigent (Socialist).
Minister of Overseas France : M. Marius Moutet (Socialist).
Minister of Education : M. Naegelen (Socialist).
Minister of National Defence : M. François Billoux (Communist).
Minister of Labour : M. Ambroise Croizat (Communist).
Minister of Reconstruction : M. Charles Tillon (Communist).
Minister of Public Health and Population : M. Georges Marrane (Communist).
Minister of Foreign Affairs : M. Georges Bidault (M.R.P.).
Minister of Finance : M. Robert Schuman (M.R.P.).
Minister of War : M. Paul Coste-Floret (M.R.P.).
Minister of Commerce : M. Jean Letourneau (M.R.P.).
Minister of Justice : M. André Marie (R.D.G.).
Minister of Air : M. André Maroselli (R.D.G.).
Minister of Ex-Servicemen : M. François Mitterand (R.D.G.).
Minister of Youth, Fine Arts and Letters : M. Pierre Bourdan (R.D.G.).
Minister of Navy : M. Louis Jacquinot (Independent Republican).

This unwieldy-looking structure is topped by five Ministers of State who will, however, act as an inner Cabinet. The predominance of the Socialists who hold 9 out of the 26 Ministries is due to the responsibility that they accept in continuing the policy of M. Blum's Government. Their Ministers hold the same posts as they held in the last Government. M. Bidault returns to the Quai d'Orsay, and M. Jacquinot to the post he held so long and successfully before and after the liberation. The Communists were remarkably modest in their demands, since they were conscious of the importance of being in the Government at the time of the Moscow talks. They accepted National Defence in spite of the fact that this post has been shorn of most of its powers, since they feel that their right to hold a key ministry has now been conceded. The issue of the Communists having the portfolio of National Defence was in fact used as a pretext by the M.R.P., which only agreed to join the Government after long discussion and on condition that M. Ramadier adhered strictly to his declared programme. Failure to reach agreement on the distribution of the Under-Secretaryships of State has resulted in a decision not to appoint to these posts. Similarly, the unwillingness of all parties to accept responsibility for the Ministry of Food has decided M. Ramadier to set up a High Commissariat for Distribution and to require that decrees concerning food should be signed by all members of the inner Cabinet.

The need for ministerial solidarity was vigorously emphasised by M. Ramadier in his declaration of policy given to the Assembly on the 21st January. At this session a welcome dignity was introduced into the proceedings, first by the reading of a message from the new President of the Republic; then by the speedy election of M. Herriot as President of the Assembly by 429 out of 558 votes (he thus returns to the post he held in the Chamber of Deputies before the war); and finally by M. Ramadier's measured words. He described his policy in general terms as the continuation of the work of the previous

Government and devoted considerable time to the situation in Indo-China where, he said, France's conciliatory policy had been answered with violence. Order must now be restored as the first priority, but as soon as Annamite representatives could be found with whom it was possible to negotiate, France would not refuse to grant Viet-Nam independence within the French Union.

Mr. Attlee stated in the House of Commons on the 23rd January, in reply to a question, that H.M.G. were anxious to enter into negotiations for a Treaty of Alliance as soon as the new French Government were ready to do so. Mr. Duff Cooper called on M. Bidault on the 25th January and told him that it was hoped to have a draft ready shortly and that it was proposed to complete the negotiations in London. M. Bidault agreed. He said that while he himself might have preferred to postpone the Treaty until after the Moscow Conference, he was quite prepared to pursue negotiations forthwith in the spirit of the joint communiqué of the 16th January (see last week's *Summary*). He said that the matter would be kept entirely separate from the question of the future of Germany, on which he held strong views. It is the intention of H.M.G. to model the Treaty on the Anglo-Soviet and Franco-Soviet pacts rather than to establish on paper any wider understanding between France and the U.K. Such closer understanding should be developed by direct and less public methods, such as those already adopted in the economic and colonial field and by the frequent contacts between Service authorities. The new development in Anglo-Soviet relations (see under "Soviet Union") may, however, have repercussions on this matter. The French are well pleased with the official reaffirmation of the Anglo-Soviet Treaty since it reassures them as to the reception which the forthcoming Anglo-French Treaty should have in Moscow.

The Anglo-French Economic Committee met in Paris from the 18th–20th January and discussed the Monnet Plan.

A French memorandum on the future constitution of Germany was presented to the Governments of the U.K., U.S. and U.S.S.R. on the 21st January. It accepts the principle of German economic unity but advocates the political division of Germany into a number of loosely-federated States. The federal Government would control only finance, food supply, communications, economics, agriculture and foreign affairs, and the federal assembly would not be elected by the whole people but composed of delegates appointed by the States. The federal president would be elected by the Assembly for one year only. The Governments of the States would have all residuary powers and would be able to accredit ambassadors to foreign Powers. This scheme shows the French anxiety to avoid any strong central Government in Germany, and the fear that any federal assembly directly elected by all Germans would be used for the airing of nationalist aspirations.

M. Blum's Government had decided to present the *Médaille Militaire*, the highest French military honour, to Mr. Churchill, Mr. Stalin, President Roosevelt (posthumously) and General de Gaulle. De Gaulle, however, wrote to M. Blum declining this honour on the ground that from 1940 to 1945 he acted as both head of the State and head of the Government and that it would therefore be unsuitable for him to receive a decoration.

(See also under "Far East.")

SWITZERLAND

The Old Age Insurance measures which passed both Houses of the Federal Assembly last December have met with a good deal of criticism, though it is emphasised that it is not the principle itself which is questioned. Objections have been raised on the ground that the measures were presented in general terms without sufficient detail or discussion of any alternative proposals and that they therefore passed through the two Chambers almost without modification or amendment; that the plan appeared to be highly complex in its administration; and, finally, that it would involve heavy expense and probably an increase in cantonal taxation. In view of the prevailing doubt whether the people as a whole fully understand all the implications of the new law a committee has been formed with the object of collecting the 30,000 signatures required to demand a referendum and so to ascertain the views of the nation as a whole.

On the 11th January the Federal Council published a 326-page report on the activities of the Swiss Press before and during the period 1939–45 and the control and censorship imposed in the war years. Tracing the difficulties encountered in

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relation to Germany and the other belligerents, the report reveals that between 1929 and 1945 the German Legation made no less than 169 protests against the Swiss Press, although the newspapers of Nazi Germany had themselves launched a "systematic campaign" and "a veritable Press war" against the Swiss, who were repeatedly warned that if they ever suffered invasion, they could lay the blame at the doors of their journalists. Difficulties arose also with Fascist Italy, but they were never of the same serious nature as those with Germany.

A Swiss Press report states that negotiations which took place in Prague from the 9th to the 18th January have resulted in the signing of an agreement (still to be ratified) on the subject of Swiss interests affected by the Czech nationalisation measures. It is stated that the discussions were conducted in a spirit of mutual understanding and it was agreed that Swiss property which had already been placed under national administration or confiscated would be restored to its former owners or compensation paid where this was not possible.

A similar Swiss delegation, including members of food, textile, chemical and electricity industries, has visited Poland for discussions on problems arising out of the nationalization of Swiss interests in Poland.

The Bulgarian-Swiss agreement (see *Summaries* Nos. 371 and 372) providing for the exchange of goods to the value of 10 million Swiss francs, has been approved by the Bulgarian Authorities. Under the agreement Bulgaria will supply tobacco, timber, grapes and other fruit, against Swiss deliveries of electrical machinery and material.

A trade agreement signed on the 21st January between Switzerland and Argentina fixed the quantity of cereals to be bought by Switzerland between 1947 and 1951 at an annual minimum of 100,000 tons and a maximum of 250,000 tons of wheat; 120,000 tons of maize for 1947 and 100,000 tons for the following years till 1951; the quantities of oats, rye and barley to be purchased were also decided. A special clause stipulates that if Switzerland should find other sources for cereals of equal quality, but at a lower price, she may notify the Argentine Institute for Export Control, which will decide whether the same conditions can be arranged; if not, Switzerland may buy from the other country. Under the new agreement Switzerland will also purchase leather, edible oils, linseed oil, oilcake, meat, fish and flour. Argentina will take machinery of all kinds, electrical equipment and chemical and pharmaceutical products. Special machinery for watch manufacture is expressly excluded from the Swiss export list.

SPAIN

On the surface Franco Spain has settled down again after the recent excitements, and the Generalissimo can go ahead with his programme of *evolución*. The bread ration (for third class cards) was increased at the beginning of the year to 350 grammes *per diem* (formerly 250) and is said to have improved in quality with the elimination of the maize content. There is also to be a good distribution of olive oil, which has been very scarce for some weeks. In other respects, the economic situation continues to deteriorate and the cost of living is still tending to rise. There is a general disposition to accept the black market régime as normal, and the Government are evidently counting on the help provided by the Argentine trade and credits agreement being sufficient to overcome the economic malaise which two or three months ago looked as if it might be fatal.

The press, for lack of anything better, has gone nap on the arrival of Señor Radio, the new Argentine Ambassador, coinciding with the Resolution of the United Nations Assembly calling for the withdrawal of Ambassadors. In a general statement Señor Radio is reported to have supplied the necessary balm for Spanish injured feelings by saying: "*Es una gloria tener relaciones con España*"! it should be added, however, that in an interview given to *Informaciones* Señor Radio was at pains to emphasise that his appointment was "a normal and regular event" in his country's political action and in no sense a challenge. The post of Argentine Ambassador had indeed been vacant for 10 months since the departure (to Washington) of Señor Espil. The press has also welcomed vociferously Manuel Aznar on his return from his Special Mission as Minister Plenipotentiary in Washington. Señor Aznar has been awarded the Grand Cross of Civil Merit. He is once again being spoken of as a possible Cabinet Minister, although a more likely candidate to replace Señor Artajo at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is Señor J. M. de Areilza (co-author with F. M. Castiella of the régime's Imperialist programme in 1940—"*Reivindicaciones de España*") who has just produced a book called "Ambassadors over Spain" which

contains a violent attack on Lord Templewood. This book, published under the auspices of the *Instituto de Estudios Políticos* at the low price of 15 pesetas contains incidentally, in an appendix, the full record of U.N. pronouncements on Spain from San Francisco to the Resolution of the 12th December which caused a furore when it appeared in H.M. Embassy's Bulletin on the 20th December last.

But behind the scenes there is reason to suppose that General Franco's thurifers, if not the Caudillo himself, are a little worried about the mounting tide of opposition. Further details have come to light about the trial for military rebellion of the 12 political offenders on the 9th January (see *Summary* No. 376) and the extensive ramifications of the "conspiracy" for which they were arrested. It is now seen that this episode was one of the most important political events since 1939, and the café gossips are drawing a not inept comparison with the trial before a military court of the members of the shadow Republican Government in March 1931 (following the abortive revolt at Jaca) which spelt the doom of the Monarchy. On that occasion the state of opinion with regard to the Monarchy was such that the prosecution fumbled badly and the defendants were acquitted. In the 9th January trial brilliant work by the defence counsel, Lt. Valentin Nuñez Losada, who has successfully defended many victims of Franco's political repression, made havoc of the stratagems of the prosecution, and, although he failed to secure the acquittal of his clients (except two of the minor personalities), the restraint of the presiding judges, who imposed sentences ranging from 6 years to 2, is eloquent testimony of the present political climate. Observers of the trial have remarked on the spirited conduct of the accused, the absence of any despondency, indeed the "festive" atmosphere which they radiated throughout the court. These men, Regulo Martínez (a Republican ex-priest), Sigfrido Catalá (C.N.T.)—for whom H.M. Government interceded successfully about a year ago when he was condemned to death—and Gomez Ejido (Socialist) had all been previously condemned to long terms of imprisonment. They were the original leaders of the *Alianza Nacional de Fuerzas Democráticas* who at the end of 1944 issued a manifesto affirming that the Franco régime must be replaced by a transition Government capable of leading Spain back to a constitutional life in which the extremists could be firmly controlled and civil war avoided. It seems established that these men had discussions then not only with General Aranda but, among others, with the Foreign Minister at that time, Señor Lequerica, the Minister of War, General Asensio, Señor Sangroniz, Ambassador to the Quirinal, and, through an intermediary, with Juan March, the powerful millionaire industrialist. What led to their downfall was becoming involved with a certain Luis Alfaro, who claimed to have credentials from Señores Martínez Barrio and Miguel Maura but was in fact no more than a police spy. During an early phase of the enquiry (by a Special Military Court of Instruction) a large number of the professional and business men implicated in the round-up were released, and the prosecution apparently decided to concentrate on the *Alianza* organization, hoping to crush it out in embryo. We know now that the Left underground parties have manifested considerable strength and resiliency since then under other leaders, and this trial will in fact have increased considerably the *Alianza's* prestige.

The latest reports make it clear that the temporary removal from the scene of General Aranda has by no means put a stop to the conversations between Left and Right representatives with a view to setting the stage for an interim caretaker Government. The successor of General Aranda has intimated that cordial relations with the Left continue. He has also added his voice to those who are warning Don Juan against those of his advisers who are inclined to stake all on a Generals' *coup* without the necessary 'bi-partisan' political understanding. Don Juan, who is proceeding with extreme caution, is not likely to make any such mistake. Meanwhile the satisfactory communication has been established, too, with Señor Martínez Barrio, President of the Republican Government-in-exile. (At the moment the Giral Government is breaking up, following a special Congress of Spanish Socialists at Toulouse—and the resignation of five at least of the Ministers). From the latest promotions it is clear that the Generalissimo is doing his best, as usual, to buy off potentially hostile Army leaders. He has also had a long talk with Señor Larraz, Minister of Finance in his first Cabinet, who, in common with certain other important figures in the present régime, has recently been hob-nobbing with Don Juan and his friends in Lisbon.

ITALY

Signor De Gasperi, having been charged with the formation of a new

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Government is apparently not finding the task too easy. The Italian Socialist Workers' Party led by Signor Saragat have informed Signor De Gasperi that they are not prepared to enter a new Cabinet because in their opinion the crisis can only be ended in such a way as to leave the situation virtually unchanged, *i.e.*, with a Government composed of the same parties as before. Another reason given by Signor Saragat's party for non-participation was the inability of the late Governments to carry out even a small part of the programme on which the Socialist Deputies were elected on 2nd June, 1946. Signor Nenni, who is at least partly responsible for the present crisis, is reported as telling the press that it was deplorable that the crisis should have arisen in the present circumstances and that Signor De Gasperi's suggested solution, both as regards programme and structure of the new Government, was inadequate. Only on condition that a Government were formed which corresponded with the needs of the working classes could his party join it. Signor De Gasperi, replying in the press to Signor Nenni, expresed his surprise at his statements. While in the U.S.A. he had received a cable from Signor Nenni saying that it was urgently necessary to re-examine the political situation as a result of the Socialist congress. On his return it was made clear to him from every side that "clarification" was inevitable following Signor Nenni's resignation and the Republican party's decision to withdraw from the Government. After explaining that there were no basic differences of opinion as regards the Government programme with Signor Nenni, Signor De Gasperi said that besides asking for certain Ministries, Signor Nenni had demanded participation in the general political leadership observing that, as his group had been considerably weakened, it was "in their interests to prove that their specific weight remained unchanged." Signor De Gasperi finished by saying that the meeting of the Republican party's executive on the morrow was an important element in the development of the crisis. The Republican party subsequently announced that it must decline participation in the Government. Although Signor Togliatti, leader of the Communist party, informed the press that he had told Signor De Gasperi of certain of his party's objections to the latter's programme, he declined to reveal their nature. Signor De Gasperi later stated that the Communist party's objections to his programme did not contradict it but only suggested that it was inadequate. There were no difficulties between him and Signor Togliatti regarding the Government's immediate programme nor as to the Cabinet's structure or composition. Reports suggest that the meeting between the Premier and the Communist leader may lead to a favourable settlement of the crisis.

An official communiqué published on 24th January stated that the Foreign Minister, Signor Nenni, had, that morning, received Dr. Smodlaka, the Yugoslav representative on the Allied Council, who had informed him that the Yugoslav Government had decided to establish political relations with the Italian Government. Signor Nenni expressed his Government's satisfaction and said that after the Ministerial crisis was settled, the Italian Government would proceed with the appointment of a Political Representative to the Yugoslav Government.

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

Roumania

A bill for the "Organisation of Industry" is to be introduced into the Roumanian Parliament. A number of limited liability companies are to be set up each of which will consist of existing concerns, which will provide the capital and, incidentally, bear any loss. A general meeting of these member companies will appoint the boards of directors, and there is no minimum quorum laid down for these general meetings. The whole new organisation will be under the control of the Ministry of National Economy. The Minister is Dl Gheorgiu-Dej, one of the very few genuine Communists in the Government. Trouble with the member companies is anticipated, and heavy penalties are prescribed for such offences as disregarding orders concerning methods of production, for lowering production "in bad faith," for altering or destroying installations, any recalcitrant member company may be dealt with by the appointment of a sole administrator by the Ministry. There is already considerable apprehension in industrial and financial quarters. It is fairly evident that under this arrangement the position of British and American companies will be untenable.

The Conference of Foreign Ministers approved in principle the free navigation of the Danube. It is beginning to be understood that there is all the difference between approved principles and the method of dealing with concrete instances. At the end of November permission was asked for the British tankers "King George" and "Scotland," which were waiting in readiness at Port Said, to proceed to Sulina. The Russian authorities refused to grant clearance, making the somewhat thin excuse that the river had not been completely cleared of mines and that no responsibility could be taken for the safety of vessels. General Susaikov added that in his opinion the free navigation of the Danube will only be decided at the forthcoming conference. It is now proposed that the two vessels shall be paid off at Port Said and towed empty to Sulina, to which course there appears to be no Russian objection. This is an illuminating comment on the danger-from-mines theory previously put forward.

The British authorities in Roumania are concerned at the food shortage which threatens the English Colony. The serious famine in Moldavia is spreading to the whole of the country. It is proposed to purchase army stocks of essential foods and distribute them against payment. The number of British people in Roumania is said to be 300. This figure seems surprisingly large, as the colony before the war was not much more than 500 strong. Of this 300 no fewer than 180 are women and children.

Yet another delegation has left Bucharest for Moscow, this time to arrange a railway convention and establish direct communication between Roumania and Russia.

Yugoslavia

The Yugoslav representative on the Investigation Commission for Greece is M. Josip Djerdja, the present Minister in Tirana, who speaks Albanian, with an official of Albanian origin as his deputy. They are assisted by at least three Army officers and eight journalists. Complaining of obstruction on the part of the Greek authorities, the Yugoslav Government addressed to the Greek Minister in Belgrade a strong note of protest against the delay (of about 48 hours) in the supply of visas to the party. Owing to the state of communications in Greece the Yugoslav delegation had considered it necessary to allow a week for the journey to Athens, but although they had planned to start on the 24th the visas had not arrived by the 25th. The Yugoslav Government had informed the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the position, and they now demanded immediate satisfaction from the Greeks.

Meanwhile the Yugoslav Military Attaché has been withdrawn from Athens and the Greek Government have been asked to take parallel action in Belgrade.

The unfortunate fate of the Yugoslav Consul at Naples while on a visit to a chetnik camp, where he hoped to recruit candidates for repatriation, is likely to have a serious effect on the settlement of the refugee problem in Italy. It was clear on his arrival that the Consul was not welcome, but he appears to have disregarded the advice of the British authorities to leave. A little later he was attacked by a mob and was beaten to death, while his companion barely escaped with his life. A statement issued by the Yugoslav member of the Advisory Council for Italy declared that the British authorities were partly responsible for this occurrence. Yet it was admitted at the same time that the Yugoslav Government had been aware of a plot to kill the Consul. The British military authorities can, therefore, hardly be considered responsible for the death of a man who, with this knowledge, was foolish or obstinate enough to walk into the lion's den of a Chetnik camp.

Arrangements for the screening mission, which is to tackle the Yugoslav refugee problem in Italy, are complete and an advance party is to leave London on the 30th January under Brigadier Maclean.

Trials of black market dealers, corrupt officials (including, it is said, members of the Communist party) and of people suspected of having connections with dissident groups continue. One such trial in Macedonia, where a number of people of Albanian origin are accused of plotting to overthrow the régime, has evoked charges of subversive activities against Mr. Burton, H.M. Consul at Skoplje. He is reported to have been in contact with the plotters. Should the Yugoslav authorities not wish these charges to be disproved, it is likely that the sequel will be a request for the recall of Mr. Burton and probably also for the closing of the Consulate.

The Press has been full of the Yugoslav claims against Austria, of references to Austria's war guilt towards Yugoslavia, and of reports of the alleged complaints and petitions of the Carinthian Slovenes. That Austria should have a case to present is considered outrageous.

Greece

A broadly-based Government consisting of a coalition of seven out of the eight main parliamentary parties has finally been formed in Greece under the Premiership of M. Demetrios Maixmos, a Populist who

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had retired from active politics. Portfolios have been allocated to parties in proportion to their strength in the Chamber. Thus, out of 33 posts in the Cabinet, the Populists hold 16, the Venizelist Liberals four, the Social Democrats four, General Gonatas' National Liberals three, the Kanellopoulos group one, the Alexandris group one, and General Zervas four. The Cabinet is now practically complete and the principal Ministers are as follows:—

M. Tsaldaris: Vice-Premier and Foreign Affairs.
M. Venizelos: Vice-Premier charged with co-ordination of ministries related to security.
M. Papandreou: Interior.
M. Alexandris: Justice.
General Gonatas: Public Works.
M. Kanellopoulos: Navy.
General Zervas: Without portfolio.
M. Stephanopoulos: Economic Co-ordination.
M. Khelmis: Finance.
M. Papathanasis: Agriculture.
M. Karamanlis: Labour.
M. Hadjipanos: Political Co-ordination.
M. Papadimos: Education.
M. Kantzias: Supply.
M. Kotsianos: Health.
M. George Stratos: War.
M. Drosos: Press (Under-secretary).
M. Bournias: Transport.
M. Avraam: Mercantile Marine.
M. Glavanis: Reconstruction.
M. Kostopoulos: National Economy.
M. Politis: Without Portfolio.
M. Themistocles Tsatsos: Air.
M. Manouilidis: Welfare.

On the 27th January the new Cabinet appeared before the Chamber, and M. Maximos regretted that the Liberals were not participating in the coalition. In outlining his Government's policy for the future, he emphasised that it was the first duty of the State to enforce the law. In its policy towards the guerrillas the Government were determined to protect the law and the life of the people, but were ready to apply all measures of conciliation and appeasement. Such measures would include the revision of all deportations, the discontinuance of the deportation of women and children, and an amnesty for rebels who resumed a law-abiding existence within a given period.

M. Tsaldaris, in his last speech as Premier before the Chamber on the 23rd January, reviewed the work of his Government during its term of office. He found much of which it could be proud: progress towards a solution of the economic problem as shown by the British Government's loan and the despatch of the U.S. Economic Mission; agricultural production up to 92% of pre-war and industrial production up to 50%. He also said that "thanks to the Government's prudent financial policy, prices and the currency had been stabilized."

During the week the general economic situation was adversely affected by the Government crisis, and counter sales of gold at the Bank of Greece were discontinued from the 20th. Nearly all civil servants have been on strike since the 21st, demanding an increase of pay. The new Government, faced with the unattractive prospect of assuming office without any civil service, seem inclined to grant the demands, and press reports already credit M. Maximos with a statement to that effect. The Currency Committee, however, are insisting that they cannot agree to a step which will lead to limitless inflation, but they realise that continued rejection of the civil servants' demands may imperil the new Government from the start.

Little bandit activity has been reported, owing partly no doubt to the weather and partly to the fact that the members of the United Nations Commission are now reaching Greece. The Government has made no reply to the EAM truce-offer beyond extending the period of the present amnesty law. It has been suggested that EAM's recent move may have been dictated by the "Democratic Army's" desire to conserve their strength for better opportunities or worse trials ahead.

Bulgaria

The "Neutral Officer" trial which was postponed at the end of December owing to the physical condition of General Popov (see *Summary* No. 377 of the 22nd January, 1947) was resumed on the 22nd January in the General's absence. General Velchev's name has been involved, and the only direct reference to Great Britain and the United States occurred when he was described as having given false information to Mr. Mark Eltbridge, the United States expert who visited Bulgaria in the autumn of 1945. But there were allusions to "Foreign Missions," to a "colonel of a foreign mission" and to a "foreign woman journalist." The Government Press tried to repair omission in the proceedings by connecting the conspirators with the Opposition leaders. The trial of those who

are charged with circulating copies of a bogus speech of Mr. Byrnes' was postponed until 28th January.

Bulgaria is represented on the Commission of Investigation in Greece by M. Kulishev, former Foreign Minister, M. Dimitr Ganev, Vice-Chairman of the Grand National Assembly, and by delegates from the Ministries of the Interior, Defence and Information. M. Kulishev made a long statement in no dispassionate manner on the work of the Commission. He referred to the "many foreign lands" swallowed by Greece in "the last decade," and, of course, to the iniquities of the present régime in that country. He anticipated that the success of the investigation would contribute to the removal of the cause of the chaos in Greece and to the establishment of a "normal democratic government."

The news of the preliminary signature of the Bulgarian Peace Treaty by Mr. Byrnes and by Mr. Bevin was received with relief. Despite its defects in Bulgarian eyes the conclusion of the Treaty is welcomed as an opportunity to return to normal in international and internal relations (but what is meant by "normal internal relations" is not explained).

Although the Allied Control Commission has now only a few months more of existence, the British Military Mission has been asked by the Soviet representative to reduce considerably their transport requirements. But since General Oxley has already returned to the Bulgarian Government a number of vehicles and has arranged to economise in petrol, and since the maintenance service provided by the Bulgarians is of a very low standard, any further reduction of transport would seriously affect the work of the Mission. The excuse that the transport is needed for the Greek Investigation Commission would be more convincing if the Bulgarian Government had no other means of transport at their disposal—and if a similar request were addressed to all Missions, which seems not to be the case.

It is believed that plans may be complete for the formal transfer of Bulgarian Macedonia to Yugoslavia as soon as the Peace Treaty is safely out of the way. No doubt it was with this in mind that the census which began on New Year's Eve gave all Macedonians in Bulgaria the option of registering as Bulgarians or Macedonians.

THE MIDDLE EAST

Egypt

Until the end of last week there was still some hope that Nokrashy Pasha might have seen his way to come to London, and that he might have moved from the uncompromising position which he had taken up on the future of the Sudan; but he obstinately insisted, in the face of all the evidence to the contrary, that the Sudanese desired permanent union with Egypt and that the limit of their ambition is self-government under Egyptian sovereignty. Accordingly he refused to accept any statement by His Majesty's Government which explicitly or implicitly expressed the right of the Sudanese ultimately to contract out of their association with Egypt, on the ground that such a statement would encourage separatism—somewhat illogically in view of his insistence that no such tendency exists. Nokrashy Pasha was assuming, as Mr. Bevin pointed out to the Egyptian Ambassador in London, that His Majesty's Government might be prepared by treaty to deny the right to the Sudanese to choose their future status when the time came, and this, whether there were a treaty or no, could not be done.

On the 25th January Nokrashy Pasha handed to His Majesty's Ambassador in Cairo a decision of the Council of Ministers which reads:—

"The Egyptian Government have gone towards agreement with the British Government to the furthest possible extent. Nevertheless they found that the proposals offered by the British side do not satisfy our national rights. Therefore the Council of Ministers have decided to present the country's case before the Security Council."

This was announced in the Chamber of Deputies on the 27th January and was received with great enthusiasm. Makram Obeid Pasha argued against reference of the case to the Security Council, and expressed himself in favour of its submission to the General Assembly. This proposal caused such violent opposition that the President was forced to suspend the sitting. Eventually the Government received

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a vote of confidence by 175 to 15, with 6 abstentions.

The breaking-off of Treaty negotiations by the Egyptian Government was announced by Mr. Bevin in the House of Commons on the 27th January. He referred to the pledge which he had given in the House on the 26th March last year that no change in the status of the Sudan should be made until the Sudanese had been consulted. He felt, however, after taking the highest legal advice, that for the sake of an agreement which would have been as much in the interests of the Sudanese as of either of the other parties, he was justified in alluding in the Sudan Protocol to the existence of a "symbolic dynastic union between Egypt and the Sudan," provided always that no change was introduced into the existing system of administration. The draft Protocol which was agreed with Sidky Pasha read as follows:—

> "The policy which the High Contracting Parties undertake to follow in the Sudan within the framework of the unity between the Sudan and Egypt under the common Crown of Egypt will have for its essential objectives to assure the well-being of the Sudanese, the development of their interests and their active preparation for self-government, and consequently the exercise of the right to choose the future status of the Sudan. Until the High Contracting Parties can in full common agreement realise this latter objective after consultation with the Sudanese, the Agreement of 1899 will continue and Article 11 of the Treaty of 1936, together with its Annex, and paragraphs 14 to 16 of the agreed minute annexed to the same Treaty will remain in force notwithstanding the first Article of the present Treaty."

Mr. Bevin referred to the uncontradicted reports, which appeared in Egypt after Sidky Pasha's return, to the effect that His Majesty's Government had conceded the unity of Egypt and the Sudan without the ultimate right of self-determination, and to the correction of it which the Governor-General of the Sudan issued with Mr. Attlee's authority. He finally recounted the efforts which he had made (without response from the Egyptian side) to reach an agreed interpretation. In conclusion he announced that the Treaty of 1936 will be adhered to.

Palestine

On the 23rd January the High Commissioner received a telegram from Jamal al Husaini, who was in Cairo, saying that Mu'in al Maadi was unable to join the delegation owing to ill-health, and that the Arab Higher Committee had decided to add four persons to it. Approval for the proposal was asked. The four additional members were to be Sami al Tahir, Dr. Umar al Khalil, Yusuf Sahyun and Wasif Kamal. The inclusion of all but the last-named, who is one of the renegades excluded from Palestine, has been approved. The Palestine delegation, therefore, will comprise the first three, Jamal al Husaini, Emil Ghuri and Dr. Husain al Khalidi. With the exception of Yusuf Sahyun, who is described as an unpleasant nonentity, the new members should be assets to the delegation.

Delegates representing the other Arab countries had assembled in London by the end of last week, and the Conference was formally opened at St. James' Palace on the 27th January. Abdur Rahman Azzam Pasha, who took such a prominent part in the last conference, had pleaded that his health is unequal to the rigours of the winter in England, and he will not be present.

The attitude of the Zionists to the Conference remains unchanged.

In an interview which Jamal al Husaini gave to the press in Beirut shortly before he left for England he said that the Palestine delegation was going to London, but that they were not very optimistic, and that their only hope in going was to be able to put the Palestine problem before the British public in its proper perspective.

At a plenary session of the Vaad Leumi on the 20th January resolutions against terrorism were passed. After a reaffirmation of basic principles which are defined as recognition of the supremacy of the Zionist movement and of the Yishuv in the politcal struggle aiming at the tearing-up of the White Paper and its restrictions, the opening of the doors of Palestine for the admission of those Jews who wish to return to their home, and securing their future as a free people on its own soil, murder as a means of political resistance is repudiated. The resolution goes on to declare that the Yishuv will defend itself "with the necessary force" against domination and coercion, intimidation and threats, the extortion of money and the use of force against teachers and pupils, policemen, drivers and others. But there is to be no civil war, and the dangers to the Zionist movement from the actions of the "dissidents" are stressed once more. The resolution ends with an appeal for unity "in this fateful hour." In presenting the resolution the chairman, Mr. David Remez, called upon the authorities to ensure a peaceful atmosphere for the forthcoming talks on Palestine by refraining from any action which might be considered as a "provocation to the Jewish population." A spokesman of the Jewish Agency explained at a press conference on the following day that the announcement that force will be used merely indicates that ways and means of resisting terrorist acts are under consideration, and again on the 22nd a member of the Vaad Leumi told the press that the resolution was primarily a declaration addressed to the Government, and that the Yishuv does not assume any police or governmental tasks in combating the dissident groups. It is not unfair to see in these statements an admission that terrorism becomes reprehensible only when it is a danger to the Zionist cause.

The Irgun Zvai Leumi claims to regard any suggestion that the resolution would not lead to civil war as "bluff" and "humbug," and remains aggressive and defiant. In a broadcast on the 22nd January the speaker said that they would continue fighting, and "if the Hagana attack us we will fight in Palestine and abroad and teach them a lesson."

The death sentence on Dov Grüner, who was convicted of taking part in an attack last April, has been confirmed. Numerous Jewish authorities, headed by the Chief Rabbi, have been active in seeking commutation of the sentence on the ground that it would almost certainly lead to an intensification of terrorism. Grüner was to have been executed on the 28th January, but a delay of forty-eight hours has been granted during which he may lodge an appeal, which he had previously refused to do.

On the 26th January Major Collins, a British civilian, was abducted from his flat in Jerusalem by terrorists, and on the 27th eight armed men raided the Tel Aviv District Court and abducted the President, Judge Ralph Windham. Judge Windham was released on the 28th January. Major Collins was said by the Irgun to have been released in the outskirts of Jerusalem, and was found in the grounds of the Hadassah hospital late on the 29th January. He had suffered head injuries. The Irgun allege that these releases have been made possible by the respite granted in the sentence on Grüner.

A curfew from 5·30 p.m. to 6·0 a.m. has been imposed on Tel Aviv, and the Jewish parts of Jerusalem, and a dusk-to-dawn road curfew throughout the country. The Government is considering the application of severer measures of control if the men abducted are not speedily returned.

The Levant States

Jamil Mardam, the Syrian Prime Minister, has discussed with His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires in Damascus the recent Turco-Syrian press campaigns following King Abdullah's visit to Turkey. He said that public opinion was naturally upset over the visit, but that he had done all he could to calm things down and had instructed the Syrian Minister at Angora to try to persuade the Turkish Government to take similar action. He said that the Arab League would ask King Abdullah to define his attitude towards Alexandretta, and Jamil Bey himself said he could hardly believe that Abdullah would be prepared openly to declare himself a traitor to the Arab cause.

A communiqué has been issued to the local press by the Saudi Arabian Legation in Beirut in which they categorically deny the report that the Amir Feisal is a candidate for the Syrian Throne. The communiqué ends with the assurance that His Majesty King Abdul Aziz ibn Sa'ud "supports the present status of Syria and the Lebanon as confirmed by the Charter of the Arab League, and is strongly opposed to any policy designed to modify that status.

An exchange of Notes between His Majesty's Government and the Lebanese Government regarding the abolition of the Mixed Courts took place on the 22nd January. The terms are similar to those agreed with the Syrian Government in November last (see *Summary* No. 368).

Persia

The official figures of the Tehran election results have not yet been published, but reports indicate that the Prime Minister's Democrat Party has secured a majority. The Tudeh press continues to pour out allegations of the unfairness of the elections. An article in *Mardum* (appearing in place of *Rahbar*, the official Tudeh organ) of the 12th January describes how Government trucks collect factory-workers and peasants from the suburbs and bring them to the polling-booths, each person being supplied with a sealed envelope containing the name of a Democrat candidate. There is nothing to confirm the truth of such reports, however, and, as mentioned in last week's *Summary*, Qawam appears

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to be guiltless of the many charges levelled at him. The only charge which can legitimately be made is that he has monopolised the Tehran broadcasting-station for party purposes.

There has recently been an outcry from the right-wing press at the asylum given by the Soviet Government to Pishavari and his associates, who continue to hurl abusive speeches at Qawam and his Government from their secret broadcasting-station in Soviet territory (see *Summary* No. 376). An article of the 9th January in *Zendegi* (moderate right) stated that the Soviet Union was violating the 1921 treaty, which laid down that neither country would shelter persons with harmful designs on the other. "Such action," the article concludes, "may shake the foundations of Irano-Soviet friendship."

On the 17th January the Shah flew to Shiraz, returning the same day. He made a brief tour of the town and received Nasir Qashgai in audience. His Majesty's Consul reports that as a result of the Shah's visit cordial, or at least working, relations have been established between the local military and civil authorities, and between the military and the Qashgai.

Afghanistan

On the 12th January it was reported that the Soviet-Afghan Frontier Agreement (see *Summary* No. 347, under "Soviet Union") had been ratified. The Agreement provides for the frontier to run along the middle of the main channel of the Oxus (Amu Darya) River, instead of following the Afghan bank. (See also under "Soviet Union").

THE FAR EAST

Japan

The Cabinet crisis continues. After a Cabinet meeting, the press reported on the 17th January that the two major parties, the so-called Liberals and Progressives, who have hitherto provided the backing for the Yoshida Government, were agreed that the Government should be reconstructed on a broader basis, but that plans had been disrupted by an "unexpected development." The exact nature of the trouble was not divulged. Current reports, however, suggest that the stumbling-block was the discovery that certain members of the Social Democratic Party, whom the Party had nominated and the Premier had accepted as prospective members of the new Cabinet, would be required to undergo screening. At the same time the formation of a coalition government is hindered by dissension in the Social Democratic Party as well as in the Liberal and Progressive Parties. There is in consequence much jockeying for position by rival factions, and the outcome is still uncertain.

The latest information, however, is that Katayama, the President, and three other members of the Socialist Democratic Party have accepted an invitation to join a new Cabinet under Yoshida. It remains to be seen whether Katayama can retain the support of the left-wing of his Party, hitherto violently opposed to the idea of a coalition cabinet with Yoshida as Premier.

In order to allow time for the political situation to clear, the opening of the regular session of the Diet has been postponed till the 1st February. This happens to coincide with the "dead line" set by labour organizations for a general strike of government workers. Although the basic reason is given as the refusal of the Yoshida Government to meet their economic demands, the immediate purpose is definitely stated to be to oust that Government, which is branded as "unpatriotic." This endeavour to usurp powers that are conferred by the new constitution on the Diet was not likely to go unchallenged. Nor could the prospects of the sufferings of the people from a stoppage of public services as well as a further setback in the recovery of the national economy be regarded with anything but dismay. A spokesman of the Social Democratic Party, which is closely associated with the National Federation of Labour Unions, voiced the Party's opposition on the 23rd January. Meanwhile S.C.A.P. authorities had summoned representatives of the three big labour organizations together with the Ministers of Finance and Welfare and the Director of the Economic Stabilisation Board to a conference. According to the Central News, S.C.A.P. officials, while revealing that the Japanese Government had been instructed to better their working conditions, gave a verbal warning against (1) actions prejudicial to the occupation (2) general strikes. Labour leaders have since talked of appealing to the Allied Council and even of ignoring the warning. The press appears to think that wiser counsels will prevail.

Public opinion has been shocked by an attempt to assassinate Kikunami, the President of the National Confederation of Industrial Organizations, which had

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taken a leading part in planning the general strike. The crime is believed to have been the work of two members of the *Shinei Taishuto*, a small party which by its title claims to be a Party formed to Guide the Masses Anew. The method adopted is unfortunately not new. Assassination has in the past been a potent weapon to terrorise opponents into submission. It is disturbing to find it again in use, but it is at least a healthy sign that on this occasion the act is widely condemned.

The incident illustrates the latent danger of a reactionary movement in Japan. Kikunami himself, who is stated to have been seriously but not critically injured, is said to have declared that a much larger and more deadly ultra-nationalist movement was operating in Japan than most people thought. Although it has a sinister ring, a statement issued by the *Shinei Taishuto* that similar incidents would occur if labour continued to add to the sufferings of the people by further general strikes may have an element of truth in it. On the other hand left-wing thinkers might well retort that, unless the Government can succeed in redressing the grievances of labour, excesses are bound to occur.

It is reported that, in addition to the two assailants, the police have arrested the President of the Party, who is alleged to have instigated the attack.

French Indo-China

An uncontradicted report in the Paris *Monde* of the 19th January credits the U.S. Ambassador with expressing to M. Moutet the hope that France would act quickly in Indo-China. Since the new-born French Cabinet can scarcely be expected to produce a blue-print of its plans "out of the hat," it seems likely that the suggestion is that the present crisis in Indo-China is calculated to cause undesirable repercussions in other quarters.

In their emphasis at one moment on the prior need of a military decision and at another on the desirability of a peace by agreement. M. Moutet's public announcements tend to cancel one another out. But, according to the correspondent of the *New York Times*, Léon Boutbien, who accompanied M. Moutet on his visit to Indo-China, made an interesting admission to reporters at the airfield on his return. He is reported to have said that responsibility for the present fighting rested with both the French and the Viet-Namese. M. Boutbien stated that he had had unofficial talks with Viet-Nam leaders and added that, though Viet-Nam must shoulder the blame for resorting to force, French errors had caused the original flare-up at Haiphong (v. *Summary* 371). On the departure of the mission for Indo-China M. Boutbien was described in the press as a *médecin capitaine*, but he is also a member of the Socialist Party's executive committee.

The *Times* of the 27th January published a carefully reasoned estimate of the situation from its special correspondent. According to his view, the Indo-China nationalist movement has fallen into Communist hands. The movement includes, he says, some reasonable men with whom the French could work harmoniously but all decisions have to be referred to the *Tong Bo*, the central committee of the Viet-Minh Party and of the Indo-China Communist Party. At the moment the Viet-Minh is probably stronger than ever; it is ruthlessly eliminating all possible sources of opposition (chiefly among intellectuals, property-owning classes and Roman Catholic converts) and by precipitating war it has created that enhanced unity which comes to any people finding themselves in a life-and-death struggle.

The correspondent judges that there is little initiative that the French can take short of capitulating and walking out of Indo-China. He suggests that the hope lies in the opposition to the Viet-Minh policy subsisting in Indo-China itself. At present this opposition is terrorized, inarticulate and impotent, but three things might be done to give it an opportunity: (1) more French troops to create secure zones where the Annamites could speak freely; (2) material efforts to create more favourable conditions in the French than in the Viet-Minh zones; (3) a new political approach that would enable alternative nationalist leaders to prove to their people that negotiation promises better results than violence.

As regards bringing about a cessation of the fighting, the correspondent points out that the neutral Consuls have, by their courageous action in walking across no-man's land to discuss the welfare of neutrals and hostages, created a recognized channel of communication, which could be used to bring about a truce.

Recent reports from Hanoi show that "mopping up" is still incomplete. The French forces are handicapped by the fact that the Viet-Namese have established themselves in quarters where the civilian population is trapped and they can, therefore, be dislodged only at the sacrifice of civilian lives. Negotiations on the part of

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the Chinese Consul-General and his British and American colleagues to obtain the agreement of the Viet-Nam forces to the withdrawal of French civilians from the danger spots have not hitherto been successful. In addition to these unfortunates, there are over 400 French hostages in Viet-Nam. 225 were already held before the *modus vivendi* was signed. The exact number seized on the outbreak of the present hostilities is not known, but is estimated at over 200. In addition the T.UV.E. (Viet-Nam irregulars) have taken a number of Chinese hostages. The High Commissioner is reported to have asked his Government to appeal to the International Red Cross on their behalf.

A new outbreak of terrorism in Cochin-China is causing grave disquiet. The President of the Provisional Government has requested "real (? special) powers" from his Council; while one Councillor sadly remarked that "an invisible government" (*i.e.*, the *Nambo*) was master of the situation, the Minister of National Defence was cheered when he declared that in the use of force lay the only hope of success.

In an over-all picture of almost unrelieved gloom, the only bright feature is afforded by the public expressions of gratitude by the Governments of Cambodia and Laos for French action in securing the return of territories lost to them under the Japanese Award.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

General George C. Marshall, who arrived in Washington on the 21st January to be sworn in as Secretary of State, remains the principal figure of interest in the United States. In the eyes of the press and public the General has added to his already considerable stature by denying all intention of permitting himself to be "drafted" as a Presidential candidate in 1948. In an emphatic statement issued to newspaper correspondents on his arrival from Chicago on the morning of the 21st he said that he regarded the office of Secretary of State as "non-political." He would therefore never "become involved in political matters" and he could not be considered a candidate for political office. The effect of this statement has been to dispel all lingering doubts regarding General Marshall in the minds of Republican Congressmen, who, it has been pointed out, might have hesitated to give the new Secretary of State their full support, had they felt that they were thereby building him up as a rival Presidential Candidate in 1948. Mr. Joseph Martin, the Republican Speaker of the House of Representatives, has been among the first to acknowledge that, by his repudiation of political ambitions, General Marshall has made it easier for all elements in Congress to give him the co-operation which he requires.

Since the formal swearing-in ceremony, which was attended by several members of the Cabinet and leaders of Congress, as well as by the President and Chief Justice Vinson, it has been announced that General Marshall will attend the forthcoming Moscow Conference and that he will meanwhile confer with Mr. Warren Austin on matters relating to disarmament and atomic control. At his press conference on the 23rd January President Truman revealed that he had already had consultations with the new Secretary of State on a number of outstanding international questions—among them China, Latin America, Palestine and Germany.

Germany is steadily gaining attention as the major problem with which General Marshall will have to grapple. The conservative internationalists, led by Mr. Walter Lippmann, have come out strongly in favour of the German plan outlined by Mr. Dulles (see last week's *Summary*), and a few well-informed Liberals like Mr. Edgar A. Mowrer and Mr. William Shirer have been willing to admit that the plan merits serious consideration. The fact that Republican views on Germany are apparently crystallizing has lent added interest to the announcement of ex-President Hoover on the 22nd January that he had agreed to go to the British and American zones and to Austria to study the food situation there. In making this announcement Mr. Hoover insisted that his mission would have "no political implications." Nevertheless, it seems that the principal object in sending the Republican ex-President to Germany and Austria is to secure his party's approval for the large appropriations necessary to carry out the American programme of occupation in those countries.

Confidence in the Potsdam Agreement as the basis of Allied co-operation in Central Europe has been further undermined by the failure of the Warsaw and Moscow Government to fulfil their promise of free and unfettered elections in Poland. In the opinion of the *New York Times* "the Polish régime has nullified the Potsdam Agreement in so far as that instrument deals with it." At the same time, the *Philadelphia Record* has called for an

immediate investigation by the United Nations, "not to prove a fraud that is already obvious, but to learn the exact measure of control which Russia maintained over the Polish ballot boxes." The attitude of the State Department is likewise hardening. Mr. Clayton has now intimated that he is strongly disinclined to extend further credits—even the proposed short-term credit for cotton purchases—to the present régime in Warsaw, and that the State Department will try to discourage the International Bank from granting the Polish Government a loan. It seems that Poland will still be included, along with Italy, Greece, Austria and possibly Hungary, in the relief programme which the State Department is preparing to submit to Congress, although there are apparently no illusions regarding the attitude which Congress is likely to adopt.

On the domestic front harmony still reigns between the executive and legislative branches of the United States Government, and at his press conference on the 23rd January Mr. Truman was able to refer to co-operation between the White House and Congress as being real and effective. On the 16th January the President held a friendly conference with the "Big Six" of the 80th Congress (four Republicans, led by Senator Vandenberg, and two Democrats), but the subjects discussed were reported to be only the disposal of surplus war property and the continued operation by the Government of the merchant shipping fleet. In point of fact no really controversial issue has yet arisen to put relations between President and Congress to the test. The delicate question of what form of legislation is likely to be most effective to deal with labour has been temporarily shelved while the Senate Labour and Welfare Committee completes its examination of the large assortment of draft bills already presented. These bills include a Resolution incorporating the President's request for a Congressional Committee to study labour problems, as well as a revised version of the Case Bill, which Mr. Truman vetoed last session.

Meanwhile the Republicans are clearly determined to make the greatest possible use of Congressional investigations into the policies and practices of their Democratic predecessors in order to provide themselves with political ammunition for 1948. On the 23rd January they were able to extend the life of the Senate War Investigating Committee for another two years, despite the insistence of the Democrats and of a few of their own recalcitrant "Liberals" that Congressional investigations ought in future to be conducted only by the regular Standing Committees, as recommended by the Congressional Reorganization Act of 1946. The War Investigating Committee is now under the chairmanship of Senator Owen Brewster of Maine, who was the principal Republican member of the Joint Congressional Committee set up in 1945 to inquire into the Pearl Harbour disaster. Evidence previously unearthed by the Committee has now led to the indictment of the former Democratic Chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee, Mr. Andrew J. May, on charges of conspiracy to defraud the United States Government.

The possibility of a further wave of strikes to enforce the wage demands of the C.I.O. has receded considerably since the 24th January, when Mr. Philip Murray announced that the United Steel Workers had agreed to extend their contracts with the U.S. Steel Corporation until the 30th April. The United Automobile Workers have also extended for a month their contract with the Chrysler Corporation. Among the several factors which have caused the C.I.O. leaders to become amenable to reason in the past few weeks has been the repudiation by the rival A.F. of L. of the Nathan Report (see *Summary* No. 373) upon which their fresh wage demands were originally based. The Metal Trades section of the A.F. of L. has also condemned the C.I.O. claims for arrears of "portal-to-portal" pay (*i.e.*, pay for time spent on the employer's premises by workers proceeding to and from the actual job). Legislation to relieve industry of the nightmare of retrospective "portal-to-portal" claims is at present being studied by a special subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee under Senator Forrest C. Donnell (Republican, Missouri).

LATIN AMERICA

Inter-American Relations and Argentina

The Argentine Government has issued a decree providing for the acquisition *en bloc* of the property of former Axis firms now in course of liquidation (see *Summary* No. 374). The United States Chargé d'Affaires in Buenos Aires has advised the State Department that he considers that

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Argentina has complied with her "hemisphere obligations" as laid down by Mr. Byrnes on the 13th January. Broadcast reports of first United States reactions are favourable, and a State Department announcement hails the decree as "an important step and a welcome addition to the measures already taken in respect of Nazi . . . institutions." However, it is still uncertain whether this move will be sufficient to bring about a settlement of the differences between the United States and Argentina. On the 23rd January, President Truman said that he had placed the matter "right in General Marshall's lap": Mr. Messersmith has said that he will be returning to Buenos Aires, and Mr. Braden has said nothing. Opinion in Washington is that possibly neither Mr. Messersmith nor Mr. Braden will continue long in their present posts, but that United States policy will veer towards a settlement on inter-American lines as proposed by Senator Vandenberg.

In view of the steps taken by the Argentine Government, H.M. Ambassador in Washington has informed Mr. Dean Acheson at the State Department that H.M. Government consider the "gentleman's agreement" suspending the sale of armaments to Argentina to have terminated. Mr. Acheson was distressed, saying that his Government were still not satisfied with Argentine assurances. He hoped that H.M. Government would not make any public statement: if so, the whole American plan would be "pretty well cooked." When informed of H.M. Government's action, General Perón and the Argentine Foreign Minister were delighted.

Brazil

The Brazilian elections for Governors of States and state legislatures were held on the 19th January. Polling is reported to have been generally orderly. These elections have been preceded by the most complicated intrigues and negotiations in most of the states, and it is unlikely that the general trend will emerge until a reasonable proportion of the votes have been counted. The Communists (P.C.B.) expect an increase of strength in accordance with their increased enrolment since the congressional elections in November 1945, but while first countings seem to bear out their expectations, later results were less favourable to them. This is probably due at least in part to anti-Communist warnings by the Church.

Guatemala

With a view to the Congressional elections, President Arévalo has dismissed the whole Cabinet, and is likely to appoint a new left-wing group more "representative of revolutionary ideas." The present Minister for Foreign Affairs may remain in office. The Guatemalan Note mentioned in *Summary* No. 377 has been published in the Guatemalan Press. There is still no indication of the terms on which Guatemala would consider an out-of-court settlement of the Belize dispute.

Venezuela

The Assembly is now engaged in elaborating a new Constitution, which will keep it fully occupied for the time being. A new income tax law has, however, been passed, which operates more severely on high incomes, particularly those of the oil companies. This measure has received the support of all parties, but in other matters the small COPEI minority has been vigorous. Accusations against the Government alleging ill-treatment of prisoners involved in the last insurrection have led to the appointment of a committee of investigation which found some of the charges justified. The Government party subsequently refused to permit the publication of the committee's report, but referred the question to the courts.

The Presidential elections are due to take place in May. It remains to be seen whether Acting-President Betancourt and his colleagues will abide by their original promise not to remain in office once the provisional period was over.

UNITED NATIONS

Disarmament

An Official Committee on Disarmament is being set up with the following terms of reference: (1) to examine the Assembly's resolution, (2) to submit to the Defence Committee draft proposals on disarmament, &c., for the U.K. representative to submit the Disarmament Commission of the Security Council, (3) to watch the proceedings of the Disarmament Commission, (4) to work out with the Official Committee on Atomic Energy, a joint policy for the regulation and reduction of armaments and for control and prohibition of weapons of mass destruction.

The Chairman of the Committee will be Mr. Gladwyn Jebb (Foreign Office) and the members, Sir John Stephenson (Dominions Office), Vice-Admiral C. S. Daniel (Third Sea Lord), Vice-Admiral Sir Rhoderick McGrigor (Admiralty), Lieut.-General F. E. W. Simpson (War Office), Air Marshal Sir Wm. F. Dickson (Air Ministry), Sir George W. Turner (Ministry of Supply), Joint Secretaries, Mr. P. Mason (Foreign Office), and Brigadier A. T. Cornwall-Jones (Cabinet Office).

F.A.O.

The text of the report of the Preparatory Commission was adopted on the 24th January. Few Commissions have had wider fields to survey than this; to examine how to "develop and organise the production, distribution and use of basic foods so as to provide diets on a health standard for the people of all countries, and to stabilise agricultural prices at levels fair to producers and consumers alike."

The task of the eighteen nations represented on the Commission was complicated by the fact that their farmers and consumers are subsidised to an increasing extent by Governments, so that price alone can no longer adjust supply and demand. Factors alien to economics enter in, and one of the chief tasks of the Commission was to arrive at an agreed system of rules to keep Governments during conditions of scarcity from a wild international scramble for food. Very wisely all thought of a "World Food Board," a world authority with compulsory powers, was abandoned, and, instead, conciliation machinery is to be set up, whereby Governments can reconcile their differences by discussion without abandoning their sovereignty. An annual review of the world position should help to prevent the various national programmes clashing with one another, while avoiding the danger of stereotyping which all world-plans entail. The Commission's practical approach is clearly seen in its insistence that backward countries can only come to enjoy higher standards of diet if they develop both their own agriculture and their own industry. International organisations will help in this, but the basic principle both in effort and in finance must be self-help; and the Commission deserves high praise for rejecting the idea that the improvident have a right to impoverish their neighbours and lower the standard of living throughout the world.

In the Commission's view, its objectives can only be attained by increasing production and consumption, and expanding world trade. But, since the units of the world are the various countries, each unit must be made sound, and put in a position to develop its own resources. Development needs finance. This will be available, but the greater part must be furnished by the country itself. Scientific knowledge must pass easily across frontiers; but the scientific development of agriculture means the employment of less men. The surplus must be absorbed by new industries. Large-scale plans must be ready for execution when immediate objectives have been reached. As regards finance, the Commission hopes that the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development will receive so many demands that its funds will prove inadequate. F.A.O. and the Bank should consult together over the projects submitted, and when funds run out, both should report to Governments and to the United Nations.

Much of the Commission's time was spent on the problem of how to stabilise prices, and its solutions may be summed up in the phrase "agreements between Governments." It recommended a "famine reserve" of basic foods to be held nationally for use internationally, and the creation of "buffer stocks" for commodities subject to "seasonal or cyclical fluctuations." These stocks, too, should be held nationally, but they should be administered internationally, in order to avoid balance of payment difficulties. Quotas and long-term contracts, while essential in certain cases, are dangerous. The first may stereotype production and prevent natural development, the second may prove discriminatory unless brought within a "multilateral framework."

An interesting recommendation was that, when scarcity ends, countries should not cut down production, but, having sold what they can at "reasonable prices" on the regular market, sell the surplus at special, reduced prices for "approved nutritional programmes." The danger here, as H.M.G. are aware, is that the regular customers may be charged too much, since it may well be argued that the existence of a surplus indicates that the regular price has been too high. To meet this objection, the report says that no part of the cost of the special price sales should be transferred to the price of the commercial exports, and the phrase "reasonable price" is intended as an additional guarantee.

To achieve F.A.O.'s ambitious objectives there must be a balance between production and nutrition and also between commodity and commodity, and the report makes three recommendations: (1) that pending

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the establishment of the proposed International Trade Organisation, a Temporary Coordinating Committee of three experts should keep in touch with inter-governmental arrangements for both agricultural and non-agricultural primary commodities, (2) that the F.A.O. Conference should conduct a yearly review of the programmes of each member nation. From this consultation of member with member much experience would be exchanged, and progress made towards a coherent world programme, by reason and friendship, and finally (3) to meet the urgent need for consultation and even action in the interval between annual reviews, the Commission recommends that a Council of F.A.O. be established, to be known as the World Food Council, which should carry out the function of the Annual Review between Conferences. It would meet at least twice a year, as well as immediately before the regular annual session of the Conference. Thus, by strengthening F.A.O., the United Nations would make itself far more able to deal with a problem vital to all men, and yet would not need to multiply its organs.

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L 855/6/405

Weekly Political Intelligence Summary
No. 379

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
5TH FEBRUARY, 1947

Copy No. 143

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EUROPE

GERMANY

The Foreign Ministers' Deputies for Germany have continued to meet regularly to hear the views of interested countries (see under "France," "Low Countries," "Czechoslovakia," "Greece" and "Yugoslovia"). The Canadian Government have now joined in proposing that an international statute for Germany should be drawn up to cover the period until a permanent treaty can be made. As suggested by Sir William Strang, H.M. Government are also ready to welcome Mr. Murphy's proposal for an international statute, if this is interpreted as a revision of the Potsdam Agreement to cover the second period of control in Germany.

Dr. Schumacher has recently visited Berlin and has spoken on the Social Democrats' attitude towards a peace treaty. At a press conference on the 28th January he reaffirmed his view that, while it was true that the 1939 frontiers had been lost through Hitler's adventure, it must be the Germans' endeavour to get back as much land East of the Oder and Neisse as possible. Replying to a French correspondent's question as to whether some of his recent statements had not been too nationalistic, Schumacher admitted natural "national" feeling among the German people, a feeling to which, he said, they had as much right as the Dutch, the British or the French. He claimed, nevertheless (though his assumption is doubtful), that national sentiment did not prevent the Germans from realising that Europe had become too small a space both from the economic and political point of view to remain in the phase of national states. It is noticeable that Schumacher, since his visit to Great Britain, while continuing to stand fast on what he conceives to be the rights of the SPD in Germany and of Germany in the world, has paid considerably more attention than previously to international aspects of the problem. He has warned the Germans against indulgence in ultra-nationalistic agitation

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and has insisted that the peace agreement must be seen from an all-European aspect and that it would, therefore, be best to bring the problem before the United Nations. Speaking in Hamburg on the 2nd February, he added that the issue in Moscow would not really be whether or not a peace treaty with Germany should be forthcoming but whether the old national policy was to be continued or whether a fundamental reorganisation of Europe was to be reached. He gave as his belief that "there is only one patriotism and that is the patriotism of internationalism." Schumacher, however, is unlikely to be entirely unconscious of the way in which insistence on internationalism could be utilised by those of bad faith to foster the idea that Germany is morally on the defence against the national greed of other countries. However laudable the pronouncement, in his speech to the Party Congress in Munich on the 12th January, that "Germany has no mission in Europe but only a function," political agitators might nevertheless in the future make use of his subsequent remark: "In the political and economic fields the internationalism which we desire must not consist in a German surrender to other national claims with respect to State and economy."

Consideration of the economic sections of the Control Council Report is to be renewed in the respective Directorates on the suggestion of the British delegate to the Co-ordinating Committee. In some cases, such as exports and imports, it has already been realised that no agreement will be reached, but most subjects are likely to be debated to the point where either the Soviet delegates refuse to give information (which fact would be recorded in the report) or until an agreed report is reached. The action of the Russian authorities in permitting the verbatim publication in the Soviet-controlled press of Marshal Sokolowsky's attack on the British and U.S. delegates (reported in last week's *Summary*) was queried by the British representative in the Co-ordinating Committee on the 27th January. It is perfectly understood, and agreed, that no unilateral statements are made to the press about Control Council proceedings until discussion of the particular matter has ended. The Russian action is the more disingenuous as the attack was published without the reply by the other delegates or the subsequent retraction by Marshal Sokolowsky. General Kurochkin promised to investigate the matter and appeared obviously ill at ease. It seems clear that both the statement and its publication came as a result of direct instructions from Moscow and was not welcomed by Soviet representatives on the spot. This was evidently but the first pellet to be shot off from Moscow's newest type of propaganda weapon, specially designed to impress the German public before the Moscow conference. A similar case has since occurred over the meeting of the Berlin Kommandatura on the 31st January. On the following day Berlin and Leipzig Radios broadcast a lengthy "communiqué" about the Kommandatura's disagreement over election rules for the *Freie Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund*, although this matter is still under discussion. The statement was not a fair report of proceedings but a laudatory defence of Russian policy—combined with the most vituperative attacks on the attitude of the other members accusing them of attempting to sabotage the holding of elections by unwarranted interference in internal TU matters. Much of the broadcast was taken up with reports of the scandalous statements of General Kotikov characterised at the outset by the remark: "One is fully entitled to say that the U.S. delegation does not wish to reach agreement."

The principles behind this dispute are of importance in determining whether the Berlin Trade Union will be able to throw off domination of the Socialist Unity Party. The SPD demand that the election be fought on openly party lines has been hampered by the party's inability to tackle the problem of reorganisation realistically or to overcome their preoccupation with personal ambitions. The more unscrupulous Socialist Unity Party succeeded in "packing" a delegates' meeting on the 11th January by arriving two hours ahead of time. In the absence of SPD supporters they were therefore able to pass election rules satisfactory to themselves and to the Russians. At a meeting of the Kommandatura on the 17th January, however, the Russians agreed that the rules should be re-drafted. Whereas in the elections of January 1946 the SED held the whip-hand and arranged that the distribution of the executive's seats should be negotiated between the parties before the elections, it has now been proposed that 27 members should be elected directly by the Greater Berlin Delegates' Conference, and the remaining 18 by the local unions through their district delegates although these latter would be subject to confirmation by the Greater Berlin Conference. It appears that the Western Delegates in the Kommandatura considered this proviso for

confirmation by the conference to be undemocratic, and also wished to reduce the number of the executive to the original figure of 30 so that local unions would have the majority. It is mainly for this reason that they have still not approved the election rules, thus occasioning the Russian outburst.

The battle for or against socialisation of basic industries in the Ruhr is now in full swing. In the Rhineland-Westphalian Diet on the 21st January motions for expropriating the coal and lignite industries and for transferring basic industries to public ownership were virtually defeated by the votes of the Free Democrats and the Christian Democrats headed by Adenauer, since they succeeded in deferring a decision until the February session. Schumacher has roundly accused Adenauer of defending big capital at the expense of the middle classes. Adenauer himself, however, is too canny to uphold big business in public and has approved a plan for transferring basic industries to German trustees while leaving other branches of industry to free enterprise. He remains firmly opposed to nationalisation and to the concentration of economic power in the hands of the State.

One of the more curious demands made in the Yugoslav memorandum on Germany is that the fundamental national rights of the Lusatian Wends must be guaranteed and their free national development made possible. Lusatia is a small area to the south-east of Berlin, named after the Slav tribe, the *Lusitzi*, who were incorporated into the Holy Roman Empire in 938. In connection with Polish plans in August 1946 for the formation of a Lusatian State, the Chairman of the Berlin Christian Democrats, Kaiser, stated that the separatist Wendish people's party only obtained 10,751 votes in the Reichstag elections of May 1924 (out of 72,626 Wendish-speaking inhabitants), and in the elections of September 1930 only 288 votes. The census in 1933 gave the number of Wendish-speaking inhabitants as 57,167. The Lusatian Wends have been producing demands for independence ever since the territory was occupied by the Soviet Army in April, 1945, and have been variously supported in these demands by Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. Poland seems to be leading Czechoslovakia in the race to "protect" the Wends. The Wends have achieved since 1945 a certain degree of cultural autonomy unwelcome to the Germans who live among them, but it is not certain how far demands for independence have popular backing nor whether "Lusatians" in general know what is involved. Before the War they were known chiefly by their retention of their national customs and costumes, which proved a considerable tourist attraction.

AUSTRIA

The Council of Deputy Foreign Ministers meeting in London have asked the Allied Commission in Austria to prepare reports by the 10th February on two important questions; the progress of demilitarisation, the dissolution of military organisations and the elimination of Austria's military potential; and the present numbers and status of displaced persons and refugees in Austria, including the number of those who may be repatriated, those whom it is believed might be absorbed into the Austrian economy, and those who can neither be repatriated nor absorbed into the Austrian economy. The Allied Commission is also asked to report on the method of feeding displaced persons in Austria.

On the 28th January the Deputies resumed discussion of the political clauses of the treaty. General Mark Clark presented a United States draft clause by which Austria would undertake to abstain from any act likely to violate her own independent status. He thought that something should be included in the treaty to prevent Austria from associating herself with Germany again. The French and British Deputies agreed with this point of view, but M. Gusev felt that the clause was in too general terms since the only threat to Austrian independence would come from Germany. The French Deputy thought that, just as Germany should be prevented from repeating the *Anschluss*, Austria should be prevented from renouncing her independence. Lord Hood suggested a clause laying down that Austria should abstain from any act likely to create such a union, or from any act which might lead to the loss of her independence. These suggestions, together with a proposal by Lord Hood that there should be a clause securing German recognition of Austrian independence and the renunciation of all right to Austrian territory, were passed to the political sub-committee.

On the 30th January the Austrian Chancellor stated Austria's case, asking that the treaty should be a "Magna Carta" and not a burden. It should establish clear separation of Austria from Germany, and Austria should not be forced to carry a

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liability which made reconstruction impossible or delayed it. On the 31st January the Austrian delegation were questioned by the Deputies. M. Gusev asked the Austrian delegates whether the Austrian Government in accordance with the Moscow Declaration, recognised Austrian responsibility in taking part in the war on Germany's side. Dr. Gruber replied that, as was mentioned in the Declaration, the annexation of Austria by Germany was forced. After the *Anschluss* no Austrian State existed, and Austria's part in the war could not therefore be the responsibility of the Austrian State but only of certain Austrians.

The Deputies also discussed a Yugoslav protest against the inclusion in the Austrian delegation of Herr Hans Piesch, *Landeshauptmann* of Carinthia. The Yugoslav delegation alleged that Herr Piesch (who is a Socialist of long standing), had received power from Nazi hands. It was agreed that further details would be sought from the Allied authorities in Vienna. Herr Piesch is believed to have made contact with the *Gauleiter* of Carinthia in April, 1945, solely in order to induce him to quit his post. Herr Piesch subsequently became provisional *Landeshauptmann*, and in the elections of November, 1945, he was confirmed in his office.

At an Executive Committee meeting in Vienna on the 1st February the Soviet member objected to the appointment of Erwin Altenburger to replace Weinberger as the People's Party Minister without Portfolio, on the ground that Altenburger's outlook was anti-democratic and unsympathetic to the Allies. The matter is being investigated further.

There was renewed discussion on the food supplies for the next ration period, which emphasised the continued breach between the U.S. point of view that imported food supplies should not be used until indigenous resources had been totally expended, and the Soviet desire to conserve the indigenous resources of their zone in case of a possible stoppage of imported supplies, most of which must come from the West. It was finally agreed that the deficit in the Austrian Government's plan for the period should be met by U.S. loans and imports of food.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Czechoslovak delegation, headed by M. Lisický, presented its views on Germany to the Conference of Deputies on the 30th January. The contents of the supporting memoranda, which had been previously circulated, as well as the general attitude of the Czechoslovak Government and people, were described in *Summaries* 376 and 377. In its oral presentation the Czechoslovak case showed no modification, but adhered closely to the brief, even to the point of sounding guarded. That the Government had agreed with Poland in advance upon a common policy is borne out by this general wariness, and in particular by the refusal to be drawn on the subject of what had become of Czech claims on Polish-occupied Silesia. This interpretation of events is further corroborated by the reactions in the Prague press, now that the shelving of this issue has been revealed to the public. The Communists support the Government action on the grounds that a Polish Silesia no longer constitutes a menace to Czechoslovakia, and is therefore not an urgent problem; the others show that their national pride has suffered a blow, and that they see in it the subordination of legitimate Czech interests to the overriding dictates of an eastern European *bloc*. The affair will provide little real satisfaction in either camp, for the Communists, still following though for how much longer it would be rash to predict—the native Czechoslovak parliamentary tradition, must realise that they will lose thereby some useful popular support; while the non-Communists are probably aware that good relations with Poland and the Soviet Union, whatever their political complexion, rank in importance with Czech-German relations. The realistic approach may be somewhat unpalatable, but the unique position of Czechoslovakia has a way of continually reasserting itself, and presenting its statesmen with the same dilemma, though not always to such an insupportable degree, as that which Dr. Beneš faced during his lonely vigil in the Hradčany Palace in September 1938.

The recognition by Germany of the annulment of the Munich Agreement was listed at the head of the special demands outlined by the third Czech speaker, M. Lisický. In addition to the small frontier rectifications (for which after the abandonment of the Silesian demands, the general public is evincing little interest) and the return to pre-war conditions in transport arrangements with Germany, M. Lisický further demanded the complete assimilation into Germany of the Sudeten minority expelled

from Czechoslovakia under the Potsdam Agreement. This is evidence of genuine concern—often voiced in the evacuated Border Regions themselves—that these transferees may otherwise, at some future date, and with the connivance of the German authorities, constitute themselves the spearhead of another, avenging, *Drang nach Osten*.

The core of the problem, as seen by the Czechoslovak delegation, is the final question of how to control Germany, and it is here that their representations were most circumspect. As already stated, they favour a unified Germany, not a federalist one, and an, at present, unlimited period of occupation, in which Czechoslovakia claims the right to participate. They advocate complete military and economic disarmament, re-education in the sense of inculcating a new, non-aggressive, outlook, and the adoption of a planned socialist economy (abolition of cartels, nationalisation of industry, land reform, controlled foreign trade and financial relations, and a slow but gradual rise in the standard of living). The adoption by Germany of such an economic system is seen as rendering it the more capable of effective control; it would be regarded further as a triumph for the economic revolution that is taking place both in Poland and Czechoslovakia. For the rest, the Czechs were cautious, or deliberately vague, on the question of how all this is to be achieved.

The continuing *impasse* in the Slovak-Magyar dispute is described in this *Summary* under "Hungary."

POLAND

The General Council of the Polish Peasant Party met on the 1st and 2nd February and passed what amounts to a vote of confidence in M. Mickolajczyk. According to the press reports, the Council decided by a majority vote that the 28 members of the party elected to the new *Sejm* should take their seats; and that they should form an official opposition. There would, in consequence, be no members of the party in the new Government.

In replying to questions on the Polish elections Mr. Mayhew said in the House of Commons on the 3rd February that the powers of the Polish Provisional Government were extensively used to reduce to a minimum the vote of those opposed to the Government *bloc*. "His Majesty's Government," he said, "cannot regard these elections as fulfilling the solemn contract which the Polish Provisional Government entered into . . . that free and unfettered elections would be held. They cannot, therefore, regard the results as a true expression of the will of the Polish people."

"On the 11th January," Mr. Mayhew added, "His Majesty's Ambassador in Moscow had a conversation with M. Molotov in which he expressed the deep concern of His Majesty's Government. The Soviet Government replied . . . that they did not agree that there was discrimination, that the arrests were necessary to prevent disorder and terrorism, and that the Soviet Government did not consider there was any cause for intervention. My Right Hon. Friend did not agree with this view, but it was clearly useless to pursue the matter further in Moscow. My Right Hon. Friend, however, informed the Polish Provisional Government once more of his very grave concern at the situation. Every possible effort was thus made, but without success, to secure the execution of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements. Naturally our sympathy is with the Polish people who have thus been deprived of their democratic rights."

The Polish Government's official views on the treatment of Germany were presented by M. Wierblowski, Polish Ambassador in Prague, at the meeting of the Deputies of the Foreign Ministers in London on the 27th January.

The main points in the Polish statement on matters political were:—

(*a*) the need for unanimity among the Great Powers;
(*b*) the need for a long period of control to ensure the thorough democratisation of Germany;
(*c*) the importance of completing disarmament, demilitarisation, denazification and the punishment of war criminals;
(*d*) the impossibility, over a long period, of reversing history by attempting to divide Germany into "quasi-independent organisms" and the danger of a new German chauvinism and revisionism which such an attempt would create;
(*e*) the necessity for the final liquidation of Prussia and "the Prussian spirit";
(*f*) the expectation of the Polish Government that the Western Frontier of Poland would be formally and finally confirmed at the Peace Conference.

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With regard to economic *desiderata*, the statement covered the following points :—

(*a*) The Potsdam Agreement should not be altered in Germany's favour :—

(i) without corresponding benefits to the countries which had suffered German occupation, or

(ii) until land reform had been carried out and economic unity achieved in Germany. The reconstruction of the German economy should not precede the reconstruction of devastated countries. Germany should not, as after the last war, be subsidised by foreign capital to a greater degree than her neighbours in Central and Eastern Europe. The Ruhr should serve not only Germany's needs, but those of all countries whose economy is linked with it.

(*b*) Payment of reparations, both capital and from current production, should be envisaged as one of the means of achieving the economic levelling of Germany with her neighbours.

(*c*) The liquidation of cartels and monopolies.

(*d*) The normalisation, as soon as possible, of trade relations between Poland and Germany.

As if in support of the Polish statement figures of Polish war losses have since been issued, according to which the total casualties were 6,028,000. 644,000 of these were from direct hostilities; 3,577,000 died in concentration camps, 1,286,000 in other camps or prisons; 521,000 of exposure and starvation. Besides these, 590,000 were disabled, there was an increase of 1,140,000 in tuberculosis cases, 2,460,000 were sent to slave labour in Germany, and 2,478,000 were evicted from their homes. Material losses are given as 258,432 million pre-war zloty. One newspaper comments "Germany has won the war biologically. . . . To-day the population of 'poor Germany' including repatriates from Poland and Czechoslovakia, is 66,000,000—or more than the population of the Reich in 1937."

SOVIET UNION

On the 27th January M. Zarubin, the new Soviet Ambassador, accompanied by M. Koukin, the Minister-Counsellor, called on Mr. Bevin for the first time since his arrival in London. The interview was very cordial and touched on several outstanding problems in Anglo-Soviet relations. In the first place the Ambassador raised the question of Generalissimo Stalin's statement regarding the Anglo-Soviet Treaty and was told by Mr. Bevin that it had been welcomed and was being studied. M. Koukin then broached the question of Anglo-American arms standardisation, asking whether there was an agreement between the United States and this country on the subject. He was assured by the Secretary of State that there was no actual agreement. But Mr. Bevin explained the vital importance of this matter, in view of our experience in the last war, and referred to the arrangements which he believed were being put into effect in Eastern Europe on a Russian standardisation basis. M. Koukin also raised the question of American interest in oil in the Middle East and the Palestine pipe-line proposal. These were purely commercial matters, Mr. Bevin said, and in no wise directed against Russia. He also denied the allegation that this country opposed the Russian oil concession in Azerbaidjan, pointing out that British interests were in the South of Persia. This country was only concerned that concessions in Persia should not be used to undermine the independence of that country or interfere with its Government. The Secretary of State emphasised the purely defensive nature of British interests in the Middle East—"It was our lifeline and we intended to maintain it." In connection with Germany, the Secretary of State expressed concern about the continuing differences in the handling of the German problem and the energy shown by Russian spokesmen in attacking this country rather than in attempting to solve the problem of containing Germany. He suggested that an effort should be made in Moscow by the Four Great Powers concerned to reconcile their methods of approach so as to ensure mutual security. Finally Mr. Bevin stressed the over-riding importance of working out a system of effective collective security.

Not long after the publication of Marshal Sokolovsky's statement in the Control Council (see *Summary* No. 378), Major General Kotikov's statement at the meeting of the four Allied Commandants of Berlin has now appeared in *Taegliche Rundschau*, the organ of the Soviet Military Administration. The statement, dealing with the Russian attitude on elections within the Berlin branch of the Free German Trade Union Federation, had been the subject of disagreement at the meeting. These new tactics of unilateral disclosure of discussions hitherto treated as private are

coupled with renewed attacks on Anglo-American policy in Germany in the Soviet press.

Academician Tarle, who in the past has often given expression to the view of Generalissimo Stalin, in a public lecture on the 28th January stated that every problem so far dealt with since the war paled into insignificance beside that of Germany. He insisted on firmness in dealing with the German question, by which he meant the securing of adequate reparations for the U.S.S.R. He took up the point made in *Pravda* that "certain circles" were building up Germany against the U.S.S.R., on this occasion, however, making British diplomatists, and not the Labour Party or the Government, the villains of the piece. They were held to be the true authors of Schumacher's London visit. In all this propaganda the three main themes have been denazification and democratisation in the special Soviet sense of these terms, demilitarisation and reparations—presumably the subjects on which the Soviet Government wishes to focus attention at the Moscow meeting.

Izvestiya has returned to the charge over Spitsbergen accusing the British, American and Swedish circles which had shown concern over the Soviet proposals of raising a clamour in order to disguise their own expansionist plans, particularly those of the U.S.A. in Greenland.

The general pattern of Soviet policy in Japan remains unchanged. Though no concrete evidence seems available of Soviet underground assistance to subversive activities, it is believed in well-informed quarters in Tokyo that the Soviet mission is working hard and skilfully, to discredit General MacArthur's Administration, to infiltrate Communist propaganda into the country, to create labour unrest, *etc.*; in other words that the mission is "a state within a state" which, generally speaking, fails to observe the occupation regulations. The size of the Soviet Mission was reduced to approximately 250 last November (a number still abnormally high in relation to the mission's official work) and it is believed that it is being made into a hard core of highly skilled technicians.

Strong criticism of Mr. Pauley and of American policy towards reparations from Japan itself was published in *Izvestiya* (the 29th January). It was pointed out that "the Soviet Government has repeatedly explained that Japanese military property in Manchuria including plant which served the needs of the Kwantung army is the war booty of the Soviet troops." "Only by adopting this incontestable thesis is a serious solution of the reparations questions possible, as is perfectly obvious." *Izvestiya* indignantly denied Mr. Pauley's contention that the present condition of Manchurian industry was due to removals of plant by the Soviet Army.

Recent political events in India have given a fillip to Indian news and comment in Moscow. At first the Soviet press took the line that the measures against the Indian Communist Party were an attempt on the part of the provincial Governments and the police to paralyse the proletarian movement; later, however, it shifted its ground and declared that the suppression of the Communists had been carried out solely on the instructions of the British authorities, who were pursuing the traditional British "divide and rule" policy and were provoking anti-Communist measures in order to discredit the Provisional Government in the eyes of the people. The arrest of Communists in Burma was only briefly reported, and little appeared on the Anglo-Burmese negotiations till their conclusion. The press then summarised Lord Pethick-Lawrence's announcement in the House of Lords and in the same report played up the criticisms of U Saw and Ba Sein that not one of Burma's original demands had been met, except for the decision to establish a Constituent Assembly, which had to be approved by the British Parliament.

The Communist Party in India was illegal for several years before the war, and has only been functioning openly since July 1942. In October 1946 the Party claimed for itself a membership of 53,700, exclusive of candidates and sympathisers, a figure nearly double that claimed during the previous two or three years, and almost certainly greatly exaggerated. The bulk of the members are concentrated in the Provinces of Madras, Bengal and Bombay, but the comparatively small Punjabi branch is of special importance as many of its leaders are veteran revolutionaries trained in the U.S.S.R.

In the course of his recent visit to Moscow, M. Louis Saillant, Secretary-General of the World Federation of Trades Unions, gave an interview to *Trud* (the Soviet trade union organ) in which he echoed Soviet propagandist sentiments on such matters as the General Assembly decision on Franco Spain and relations between the World Federation of Trade Unions and the Economic and Social Council. He mentioned a recent talk with members of the Executive Committee of the Underground Spanish Trade Union Organisation in which "the horrible

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material and moral conditions" of the Spanish working class were described. His Soviet hosts no doubt appreciated his tribute to the superior strength of the organised workers in the Soviet occupation zones and in Berlin and his remarks about the menace of Nazism in the Western Zones. It is understood that M. Saillant will join the delegation from the World Federation of Trades Unions which is now visiting the American zone of Germany. Other W.F.T.U. visits announced by M. Saillant are to Japan (on the 10th March) and to Dakar, where an All-African Trade Union Conference is scheduled for the 10th–13th April. The information released from time to time in the Soviet Union regarding W.F.T.U. activities reflects a far greater concern about international politics than about trade union questions as such. The W.F.T.U. seems chiefly to be of use as an agency for supporting Soviet views on world politics.

The U.S.S.R. State Planning Commission has issued a progress report on the results of the first year of the new Five Year Plan (1946–50). The restoration and development of the national economy is stated to have proceeded in accordance with the programme. There is, however, much reliable evidence to show that the programme was not fulfilled in White Russia, where restoration has a low priority, and indeed had on the whole been adequately carried out with regard to housing.

According to the communiqué, the output of basic industry showed an increase of roughly 10 per cent. over the previous year's output, the actual figures for steel, coal and oil being respectively 109, 110 and 112. If this rate of increase is continued throughout the plan, the target figures of output set for 1950 should be reached by that date. The statement also emphasizes the seriousness of last year's drought (as indicated in *Summary* No. 377)—which it characterises as the worst experienced in the past 50 years—and mentions that the production of grain crops, sunflower seeds and sugar beet in the U.S.S.R. as a whole declined considerably in 1946 as compared with 1945.

In the Kursk area where the drought most drastically affected the people's grain supplies, the collective farmers, according to Moscow radio, were supplied with 4,000,000 poods of grain and tractors, while threshing machines and other agricultural equipment were directed to the local machine Tractor Station.

SCANDINAVIA

Finland

Towards the end of January the Diet considered a bill authorising the Government to send a delegation to Paris in order to sign the Peace Treaty, at the same time conferring upon the President of the Republic the right to ratify the Treaty immediately after signature without further reference to the Diet. Curiously enough, objections to the bill were raised by the Communists on grounds of procedure, and it was argued that the Diet could not give its consent to ratification before the Treaty had actually been signed. Eventually, nevertheless, the bill was passed unanimously.

The question of the conversion of the British courier service into a commercial air line has now been debated in the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Diet. The Foreign Minister, M. Enckell, was severely criticised for the course adopted, and the view was taken that a formal application for permission ought to have been made to the Control Commission. Instead, M. Enckell had merely informed the Soviet authorities of the contemplated change, a procedure which many members thought might easily have given offence to the Russians. The matter, therefore, still remains unsettled, and it is impossible to say when the conversion will finally take place.

Norway

The 91st ordinary session of the *Storting* had its State opening on the 14th January. King Haakon began his Speech from the Throne with a brief review of the international situation, during which he noted that Norway had been invited to express her views with regard to the final settlements with Germany and Austria. Normal diplomatic relations had been resumed, he said, with Roumania, Austria and Siam, and a Representative had been sent to Tokio. Until the formal conclusion of peace Norway would remain in a state of war with Germany and Japan. She would continue to take an active part in the activities of the United Nations Organisation.

Negotiations had taken place with the Soviet Union, he went on, for the drawing up of the common frontier in the extreme North, and both parties were in complete agreement that the line should coincide with the original border established by treaty in 1826. (This line is identical with the former Finnish-Norwegian frontier.)

Several trade and financial agreements had been concluded with foreign countries, as had a civil aviation agreement with Great Britain. The question of reciprocal air agreements had also been discussed with several other Governments. A proposal for reform of the Norwegian Foreign Service, better fitting it for the demands placed upon it, would shortly be submitted for consideration.

Turning to domestic affairs King Haakon underlined that the budget proposals for 1947–48 had been drawn up in accordance with the Government's declared policy of price stabilisation, and that, for this reason, it had proved necessary to put aside a substantial sum. The Government were at present examining the advisability of establishing State monopolies for the import of solid fuels, concentrated cattle fodder, and medical supplies. Owing to existing shortages, and difficulties arising out of conditions of payment, State control of the import and export trade would be continued for the time being, while rationing of certain essential commodities, including building materials and liquid fuel, would also remain in force. Schemes for the employment of ex-traitors were being prepared and would soon be put into effect. King Haakon ended his speech by enumerating a number of measures dealing with social insurance, public health, &c., which the Government intended to place before the *Storting*.

It has not hitherto been customary for the Speech from the Throne to give a detailed account of the Government's intentions; the opening of the *Storting* has tended to be purely ceremonial, and the King's Speech has rarely formed the basis for an important political debate. The present departure, which more closely conforms to British practice, was greeted with satisfaction, particularly by Government supporters.

Iceland

(Also see *Summary* No. 376.) Herra Stefan Stefansson, the Chairman of the Socialist Party, has succeeded in forming a Government with the Conservative and Progressive parties, a surprising achievement if the enmity between the leaders of these two parties is remembered. From information so far available it appears that each party will furnish two Ministers and that the six main portfolios will be evenly distributed among them, while at the same time minor departments will be placed under the care of the same Ministers. Thus the Socialists will look after the Ministry for Social Affairs and that for Communications and also be responsible for the Department of Commerce; the Conservatives have been entrusted with the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Finance and also look after the Departments of Justice and of Fisheries, the Progressive Party will inherit the portfolios of Labour and Education from the Communists and, besides, be responsible for the Departments of Agriculture and Aviation. It will also be seen that the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, which under the previous Coalition Government was combined with the Premiership, remains in the hands of the Conservative Party.

Denmark

The rumours that the United States have made, or are contemplating making, an offer to purchase Greenland have caused great concern in Denmark. According to the Danish press responsible circles, represented, for instance, by M. Rasmussen, the Foreign Minister himself, and Danish public opinion generally, regard any suggestion of selling Greenland as absurd and conflicting with Danish tradition.

(Also see under "United States.")

THE LOW COUNTRIES

The Netherlands

A third Netherlands Government Memorandum on territorial and economic claims against Germany was submitted to the Conference of Foreign Ministers' Deputies in London on the 25th January. The historical aspect of the territorial claims, hitherto rather discreetly relegated to the background, is here given considerable prominence. Beginning with the northern part of the frontier region—that bordered by the Provinces of Westphalia and Hanover—the Memorandum states that the Netherlands had never accepted Germany's claim to absolute sovereignty over the Ems estuary, since that was based on "a charter of extremely dubious authenticity." Further south, the reclamation during the past 50 years of the Boertange peat moor—once a natural boundary—had completely altered the situation so that the existing frontier had become "fortuitous and inconvenient." Still further south, the County of Bentheim [a well-defined and abrupt rectangular salient projecting into Dutch territory, from the head of which to the nearest point on the shore of the Ijselmeer is a little over 40 miles] is "geographically entirely dependent" upon and has, "from ancient times," been "closely associated" with,

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the Netherlands. The Vreden and Anholt "pockets" are the result of the "vicissitudes of mediæval political history": their removal is demanded in the interest of straightening the frontier. The Memorandum is careful to explain that, in "all these cases," it is frontier rectification, not the introduction of "fundamental changes," which is involved. The frontier opposite the Rhine Province, however, "presents a different aspect." It is of much more recent origin, having been delimited by the Congress of Vienna in 1815; but it is claimed by the Memorandum to have "much less historical authority" for its position than has the northern part of the frontier opposite Westphalia and Hanover. "It is the result," adds the Memorandum, "of a political compromise which was largely determined by alien factors, and against which Dutch protests in the past proved unavailing." The three frontier changes asked for in this region—near the territory of the former Duchy of Cleves and the towns of Cleves and Emmerich; near the Dutch towns of Roermond and Sittard; and near 's-Hertogenrade [Herzogenrath] and Aachen—do not, it is urged, "overstep the bounds of historical tradition."

In its economic section, the Memorandum reiterates the great importance and urgency of the Netherlands economic claims. It was essential, runs the argument, that the questions raised by these claims be "taken up at the earliest opportunity in order to ensure that the *régime* now in force in Occupied Germany be adapted as soon as possible to the system aimed at in the Peace Treaty." Economic activity in Germany was "likely to be at a low level for many years to come," and it was for that reason that the Netherlands Government wanted to lay "particular stress" on their claims. As the result of German economic depression, the "scope and character of one of the great sources of Netherlands prosperity" would "undergo a permanent change." It was clear, therefore, that the Netherlands would expect "more than ever before" that, as far as commercial and transport policy were concerned, her interests would be "fully taken into account"; for it was essential to a "reasonable recovery" of her prosperity that "free access" to her "natural hinterland" be once again secured to her, but under conditions which excluded "all discrimination." This did not mean that the Netherlands sought "preferential treatment"; but it did mean that she asked for the "free use of the Rhine, not only in a technical sense," but also "in a manner which fitted into the framework of modern economic traffic," in relation to "tariffs and measures of monetary and commercial policy." Since the Dutch hinterland extended to the Danubian countries, the Netherlands Government felt "justified" in demanding that transit traffic through Germany in both directions be "open to her without discrimination," and that this demand be "taken into account" in connexion with policy for ports other than the German North Sea ports—*e.g.*, the port of Trieste. Netherlands rail and road traffic should be similarly treated.

The final section of the Memorandum is devoted to *minutiæ* connected with the river catchment areas and the rail, road and water communications in the frontier regions in question; together with a discussion of the rights and duties of the Netherlands and Germany relative to these regions and the technical considerations on which the frontier rectifications are based.

Belgium

Belgian views on Austria in connexion with the Peace Treaty with that country are contained in a Note presented to the Conference of Foreign Ministers' Deputies last week. The Note lays stress upon the importance of giving Austria political independence and of reviving her economy, together with "freedom of trade and communications," in order to enable countries such as Belgium to resume normal relations with her. The Note then requests the inclusion of the principle of freedom of navigation on the Danube in the Treaty with Austria, as was done in the case of the draft Treaties with Bulgaria, Hungary and Roumania. The Belgian Government reserved the right to prefer claims in the event of the Austrian Government's being required to compensate the Allied Powers, and also to claim compensation should any Belgian property in Austria be "affected by measures of 'de-cartelization,' socialization, nationalization or other operations of that kind." The Note ends with a request for Belgian participation in drawing up the Treaty, the Government reserving the right to supply more detailed information at a later date.

FRANCE

On the 28th January M. Massigli called on Mr. Bevin for preliminary talks on the Anglo-French alliance. The negotiations

proper will begin as soon as possible, Meanwhile, M. Monnet has been in London to explain his Plan to U.K. officials.

Four French memoranda on Germany have now been handed to the Allies. The memorandum dealing with the future constitution of Germany (see last *Summary*) was accompanied by another on the provisional organisation of the country pending the signing of a peace treaty, which admitted the principle of economic unity and the consequent need for a number of central co-ordinating bodies with German participation, but insisted that the Allies must remain in control. A further memorandum on procedure for peace-making has been submitted to the Council of Deputies and one on reparations is in preparation. In addition, M. Alphand called at the Foreign Office on the 28th January to leave a technical memorandum on the German steel industry.

The memorandum on economic control of the Ruhr, handed to the U.K., U.S. and U.S.S.R. Governments on the 1st February, has been approved by both M. Blum and M. Bidault. It does not deal with the political status of the Ruhr, and the French claim that it leaves them free to demand once again the separation of the Ruhr from Germany. They realise, however, that this demand has little chance of being accepted by the other Allies and they seem to be preparing the ground for an eventual retreat in good order. Their plan is designed to ensure strict economic control of the Ruhr, whatever its political status. The memorandum provides for direct international management of the coal and steel industries, by representatives of countries "directly interested," while leaving other industries to be managed by Ruhr Germans. It states that the Ruhr should be treated as an asset of the United Nations and that its coal production should be developed to the utmost for the benefit of European industry. All signatories to the German treaty should possess treaty rights in the Ruhr industries and should appoint a High Commissioner for the territory. The desire of the French, as after the last war, to write into the general system of security the particular measures imposed on Germany is exemplified in their insistence that the statute of the Ruhr should be included in the peace treaty and guaranteed by the Security Council.

The United States' request for the repatriation by October 1947 of the German prisoners-of-war lent to France after the end of the war has forced the French Government, in spite of Communist disapproval (see *Summary* 372), to decide on the offer of the status of civilian workers to those Germans who wish to remain in France. The sudden departure of these prisoners, numbering 4–500,000, who have been working in French agriculture, industry, transport and in the coal mines, would be a severe blow to the French economy. The Government have therefore proposed to the United States authorities, in a note of the 14th January, that the prisoners concerned should be approached by the International Red Cross and offered the choice between repatriation or remaining in France as civilian workers, subject to certain restrictions. The French Press reports that this proposal has been accepted by the U.S. authorities.

The new Government submitted to an *interpellation*, *i.e.*, a debate followed by a vote of confidence, in the Assembly on the 28th January, thus returning to the tradition of the Third Republic. M. Ramadier was not obliged to accept this debate since he had already obtained his vote of confidence before forming his Government. It now seems probable, however, that the procedure laid down in the new Constitution for the nomination of a Premier will mean that he will have to solicit two votes of confidence instead of one. The Opposition speeches, which were confined to the question of the composition of the Government, were made by M. René Capitant and by members of the *Parti Républicain de la Liberté*. They criticised the Government's lack of homogeneity and the bestowal of the Ministry of National Defence upon a Communist. M. Ramadier gave a skilful if not entirely convincing reply and received a vote of confidence of 521 to 12. There were a number of abstentions—including 14 members of the M.R.P.

The first Cabinet meeting to be presided over by the President of the Republic, in accordance with the Constitution and with traditional usage, was held on the 29th January. An innovation now laid down is the keeping of minutes of Cabinet meetings, to be preserved by the President. M. Ramadier, partly because of the unwieldy size of his Cabinet, has introduced a system of Cabinet committees on economic or other subjects, and it is reported that each of the Ministers of State will be responsible for co-ordinating affairs in a given sphere of action. Thus M. Delbos, the Radical Minister of State, is to assist M. Bidault in the field of foreign and imperial affairs.

The High Commissioner for Food was appointed on the 29th January. He is M.

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Rastel, a permanent official who has been prefect of two departments and was concerned with the drawing-up of the Monnet Plan. He will be under the authority of the Prime Minister and the members of the inner Cabinet. The food situation demands and is receiving the urgent attention of the Government. While the 5 per cent. cut in prices has been generally applied it has not yet brought goods into the shops, and Paris has for weeks been virtually without meat. The Government are faced with the dilemma of maintaining fixed prices, in which case the farmers will not sell, or allowing prices to find their own level, in which case the poorer families will not be able to buy meat. Another problem is the extensive damage caused by frost to the autumn-sown wheat. Bonuses are being granted to farmers for the spring sowings, but it is impossible wholly to make up the deficiency and considerable quantities of wheat will have to be imported in the spring.

SWITZERLAND

The Report of the "International Committee for the Study of European Questions affecting Germany" has caused resentment in Switzerland, which has found expression in the leading columns of the Swiss Press and in the Swiss broadcasts. That portion of the report which deals with conditions in Germany is not disputed, but the comments relating to Switzerland and to the activities and numbers of Nazi refugees there have aroused considerable indignation. The Swiss complaint is that the Report estimates the numbers of these Nazis as 72,000, whereas, in point of fact this figure comprises all persons of German or Austrian origin in Switzerland, and includes many who have been residents for scores of years, long before National Socialism had been heard of. The "German Colony" proper was assessed in April 1945 at 24,000, since reduced by the expulsion of 3,000 active Nazis. A further cause of complaint is the allegation in the Report that National Socialists have still large assets in Switzerland at their disposal. The Swiss Press answers that all German assets in Switzerland had been frozen since the 16th February, 1945, and that, by agreement with the Allied Powers, assets in Switzerland of Germans still in Germany are being liquidated. In a broadcast commentary on the subject, on the 1st February, M. Pierre Béguin declared "We have used every available method of investigation. Switzerland cannot therefore tolerate the accusation of leniency, weakness, naiveté or connivance. Our conscience is perfectly clear."

The Swiss Authorities have recently been much exercised over outbreaks of counterfeiting on a considerable scale. Forged 1,000 franc Swiss notes have been put into circulation and the operations of the gang are said to extend not only to Switzerland but to France and Italy and even to Austria and Germany. Thanks to the co-operation of the French police, a number of suspects have been arrested, but neither the leader of the enterprise nor the printing-press has been found. The forged notes already in circulation are said to be the equivalent of 100 million French francs. A similar outbreak on a smaller scale with counterfeit 100 franc Swiss notes occurred about the same time in the southern cantons. In this case the Italian police made 17 arrests in Milan, and seized the printing-press and the leader of the gang. Two of the 17 were Swiss, and the rest Italians.

SPAIN

All is quiet in Spain, and interest centres at the moment upon the activities of the *émigrés* in Paris, following the break-up of the Giral Government-in-exile, to which reference was made in last week's *Summary*. The Franco Régime's propagandists in the press and on the radio have naturally made merry on the subject, and, since this crumbling of the structure of "republican legality" coincides with the Spanish Government's extension by a further six months of the so-called amnesty decree of October 1945, there is an insufferable Little Jack Horner tone about the various comments. That amnesty decree, it may be remembered—apart from its application to political offenders at home—purported to give the green light for return to Spain to all Spaniards in exile not guilty during the civil war of criminal behaviour or acts of violence. In other words it marked the final abrogation of the iniquitous Law of Political Responsibilities of February 1939. Applicants for this benefit are required to lodge their petitions with Spanish Embassies, Legations or Consulates, and, if accepted, they will, according to the Government spokesmen, "not be greeted with hostility but with kindness, help and all the necessary facilities to return to their homes and resume work." The number of exiled Republicans who have walked into

the spider's parlour since October 1945 has hitherto been insignificant. It remains to be seen whether more will go on the strength of new arrangements (reported from Madrid) which will enable the exile to ascertain abroad whether he will be liable to any charge on his arrival in Spain.

Señor Giral and his Cabinet resigned office on the 27th January, and efforts of the President of the Republic-in-exile, Señor Martinez Barrio, to secure the formation of a new Government have not yet proved successful. He has invited Don Augusto Barcia Trelles, Finance Minister in the Giral Cabinet, to form a new Government, and Señor Barcia is "holding conversations." Señor Barcia, a distinguished jurist and staunch Republican, was Minister for Foreign Affairs in 1936. If he proves to be the new Prime Minister, his policy would be unlikely to differ in essentials from that of his predecessor. On the other hand, the Communists have been showing some initiative and have been supported by Moscow radio in an effort to keep alive the cause of the exile "Government."

Apart from one or two reckless yells in infancy, the Giral Government has conducted itself on the whole with dignity since it took office in August 1945, following the convening of the exiled Republican Cortes in Mexico City, when "Constitutional legality," in abeyance since March 1939, was re-established. Señor Giral has concentrated on establishing relations with the United Nations and winning their recognition. It was with this object that he departed from the original conception of "respectability" at all costs and agreed to the broadening of his Government last March represented by the entry of Santiago Carrillo, the Communist representative. Señor Giral did thereby secure recognition of his Government by a number of the satellite States of Eastern Europe (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Hungary and Bulgaria), but at the same time forfeited the support of a considerable section of emigrant Spain. And all to no purpose. The United Nations have been lavish with words of sympathy and condemnation of the Franco Régime, but the Giral Government needed deeds. To-day, apart from the Russian satellite States, his Government enjoys diplomatic relations for what they are worth with the South American Republics of Mexico, Guatemala, Panamá and Venezuela. The Soviet Union has never recognised the Spanish Republican Government.

The rock on which the Giral Government foundered was one around which they had been endeavouring to navigate for some time, the question whether Republican continuity and legitimacy should be sacrificed and all effort turned to the task of achieving unity with anti-Franco groups inside Spain in order, first and foremost, that General Franco should be removed. Spokesmen of the *Alianza de Fuerzas Democráticas* have latterly made it quite clear that they attach paramount importance to a *rapprochement* with centre and right wing anti-Franco groups, and, specifically, the Monarchist advisers of Don Juan, with a view to some interim caretaker Government on the pattern of the Three-Power Note of 5th March last. To this programme it was obvious that the Government-in-exile with its uncompromising Republicanism now constituted a liability rather than an asset, especially since Señor Giral admitted the Communist representative to his Cabinet. Spaniards generally regard it as hopelessly unrealistic to suppose that the Franco Régime could be immediately replaced by any coalition of the Parties representing the losing side in the civil war. The one point, however, on which all the exiles appear to agree is that any new Government or *Junta* set up in place of the Giral administration should contain fewer of the "old gang"—the majority of the places being left for personalities inside Spain, whence it seems clear that the exiles will in future have to take their cue.

ITALY

According to wireless and press reports Signor De Gasperi has now succeeded in forming a coalition Government of Christian Democrats, Nenni's Socialists, Communists and Independents. In exactly what proportion the Ministries are divided between these parties is not yet clear, but from the various reports in the press it would seem to be approximately: Christian Democrats 7 Ministries, Socialists 3, Communists 3, Independents 2. This only represents a total of 15 Ministries as against 22 in the last Government, but the Ministries of War, Navy and Air are now concentrated into one, the Ministry of Defence, and Signor De Gasperi, besides remaining Prime Minister, may be retaining some other Ministry. No list of Ministers with Portfolios is yet available. It is, however, definitely known that Count Sforza (Independent) has accepted the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

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Count Carlo Sforza was born in 1873 and entered the diplomatic service in 1896. He has already held the office of Minister for Foreign Affairs as he served in Giolitti's Cabinet from 1920–1921. In this capacity Count Sforza signed the Treaty of Rapallo with Yugoslavia by which Italy acquired Venezia Giulia, a great part of which is allotted to Yugoslavia by the Italian Treaty which is to be signed on the 10th February. Count Sforza made no compromise with Fascism and from 1926 to 1943 lived in exile, first in France until 1940 and then in the United States, where he was generally regarded as the leader of the anti-Fascist opposition.

Considering what a short interval has elapsed since his return from America Signor De Gasperi seems to have done extremely well to have succeeded so comparatively quickly in forming a Government. Difficulties between the Parties, however, which might have been hard to surmount at other times, may have been smoothed over by one overwhelming and possibly sobering consideration, the fact that it is this Government which will be faced with the responsibility of signing the Peace Treaty.

The new Government's programme is said to be concentrated on five main points: (i) a drive against neo-fascists and monarchists, (ii) a capital levy, (iii) a new deal for agricultural tenants, by which landowners will receive 40 per cent instead of 50 per cent of the produce, (iv) labour collaboration in the management of industry, (v) extension of rationing and war on the Black Market.

The Allied Commission has been abolished as from midnight the 31st January, 1947. The announcement was made by General Sir William Morgan, the Supreme Allied Commander Mediterranean, in a statement which said the Commission was being closed as part of a general reduction of military establishments in Italy.

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

Hungary

The meeting between M. Gyöngyösi and Dr. Clementis which took place at Bratislava on the 26th January brought the problem of the exchange of populations between Hungary and Czechoslovakia no nearer to a solution. Dr. Clementis repeated the arguments used by General Dastich in Budapest on the 20th January (see last week's *Summary* under "Czechoslovakia"), while M. Gyöngyösi once more emphasised that his Government could not agree to the reopening of negotiations unless the drafting of Hungarians to Slovakia ceased. At a Press Conference on the 30th January M. Gyöngyösi complained that though the meeting was to have been strictly confidential a Bratislava report had made it public. He denied that Hungarians objected to the Czechoslovak labour decree as such. What they did protest against was that the families of those called up were ejected from their homes which immediately passed into the possession of Slovak settlers. After the signing of the Peace Treaty, M. Gyöngyösi continued, Hungary as a member of the United Nations would be able to bring the matter before an international forum. Because she had failed in her attempt to reach an understanding with the Czechoslovak Government she was asking for the support of the Great Powers.

H.M. Government are favourably disposed to the idea of forming a Four-Power, or, if the Soviet Union refuses to co-operate, a Three-Power, Commission—to which Hungarian and Czechoslovak representatives would be attached—whose business would be to supervise the implementing of the February Agreement on the exchange of populations, and if possible to afford help in settling the question of the 200,000 Hungarians, who remain to be transferred. But the U.S. Government consider that the time is not yet ripe for intervention along the lines suggested, since they still hope that a solution will be found by means of direct negotiation. The fact that if Soviet Russia stands aloof the hostility of those affected may be exploited to the detriment of the Western Powers has not been lost sight of. The U.S. Government affirm their belief that the Czechoslovak attitude to the Hungarian minority problem has contributed materially to the present difficulties, and are willing to inform the Czechoslovak Ambassador in Washington of the importance which they attach to an early and satisfactory settlement.

With the capture of General Veress de Dálnok the Committee of Seven accused of responsibility for directing the plot against the Hungarian Government are all under arrest. Whatever the degree of complicity among Smallholders—and M. Nagy, the Premier, has admitted, and not only in public utterances, that some of his party were certainly involved—the left-wing *bloc* is making the most of its chance to press for their further elimination from political life. To the eight Smallholder Deputies recently excluded only another five would have to be added for them to lose their majority in the National Assembly over the Communists and Social Democrats if the two Parties combined; and M. Szakasits, the Social Democratic leader, is alleged to be urging the alliance. The Communists are demanding as a victim M. Béla Kovács, Secretary-General of the Smallholders' Party, and one of its staunchest members. M. Tildy, the President, who advocates a policy of concession, is ready to let M. Kovács go, but M. Nagy has made it clear that in the event of M. Kovács' resignation his own would not be long delayed. Meanwhile, M. Kovács is taking a month's leave to allow time for the situation to clarify.

M. Nagy has expressed his determination to stand firm after the completion of his Party's purge which he, too, considers necessary. In spite of Communist opposition the situation is not, he feels, beyond his control. Smallholder members of the Police Force are associated with the enquiry, and M. Rajk, the Communist Minister of the Interior, although responsible for directing investigations, reports to him from time to time. There has, he contends, been no interference from Soviet Police, nor has the Soviet brought direct pressure to bear on himself or his Government in connection with the plot.

Yugoslavia

Details of the attack on the Yugoslav Acting Consul at Naples on the 25th January (see *Summary* No. 378, 29.1.47) have been received in London. It is clear that the British authorities were primarily not responsible for his death, and that he and his companion must have been aware of the risks they were taking. The military authorities on the spot did all they could to avert the disaster, short of forbidding access to the premises occupied by the chetniks. At G.H.Q., Caserta, where the visit was discussed, the Consul, M. Viktor Glumčić, was warned that the British could not accept responsibility for his safety. When he called on the British Town Major at the Artillery Barracks, Naples, the Headquarters of the chetnik administration, to make arrangements to interview individual chetniks on behalf of the Yugoslav Repatriation Mission, he was again warned of the danger he would incur. He was, indeed, asked not to call again until the Town Major had consulted Caserta. In spite of these warnings Glumčić and his companion appeared unexpectedly at the Barracks next day and while they were talking with the Major alone in his office, they were surrounded by a mob of chetniks and attacked with iron bars and other implements. By the time the dozen British troops on the premises could be called the two Yugoslavs were already seriously injured. Glumčić died in hospital.

The Yugoslavs have refused to accept the British account of the incident as published by A.F.H.Q. Tanjug, in a special communiqué, called it untruthful and an attempt to conceal the "participation of the Allied authorities in the crime." The Assistant Foreign Minister also blamed the British, and the Yugoslav Ambassador in London has addressed a Note to Mr. Bevin threatening to bring the whole matter before the Security Council if a satisfactory settlement is not reached. The Yugoslav Press let itself go over the incident. *Borba* described it as one of the most serious assaults carried out by the British against Yugoslavia, and as a grave violation of the Moscow declaration on war criminals. Elsewhere it was alleged that the Yugoslav consul was "enticed" into the chetnik camp, by the British authorities who were aware of a plot to kill him.

This incident will, of course, complicate the task of Brigadier Maclean. One of the purposes of his mission to Italy is to prove that His Majesty's Government are not intentionally harbouring Yugoslav war criminals and traitors, nor supporting their organisations, nor discouraging would-be repatriates from returning home. The need to accelerate the process of arresting and handing over genuine traitors has now become a matter of great urgency. As was stated in *Summary* No. 377, 24.1.47) the chetniks present a particularly vicious problem. The Naples affair may well encourage the more irresponsible elements to flout British authority still more. It may also have unfortunate consequences for innocent persons. There may now be neither the time nor the opportunity to draw nice distinctions between those who collaborated with the Germans and those who did not.

The Yugoslav Government have made a formal application to the Holy See for the surrender of five former officials of Nedić's Government who are believed to be residing in Vatican territory. They have also protested against the alleged connivance of a charitable organisation of the Vatican in the escape to South America of certain other collaborators, including three of Pavelić's ministers.

The trial at Skoplje of 19 Albanians, accused of plotting to overthrow the régime in Macedonia and to restore the 1941–44

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frontiers of Albania, has many ramifications. Not only are the names of the British and Turkish Consuls at Skoplje frequently mentioned, but General Hodgson, former head of the British Military Mission in Albania, is credited with having promised the conspirators military supplies by parachute, and even political support. The accused in such cases usually confess that they established bases across the Greek frontier because there they could be sure of help from the "monarcho-fascists" and the British. It is difficult not to connect this trial with the arrival of the United Nations' Commission of Investigation in Greece.

Similarly while the Security Council is awaiting the arrival in New York of the Albanian representative, the Yugoslav Government have informed H.M. Chargé d'Affaires in Belgrade that warships flying British colours have been seen in Yugoslav territorial waters.

The Yugoslav memorandum on Germany was heard by the Deputy Foreign Ministers on the 28th January. It was not a striking document, consisting mainly of the usual complaints about the non-delivery of reparations and accusations of support by the Western Powers for German big business. On political questions it was an echo of Soviet views, but it also included a request for the guarantee of the fundamental rights, &c., of the Lusations Serbs (or Wends) and a demand for the removal of the remaining Volksdeutsche from Yugoslavia to Germany.

Greece

The new Greek Government has already had cause to regret its precipitate and ill-considered decision to increase the pay of all civil servants at a cost to the Exchequer of thirty milliards of drachmas monthly. Prices rose immediately, and the inevitable outcrop of strikes on the part of other workers began. Employees of public utility concerns came out on strike on the 29th January but resumed work on the 31st after they had been promised a bonus equal to that granted to the civil servants. Further wage demands are already manifest. The Piræus dockers, for instance, are demanding double their present wages.

Following M. Maximos' statement to the Chamber on the 27th January (see *Summary* No. 378) a five-day debate began on the new Government's policy. M. Sofoulis, opening the debate as leader of the Opposition, limited himself to the question of public order. He could see no hope of success for the Government's plan to apply a policy of force concurrently with its policy of appeasement. M. Papandreou in reply deplored the Opposition's description of the Government's plan as a "policy of force." They were merely determined to apply the law and to annihilate all rebels against the State, whatever their politics. M. Sofoulis, challenged to define his policy in greater detail, urged the immediate suspension of all deportations and the granting of an amnesty to all guerrillas, whether of the Left or the Right, with the sole exception of those guilty of "particularly atrocious crimes." Anyone persisting in the use of violence after the granting of this amnesty, should be severely dealt with, whatever his political complexion. M. Papandreou welcomed the Liberal policy, as defined by M. Sofoulis, as being virtually identical with the Government's policy, and urged the Liberals to join the Government. M. Rentis, however, in reply declined this suggestion; the Liberals being equally opposed to the Left and Right could not agree with the Government's policy. They would not, however, obstruct the Government in their task. On the 1st February the Chamber passed a vote of confidence in the new Government by 252 votes to 36.

The majority of the members of the United Nations Enquiry Commission have now arrived in Athens have settled a number of points of procedure and have heard a statement of the Greek case by M. Kyrou. In the absence of the Albanian representatives whose arrival was delayed, the Yugoslavs and Bulgars chanted the Slav chorus that the root of Greece's troubles lay in "the two-year-old internal strife" and that after its investigations in Greece the Commission "might find it unnecessary to visit other countries." They emphasised that the main field of investigations should be Greece, and, if necessary, the Yugoslav and Bulgarian border areas where the Commission could hear from Greek refugees about the persecutions that they had suffered in Greece. Preliminary reports suggest that the Commission will begin its work by examining captured guerrillas. Yugoslavia will also be asked to explain the presence on her soil of some thousands of E.L.A.S. men.

Meanwhile few reports have been received of bandit activity in Northern Greece. The The headquarters staff of the "Democratic Army" are said to be moving southwards to western continental Greece.

In London on the 29th January M. Aghnides presented Greece's case to the Foreign Ministers' Deputies who are considering the treaty with Germany. He claimed that all the minor Allies, and particularly Greece, who had fought against Germany, should participate fully in any peace-making. Greece was especially interested in Germany's economic future and wanted an outlet in the German market for Greek tobacco, a larger share of German reparations than had been suggested in Paris and permission to employ German technicians and experts in Greece.

Turkey

Shortly after the Democratic Party Congress mentioned in *Summary* No. 377, the central executive committee of the Republican People's Party met in Angora. Although its conclusions have still to be learnt, it is known that it was to discuss proposals submitted by Hamdullah Suphi Tanriöver, who, as a former Cabinet Minister and Ambassador of somewhat enlightened views, perhaps appreciates more than others the need for reform in a party till recently unchallenged. His proposals appear to have included a party "purge," a greater say of local branches in the choice of parliamentary candidates, emphasis on principles rather than on persons, and moral education. This last point evoked in the press some sympathy for the idea of re-introducing religious teaching, although *Akşam* had the sense to point out that if religion was to be a force, it had got to be, in a secular State, more than a matter of form.

On the 29th January the Minister of the Interior made a statement in the Grand National Assembly about the recently suppressed Communist movement. He described attempts made by Communist leaders in recent years to contact military cadets, technical students, reserve officers and naval crews. On the basis of documents seized in the raid on Communist premises in Istanbul, he declared that the Communist plan had been to use the young Democratic Party and the popularity of the aged ex-Chief of the General Staff, Marshal Çakmak, to overthrow the Government and set up a so-called Democratic government out of which a full-fledged Soviet régime would in due course have emerged. The Minister thanked the Democratic Party for not having lent itself to these machinations. From letters written by Dr. Tevfik Rüştü Aras, and the Leftist journalists Baykurt, Zakarya Sertel and his wife, he quoted passages showing their intention to enlist the sympathies of the Democratic leaders and Marshal Çakmak. But Dr. Aras thereupon disclaimed all connexion with Communism, and the Marshal issued a statement defending both him and Baykurt.

Perhaps it was as a rejoinder to the ill-humour shown in Syria over the Turco-Transjordan treaty that Turkish newspapers published—apparently ridiculous—allegations of the persecution of Turks at Lattakieh. The Anatolian Agency also reported that the Syrian Prime Minister had announced an intention of submitting the Hatay question to arbitration and of raising a claim to Cilicia. The Prime Minister denies having said any such thing, but the report caused considerable excitement in the Turkish press.

THE MIDDLE EAST

Egypt

Since the announcement that Egypt is to put her case before the United Nations, Egyptian opinion seems to be in some confusion. There is uncertainty as to how the matter would be handled, and, in some quarters, the realisation that Egypt has nothing to gain by such a course, and that she would do better if a Government of National Union could be formed and negotiations re-opened with His Majesty's Government. A reference in Mr. Bevin's speech to the difficulty resulting from dealing with "a minority Government" has, as was expected, received considerable prominence, although it must have been well known that this question had influenced the whole course of the negotiations since their beginning. Nokrashy Pasha is reported to have remarked that Mr. Bevin would have regarded it as a majority Government if it had accepted the Treaty. An article in the *Ahram* of the 29th January accused Mr. Bevin of attempting to sow discord amongst Egyptians! The Wafdist press proclaims that the Wafd is opposed to a coalition Government, and insists that, before any reference is made to the United Nations, free elections should be held and a National Union established on the basis of these elections. This apparently means that the

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Wafd should form a Government and allow the participation of some other parties in it. There is, however, no sign that King Farouk will allow the Wafd to return to power, and it is only on that basis that a coalition Government could be formed. The Makramites, the Watanists and the refractory Independent members of the Egyptian Treaty delegation are likely to refuse to be represented in a delegation to the United Nations until an all-party Government has been formed.

Members of the Foreign Affairs Committees of both Houses are expected to meet on the 5th February to discuss the situation.

The Arab representatives in London have expressed their feeling that the break is a mistake on Egypt's part, but Azzam Pasha has been using the Egyptian State broadcasting station to proclaim the support of the Arab League for Egypt's case. The Syrian President has promised Egypt the support of his Government and people, and has recalled the help given to Syria in their crisis by King Farouk. Although Azzam Pasha has been freely criticised in the past for unauthorised statements and actions on behalf of the League, it may well be that the comments of the Arab representatives in London are to be taken rather as polite expressions of concern than as true indications of what the official attitude of their Governments will be.

Palestine

Although the immediate internal situation in Palestine has depended during the past week to some extent upon the question of Grüner's appeal and the subsequent attitude of the terrorists, it had become increasingly evident that effective co-operation from the Jewish Agency in combating terrorism was not to be expected, and that protection for civilians could not be guaranteed under the conditions of normal civilian life which were obtaining. The High Commissioner decided, therefore, with the approval of His Majesty's Government, to order the evacuation of British women and children and other British civilians, and their removal has already begun. Some protests were received when the announcement was made on the 31st January, but the operation is proceeding satisfactorily, and some sixteen hundred persons are leaving. The majority of them will return to England, but accommodation for some may be found in Transjordan.

After having given way to the persuasion of his lawyer and of the Chief Rabbi and having agreed to appeal against his sentence, Grüner later withdrew his application.

On the 3rd February an ultimatum was addressed to the Jewish Agency by the High Commissioner. The Note, which was signed by the Chief Secretary, referred to the repeated warnings which the Government had given to the Jewish leaders, and the disastrous consequences which the growth of terrorism would have for the Jewish people themselves, as also to the refusal of the Jewish Agency to co-operate with the Government in suppressing it. A categorical statement was demanded immediately saying whether the Jewish Agency and the Vaad Leumi were prepared "within seven days . . . to lend their aid to the Government by co-operating with the police and the armed forces in locating and bringing to justice members of terrorists groups." Without waiting for a meeting of the Jewish Agency Executive Mrs. Meierson, head of the Political Department, in the course of a press conference reported by the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, declared that they would refuse to plunge the Yishuv into civil war. The Agency is clearly in a dilemma and may well calculate that the results of such action as the Government may intend in the event of their refusal may, in the long run, be less dangerous than would be an open break with the terrorists.

The Forty-sixth Annual Conference of the Federation of British Zionists is being held in London. On the 2nd February it was addressed by Dr. Weizmann, who is intending to leave very shortly for Palestine. In his speech he referred to the "flagrant contradiction" between the White Paper of 1939 and the Balfour Declaration, and appealed for a restoration of normal relations between the Zionist Organisation and His Majesty's Government, which depended, in his view, on the abolition of the policy of the White Paper. The Conference re-affirmed its conviction that only the establishment of a Jewish State could solve the problem of Palestine, condemned the restriction of immigration, and expressed resentment at the "régime of oppression instituted for the maintenance of this evil policy."

At a meeting of the London Conference on the 30th January Mr. Bevin commented on the Arab plan for a unitary State of Palestine with an Arab majority, and pointed out that the democratic functioning of any State could be wrecked by a minority which is sufficiently strong and sufficiently determined to withhold co-operation. He discussed also the possibility

of partition, which, he explained, appeared likely to be acceptable to the Jews, with whom informal conversations were going on. He suggested that a committee of Arab delegates should re-examine the question and see whether they could arrive at an intermediate solution which would be acceptable to both parties. He described the position of His Majesty's Government as Mandatory Power, and explained that for changes in the system of Government in Palestine it would be necessary to seek the approval of the United Nations. Several Arab delegates spoke afterwards, but they shewed little inclination to withdraw their opposition to partition. Eventually the Arab delegates decided to consider the statements made by the United Kingdom delegates, and the meeting adjourned.

Persia

Qawam as Sultaneh, Prime Minister, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Minister of the Interior, has now been in office for just over a year. He has held the Premiership on three previous occasions: from June, 1921, to January, 1922; from June, 1922, to February, 1923; and from August, 1942, to February, 1943. His present term of office is thus his longest, and undoubtedly his most successful. When he succeeded Hakimi at the end of January, 1946, the country was in a sorry plight. Russian troops were firmly entrenched throughout the northern provinces in accordance with the Tripartite Treaty, the Azerbaijan Democrat administration was steadily growing in self-confidence and openly defying the Central Government, the Kurds, clamouring for independence, were in almost complete control of the areas of Rezaieh, Mianduab and Sardasht, while the influence of the Tudeh party was increasing in the other provinces with Soviet support. In Tehran the prevailing note was one of gloom tinged with fear. Courage, never a dominating ingredient in the Persian character, was gradually oozing away, while the confused indecision of Qawam's predecessor, Ibrahim Hakimi, had further weakened morale, which was not restored by Qawam's assumption of office. The general anxiety was shared by the Shah, who, with others, feared the imminence of an armed outbreak in Tehran, Soviet-inspired, to force the fall of Hakimi's Government.

The difference between conditions then and now is most marked, and some credit must certainly go to Qawam for the improved outlook in both home and foreign affairs. The intervening twelve months have witnessed the Security Council discussions, the withdrawal of the Soviet forces, the collapse of Pishavari's Azerbaijan Democrat Government (which turned out, after all, to be nothing but a cardboard façade), the suppression of a tribal rising in Fars with autonomist aims and the partial restoration of Persian authority in Kurdistan. In addition, Qawam has announced a programme of social reform more comprehensive than has ever been attempted before. Foremost among his achievements are the Labour Law and a plan for the distribution of the State lands among the peasantry. Though he is feared and disliked by the Shah—a dislike which was increased by jealousy of his successful handling of the Azerbaijan situation, the country as a whole (apart from the strident Tudeh minority) appears to be well-disposed towards him.

A letter has been sent by Qawam to the British, American, Russian and French Ambassadors, pointing out the necessity for Persian participation in the German Peace Conference, and stressing the losses suffered by Persia during the war. He maintains that the country has a justifiable claim against Germany.

The Officer Commanding in Western Azerbaijan is experiencing considerable difficulty over the collection of arms from the Kurdish tribes. In the Maku district north-west of Julfa, only 300 rifles out of a total of 5,000 have been surrendered. Some thirty Kurdish chieftains have passed through Tabriz on their way to Tehran, whither they have been summoned by the Government. They have stated their willingness to hand over the arms which they captured from the retreating Azerbaijan Democrats, but not those which they had acquired previously by purchase. It appears, however, that most of the arms captured from the Azerbaijan Democrats—about 3,500 rifles were seized in the Mahabad district between the 11th and 15th December—have been sold to the 'Iraqi Kurds.

Throughout the country reasonable calm seems to prevail. Pre-election fervour has died down in most districts owing to the prolonged delay in starting the provincial elections. In Abadan, however, there are under-currents of unrest. Certain ex-members of the Tudeh party are complaining that they have been let down by the party and have had their funds embezzled. They intend to break away from all parties and form an Oil Workers' Union, which will conform with labour laws.

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The visit of a number of Soviet scientists to Tehran has been used to stimulate the activity of the Irano-Soviet Cultural Society, which is now to work under the joint presidency of Qawam and the Soviet Ambassador. The twenty-third anniversary of Lenin's death was marked by a special meeting of the Society, attended by members of the Cabinet and other prominent personalities. Amir Alai, Minister of Agriculture, paid tribute to the genius of Lenin, emphasising particularly his efforts in establishing relations with Persia.

THE FAR EAST

China

Following the Communist Party's rejection of General Chiang Kai-shek's proposal to send a representative to Yenan to re-open peace discussions, the Government issued a statement recapitulating the efforts which they had made since 1944 to arrive at a workable peace settlement through negotiations. This review, drafted no doubt in the hope of recapturing waning sympathy in the United States, was studiously moderate in its wording, if naturally one-sided. The Government then made public the four points which they had advanced as a basis for discussion in their recent offer. Briefly these points were :—

1. Willingness on the part of the Government *either* to send representatives to Yenan, *or* to invite the Communist delegation in Nanking to resume talks, or to convene a conference of all political party leaders and non-party spokesmen.
2. A cease-fire order, with both parties maintaining their present positions, to be issued by both the Government and the Communist Party who would then discuss effective measures for the cessation of hostilities.
3. Readiness on the part of the Government to resume negotiations for the enforcement of the military reorganisation plan and the restoration of communications, in accordance with the principles of the Committee of Three.
4. Willingness on the part of the Government to work out an equitable plan to solve the existing controversy over the question of regional administration.

Although, nominally, the Government still stands by their invitation to the Communists to seek a settlement through negotiation, it is generally thought that both parties have placed their cards on the table and that civil war will now continue until one side finally collapses as the result of either military reverses or economic difficulties. Indeed, fighting of a more or less intensive nature appears to be in progress on all fronts with varying degrees of fortune. Recent reports from Nanking indicate that Government forces have made some progress in northern Kiangsu and parts of Shantung and they are now engaged in a large-scale drive in an endeavour to capture Lenyi, the Communist head-quarters in the north-west corner of the latter province. Far more serious, however, is the picture painted by competent observers of the gravity of the economic situation. It is feared that China's gold reserves and foreign exchange may be nearing exhaustion and that, whatever last-moment measures are taken to stimulate exports, the crash cannot long be averted—a state of affairs which appears to be realised by Dr. T. V. Soong, but not by General Chiang Kai-shek.

As a natural consequence of the withdrawal of General Marshall from China the U.S. State Department announced on the 29th January, that—

> "the United States Government has decided to terminate its connexion with the Committee of Three which was established in Chungking for the purpose of terminating hostilities in China and of which General Marshall was Chairman. The United States Government also has decided to terminate its connexion with Executive Headquarters which was established in Peiping by the Committee of Three for the purpose of supervising in the field the execution of the agreements for the cessation of hostilities and the demobilisation and re-organisation of the armed forces in China.
>
> The American personnel involved in Executive Headquarters will be withdrawn as soon as possible."

The U.S. State Department spokesman told the press that later instructions would be issued concerning the evacuation of the U.S. Marines assigned to safeguard the

Executive Headquarters in Peiping; and he declared that this decision does not involve any change in the status of the United States Ambassador to China. A section of the press in the United States has been at some pains to emphasize that the decision also does not imply any fundamental change in United States policy toward China, nor the lessening of American desire to assist the Chinese people to achieve political and economic stability. "The United States is not washing its hands of China, which country it has always recognised as the key to peace in the Far East." It is not clear, however, whether this press comment represents the official viewpoint, and a more definite official pronouncement on the United States attitude of the future towards China is awaited with considerable interest.

Asserting that the obdurate attitude of the Communist Party rendered the functions of the mediatory Committee no longer of any practical value, the Chinese Government have also announced their formal withdrawal from the Committee of Three. The Government announcement contained an expression of deep gratitude to General Marshall and his staff for the great effort that they had made and the hardships endured. Almost simultaneously General Chiang Kai-shek also issued a fresh statement, admitting failure of his peace efforts, reaffirming his desire to broaden the basis of the Government, and appealing to all political leaders to play their part in making possible the early establishment of a constitutional government. This theme was reiterated by the Government-sponsored press; while the Communist spokesman in Nanking stated that the United States withdrawal from the Committee of Three signified an admission of failure not only of United States mediation, but also of United States policy in China. "But," he added, "this does not absolve the United States Government from the responsibility of helping to prolong China's civil war."

The Communists are said confidently to expect that their cause will be championed at the forthcoming Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers. The Nanking Government, on the other hand, are reported to be strongly opposed to any suggestion that the Council of Foreign Ministers should discuss the internal affairs of China; they are also said to be displaying some nervousness lest the Soviet Union should now attempt to mediate in their dispute with the Communist Party, which they maintain "patience and time will settle."

In a debate on China in the House of Lords on the 23rd January, in replying to Lord Lindsay's criticisms on Britain's policy—or alleged lack of policy—in China, the Lord Chancellor, Viscount Jowitt, said that

> ". . . . it had been suggested that by supporting American policy in China the [British] Government had been encouraging the perpetuation of the civil war. The Government did not follow blindly the policy of any Government. . . . It was true that in China our general aims happened to be the same as those of the United States. They were to do business, and to conduct relations with a strong, stable Government which could honour its obligations and which was based on a broad democratic basis. Beyond that we had not committed ourselves. We were pledged not to interfere in the internal affairs of China, and we should adhere to this pledge."

The Lord Chancellor also pointed out that the Chinese counter-draft to H.M. Government's draft commercial treaty, which was handed to the Chinese Government in June last year, had only just been received. The Government would do their best to secure satisfactory rights for British merchants, and would also endeavour to see that the process of restoring British properties was speeded up.

This debate aroused considerable concern in China. The Nanking Government's Minister of Information, Mr. Peng Hsueh-pei, usually painstakingly cautious in commenting upon international affairs, sharply criticised Lord Lindsay for being "woefully ignorant of conditions" in China and for suggesting intervention in Chinese internal affairs. Mr. Lee Yun-liang, Secretary-General of the Shanghai Steamship Companies' Guild, in an interview with the *Central News*, professed alarm that Viscount Jowitt and other members of the House of Lords should have advocated a revival of British shipping rights in Chinese waters. After cautioning the Chinese Government to be on their guard, he expressed concern lest the contemplated new commercial treaty between the two countries should turn out to be a one-sided affair, providing much benefit for Britain, but little in the way of protective measures for the promotion of China's young and growing shipping enterprise.

According to a report of the 28th January issued by the London Office of the

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Chinese Ministry of Information, the Nanking Government have issued orders that all Allied property in former enemy-occupied areas of China must be returned to their owners before the end of January. The report adds that law courts and other judicial organisations in Shanghai are understood to have been ordered by the Ministry of Justice to act on these instructions.

According to another report from the same source, Dr. Wang Shih-chieh, Minister for Foreign Affairs, in the course of an interview with M. Jacques Meyrier, the French Ambassador to China, officially asserted China's claim to sovereignty over the Paracel Islands. The interview is reported to have taken place as a sequel to recent landings by French troops on one of the Paracels following the occupation by the Chinese of another of the atolls and an announcement by a Government spokesman that the islands had always belonged to China. Of little material value, these islands have a strategic importance, lying as they do off the coast of Indo-China on the sea route from Singapore to Hongkong.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The first act of the State Department since General Marshall entered office has been to issue a statement condemning the recent elections in Poland. In that statement, which was handed to the press on the 28th January, the State Department accused the Warsaw Government of "widespread measures of coercion and intimidation against democratic elements" and of breaking the "solemn pledges" given at Yalta and Potsdam. It said that reports received from American officials in Poland both before and after the elections had confirmed the fears repeatedly expressed by the United States Government in its Notes to Warsaw that those elections would not be free.

This sharp condemnation of the practices indulged in by the Polish Provisional Government during the elections has been warmly welcomed in the United States. Nevertheless, while admitting that it is a step in the right direction, some observers are inclined to believe that it does not go far enough. Mr. Sumner Welles, among others, has been quick to emphasize that what the State Department does now with regard to Poland may profoundly affect the future of Europe and of the United States itself. He insists that it is a question whether the United States can hope to retain the confidence of the smaller countries and to continue to exercise a constructive influence in the regulation of international problems if it permits undertakings like those entered into at Yalta and Potsdam to be renounced with impunity. Mr. Welles therefore suggests that the Polish question be submitted to the next General Assembly of the United Nations. The same course is being urged by Mr. Charles Rozmarek, the President of the Polish-American Congress, and by the numerous Polish-American groups which he represents.

Some Republican Senators are also pressing for a "showdown" with the Soviet Union over Poland. In a speech in the Upper House on the 29th January, Senator Vandenberg stated that he did not see how there could be any thought of resting the case upon the "mere filing of an unpursued indictment, when the indictment charges basic violations of the very fundamentals of the Atlantic Charter and the United Nations Charter." He thought that the situation demanded "frank and immediate consultations" between Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union as the authors of the Yalta and Potsdam guarantees on Poland. The State Department, however, is not inclined to propose such consultations, as it feels that no useful purpose could be served by discussing the Polish question with Moscow at this juncture. Mr. Arthur Lane is being recalled from Warsaw "for consultations" at his own request, but it seems certain that a new Ambassador will be sent out to replace him.

General Marshall's decision to withdraw from the Chungking Committee of Three has given rise to some discussion and speculation in the press regarding the next step to be taken in China. Most newspapers emphasize that the decision does not imply any fundamental change in U.S. aims in China or any diminution of the desire to help the Chinese people to achieve political and economic stability. A somewhat sceptical view of the future is taken by the *New York Herald-Tribune*, which has reached the conclusion that "the bald truth about American policy in China is that there is no completely satisfactory

course to be followed." It therefore feels that General Marshall's idea of withholding large-scale assistance from the Chinese Government until the latter puts its house in order—"meanwhile making it clear that such assistance will be forthcoming under reasonable conditions"—is likely to prove as fruitful as any. It is perhaps hardly surprising that the decision to withdraw from the Committee of Three has been most cordially endorsed by the Left, while the Right—led in this instance by the *New York World-Telegram*—continues to insist that the American marines be kept in China until the Russians have evacuated Manchuria. Outspoken criticisms of United States policy in China were made on the 31st January in a statement on foreign affairs issued by the Republican Chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, Senator Styles Bridges. Senator Bridges insisted that the United States could hardly remain indifferent to the fact that the Soviet Union had, in violation of its promises, treated China like a conquered country. The United States, he said, "had an opportunity in China that was also a duty"—which, as he obviously saw it, meant giving unqualified support to the Nanking Government against the Chinese Communists.

On other aspects of United States policy there has recently been a marked hardening of opinion in the Republican camp. The hearings of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee of Congress on President Truman's appointments to the Atomic Control Commission have been notable so far for the misgivings which they have elicited from Republican Senators and Congressmen regarding the wisdom of passing on atomic information to other nations. On the 30th January, Senator John W. Bricker stated quite flatly that he saw no reason why the United States should ever share with other Powers the secret of how to make the atomic bomb. Mr. Warren Austin—himself a Republican Senator for fifteen years—also felt it necessary to remind the press, after his conferences with General Marshall and the President on the 27th and 28th January, that the Senate could never be expected to agree to any disarmament treaty involving the atomic bomb or other weapons until it was confident that an effective system of collective security had been created.

That disarmament is in any case still largely an academic question in the minds of many American observers is clear from the sympathetic interest which continues to be shown in the efforts of the War and Navy Departments to strengthen the outer defences of the American continent. In its issue of the 27th January the magazine *Time* reported that "Washington military men" had been toying with the idea of acquiring Greenland by purchase so that the "fortress of North America" might be provided with the same sort of "castellated outpost" in the North-East as it had already been given in Alaska in the North-West. A similar scheme was reported in the *New York Herald-Tribune* on the 29th in an article quoting the Danish newspaper *Ekstrabladet*. This hinted that the future of Greenland had been discussed between Mr. Byrnes and the Danish Foreign Minister in New York last autumn. The State Department, however, emphatically denies that any overtures have been made to the Danes, although it admits that the situation with regard to Greenland may have to be clarified at an early date if the Soviet demand for a Spitsbergen base necessitates a general exchange of views among the interested Powers.

At home one of the highlights of the week has been the announcement by President Truman at his press conference on the 1st February of an agreement between the building industry and nineteen unions of the A.F. of L. to settle labour disputes through voluntary arbitration and without recourse to strikes and lock-outs. This agreement, following as it does the recent decision of the C.I.O. Steel Workers to extend their contract with the U.S. Steel Corporation, is likely to take the wind out of the sails of those Congressmen who have been clamouring for restrictive labour legislation. On the 28th January the Secretary of Labour, Mr. Lewis B. Schwellenbach, appeared in person before the Senate Committee on Labour and Welfare to state his views on a number of bills that are being sponsored by the Republican leaders. He did not mince his words when he came to deal with Senator Ball's much-discussed bill to outlaw the "closed shop." He said that, if Congress wanted to foment industrial unrest, it could not choose a better instrument. He also opposed the establishment of a Federal Mediation Board (a project which is at present dear to the hearts of Senators Ball, Taft and Smith) on the ground that it would delay, rather than expedite, the settlement of industrial disputes.

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LATIN AMERICA

Argentina

H.M. Ambassador saw President Perón on the 27th January about the purchase of the British Railways in Argentina, and negotiations continue with reasonable chances of success.

Bolivia

Disorders took place in Potosí towards the end of January, when the tin miners tried to oust the local authorities. They were frustrated by the townsfolk who demanded arms and drove out the rebels, at a cost of some twenty killed and sixty wounded, and considerable damage to a tin mine of the Hochschild group. The speedy suppression of the uprising is generally regarded as showing what little support is enjoyed by the M.N.R., who fomented it.

Order is now complete throughout Bolivia, and an excellent impression has been caused by a manifesto issued by the chief opposing candidates in the recent Presidential elections, calling on their supporters to sink party interests and work for the good of the country.

Brazil

The general trend of voting in the Brazilian state elections has been to increase the strength of the Liberal opposition (U.D.N.) and—though more locally—that of the Communists. Ex-President Vargas' Labour party proved to be weaker than was expected, and President Dutra's P.S.D. has made a very poor showing. Owing to the tangle of alliances contracted from state to state, the political map of Brazil will be rather variously coloured, though the tinge of red is noticeable. In Rio de Janeiro partial results for the Municipal Council give the Communists 65,000 votes, the U.D.N. 53,000, the (Vargas) Labour Party (P.T.B.) 52,800, the Democratic Labour Alliance 35,900 and the Republican Party 30,900. This gives the Communists 7 of the first 26 seats on the Municipal Council, which has 50 seats altogether. The important Governorship of São Paulo goes to Sr. Ademar Barros, who was elected largely by Communist support.

According to broadcast reports the P.S.D. leader, Sr. Nereu Ramos, who is Vice-President, has proposed the formation of a new party to combat Communism; and Dr. Otávio Mangabeira, the U.D.N. leader, has declared his opposition to such a plan. Communist leaders, on their side, appear to have demanded the formation of a "national" Government. The Communist gains will make it difficult for President Dutra to proceed with schemes for abolishing the Communist Party, and his outspoken anti-Communist statements, coupled with the dwindling of his P.S.D. supporters and of his personal prestige, are likely to place him in an awkward situation.

Chile

There have been a number of cases of acts of violence by Communists, usually with the purpose of intimidating non-Communist workers. In a recent incident in Congress Communists are reported to have thrown missiles at an Agrarian speaker. It appears that President González Videla's confidence in his power to keep the Communists in order and gradually slough them off was exaggerated. Strikes, which are endemic in Chile, continue, and some 27,000 men are now stated to be out.

Mexico

President Alemán has now completed the first three months of his term. During this period he appears to have established his ascendancy over most of the forces that elected him—unlike President Avila Camacho, who was always in the hands of the Mexican Revolutionary Party (now the P.R.I.) and of Sr. Lombardo Toledano and his labour organization.

Disturbances are reported from Tapachula in Chiapas. On 31st December the townspeople organized demonstrations to protest against the allegedly corrupt election of a new mayor. Although the crowd was unarmed and unprovocative, police opened fire with machine-guns, and 13 persons were killed and many more badly injured. The massacre recalls that which occurred for similar reasons at León (Guanajuato) a year before, except that in the Chiapas case the official party (P.R.I.) was not involved, and federal troops stood aside, their commandant being on unauthorized leave in Mexico City.

Venezuela

Rumours of a possible rising by supporters of ex-President López Contreras, or even of a landing on the Venezuelan coast, have caused much apprehension in Caracas. According to broadcast reports, an *Acción Democrática* deputy declared that a plot was afoot to murder Government leaders, and a Communist deputy stated that an invasion was planned from the Dominican Republic. Other broadcast reports add that General López Contreras declared in an interview in Miami that an insurrection "might have started," though he denied any "intensive invasion." Should such an attempt occur, there would be a danger of bitter strife: the gulf between the present Left Government and the parties of the Right is a deep one, discipline in the army is unsatisfactory, and there would be every prospect of armed resistance on the part of the populace, at least of central Venezuela, in the face of an insurrection.

UNITED NATIONS

Economic and Social Council

Human Rights Commission

No part of the Economic and Social Council contains more explosive material than the Commission on Human Rights. M. Laugier, Assistant Secretary-General for Social Affairs, himself once president of the International League for the Rights of Man, opened its sessions on the 27th January by citing the recent decision of the Assembly on India's complaint about the treatment of Indians in S. Africa as proof that no violation of human rights could be covered up by the principle of national sovereignty: and he went on to say that the Charter's insistence on human rights and freedoms had given to individuals and to groups inside nations a conviction that they had the right to appeal to the United Nations. The Slav group had been active champions of the Indian case which is now held to have set limits to the State's rights over its own citizens.

None the less, a member of the Slav group, Dr. Ribnikar of Yugoslavia, told the Commission, in orthodox marxist language, the mistakes of what he called *bourgeois* individualist philosophy of the XIXth century, declaring that in the modern world the right of the State was more important than the right of the individual, and that real individual liberty could only be reached through complete harmony between the individual and the collectivity. Dr. Malik (Lebanon) showed how the Totalitarian State and excess of Industrialisation alike threatened individual rights; and the Indian representative, realising the conflicting claims of State and individual, wished the International Bill of Rights to include "Access to the United Nations without risk of reprisal." Thus, in the first meeting of its first session, the Commission on Human Rights grappled with the fundamental problem—has man rights as man? Has he only such rights as the "collectivity" allows him? Are there standards of value higher and more enduring than those set by the State? If there are "human rights," who shall enforce them?

The Commission elected Mrs. Roosevelt chairman, Dr. P. C. Chang (China) vice-chairman and Dr. Malik (Lebanon) *rapporteur*. After agreeing upon a method of dealing with the vast amount of appeals, complaints and suggestions that it has been receiving (and will no doubt continue to receive), the Commission set up a sub-Committee consisting of the Delegates of the U.K., U.S., U.S.S.R., Lebanon, Philippines, China and Australia to consider the terms of reference and the composition of the sub-Commission on Freedom of Information; and the sub-Committee later recommended terms slightly more flexible than those suggested in para. 6 B of the Economic and Social Council's Resolution of the 21st June, 1946.

It will be remembered that the Russians, with an obvious eye to political strategy, had pushed through the Economic and Social Council, without the courtesy of prior notice of their proposal, authorization for the establishment of sub-Commissions on the Protection of Minorities and on the Prevention of Discrimination. The Commission on Human Rights decided to make one sub-Commission of these two. Much mischief may come out of this sub-Commission, if its scope is not carefully defined, and the U.K. representative is likely to concentrate on the practical task of preventing it overlapping with the work of other Commissions or the Trusteeship Council, or its members growing indignant over "grievances," before the Human Rights Commission has decided what Minorities, Discrimination, and Human Rights are.

Discussion on the proposed International Bill of Rights began on the 31st January, and centred on the question what body should make the first draft to be submitted to the Assembly. The U.S. held that the Commission should appoint a drafting committee to embody the results of its several discussions in a draft Bill to be considered by the Commission at its next

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session, probably in June, and then to be handed to the Assembly in the form of a draft resolution. After an interchange of views, a majority inclined to the opinion that the Secretariat should be given the task of preparing the first draft. The delegate of the U.S.S.R., however, contended that the Commission itself should first decide what rights the draft ought to contain. At the close of the 31st January meeting, opinions had not become sufficiently definite to enable a decision to be taken. H.M.G. in the United Kingdom are convinced that an International Bill of Rights is of such concern to all men that the world would not grudge two years being spent in the attempt to define matters of eternal moment: that the Secretariat have neither the duty nor the ability to prepare a draft, and that the Governments of the United Nations must be allowed time to put their own experience at the disposal of the Commission, since the human rights are meant to be enjoyed on earth, even though they are part of the eternal values.

Social Commission

The work of this Commission has suffered from the slowness of the Secretariat in producing documents, the inexperience of many of its members, and the wholesale interruption and distortion of its work by political considerations constantly forced on it largely through the French Delegation or the strong French element in the Secretariat. Its programme has been wide: the transfer of League of Nations functions in the social field—traffic in women, obscene publications, &c.—and of the advisory welfare activities of UNRRA. Its attitude to the subject of the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders was entirely political and in no way objective. The Economic and Social Council had resolved on the 21st June that the Commission should undertake a study of international action, existing and required, in consultation with I.L.O. and the International Penal and Penetentiary Commission. At first the Commission decided to ask the Secretariat to undertake this study with I.L.O. and I.P.P.C. It also agreed to a U.S. suggestion to ask the Chairman of I.P.P.C. (Mr. Bates) to speak to its members. Then French members pointed out with extreme indignation that Franco's Government belonged to the I.P.P.C., and had even paid its subscription recently. Mr. Bates, they said, should not be invited. The Soviet and Polish Delegations heartily concurred. The U.K. representative pleaded for a scientific as against an emotional approach to the problem, and declared himself ready to hear anyone who could contribute to the prevention of crime, provided the Assembly's resolution were not transgressed, and the resolution did not exclude consultation with I.P.P.C. Then, when the great majority favoured a resolution not to hear Mr. Bates, and (in view of the Assembly resolution on Spain), not to consult the I.P.P.C., the U.K. and the U.S. gave up their opposition.

On the 30th January the Commission decided to set up a Committee on child welfare which should consider the possibility of establishing a sub-Commission on Child Welfare. The French representative wished such a sub-Commission to be created, the U.K. contended that the Economic and Social Council's request for such a sub-Commission had been made out of date by the creation of the International Children's Fund and the transfer of UNRRA welfare functions to the Secretary General, and hoped that the new Committee would perform the necessary liaison duties.

At the same meeting, the Commission passed a resolution on relations with non-governmental Agencies, which, on the face of it, contradicted the equal status which all Agencies in Category A should enjoy. The relevant passage is as follows:—

> The Commission . . . . has decided to give these organisations all the facilities necessary for full consultation and in particular to invite the representatives of those placed in Category A to all the meetings and also to the meetings of its Committees and sub-Commissions. In particular the Commission desires to co-operate to the fullest possible extent with the W.F.T.U., which groups 71 million workers in 56 countries, and is the most authentic representative body of the workers of the whole world."

The resolution, which as the U.K. representative showed, is at variance with the Assembly's resolution on the equal treatment of Category A organisations, was passed by 10 votes to 3 (China, U.S. and Netherlands). In the absence through illness of the regular U.K. representative the present U.K. representative only ranked as an alternate and had no right to vote.

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session, probably in June, and then to be handed to the Assembly in the form of a draft resolution. After an interchange of views, a majority inclined to the opinion that the Secretariat should be given the task of preparing the first draft. The delegate of the U.S.S.R., however, contended that the Commission itself should first decide what rights the draft ought to contain. At the close of the 31st January meeting, opinions had not become sufficiently definite to enable a decision to be taken. H.M.G. in the United Kingdom are convinced that an International Bill of Rights is of such concern to all men that the world would not grudge two years being spent in the attempt to define matters of eternal moment: that the Secretariat have neither the duty nor the ability to prepare a draft, and that the Governments of the United Nations must be allowed time to put their own experience at the disposal of the Commission, since the human rights are meant to be enjoyed on earth, even though they are part of the eternal values.

Social Commission

The work of this Commission has suffered from the slowness of the Secretariat in producing documents, the inexperience of many of its members, and the wholesale interruption and distortion of its work by political considerations constantly forced on it largely through the French Delegation or the strong French element in the Secretariat. Its programme has been wide: the transfer of League of Nations functions in the social field—traffic in women, obscene publications, &c. —and of the advisory welfare activities of UNRRA. Its attitude to the subject of the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders was entirely political and in no way objective. The Economic and Social Council had resolved on the 21st June that the Commission should undertake a study of international action, existing and required, in consultation with I.L.O. and the International Penal and Penetentiary Commission. At first the Commission decided to ask the Secretariat to undertake this study with I.L.O. and I.P.P.C. It also agreed to a U.S. suggestion to ask the Chairman of I.P.P.C. (Mr. Bates) to speak to its members. Then French members pointed out with extreme indignation that Franco's Government belonged to the I.P.P.C., and had even paid its subscription recently. Mr. Bates, they said, should not be invited. The Soviet and Polish Delegations heartily concurred. The U.K. representative pleaded for a scientific as against an emotional approach to the problem, and declared himself ready to hear anyone who could contribute to the prevention of crime, provided the Assembly's resolution were not transgressed, and the resolution did not exclude consultation with I.P.P.C. Then, when the great majority favoured a resolution not to hear Mr. Bates, and (in view of the Assembly resolution on Spain), not to consult the I.P.P.C., the U.K. and the U.S. gave up their opposition.

On the 30th January the Commission decided to set up a Committee on child welfare which should consider the possibility of establishing a sub-Commission on Child Welfare. The French representative wished such a sub-Commission to be created, the U.K. contended that the Economic and Social Council's request for such a sub-Commission had been made out of date by the creation of the International Children's Fund and the transfer of UNRRA welfare functions to the Secretary General, and hoped that the new Committee would perform the necessary liaison duties.

At the same meeting, the Commission passed a resolution on relations with non-governmental Agencies, which, on the face of it, contradicted the equal status which all Agencies in Category A should enjoy. The relevant passage is as follows:—

> The Commission . . . . has decided to give these organisations all the facilities necessary for full consultation and in particular to invite the representatives of those placed in Category A to all the meetings and also to the meetings of its Committees and sub-Commissions. In particular the Commission desires to co-operate to the fullest possible extent with the W.F.T.U., which groups 71 million workers in 56 countries, and is the most authentic representative body of the workers of the whole world."

The resolution, which as the U.K. representative showed, is at variance with the Assembly's resolution on the equal treatment of Category A organisations, was passed by 10 votes to 3 (China, U.S. and Netherlands). In the absence through illness of the regular U.K. representative the present U.K. representative only ranked as an alternate and had no right to vote.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary
No. 380

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
12TH FEBRUARY, 1947

Copy No. 143

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Since August, 1946, this Summary has become a more confidential document than it had previously been, and full weight must be given to the label SECRET. The side-lined passages especially must not be divulged to anyone other than the authorized recipients.

EUROPE

GERMANY

The Foreign Ministers' Deputies for Germany have continued to hear the views of interested Governments (see also under "Low Countries," "Scandinavia"). The New Zealand delegate, Mr. Jordan, presented the views of his Government on the 4th February. The New Zealand Government favours federation for Germany. *Inter alia* Mr. Jordan emphasised the need, in the interests of security, for a settlement which the signatory Powers would be determined to uphold and which should command a sufficient degree of acquiescence on the part of the German people to eliminate the need for a disproportionate effort of constraint. While it was doubtful whether this latter condition would be fulfilled in the event of territory being detached from Germany, such detachment was, he suggested, the lesser evil if the only alternative was to allow Germany to resume her course of aggression.

Marshal Sokolowsky, having violated quadripartite procedure, has called forth a deliberate and frank expression of H.M. Government's disapproval. This was delivered by General Robertson in the Co-ordinating Committee on the 5th February and the gist of the statement was communicated to the press. A tense meeting preceded the reproof. Members of the Committee were unable to reach any agreement on the principles of vetoing appointments to the Berlin Magistrat. General Robertson then asked General Kurochkin for his report on the premature release to the press of Marshal Sokolowsky's statement to the Control Council (see last week's *Summary*).

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General Kurochkin said that as there was now no censorship of the press before publication, he could not prevent the appearance of some item which was drawn from the foreign press (actually from that of the Soviet Union), but that he had at once stopped further publication and reprimanded the editor. After some further passages of arms in which allusion was made to attacks on Soviet policy by the West German press, General Kurochkin said that the Soviet Delegation had no intention of involving themselves in quarrels with their Allies on account of these articles. He appeared earnestly to hope for better relations and to be exceedingly embarrassed by a campaign evidently directed by remote control from Moscow. General Robertson said that the appearance of the article was certainly not just an accident and he must therefore conclude that the Soviet Delegation was making use of these disagreements to enlist the sympathy of the German public. This was only one of a series of incidents. Day by day articles in the German press attacked the administration of the American and British Zones, although he was sure that they "are not spontaneous expressions of German opinion." His Majesty's Government desired to co-operate in achieving an early, just and practicable Peace Settlement, but, said General Robertson, "we shall not be bludgeoned into accepting the ideas of others by any campaign of vilification. The very idea that any one of us should seek to engage the support of the Germans in an attack on an Ally is not only most offensive to us but is, in our opinion, highly dangerous to the future peace of the world. . . . Those who are attacked must be free to defend themselves. In so far as we are compelled to do this, the responsibility lies with those who began it."

After lengthy consultation a decartelisation ordinance for the British Zone was ready for promulgation on the 11th February. A law on similar lines is being issued for the U.S. Zone. The British ordinance prohibts Germans from taking part in international or domestic cartels and forbids the combination of interests in restraint of trade. Enterprises employing more than 10,000 persons will be examined as *prima facie* excessive concentrations of economic power. Exemption will be granted to undertakings which are required to further Military Government policy as well as the enterprises under Military Government control, except that the controlling authorities may be required to submit reports of their activity. This avoids interference in plans for the socialisation of basic industries. Promulgation of the ordinances on a zonal basis was necessary because of lack of Four-Power agreement. In previous months some misapprehension had been caused in United States circles by His Majesty's Government's apparent hesitation in agreeing to a law for the de-concentration of economic power. This was not due to disagreement over the object of such a law, but H.M. Government were anxious to avoid hindering economic revival by more reorganization than was necessary, while regarding socialisation as an important step for removing economic power from potentially dangerous hands.

The cold weather returned to Germany at the end of January, bringing inevitable hardships and dislocation of economic activity to all parts of the country, particularly to Berlin and other large cities. In Hamburg, for example, there were 37 deaths from frostbite between the 1st and 24th January, and 21 deaths from the same cause in Schleswig-Holstein. Over 200,000 people in Hamburg are living in temporary shelters, ranging from Nissen huts to cellars. During the past fortnight the dislocation of food supplies has led to sporadic strikes in several Ruhr mines. Daily output of coal in the British zone, however, rose steadily during January, reaching 221,421 tons on the 24th. To obtain the target of 400,000 tons daily, General Robertson has said that 2,000 more miners a week have to be recruited. Present recruitment is at the rate of 1,000 a week. This is a great improvement (largely due to better welfare provisions) when it is remembered that last autumn hundreds of miners left the pits each week.

A new Ordinance was issued in the British Zone on the 6th February which gives instructions for the trial of war criminals, the disposal of persons now in internment camps and the procedure by which German panels will classify those still at large. The Ordinance is based on the Control Council Directive which divided persons into five categories according to their degree of guilt. Of the 34,000 Germans already interned in the zone, 20,000 have been provisionally placed in the first category as war criminals, the great majority of them because they were members of criminal organisations. These members will be tried by German courts, not by ordinary denazification tribunals, so that this shall be neither a political affair nor a matter of revenge. In this

category, only those will be punished who remained in a criminal organization after the 1st September, 1939, because the Nuremberg judgement was based on the activities of these organizations during the war. This does not, of course, preclude lesser sentences for other members.

The imminence of the Moscow conference has led to a tightening up of purge proceedings in the Soviet Zone—which, incidentally, reveals the unsatisfactory state of denazification in several fields. Commissions working on the lines of Control Council directives have been set up since the 1st January, 1947, and standards appear to be considerably stricter than before (see *Summary* No. 361). The three parties and the FDGB are represented on the Commissions but are not competent to rehabilitate former Nazi Party members and all previous certificates permitting continued employment are declared invalid. On the 30th January the Minister of the Interior for Saxony was reported as stating that National Socialists, militarists and reactionaries had penetrated the administration "in substantial numbers." In Thuringia new political purges among the teachers are foreshadowed, and a Liberal Democrat member of the Diet stated on the 28th January that 20 per cent. of the new teachers were to be dismissed. The Minister of education admitted that 50 per cent. of new teachers in secondary schools recruited under an emergency scheme since January 1946 had been Party members. These revelations do not check the flow of abuse against the Western zones particularly against the power alleged to be retained by industrialists. In fairness it should be recalled that the power of the industrialists has probably been broken most thoroughly in the Soviet Zone by ruthless measures of expropriation.

The political and economic situation in the U.S. Zone, if less marked by disaffection and despair than that of the British Zone, is characterised by an atmosphere of unreality and backstairs intrigue which would be reminiscent of musical comedy, were it not such a lamentable forecast of future difficulties. Bavaria appears the most extreme example. While American figures show an increase in industrial production the economic standards of the town populations were still falling in mid-January and fears have been expressed by responsible observers, that an economic collapse is in store. The reasons would be lack of coal, of raw materials, of adequate planning and of food, the latter shortage being aggravated through hoarding by Bavarian peasants. While rapid devolution of authority by Americans has not exactly helped planning, it also appears that in the economic sphere the remaining Occupation staff frequently lack technical knowledge and that corruption is widespread. Economic activity is often conditional on "protection" from the appropriate U.S. official—a protection which sometimes extends to Nazis. German morale is further lowered by evictions in many towns in order to make room for the families of U.S. staff (a problem, of course, facing every occupying Power). The Bavarian Government itself grew out of inter-Party intrigue which resulted in a coalition of the right wing of the Social Democrats and the Christian Democrats against the left wing of the Christian Democrats. These uneasy stable companions are unlikely to remain together long or to benefit the State to any great extent.

Above all, however, the situation with regard to denazification in Bavaria—as also, to a slightly lesser extent in Wuerttemberg-Baden and Hesse—continues to be deplorable. General Clay has decided not to implement his warning of last November that U.S. Military Government might have to resume control of denazification unless there was an improvement within 60 days. Since then activity has certainly been greater, but distinctly haphazard. Well-known Nazis in Bavaria still retain their posts, largely because of rule-of-thumb laws. It was only recently that thirty professors were removed from Munich university and a second purge in Erlangen university during January resulted in Military Government depriving 76 members of the staff of working permits. With the purge tribunals in German hands the way is open for denunciation and intrigue. While there are plenty of people ready to cry "how now!—a Rat?" and to pursue ruthlessly the petty offender, they are often afraid to touch the real villains of the piece. In Wuerttemberg-Baden, for example, the Premier after holding office since 1945, was recently charged with having supported the Nazis by favouring the Enabling Act of 1933. (This he did, but there is no sign that he was an active Nazi.) In turn, however, the Minister of Denazification has dismissed the Public Prosecutor who brought the indictment saying that he had exceeded his rights. The same Minister,

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seeking to court popularity, has blamed U.S. Military Government for "interfering" in denazification.

On the 30th January Hans Fritzsche, former Nazi radio chief, acquitted by the International Military Tribunal, was sentenced by a German purge court in Nuremberg to 9 years' hard labour. Strikes were called in protest against the third bomb incident in the U.S. Zone which occurred on the 3rd February outside the office of the Nuremberg Public Prosecutor, who is now trying Franz Papen.

AUSTRIA

The Deputies in London have made fairly good progress during the past week in the discussion of the political clauses of the Austrian Treaty, and have now sent the last of these to the Political Sub-Committee for drafting. On the 3rd February it was generally agreed that the existing Austrian Nationality Law should be taken as a basis for consideration; clauses which would safeguard the position of Austrians who have acquired another nationality since the *Anschluss*, while invalidating and preventing the naturalisation of undesirable Germans since 1933 and in the future, are to be considered by the Sub-Committee. The Treaty is also to contain articles on human rights, the basis of democratic government, and the prohibition of anti-democratic organisations.

On the 3rd and 4th February the Deputies were unable to reach any conclusion on the clauses relating to war criminals. M. Gusev maintained that the article should be similar to that in the satellite treaties, which provide simply for the handing over of those accused of war crimes. The view of the United States representative, supported by the British Deputy, was that applications for the surrender of war criminals must be made—within ninety days after the Treaty comes into force—to the four Allied representatives in Vienna, and must be supported by evidence satisfactory to all four Allies. M. Gusev insisted that, although Austria has been under Allied control for eighteen months, there had been no greater vigilance on this matter than in Roumania and Bulgaria. It was finally agreed to ask the Allied Council in Vienna for a report on the progress which has been made in regard to the surrender and trial of war criminals.

On the 5th February the Deputies heard Mr. Jordan, the New Zealand High Commissioner, give his Government's view that Austria must be made to pay just penalties for her share in the war. At the same time, he said, Austria must be re-established as an independent State within her pre-*Anschluss* boundaries. Careful examination would have to be given to Austria's economic rehabilitation, and to whether her need for development within a larger economic framework would be met by the Economic Commission for Europe, the establishment of which was to be studied by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

Members of the Austrian delegation were then questioned. M. Gusev asked Dr. Gruber about denazification measures, particularly about the 536,000 Fascists who, he said, were in Austria at the end of the war, and the 98,000 members of the Nazi party who were there before the *Anschluss*. Dr. Gruber said that 68,000 cases had come under the denazification and war criminal laws, of which 26,000 had been before the courts. 2,307 sentences had been passed, including 30 death sentences. About 135,000 people, including 66,000 Civil Servants, had been removed from their posts. In reply to a further question from M. Gusev about displaced persons in Austria, Dr. Gruber said that Austria, while ready to grant Austrian nationality to a limited number of "politically certified" displaced persons, wished to be rid of the bulk of them.

On the 6th February there was a lengthy wrangle on the procedure for dealing with the Yugoslav and Czech territorial claims. It was decided that the Deputies would hear again both the Yugoslav and Austrian representatives at a joint session, and that they should then decide whether an expert committee would be useful or whether the Deputies would immediately consider the question themselves. The Czech and Austrian Governments are to be encouraged to settle the Czech request for the sale by Austria of a small, but strategically and economically important area on the Danube near Bratislava between themselves.

Another clause passed to the Sub-Committee on the 6th February provides that the diplomatic representatives of the four Powers in Vienna should, for a period of not more than eighteen months, represent the Allied and Associated Powers in dealing with the Austrian Government on matters of interpretation of the Treaty. This is parallel to the clause in the Italian Treaty providing for a Council of Ambassadors in Rome.

On the 8th the Deputies reached agreement in principle on the clauses dealing with the cessation of the Allied Council when the Treaty came into force, and the withdrawal of the occupying armies within ninety days from that date.

In Vienna, the Executive Committee and the Allied Council have had lengthy discussions on the replies to the questions from the Council of Deputies (see last week's *Summary*). Although the Soviet member of the Allied Council on the 7th February tended to emphasise Austria's part in the German war machine, the danger of the presence of large numbers of displaced persons, and such like familiar arguments, there was on the whole a genuine attempt by all to reach agreement, and a considerable measure was in fact achieved. The main report contains paragraphs unanimously agreed, while a part called "Special Opinions" contains paragraphs on which unanimity could not be reached.

The Austrian Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor are back in Vienna, where they reported favourably to the Cabinet on the progress of the Treaty talks on the 5th February. Dr. Schaerf said that there had been absolute agreement among the Austrian delegates. The Socialist Minister of the Interior, Herr Helmer, thanked the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, and the Austrian delegation on behalf of the Government and country for their excellent work in London. The Foreign Minister, Dr. Gruber, intends to remain in London until the end of the Deputies' discussions. He has now been joined by Dr. Krauland, the Minister for Economic Planning and Property Control.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The conflict between eastern and western conceptions of democracy continues to be fought out upon Czechoslovak soil in a series of encounters which, in contrast with what goes on in neighbouring lands, appear tempered with restraint. This moderation is rooted in the comparatively enlightened, if corrupt and despotic, benevolence of the latter-day Austro-Hungarian Empire, and derives, in more recent times, from the broadly-based democratic tolerance of the Masaryk Constitution. At present its continuance depends upon the skilful work of compromise being performed by the President and his closest collaborators, who were largely responsible for saving Czechoslovakia from a period of post-war internecine strife by bringing back into public life the most reputable statesmen from both east and west. This hard task has been taking a heavy toll upon the President's health, although from all accounts he persists in giving himself no quarter.

It is difficult to foretell the exact result of the present conflict. While there is reasonable hope that, in the case of Czechoslovakia a workable synthesis may be the outcome, it cannot be denied that events in adjacent countries are bound to have some effect, the Soviet Union will, in any case, continue to be the most significant external factor in Czechoslovak life.

The various Government bills which have recently been under consideration give point to the foregoing remarks. M. Nosek, Communist Minister of the Interior, speaking in Brno on the 6th February at a conference of local government representatives, referred once again to his plans for reducing the number of civil servants. It is clear that he is not aiming merely at a redistribution of man-power, but at making the Civil Service dependent upon the goodwill of his own Ministry by altering the established status of the officials. Another measure, the new Police Bill, aims at unifying the police into one centralised force, the S.N.B., and placing it directly under the Minister of the Interior. In this way M. Nosek seeks to deny the right of municipalities to exert police control, a right formerly recognised by the Government. If these two bills are passed in the form originally proposed by M. Nosek, the Communists will have two deadly weapons with which to reinforce their position—a subservient Civil Service and a party police force.

Two other bills, which appear fraught with similar possibilities, are the Military Service Bill, which would, among other things, extend the scope of politico-military education in the schools thus preparing the ground for the Army Education Officer (almost inevitably a Communist), and the Bill for the Protection of the Two Year Plan, which would give the Government the power to punish anyone obstructing the widely ramified economic schemes. All these bills have legitimate purposes in a country endeavouring to extricate itself from the morass of complex social, economic and political problems of Central Europe to-day; but the non-Communists are well aware of the danger threatening democratic institutions and personal liberty, should the Communists once possess the legal and physical weapons with which to enforce their will.

So far the Communist Ministers have been obliged to compromise, and draft regulations affecting the freedom of the press and the control of the police, for

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example, have been much modified and frequently referred back as the result of the criticisms made by all the other parties. An example of how jealously the National Assembly has been guarding its authority is the case of the Minister of Agriculture, M. D'urfš (Slovak Communist) who has been severely criticised—especially by the Social Democrats, it is interesting to note—for his unconstitutional action in submitting certain draft bills to local farmers for consideration before the Agricultural Committee of Parliament had seen them. There are signs that the National Front is embarking upon a critical period, as the fundamental problem of the new Constitution, and the 1948 elections, loom ever larger upon the horizon. Small disputes, such as the lightning strike of Czech workers in the Sudetenland factories at Cheb against proposed transference of the plant to Slovakia, are beginning to assume new significance as each party faces a trial of strength.

According to a wireless broadcast from Prague, the Government intend to contest the UNRRA decision to make cuts in the allocations to Czechoslovakia. The decision was based on the consideration that the Czechs had rather overstated their case, and that the country had made a more rapid recovery than other claimants. The Government assert, however, that particularly since the State Department opposed the Czechoslovak loan application, they are not in a position to pay for needed supplies in the free market. It is suggested that counter-proposals, including the allocation of Czech home supplies to Yugoslavia, will be lodged by the Czechoslovak Government at UNRRA Headquarters.

(See also under "Hungary.")

POLAND

The first session of the Polish Parliament, composed of 444 deputies, took place on the 4th February. No representatives of Great Britain or the United States were present. The only candidate to the Presidency of the Republic, M. Bierut, was re-elected for a term of seven years by 408 votes out of 433, M. Mikolajczyk and his party having opposed the Bill to elect a President.

In a courageous speech M. Mikolajczyk said that he had already filed a protest against the elections of the 19th January, and his party was unwilling to grant to the Parliament formed as a result of them, the prerogatives to deal with the essential principles necessary for the building of a democratic state. He did, however, promise his support for any measures which Parliament might take for the country's reconstruction and the nation's welfare and independence. The passage of the Bill was also marked by a debate on whether the words "so help me God" should be introduced at the end of the President's oath. It was agreed that this should be so, strangely enough with the support of the Communists, and with the Socialists abstaining.

President Bierut said that the two important projects to be laid before Parliament were the Amnesty Bill, and the drawing up of the new Constitution. The aim of the former is to influence the "tens of thousands of Poles who are still abroad to return home, where work for reconstruction is in full swing." The function of the latter, according to *Glos Ludu*, the Communist paper, is, as an interim constitution, to establish a legal basis for relations between the President, Parliament and Government. A later Constitution will deal with fundamental structural problems.

On the eve of the first session of the new Parliament, meetings were held by the Parliamentary Groups of all the parties represented in it. These are: the four "*Bloc*" Parties of the Communists, Socialists, Peasants and Democrats, together with the Polish Peasant Party of M. Mikolajczyk (P.S.L.), the Catholic Work Party, the Polish Peasant Party "New Liberation," and the Independents. The last consist chiefly of "splinter" Catholic groups. The Opposition in the new Parliament is represented by the 27 members of M. Mikolajczyk's Peasant Party (P.S.L.) and the veteran right wing socialist Zygmunt Zulawski, who, having seceded from the official Socialist Party (P.P.S.) contested the elections as an independent socialist. After the formal resignation of the provisional Government, President Bierut, with the consent of the Parliamentary Groups entrusted the formation of a new government to Jozef Cyrankiewicz, Secretary-General of the Socialist Party, who thus succeeds his party colleague M. Osubka-Morawski, as Prime Minister. M. Cyrankiewicz, who is about 35 years old, was the Secretary of the Socialist Party in the Krakow province from 1937 till 1939. Under the German occupation, he was one of the leaders of the new left wing Polish Workers' Socialist Party, which united with the traditional party in 1943. In that year M. Cyrankiewicz was sent to the German concentration camp at Oswiecim (Ausschwitz), being freed by the Russians in 1945. He became one of the chief figures in the Polish

Socialist party as re-created at Lublin. Despite this he is usually credited with a fundamental Western outlook, and feelings of genuine friendship towards Great Britain. As a politician, he has shown great energy, and is reported to be one of those most opposed to the Socialists being mere tools of the Communists.

M. Cyrankiewicz's new Cabinet consists of 23 Ministers, with the following distribution of seats: Socialists 7, Communists 5, "*Bloc*" Peasant Party (SL) 6, Democrats 3, Catholic Work Party (SP) 2. Besides the Premiership the Socialists hold the Ministries of Finance, Justice, Labour and Social Welfare, Reconstruction, Foreign Trade and Shipping, and Public Administration. The Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Education, Public Security, Industry and Regained Territories go to the Communists, who thus have a good chance of maintaining their control over the country. Although the Socialists have the most ministries, it must be remembered that the S.L. with a representation far beyond their actual strength in the country, have shown a marked tendency to ally themselves closely with the Communists ever since their re-formation in 1945. If they are to make an attempt to win the confidence of the peasants, still enjoyed entirely by the P.S.L. they can only succeed by adopting an attitude of moderation more in keeping with the outlook of the peasant population, though there has been very little in their past record to support such a consideration. Moreover the Communists, besides retaining the key posts of the Ministries of Public Security and Industry, have also secured those of Foreign Affairs and Education, with the very energetic M. Gomulka remaining Vice-Premier and still in charge of the Regained Territories. The new Foreign Minister is Zygmunt Modzelewski who, as the previous very competent Vice-Minister, exercised most of the real power behind the back of the "Democrat" Wincenty Rzymowski, the nominal Minister.

In his first speech in Parliament M. Cyrankiewicz spoke of reducing expenditure on the army and secret police, and the granting of a "wide amnesty." The Government also desired to help private enterprise, to improve relations with the Church, and to maintain friendly relations with the Western Powers. On the last point, M. Hochfeld, chairman of the Socialist Party's Parliamentary Committee, said that such relations depended on the recognition by Great Britain and the United States of Poland's right to conduct her internal affairs without interference, and of her vital need of the Regained Territories.

SOVIET UNION

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example, have been much modified and frequently referred back as the result of the criticisms made by all the other parties. An example of how jealously the National Assembly has been guarding its authority is the case of the Minister of Agriculture, M. D'urfš (Slovak Communist) who has been severely criticised—especially by the Social Democrats, it is interesting to note—for his unconstitutional action in submitting certain draft bills to local farmers for consideration before the Agricultural Committee of Parliament had seen them. There are signs that the National Front is embarking upon a critical period, as the fundamental problem of the new Constitution, and the 1948 elections, loom ever larger upon the horizon. Small disputes, such as the lightning strike of Czech workers in the Sudetenland factories at Cheb against proposed transference of the plant to Slovakia, are beginning to assume new significance as each party faces a trial of strength.

According to a wireless broadcast from Prague, the Government intend to contest the UNRRA decision to make cuts in the allocations to Czechoslovakia. The decision was based on the consideration that the Czechs had rather overstated their case, and that the country had made a more rapid recovery than other claimants. The Government assert, however, that particularly since the State Department opposed the Czechoslovak loan application, they are not in a position to pay for needed supplies in the free market. It is suggested that counter-proposals, including the allocation of Czech home supplies to Yugoslavia, will be lodged by the Czechoslovak Government at UNRRA Headquarters.

(See also under "Hungary.")

POLAND

The first session of the Polish Parliament, composed of 444 deputies, took place on the 4th February. No representatives of Great Britain or the United States were present. The only candidate to the Presidency of the Republic, M. Bierut, was re-elected for a term of seven years by 408 votes out of 433, M. Mikolajczyk and his party having opposed the Bill to elect a President.

In a courageous speech M. Mikolajczyk said that he had already filed a protest against the elections of the 19th January, and his party was unwilling to grant to the Parliament formed as a result of them, the prerogatives to deal with the essential principles necessary for the building of a democratic state. He did, however, promise his support for any measures which Parliament might take for the country's reconstruction and the nation's welfare and independence. The passage of the Bill was also marked by a debate on whether the words "so help me God" should be introduced at the end of the President's oath. It was agreed that this should be so, strangely enough with the support of the Communists, and with the Socialists abstaining.

President Bierut said that the two important projects to be laid before Parliament were the Amnesty Bill, and the drawing up of the new Constitution. The aim of the former is to influence the "tens of thousands of Poles who are still abroad to return home, where work for reconstruction is in full swing." The function of the latter, according to *Glos Ludu*, the Communist paper, is, as an interim constitution, to establish a legal basis for relations between the President, Parliament and Government. A later Constitution will deal with fundamental structural problems.

On the eve of the first session of the new Parliament, meetings were held by the Parliamentary Groups of all the parties represented in it. These are: the four "*Bloc*" Parties of the Communists, Socialists, Peasants and Democrats, together with the Polish Peasant Party of M. Mikolajczyk (P.S.L.), the Catholic Work Party, the Polish Peasant Party "New Liberation," and the Independents. The last consist chiefly of "splinter" Catholic groups. The Opposition in the new Parliament is represented by the 27 members of M. Mikolajczyk's Peasant Party (P.S.L.) and the veteran right wing socialist Zygmunt Zulawski, who, having seceded from the official Socialist Party (P.P.S.) contested the elections as an independent socialist. After the formal resignation of the provisional Government, President Bierut, with the consent of the Parliamentary Groups entrusted the formation of a new government to Jozef Cyrankiewicz, Secretary-General of the Socialist Party, who thus succeeds his party colleague M. Osubka-Morawski, as Prime Minister. M. Cyrankiewicz, who is about 35 years old, was the Secretary of the Socialist Party in the Krakow province from 1937 till 1939. Under the German occupation, he was one of the leaders of the new left wing Polish Workers' Socialist Party, which united with the traditional party in 1943. In that year M. Cyrankiewicz was sent to the German concentration camp at Oswiecim (Ausschwitz), being freed by the Russians in 1945. He became one of the chief figures in the Polish

Socialist party as re-created at Lublin. Despite this he is usually credited with a fundamental Western outlook, and feelings of genuine friendship towards Great Britain. As a politician, he has shown great energy, and is reported to be one of those most opposed to the Socialists being mere tools of the Communists.

M. Cyrankiewicz's new Cabinet consists of 23 Ministers, with the following distribution of seats: Socialists 7, Communists 5, "*Bloc*" Peasant Party (SL) 6, Democrats 3, Catholic Work Party (SP) 2. Besides the Premiership the Socialists hold the Ministries of Finance, Justice, Labour and Social Welfare, Reconstruction, Foreign Trade and Shipping, and Public Administration. The Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Education, Public Security, Industry and Regained Territories go to the Communists, who thus have a good chance of maintaining their control over the country. Although the Socialists have the most ministries, it must be remembered that the S.L. with a representation far beyond their actual strength in the country, have shown a marked tendency to ally themselves closely with the Communists ever since their re-formation in 1945. If they are to make an attempt to win the confidence of the peasants, still enjoyed entirely by the P.S.L. they can only succeed by adopting an attitude of moderation more in keeping with the outlook of the peasant population, though there has been very little in their past record to support such a consideration. Moreover the Communists, besides retaining the key posts of the Ministries of Public Security and Industry, have also secured those of Foreign Affairs and Education, with the very energetic M. Gomulka remaining Vice-Premier and still in charge of the Regained Territories. The new Foreign Minister is Zygmunt Modzelewski who, as the previous very competent Vice-Minister, exercised most of the real power behind the back of the "Democrat" Wincenty Rzymowski, the nominal Minister.

In his first speech in Parliament M. Cyrankiewicz spoke of reducing expenditure on the army and secret police, and the granting of a "wide amnesty." The Government also desired to help private enterprise, to improve relations with the Church, and to maintain friendly relations with the Western Powers. On the last point, M. Hochfeld, chairman of the Socialist Party's Parliamentary Committee, said that such relations depended on the recognition by Great Britain and the United States of Poland's right to conduct her internal affairs without interference, and of her vital need of the Regained Territories.

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a year's absence. Presumably he has come to deal with the liquidation of the Commission after the signing of the Peace Treaty.

The new Italian Ambassador to Moscow, Signor Manlio Brosio, who was appointed last November to succeed Signor Quaroni, has just left for his post. During one of the latter's recent visits to Rome the Soviet Ambassador there is reported to have told him categorically that Italy could count on no support from the U.S.S.R. in connection with any protest over the terms of the Treaty. The Soviet Union had no intention of creating a precedent which might be used by other ex-satellites. Signor Quaroni finally left Moscow on the 11th February. The Soviet Embassy in Rome has invited the proposed Italian Commercial Delegation to Germany to establish contact with the Soviet Military Administration with a view to the conclusion of a Commercial Agreement. Meanwhile the withdrawal of the Soviet representative from the Advisory Council for Italy and the Allied Commission announced for the 31st January has been delayed pending further instructions from Moscow.

A long silence on Italian affairs has now been broken by *Izvestiya* (the 5th February) with an article condemning Giannini and his Uomo Qualunque party as pure Fascists and hinting obliquely that he was receiving tacit encouragement from the British and American authorities.

Tass has taken up with vigour the refusal of General MacArthur's headquarters to allow a representative of the Moscow Patriarchate to enter Japan and the American counter-proposal to send an Orthodox Bishop from the U.S.A. out to the Mission. *Tass* regarded this as "an unfriendly act towards the Russian Orthodox Church and a gross interference in the affairs of the ecclesiastical consistory of the Orthodox Church in Japan." The situation among the Japanese Orthodox has naturally been complex since the war. In 1931 the mission numbered about 40,000 faithful and 32 priests, of whom the majority were Japanese. Metropolitan Sergei, a Russian, had been head of the Mission since 1912, but in 1941 he resigned, owing to a decree of the Japanese Government that the Head of the Orthodox Mission must be a Japanese. He died in 1945. A Japanese priest named John Ono was hastily separated from his wife and consecrated Bishop under the name of Bishop Nikolai, to comply with this decree. The majority of the Japanese Orthodox, however, did not recognise him, and at a Consistory held in April 1946 they sent a message to Patriarch Alexei of Moscow asking him to take the Japanese Church under the wing of the Moscow Patriarchate and to send a Bishop out to Tokyo. The United States action in refusing entry to the Patriarchal Emissary seems a little high-handed in view of the fact that the Orthodox Church in Japan, unlike some other Russian Orthodox Missions in the Far East, had never broken off relations with Moscow even throughout the inter-war period and has now itself asked for a Bishop from Moscow.

It is hard to be sure of the exact present position as regards theological education in the U.S.S.R. but it seems that at any rate one institution may be functioning in Moscow. Efforts are being made to get theological students from abroad to study there. As far back as last April the Japanese Orthodox Consistory proposed to teach selected Japanese priests Russian with the object of sending them to Moscow for theological studies and last Autumn it was stated in Paris that Patriarch Alexei had plans for inviting Professors from the Orthodox Institute there to visit the "Moscow Academy." Metropolitan Grigorii of Leningrad, during his recent Middle Eastern tour, is said to have proposed to the Patriarch of Alexandria that priests from the Orthodox Communities of the Middle East should spend a period in a seminary in the U.S.S.R. He also intimated to the Coptic Patriarch that Russian Universities would welcome Coptic theological students who wished to complete their studies abroad (though, of course, no Soviet university teaches theology, church history or any other ecclesiastical subjects). So far, however, the Copts do not appear to have risen to the bait and they have indicated a preference for pursuing their studies in this country in the calmer atmosphere of Anglicanism.

Some news has at last begun to filter through of the position in the Kaliningrad oblast of the R.S.F.S.R. (formerly Königsberg). The area has been divided into 14 raions, all the towns being given Russian names; Gumbinnen has had the honour of being called after M. Gusev. The original intention was apparently to remove all the Germans and to people the area with Great Russians, but this has not been strictly carried out. Most of the Russian colonists come from Kursk and Orel but Byelorussians have now been allowed to come in though Ukrainians are not admitted. In spite of deaths and evacuation to Germany, many Germans still remain; some have, apparently, been deported to the U.S.S.R.,

but there is no solid evidence on this point. The Germans staying behind are not regarded as Soviet citizens, have no political parties of their own and are in general poorly treated. One German Anti-Fascist Committee is said to be functioning in Kaliningrad itself.

In virtue of a decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, demobilisation of the following senior age classes of N.C.O.s and men of the armed forces is to be carried out :—

(*a*) From the land forces : the two oldest age groups (estimated as the 1923 and 1924 classes).
(*b*) From the air forces : the one oldest age group (estimated as the 1922 class).
(*c*) From the navy : the three oldest age groups (estimated as the 1893, 1894 and 1895 classes).

It should be pointed out in this connection that in the case of the land forces 32 age groups will have been released by the end of June of this year, but only the first 13 age groups included officers. 30 age groups of the air forces will have been released by June 1947 but, as in the case of the land forces, only the first 13 of these will have included officers. The latest decree is the first to mention the navy. It is therefore estimated that by the end of June 1947 the strength of the Soviet Army including M.V.D. troops will be 3,570,999 *plus* whatever additional intake there may have been by then.

During the past eighteen months, various Soviet scientists have been mentioned in the accounts of the post-war organisation of international learned bodies, although it remains as difficult as ever to establish contact with individual experts. Alexander Mikhailov is president of the International Astronomical Union, which will hold its 1948 congress in Moscow. Academician A. N. Nesmeyanov, Director of the Soviet Institute of Organic Chemistry since 1939 and famous for his research into metallic alloys, has been elected vice president of the International Chemistry Association. The Soviet Union is represented in the International Committee on Historical Sciences by Academician V. Volgin, who is Secretary of the Academy's Department of History and Philosophy and an authority on the history of socialism. As head of the Soviet delegation to the Congress of Indian Scientists, Volgin recently received an honorary doctorate of Delhi University. Academician Leon Orbeli, formerly vice-chairman of the Academy and at present Secretary of the Department of Biology, serves as Soviet representative on the organising committee of the International Physiological Congress. The aged geologist Academician Vladimir Obruchev, whose "Geology of Siberia" was awarded a Stalin Prize, is closely associated with Soviet preparations for the International Geological Congress to be held in Britain in 1948. This Society's last Congress was held in Moscow in 1937. Mikhail Shatelen took part in the recent international conference on high tension transmission network and represents the U.S.S.R. in the World Energetics Federation. Boris Polinov, an expert on soils, member of the American Geographical Society and the International Association of Soil Science, now serves on the Executive committee of the International Association of Scientists. It is also announced that the International Council of Scientific Unions has invited the Academy of Sciences to become a member. Soviet propagandists attribute the "growing respect of the world for Soviet scientists" to their humanitarian ideals, which are contrasted with the cynical misapplications of scientific knowledge in imperialist countries.

Erratum.—In last week's *Summary*, p. 8, line 36, column 1, for "adequately" read "most inadequately."

SCANDINAVIA

Denmark

There has been a good deal of controversy both in the press and in the Rigsdag on account of the recent approaches to the Danish Government by the South Schleswig Association (see this *Summary* No. 376 under "Germany"). At one time it looked as though the opposition between the South Schleswig-minded parties (Conservatives and Venstre) and those who held a more moderate view (Social Democrats) might lead to an election or a referendum—despite the fact that the Social Democrats were opposed to such an extreme measure (see this *Summary* No. 378 under "Scandinavia"). Discussions in the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Rigsdag, however, have now led to a compromise, and a statement on the subject was issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the 3rd February. It began by reporting that the Committee had approved the draft statement of the Danish Government's point of view in

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regard to the future settlement of Germany on the lines indicated by M. Rasmussen and then made specific reference to the South Schleswig question. A representative of the Danish Government in South Schleswig would be authorised to hand to the British Governor in Kiel the South Schleswigers' request to the Control Council in Berlin regarding the administrative separation of South Schleswig and Holstein and the removal of the refugees. Denmark's own attitude to these questions, the statement reiterated, had been set forth in the Note of the 19th October (see this *Summary* No. 365).

The question of a Danish contingent being sent to the British Zone of Germany seems to be nearing a settlement (see *Summary* No. 374). On the 1st February the Danish Government handed a note on the subject to His Majesty's Minister in Copenhagen. In it the Danish complaint about the continued presence of German refugees in Denmark was repeated, as was the fact that Danish army personnel was mainly responsible for guarding them. Consequently, the statement went on, it was impossible without the greatest difficulties to spare military personnel for the discharge of duties outside Denmark as long as these people remained in the country. Nevertheless, the Danish Government was prepared to ask the Rigsdag to approve the despatch of the suggested contingent " in the certain expectation that in the course of the next few months " a solution would be found to the question of the repatriation of these refugees. The note also asked for further facilities in regard to the sterling payments due for the equipment of the contingent.

The British reply agrees to the easier terms of payment but points out in regard to the second demand that the solution of this difficulty does not rest with His Majesty's Government alone. They will exert their utmost efforts to secure the early and total removal of these refugees, but, as in the past, it will be necessary to secure the co-operation of the other occupying Powers for this purpose. Given such co-operation, it is the aim of His Majesty's Government to assist in securing the removal of the refugees within the next few months and to take their full share up to the limit of capacity of the British Zone.

According to a Danish broadcast Mr. Hans Hedtoft, Chairman of the Social Democratic Party, speaking on the refugee problem on the 8th February, pledged his party's full support of the Danish Foreign Minister's efforts to solve the refugee problem and expressed surprise that " millions of Germans from East Prussia, Poland and Czechoslovakia " had been evacuated to the West and yet no room could be found for the 200,000 Germans from Denmark.

Finland

On the 3rd February an agreement was signed in Moscow between the Finnish and Russian Governments providing for the disposal of former German assets in Finland, which by virtue of the Potsdam Agreement were taken over by the Soviet Union. Negotiations for the disposal of these assets, amounting in all to 6 milliard Finnish marks, were carried on in Helsinki where a Soviet delegation headed by M. Kumykin arrived early in January.

At first the Russians put forward demands for the revaluation of the total sum at the 1944 rate of exchange, coupled with a request for equal Russian participation in a number of Finnish key industries, which, had it been conceded, would most certainly have permanently restricted Finland's economic independence. The Finnish Government, despite heavy pressure, steadfastly refused to give way on both these points, and after receiving fresh instructions from Moscow the Russians presented the proposals which form the basis of the present agreement.

The demand for a revaluation was dropped, as was also that for the transfer of industrial shares. Instead, the disposal of the assets has been divided into two parts. Under the first part, which covers 2,980 million marks, the Soviet Union purchases the Jäniskoski Power Station in the extreme North together with a strip of surrounding uninhabited territory. The installation will be restored by the Finns. They also undertake to repair Russian ships in Finnish yards. The last remaining sizable unit of the Finnish Navy, the armoured vessel *Väinämöinen*, of about 6,000 tons, together with certain Finnish-owned buildings abroad, will be sold to the Soviets. The Soviet Union will participate equally with the Finns in a company formed in 1945 for the production of artificial silk yarn. After a few items of lesser importance have been taken into account the Russians still retain, from the first part of the settlement, a balance of 465 million marks, which during 1948 is to be met in foreign exchange.

For the remaining 3,020 million marks Finland will, under the second part of the agreement, supply a variety of goods to the Soviet Union; the most important single item being horses to the value of 720 million marks. Other promised deliveries include wooden houses, sawn timber, newsprint, woodpulp, and sulphite spirit [named in the order of their importance]. Fulfilment of this pledge will still leave the Russians with a favourable balance of 650 million marks which will be held in reserve. The prices for these deliveries though more advantageous to Finland than 1944 prices, are still about 20 per cent. lower than those which could at present be obtained in the open market.

The great relief which the Finns felt at the removal of the threat to their economy embodied in the first Russian demands, induced their negotiators to recommend the acceptance of the new terms. Jäniskoski which supplies power for the Petsamo nickel mines was leased to the Soviet Union in April of last year (see *Summary* No. 341), and after the loss of Petsamo itself was of little importance to Finland. On the other hand, it had been hoped that ownership of this plant could have been exchanged for the right to use Saimaa Canal and the railway line through the Porkkala area.

The present Agreement is of particular importance as it should remove the last element of uncertainty from the economic relationship with the Soviet Union which resulted directly from the Armistice Agreement and the war. Whether Finland will be in a position to meet all her liabilities is naturally a different matter, but, with the signing of the Peace Treaty, and the disposal of ex-German assets, the Soviet Union would find it difficult further to increase the burden, assuming that she wished to do so.

THE LOW COUNTRIES

The Netherlands

A Netherlands Government Memorandum on Austria was submitted to the Conference of Foreign Ministers' Deputies on the 30th January.

Emphasis is laid upon the need for giving " full attention " to the " peculiar situation arising from the respective positions of Germany and Austria," without which there could be no solution to the German and Austrian problems. The Netherlands wanted to see a " free, independent and democratic Austria." With this object in view, it was essential to restore her former frontiers and to encroach no further upon her already " narrow economic basis." Austria's geographical position in the heart of Europe demanded the provision of a " reasonable level of prosperity," so that she might not be driven again, in despair, to turn to Germany. Special attention had also to be directed to the question of de-nazification, as a means of obviating " any striving towards 'German aims,' under whatsoever guise such activity might be camouflaged." The Netherlands Government thought it desirable that Austria, a Danubian country, should give effective guarantees (to be embodied in the treaty with her) against interference with shipping on the Danube from customs barriers or other discriminatory measures. Finally, while there would be no claim against Austria for reparation payments, the Netherlands Government reserved the right to demand compensation for losses suffered by Dutch subjects through the effects of the *Anschluss* and the war, and damages for offences against the Netherlands or her people by persons of " Austrian origin."

Belgium

A Council of State is to be created in Belgium under the provisions of a law dated the 23rd December, 1946.

The need for such a body has been felt from the earliest days of Belgian independence. A draft law for the creation of a Council of State was first laid before the Chambers in 1832; but the failure to find an acceptable formula then or subsequently postponed serious action until now. The objects of the Council are two-fold: first, to remove the inconsistencies and obscurities which have found their way into bills (particularly in recent years) as the result of hasty drafting, the confusion tending to increase with the adoption of amendments to the original drafts; secondly, to deal with cases involving the abuse of executive authority which may have resulted in friction between individuals and branches of the administration [*e.g.*, the case of M. van Glabbeke, the former Minister of Justice, whose action was the ultimate cause of M. van Acker's fall in July 1946]. In order to remedy these defects the Council is to have two principal functions: first, of scrutinizing (and, where necessary, of amending) all Bills and Decrees before they are put to the vote; secondly, of intervening (when requested) in the above-mentioned cases of conflict between individuals and administrative branches, either by giving advice to the branch in question or actually

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delivering judgement. The number of Councillors is to be not less than 13 and not more than 15; and the impartial character of the Council has been guaranteed (by agreement among the various political parties) through the selection of its first members from those no longer actively engaged in politics. It is believed that the Presidency of the Council is likely to be offered to Comte Pierlot, the Catholic ex-Premier.

At a Cabinet Council on the 4th February, M. Godding, Minister of Colonies, announced that the Prince Regent is to pay an official visit to the Belgian Congo in June, accompanied by the Minister and M. Spaak. The visit will last six weeks.

Luxembourg

A second note from the Luxembourg Government on claims against Germany dated the 27th November, 1946, differs little from the first [see *Summary* No. 368], except in its demand for a great increase of the catchment area which is to provide water for the proposed hydro-electric plant. It is claimed that the tributaries of the River Our (on which it is proposed to build the dam, at some point above Vianden)—namely, the Rivers Irsen, Enz, Prüm " and others," are " indispensable " to the supply of water to the reservoir; but the difficulty is that the courses of all these streams lie wholly in German territory. This would appear to involve the addition of an area at least as great as that already claimed along the entire Luxembourg-German frontier. It is difficult to understand what advantage would be gained by controlling these rivers, since some of these—the Prüm, for instance —would not have the slightest practical effect upon the power scheme. It should be noted that the southern half of the new territory had, from as early as 1300 until the Revolutionary Wars, belonged to the old Duchy of Luxembourg; but this may be a coincidence.

FRANCE

M. Ramadier's Government has not yet found its internal equilibrium, and the last week, which should have been devoted to decisions on economic matters, was taken up with arguments over the respective functions of the Minister of National Defence, the Prime Minister and the Service Ministers, a matter which it was believed had been decided before the Government was constituted. The decree defining the functions of the Minister of National Defence only appeared on the 8th February. Another subject which raised a storm in the Cabinet was a plan inherited from the Blum Cabinet for the partial nationalisation of the merchant navy. The M.R.P. Ministers—and particularly the Minister of Finance, M. Robert Schuman—took exception to this project on financial and other grounds; a compromise was finally reached. The incident has shown, however, the need of some clear Government programme to which all parties in the coalition could subscribe.

The urgent problems of wages and prices, problems which have faced every new Government in the last two years, were to have been discussed by the Cabinet last week, but no detailed decisions have yet been announced. The second reduction in prices of 5 per cent., which was to follow within two months of the first one (see *Summary* No. 375) is forecast for this week, but the Government have not yet decided whether it is to be, as before, a general cut or whether it should discriminate between those goods (mainly manufactures) which cannot bear a further price decrease, and those (mainly foodstuffs) whose prices could be reduced by more than 5 per cent. The new Commissioner of Food is reported to be anxious to lift controls on some foodstuffs, especially meat, but such a step might well imperil the success of the price experiment.

As regards wages, the C.G.T. demand for a minimum wage of 7,000 fr. a month was formally presented to M. Ramadier on the 5th February. The C.G.T., supported by the Communist Party, maintain that wages can be increased without a parallel rise in prices, but this thesis is denied by all other parties and is daily refuted by M. Blum in the columns of *Le Populaire*. The Government have been able to secure the unanimous support of the Assembly for their refusal to grant in full the demands of the civil servants for salary increases pending the completion of the re-grading scheme. Under the new constitution deputies may not propose additional expenditure during a debate on the budget or supplementary estimates, so that the Assembly had to accept the Government proposals *en bloc*, including the provision for a 48-hour working week. During the debate the Minister of Finance said that agreement had already been reached within the civil service for the dismissal of 25,000 persons. The bill was also passed by the Council of the Republic on the following day (31st January) together with a bill on the election of members of the Council of the Magistrature. These bills were the first

to be dealt with by the Council of the Republic, but it had no time to debate them at length since the special procedure for urgent matters had been invoked by the Assembly.

The political bureau of the Communist Party passed a resolution on the 6th February which declared that while the Party favoured an Anglo-French alliance it considered that existing differences between the two countries over Germany and the coal of the Ruhr should first be settled. M. Bidault, however, told Mr. Duff Cooper that he did not attach much importance to this statement and that he was determined himself to go ahead with the alliance. M. Jouhaux, general secretary of the C.G.T., has spoken in the same sense.

The appointment of M. Pierre Bertaux to replace General Mast as Resident-General in Tunisia (see *Summary* No. 377) has not been confirmed by the new Government, and it is thought that M. Bertaux will not now be given the post.

Admiral d'Argenlieu, High Commissioner in Indo-China, has been recalled to France for consultations, and it is believed that the Government have decided to relieve him of his post. Such a step would indicate that the Government's declared policy of conciliation will henceforth be observed more faithfully by the local administrative authorities. Following the adoption by the Viet Nam Government of recognizably Communist tactics (see *Summary* No. 374, under " Far East "), Admiral d'Argenlieu had stated publicly that he opposed their " international Marxist régime." His removal would thus facilitate the resumption of negotiations with the existing Viet Nam Government. Admiral d'Argenlieu has now crowned a series of singularly independent actions with a federal ordinance " promulgated by draft," extending considerably the powers of the Cochinchinese provisional autonomous government. According to a statement made by the head of the Cochinchinese Government on the 4th February, Cochinchina is now " a free state, associated with France within the Indo-Chinese Federation and the French Union." Such an alteration in the status of a French colony could not, however, be made by the federal authority, but only by the French parliament.

The date of the promised Assembly debate has not yet been announced. The left-wing parties have exploited to the full the Admiral's anti-Marxist bias, and the Communists, especially, want immediate resumption of talks with the Viet Nam Government. (The Viet Nam Minister of National Economy is the son-in-law of M. Marrane, Communist Minister of Health in the French Government.) They do not, however, encourage the demand for complete independence made by the extremists and thought to be favoured by the moderates in Viet Nam, but agree with the Socialists in accepting the March 1946 agreement as a working basis. The M.R.P., who have consistently supported Admiral d'Argenlieu, still see the restoration of order as a necessary prelude to negotiation. But while all moderate opinion has been strongly incensed by news of Viet Nam atrocities and French casualties, it is only the right-wing extremists who would be willing to hazard a long, costly and unpredictable war in Indo-China. (See also under " Far East.")

SWITZERLAND

Considerable agitation and resentment have been caused in Switzerland by the Chancellor of the Exchequer's speech at Newcastle on the 2nd February reverting to his suggestion made in October 1946 (see *Summary* No. 366) that neutrals should contribute towards the cost of world reconstruction. It is felt that, whereas the first statement might have been regarded as the personal opinion of an individual Minister and not necessarily an expression of his Government's policy, this second pronouncement coming on the heels of the Report of the " International Committee for the study of European Questions " (see last week's *Summary*) is not to be so lightly brushed aside. The Swiss again point to the contributions already made by them in the interests of humanity both during and since the war. They declare their readiness to pay their share of the cost of reconstruction in accordance with the terms of the Washington Agreement, but they point out that the misery and devastation in Europe to-day are not due to any fault or failure on the part of Switzerland. Nor do they feel that Switzerland need pay an insurance premium now to protect herself against the German menace, which, they maintain, they saw clearly enough and against which they took steps to safeguard themselves long before some of the other nations appeared to realize its existence.

A report in the Swiss press of the 4th February refers to a Washington message to the effect that gold to the value of seven million dollars had been transferred by the Nazis from Holland to Switzerland. The

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Swiss Political Department was said to have declared that neither the Federal Council nor the directorate of the National Bank had any knowledge of this alleged transaction; that no communication on the subject had been received from the Allied Governments; and that transactions with Germany during the war had been dealt with in the Washington Agreement and liquidated by Swiss payments. The report goes on to state that the Swiss Legations in Washington and the Hague had been requested to furnish as speedily as possible all obtainable information on the subject.

The report of the Federal Bureau of Statistics on the hotel industry for the period June–September, 1946, shows that the number of foreign visitors has greatly increased (in certain cases exceeding even the 1937 figures), and even that of Swiss tourists has remained undiminished. As was the case before the war England furnished the greatest number of Switzerland's foreign visitors, though the total for the period under review is still 40 per cent. below the 1937 level. The French have now yielded second place to the Belgians, while the Dutch and the Germans, once frequent and numerous guests, now form a very small portion of the total. Switzerland finds the revival of one of her major industries gratifying, as showing that the country has not lost its attraction for visitors and holding great promise of future prosperity.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

At the week-end the names of a new team of Spanish Republicans constituting the Government-in-exile were announced as follows :—

Prime Minister and Foreign Affairs : Rodolfo Llopis (P.S.O.E.—Socialist).
Justice : Manuel Irujo (Basque Nationalist Party).
Interior and National Defence : Julio Just (Left Republican Party).
Education : Miguel Santaló (Catalan Left Republican Party).
Emigration : Trifón Gomez (U.G.T.—General Union of Workers).
Economy : Vicente Uribe (Communist Party).
Information : (A representative, not yet specified, of the C.N.T.—National Confederation of Labour).

Thus the outcome of the caperings by the leaders of the various political groups in Paris has been nothing more than another all-party coalition with changed personnel; and the opportunity to replace the pantomime "Government" by a modest technical Junta—an instrument which could subserve the entente of Right and Left groups sponsored by the *Alianza* and certain of the Army leaders in Spain—appears to have been lost.

When Señor Barcia failed to form a Cabinet, the President of the Republic, Martinez Barrio, called upon the Secretary-General of the Socialist Party, Rodolfo Llopis, to try his hand. Fortified no doubt by his contact with Party colleagues from inside Spain at the recent special Socialist congress at Toulouse (14th–16th January), Señor Llopis had made a statement to the press at the end of January to the effect that the Socialist and Trade Union Ministers had forced the resignation of Señor Giral because they felt that he and his Government were an obstacle to the line of development which seemed to follow from the Resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations. The Spanish problem, he declared, had entered a new phase calling for closer liaison between the emigration and anti-Franco elements inside Spain, as well as for a broader-based Government, possibly including elements of the Right, which would be, he averred, in a better position to obtain the necessary assistance from the Western Powers. A full-blown "Government" (even though, at present, the number of portfolios has been reduced from 14 to 8) hardly seems to be the right way to go about things, especially when it includes an experienced Communist leader, Señor Uribe—he was Minister of Agriculture in the last Government of Dr. Negrin in 1939 and, formerly, in the Largo Caballero Government of September 1936—who will certainly not be acceptable to the Right opposition groups. It is surprising that Trifón Gomez, the Labour leader, who was reputed to have barred any further collaboration with the Communists, should retain his place. This Llopis "Government" has now to present itself before the shadow Cortes.

A controversy similar to that which provoked the dissolution of the Giral combination has been agitating the Catalans, with the *Consell* of political groups in Barcelona, apparently, pressing the Generalitat "under President Irla and Señor Tarradellas—an all-party affair likewise based on the principles of "legitimacy" and continuity from 1939—to accept a new formula prescribing both direction from inside Spain and the exclusion of Communist representation.

On the 4th February the press in Lisbon announced certain changes in Dr. Salazar's Government. They are in line with earlier indications and, clearly, represent nothing in the way of a change of policy. Dr. Salazar gives up the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and has decided to instal there an old friend and henchman, Senhor Caeiro da Matta, who until recently was Minister of Education. Senhor da Matta spent the War years as Portuguese Ambassador to Vichy France. His place at the Ministry of Education is taken by a newcomer, Senhor Pires de Lima. The Minister of Works in the former Cabinet, Senhor Augusto Cancela de Abreu, is transferred to the Interior, displacing Julio Alves Botelho Moniz, and his Under-Secretary, José Federico Ulrich, gets promotion to Ministerial office. Another Under-Secretary who has been promoted to Santos Costa's assistant at the Ministry of War, Lt.-Col. Gomes de Araujo; he takes the portfolio of Communications. Two other new Ministers are Teofilo Duarte (Colonies) *vice* Marcelo Caetano, and Barbosa (Economy). The Ministries of Justice, Finance, War and Marine, show no change.

This is the first re-shuffle which Dr. Salazar has undertaken since September 1944. As a sign perhaps that he realizes he has been overtaxing his strength he has also handed over the Presidency of the National Union to Marcelo Caetano, the ex-Minister of Colonies.

ITALY

On the 3rd February Signor de Gasperi finally succeeded in forming his third Coalition Government. The new Government is composed of seven Christian Democrats, three Socialists (Nenni) three Communists and two Independents, as provisionally reported in *Summary* No. 379. The portfolios have been divided as follows :—

Prime Minister : de Gasperi (Christian Democrat).
Interior : Scelba (Christian Democrat).
Foreign Affairs : Sforza (Independent).
Justice : Gullo (Communist).
Finance and Treasury : Campilli (Christian Democrat).
Defence : Gasparotto (Independent).
Education : Gonella (Christian Democrat).
Public Works : Sereni (Communist).
Agriculture : Segni (Christian Democrat).
Transport : Ferrari (Communist).
Posts : Cacciatore (Socialist).
Industry and Commerce : Morandi (Socialist).
Labour : Romita (Socialist).
Foreign Trade : Vanoni (Christian Democrat):
Mercantile Marine : Aldisio (Christian Democrat).

Thus, for the first time, the Christian Democrats have secured a majority in the Council of Ministers. Moreover, the party has been strengthened by the fusion of the Ministries of Finance and the Treasury under a single Minister, Signor Campilli. This should enable steps to be taken to plan for the introduction of some efficient system of tax-collection which was rendered difficult in the previous Government when the Minister of Finance was a Communist and the Minister for the Treasury was a Christian Democrat. The Ministry of Post-War Assistance has been abolished and its functions divided between other Ministries. It had been reported that the Ministry was being used by the Communist Minister (Sereni) for the furtherance of Party aims.

The public reaction to the Government crisis has been, on the whole, one of indifference and of hostile comment on politicians as such who cannot get together to help forward the reconstruction of the country.

The Liberals, Republicans, Saragat Socialists and Qualunquists remain outside the new Government. Signor Saragat has, moreover, resigned from the Presidency of the Constituent Assembly. He evidently intends to make use of the time between now and the General Election (which is likely to be held in June or in October) to organise his new party, which has now obtained the support of some 47 of the 105 Socialist Deputies. Another 15 Deputies including Ignazio Silone have not yet declared themselves but are on the whole believed to incline towards Saragat. The new party claims to have secured the support of some two-thirds of the Socialist Party members in Milan, fewer in Turin, most of the inscribed members of the Party in Bologna and the Socialist Federations of Southern Italy.

Feeling on the subject of the Peace Treaty has been growing increasingly bitter since Italy's suggestions for amendments to the draft were turned down at the Paris Conference. A strong nationalist feeling has been inflamed by the press. Much of the blame for the terms of the Treaty is now fixed in the popular mind on Great Britain, and British prestige is at a low ebb. The decisions most bitterly felt are of course the alteration of the frontier of Venezia Giulia, in particular the loss of Trieste and of the Italian-

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inhabited towns on the Istrian coast, and secondly the drastic reduction in the Fleet. In particular it is felt that the services rendered to the Allied cause by the Italian Navy deserved more appreciation from Great Britain as a seafaring nation. The unrealistic attitude makes feeling no less bitter.

On Monday the 10th February the Italian Peace Treaty was signed in Paris by the representatives of the Allied and Associated Powers and by Ambassador Meli Lupi di Soragna on behalf of Italy. There had been some doubt as to whether Italy would sign, but on the 6th February the Italian Parliamentary Treaty Commission decided that in the interest of the country the Treaty should be signed while the question of ratification should be freely decided by the Constituent Assembly. On the 7th the Cabinet issued a communiqué to the same effect, stating that in designating Ambassador Di Soragna as plenipotentiary for signature it did so under "explicit reserve of ratification by the Constituent Assembly in accordance with Decree Law 98 of the 16th March, 1946." The Italian Government thus made it clear that they were unable to pledge the country to ratification.

During January the Italian Government attempted to discover the views of the U.K., France and the U.S.S.R. on the effect of non-ratification by Italy. The Government suggested that Article 90 of the Peace Treaty was to be understood in the sense that the coming into force of the Treaty depended on ratification by Italy. This suggestion drew definite replies. According to the Soviet Minister for Foreign Affairs his Government considered that an answer should point out that, in accordance with Article 90, the Treaty would be ratified by the Allied and Associated Powers and must also be ratified by Italy, and that the obligation to sign and ratify were both imposed on Italy by this Article. The coming into force of the Treaty was dependent on the handing over of ratification papers by the Four Great Powers. H.M.G. told Count Carandini plainly that unless Italy signed there would be no Treaty, in which case the Armistice would remain in force. But if Italy *signed*, the Treaty would come into force as soon as it was *ratified* by the Big Four. Italy's ratification was not necessary for bringing the Treaty into force, even though Article 90 required her ratification, which was further desirable as it would show that the Government's signature had the backing of the Constituent Assembly. France replied in similar terms. This firm attitude appears to have made an impression in Rome, for although Count Sforza has pointed out that his Government must by law submit the Treaty for ratification to the Constituent Assembly, he has also promised that he and Signor De Gasperi will do their best to secure ratification. This promise was made on the 9th February the day after Signor De Gasperi's speech in the Constituent Assembly, when he said that the period between signing and ratification might be used by Italy "to obtain from the Allied Powers, or from some of them, some promises of a revision, a pledge not to exact in full some of the Treaty's sternest provisions, and promises of support in all those matters not defined in the Treaty, such as the colonies and our demands for reparations from Germany." The U.K. feels that apart from the obligation on Italy to ratify established by Article 90, ratification is most desirable as otherwise Italians may be encouraged to evade their obligations by a claim that Italy only signed under duress and that the Treaty was not accepted by the Italian public.

The Italian Government have also attempted to sound H.M.G. on the question of Treaty revision, particularly in regard to the clauses dealing with reparations and the Navy. H.M.G. have pointed out that the U.K. is not in a position to give any assurance on future revision inasmuch as she is only one of the signatory Powers. But they add a reminder that possible modification of the Military, Naval and Air clauses is provided for in Article 46 by agreement between the Allied and Associated Powers, or, after Italy has become a member of the United Nations, by agreement between the Security Council and Italy. H.M.G. have also indicated that insofar as the Treaty conferred on any individual Allied Power rights affecting only that Power and Italy there would not seem to be anything to prevent an agreement between that Power and Italy regarding modification of those rights in particular cases. H.M.G. are prepared to consider suggestions from the Italian Government on such an agreement once the Treaty has come into force. While the French Government appear to be distressed by the above suggestion, they are in fact in favour of holding conversations with Italy on the possibility of frontier adjustments once the Treaty is in force, though they deprecate the possibility of hinting at any such thing before the ratification of the Treaty.

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

Hungary

A fresh attempt to solve the deadlock arising out of the February Agreement for the exchange of populations between Hungary and Czechoslovakia has been reported. According to the proposals placed before Dr. Wagner by Dr. Okaly, the Czechoslovak Government Plenipotentiary, 3,000 Slovak families in Hungary will be transferred to Slovakia in return for the same number of Magyar repatriates from Slovakia, the selection being taken out of the hands of the Hungarian Government by the Bratislava Resettlement Office and the Czechoslovak Repatriation Commission in Budapest. The transfer is to begin not later than the 1st March—and earlier if the Hungarian Government so desires. Four trains are to travel daily both ways, each carrying at least 32 families. The Mixed Commission, responsible for settling the details of this partial transfer, must announce its decision by the 15th February, after which date the Slovak Resettlement Office will hand an inventory of the possessions of the Magyars affected to the Hungarian Plenipotentiary in Bratislava.

Bratislava Radio professes to see in the proposals a means of eliminating the existing tension between the two countries. No Hungarian comment has yet been received but hostility towards Czechoslovakia is mounting. M. Gyöngyösi, the Foreign Minister, has delivered a Note to the Representatives of the Four Powers in Budapest, recounting the history of the dispute over the past year, and claiming that the displacement of Magyars in Czechoslovakia constitutes a breach of the February Agreement of 1946 and of the Paris Conference Resolution. The Social Democratic newspaper, *Népszava*, interprets a statement made by the Czechoslovak Vice-Premier, M. Fierlinger, on the 29th January as evidence that the so-called Labour Decree is intended "not as a legal compulsion of the population to work, but to disperse and assimilate the Hungarians in Slovakia." There are even allegations, ridiculed in Czechoslovak circles, that Hungarians deported to the Czech lands have been sold as slaves. Cardinal Mindszenty has appealed to the Holy See, H.M. King George VI and President Truman on behalf of the Magyar minority in general—and in particular of those who since the 15th November have been or are still liable to be the victims of indiscriminate deportation.

It now seems that the places of the fourteen Deputies of the Smallholder Party, recently expelled during the purge which M. Nagy has undertaken, will be filled by other members of the Party. This concession, however, is not to be granted in the case of five Smallholder Deputies who resigned in protest against the expulsions. M. Nagy's own position is seriously threatened since the Public Prosecutor has demanded the suspension of the parliamentary immunity of M. Béla Kovacs, Secretary-General of the Smallholders' Party, and his extradition by Parliament on the ground that he was associated with the conspiracy and had facilitated the escape of the former Deputy, M. Salata, for it is an open secret that M. Nagy feels himself unable to continue in office without M. Kovacs' support. M. Gyöngyösi, who stands to the left of the Smallholders' Party, has been mentioned as a possible successor, as have also M. Ortutay, M. Szakasits, Count Károlyi and M. Bán. As was no doubt intended, the odium of leading a Government responsible for signing the Peace Treaty in Paris on the 10th February—a Treaty fiercely resented by Hungarians independently of party considerations—attaches to M. Nagy.

The fact that in spite of Communist pressure M. Peyer has not been excluded from the Social Democratic Party during the present Congress may be regarded as a proof that the Social Democrats retain some measure of independence, but the general tone used by M. Szakasits indicates complete willingness to toe the Communist line. Referring to the "thunderous applause" aroused by the suggestion that the two Workers' Parties should form a Government to solve the present crisis, he admitted by implication that, though the moment had not yet arrived, the question was merely one of time. Nor is it to be supposed that in such a partnership the concessions will come from M. Rákosi. A Memorandum outlining the Party's policy stresses the need for revising the Electoral Laws in order to exclude "the enemies of the people from the lists of electors and candidates." It was precisely on this point of a restricted franchise that the Smallholders refused to yield during the recent inter-Party negotiations.

Yugoslavia

Mr. Engel, who was the survivor of the attack on the Yugoslav Consul at Naples on the 25th January (see *Summary* No. 379) has given his account of the incident. The

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chauffeur who drove the Consul to the barracks has also told his story. Both versions, which have appeared in the Yugoslav Press, differ in detail from the findings of the Court of Enquiry, and impart a sinister rôle to the British officers concerned. In addition the Yugoslav press has produced some fantastic stories about the callous treatment of the injured men and about the subsequent behaviour of the chetniks.

This incident has released a flood of propaganda about the alleged protection of war criminals by the Allied authorities in Italy, Germany and Austria. A series of documented reports appeared in *Politia*, beginning with the testimony of those "who have escaped from the chetnik Hell." There are charges of persecution and torture at Eboli and other camps of those in favour of repatriation; of British connivance in the escape abroad of some notorious traitors; of an arrangement with General Damjanović for the drafting of all able-bodied men at Eboli into the British Regular Army; of the recruiting of chetniks for service in Greece, etc.

Brigadier Maclean's first report on the refugee situation in Italy is not encouraging. The most urgent problem concerns the disposal of the chetniks at Eboli and the fate of General Damjanović. But this cannot be solved without reference to the Combined Chiefs of Staff in Washington and the State Department. And, even though the Yugoslavs in Italy may be classified by the Allied authorities into repatriable and non-repatriable refugees, there can be no guarantee after the ratification of the Peace Treaty that the whole lot may not be handed over to Yugoslavia by the Italian Government. In fact a recent rumour that the Yugoslav Government were facilitating the departure of the Italian minority from Zara may encourage the Italian Government to take such action. The only safeguard for innocent refugees will be removal to some place of safety outside Italy. This course is being considered, and North Africa has been suggested as a suitable temporary asylum.

Contrary to expectations, and to previous officially-inspired declarations, Yugoslavia signed the Italian Peace Treaty in Paris on the 10th February. On the same day the Yugoslav delegation published a statement expressing Yugoslavia's dissatisfaction with the Treaty and announcing that she had signed the Treaty in the interests of peace, but did not thereby renounce her territorial claims.

The trial of Albanians at Skoplje has been concluded with the imposition of the death sentence on four of the conspirators and of long terms of forced labour on the remainder. This trial has been notorious for the manner in which the perfectly correct attitude of H.M. Consul has been distorted in such a way as to represent collusion with the underground. The actions of the Turkish Consul may, therefore, have been similarly misrepresented.

Very severe sentences, including capital punishment, have been passed on a group of "Jehovah's Witnesses" at Zagreb. They were found guilty of pacifism.

Greece

After the vote of confidence in the new Greek Government the Chamber passed a resolution arranging for a recess until the 15th February. Meanwhile the Cabinet may legislate by decree on "pacification and appeasement." Any action taken, however, requires previous consultation with the Parliamentary Judicial Committee and then ratification by the Chamber. Such decrees may "modify, complete or annul standing regulations concerning deportations; define measures for dissolution of organisations which usurp the authority or power of the State or interfere in the exercise thereof; amnesty specified crimes previously committed." One decree has already been passed cancelling further deportations of women and children and providing for the return of those already deported.

The first week of the United Nations Commission's work was largely spent in discussions on procedure and on the scope and programme of their activities. The chief points agreed were: that the Chairmanship should rotate weekly in alphabetical order; that sessions should be open to the public except when otherwise decided; that the liaison representatives of Greece, Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia should be present at public sessions, with the right of participation on the basis of Security Council practice; that the Commission should consider localities to be visited on the conclusion of general statements from the liaison representatives; and that the Commission will hear a statement from EAM and will also be open to receive statements from other organisations which may apply. Detailed statements have now been made by the representatives of Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia insisting that, as the real cause of the condition which the Commission is required to investigate lies in the internal situation in Greece, the Commission should concentrate its activities there. The Soviet representative has also made it known that he thinks the greater part of the Commission's functions can be performed without moving from Athens. These tactics are obviously designed to focus attention on the internal situation in Greece and to prevent, so far as possible, investigation of the specific and detailed charges which Greece levelled against her neighbours before the Security Council.

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On the 2nd February EAM lodged a petition with the Commission begging them to urge the Greek Government to suspend the executions of four bandits sentenced to death by court martial. Certain members of the Commission informally recommended to the Greek authorities that the executions should be postponed and their recommendation was later generally endorsed by the Commission. It was felt, however, that the Commission would be placed in an impossible position if petitions continued to come in. Moreover, the Greek Government were considerably disturbed by the Commission's intervention in their affairs. They pointed out that such interventions could only put a premium on banditry and undermine the authority of the Army and the Government. The Commission, therefore, appealed to the Security Council who decided that the Commission had no power to request authorities in Greece, Albania, Bulgaria or Yugoslavia to defer the execution of any persons sentenced to death unless they had reason to believe that examination of any such person as a witness would assist the Commission in their work.

The Greek Government are reported to be taking a serious view of the information published in *Rizospastis* that a body of French volunteers is being formed to fight at the side of the "Greek Democratic Army" and that attempts are being made to recruit an "international brigade" in England, Belgium and Holland.

Bulgaria

General Popov has made a written confession of guilt which was read to the Court in the "Neutral Officer" trial on the 30th January (see *Summaries* Nos. 377 and 378). He blamed the Opposition Press for inspiring sedition in the Army. The first Opposition leader to be sucked into the vortex of this trial is Petr Koev, whose immunity as a Deputy of the Grand Sobranie was removed on the 5th February at the request of the Public Prosecutor, in order that he should be arrested and stand among the accused. Koev has already had experience of the ministrations of the Militia and can expect no gentle treatment this time.

All the Opposition Deputies have been aware of the insecurity of their position and know that they hold their mandates only so long as it suits the Prime Minister and, ultimately, Moscow. The removal of Koev is no doubt the thin end of the wedge, and the beginning of a process whereby not only the Opposition, but also, it is believed, such uncertain and bourgeois elements as the Zvenari and the Radicals, will be eliminated leaving the Communists and their Agrarian and Socialist satellites alone in the field. The signature of the Peace Treaty may accelerate this process.

The Peace Treaty was duly signed in Paris on the 10th February. The Bulgarian delegation, in a memorandum to the Council of Foreign Ministers, registered their objections to the clauses concerning reparations and to the failure to grant Bulgaria an outlet to the Ægean. They expressed the hope that the injustices of the Treaty might in due course be remedied by agreements with the parties concerned.

The Supreme Economic Council has decreed that 50,000 workers should be recruited for the mines and industry.

Negotiations for a trade agreement with Italy and for the purchase of motor vehicles from Czechoslovakia have been successfully concluded.

THE MIDDLE EAST

Egypt

The Foreign Affairs Committees of the Senate and the Chamber have been unable to reach a decision regarding the international organisation to which Egypt should appeal, and a further meeting is being held. The Wafd, in a manifesto published on the 3rd February, attacks Nokrashy's Government and asserts that it is not qualified to submit Egypt's case to the United Nations. It emphasises the need for unity, but refuses to collaborate with the parties at present in power and, apart from denunciation of Egypt's attitude during the United Nations debate on Russia's proposal regarding the withdrawal of troops from occupied countries, avoids any detailed statement of its policy. Heikal Pasha, the President of the Senate and Leader of the Liberal Party, has told the *Ahram* that Egypt must present her case to the Arab League and obtain a

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unanimous decision about the authority to be appealed to before submitting it to international arbitration. The question is on the agenda of the meeting of the Arab League which is due to open on the 1st March.

It has been reported in the press that King Farouk has sent one of his *aides de camp* to deliver personal messages to the Lebanese and Syrian Presidents, and also that an Egyptian delegation has arrived in Damascus to put the Egyptian case to the Syrian Government. It appears possible from these reports that the Egyptian Government has expressed willingness that the Levant States should act as mediators (see also "Syria and the Lebanon").

Although the matter may be regarded as of relatively minor importance, the Egyptian Government shows no signs of dropping the argument about the appointment of a replacement for the Egyptian Qadhi in the Sudan. The Prime Minister has addressed a note to the Governor-General in which he refers to the appointments being made by Egypt before the 1899 Agreement, and to the nomination of the first Qadhi after that Agreement by a committee of qadhis and his subsequent appointment by Khedivial decree. He further develops the theme of the religious nature of the appointment and the necessity for its holder to be fully acquainted with current procedure in the Egyptian Sharia' Courts. He ends by stating that the Egyptian Government does not agree to any change in procedure, and he insists that the holder of the post shall always be an Egyptian. The Governor-General has independently drawn attention to the fact that, according to Article 11 (2) of the 1936 Treaty, the condition of the appointment of an Egyptian is that no suitable Sudanese is available—a principle which was followed with the acquiescence of the Egyptian Government in 1941.

Palestine

Further meetings have taken place with the representatives of the Jewish Agency, who continued to circle round participation but failed to make any positive proposals. A meeting of the Anglo-Arab Conference was held on the 4th February at which the Arab delegates maintained that their own proposals offered the most just and practical solution of the problem, but intimated that they were prepared to continue the discussions if they could be assured that His Majesty's Government had no intention of establishing a Jewish State in any part of Palestine, and that a limit to Jewish immigration had been reached.

On the 7th February a document containing the detailed proposals of the British delegation was communicated to both Arabs and Jews. In it the obligations of His Majesty's Government under the Mandate are described, and the inability to find a basis of co-operation acceptable to Arabs and Jews is shown to have resulted in the impossibility of securing the development of free institutions. The present proposals are designed to establish forms of Government which have their roots in the people of the country, and which offer the prospect of full independence within a reasonably short time. They are, in effect, a five-year plan for a Trusteeship Agreement under which the people of Palestine would be associated with the Central Government from the outset, and would be given a large measure of responsibility for administration in local areas, which would be delimited in such a way as to include in each a substantial majority either of Arabs or Jews. Neither the whole of the Arab nor the whole of the Jewish territory would necessarily be contiguous. There would be safeguards for the minorities. The High Commissioner would continue to exercise supreme legislative and executive authority, but would endeavour to form an advisory council to include representatives of the Arab and Jewish local administrations, and also of labour, cultural and other organised interests. Palestinians would be introduced into the executive council, and, at the end of four years, a Constituent Assembly would be elected.

The Jewish contention that the rate of immigration should be determined by themselves alone cannot be accepted, but the trusteeship agreement would provide for a rate of four thousand immigrants monthly for the first two years. Subsequently the rate would be regulated by the High Commissioner in consultation with his advisory council, with due regard to the principle of economic absorptive capacity.

Control over land-transfer would be conferred on the local authorities.

Both Jews and Arabs have rejected these proposals.

The Jewish Agency, with the Vaad Leumi, have refused to put their resources at the disposal of the Government for the suppression of terrorism, although they allege that their declarations shew their opposition to terrorism, and that effective steps designed to break its power are being taken. The Agency deny that conditions

in Palestine—with its "White Paper Government"—are comparable to those in other countries where the co-operation of the citizens in the maintenance of law and order is naturally expected and given.

The evacuation of non-essential civilians has been accompanied by precautionary measures designed to give security to those who must remain behind. These have necessitated the removal of Jewish and Arab householders from certain parts of the principal towns in order to create protected areas there. The High Commissioner has made it clear that this does not mean that martial law will be imposed.

An illegal immigrant ship named *La Negeb*, and believed to be the *Meriça*, was intercepted off the Palestine coast on the 8th February and brought into Haifa. Resistance was offered by the passengers, causing injury to the boarding party. Trans-shipment of the immigrants and their transfer to Cyprus has taken place.

Syria and the Lebanon

The Lebanese Chamber unanimously passed a resolution on the 24th January declaring solidarity with Egypt in her struggle to realise her national aspirations—following the line taken in Syria—but this was done at the instigation of the Egyptian Chargé d'Affaires and caused both the President and the Prime Minister some embarrassment. The break-off of negotiations on the 25th January, however, undoubtedly came as a shock, and the Syrian and Lebanese Governments have formally offered their good offices with a view to reopening them. The offer is being accepted by His Majesty's Government.

Transjordan

The Transjordan Cabinet resigned on the 4th February. The resignation was inspired by King Abdullah, who has expressed the belief that they were no longer capable of governing. A new Cabinet under Samir Pasha Rifa'i was formed the same day.

Persia

Polling is now under way in most of the provinces, except Azerbaijan and Fars, while some constituencies have already sent in their election results to Tehran. As was expected, the Democrat Party has so far secured the majority of votes.

Interest in the elections—never great at any time—is now giving way in Tehran to speculation as to Qawam's line of action in regard to the Soviet-Persian Oil Agreement, due for presentation to the Majlis when it finally assembles. There is general anxiety in the capital; the Shah and many educated Tehranis feel that no ingenuity in drafting the agreement will prevent the Russians from exploiting it to re-assert their authority throughout Northern Persia, from Lake Urmia to the Afghan frontier.

It appears that, as yet, little progress has been made in straightening out the administrative chaos which the Azerbaijan Democrat régime created in that province. Iqbal, the Minister of Health, who visited Tabriz in January, paints a sad picture of the state into which the health and educational services had fallen. A report from the Ministry of Communications indicates that many roads except those leading to the Russian frontier had been neglected, while the section of the railway between Zenjan and Mianeh had suffered a similar fate. Although the Prime Minister alleges that the army in Azerbaijan have done much by their recent behaviour to destroy the friendly feeling with which the population greeted them last year, there is no evidence to confirm this statement, which appears to be an attempt by Qawam to score off the Shah and the army. An accurate appreciation of conditions in Azerbaijan may be made even more difficult by a whispering campaign that all is far from well in the province, which is inspired by the Russians with the object of causing a general feeling of insecurity, and of undermining confidence in any officials sent by the Prime Minister.

The Kurdish chieftains mentioned in last week's *Summary* have been pardoned by the Shah, and will not be held to account for any past offences. Colonel Zanguineh, Officer Commanding in Rezaieh, left Tabriz for his post on the 2nd February with copies of the amnesty, which are to be distributed among the Kurds by hand or by aircraft. A press report, however, states that Qazi Muhammed, the leader of the former Kurdish Independence Movement, and his brother have been sentenced to death by the Military Tribunal at Mahabad. The report states that the sentences are awaiting confirmation.

The local administration has at last taken steps to alleviate the famine in the Qainat area of East Persia (see *Summary* No. 363), and has sent 1,700 tons of grain there. It is reported, however, that only about 10 *per cent.* of it is fit for human consumption.

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MIDDLE EAST OIL

On the 26th December, 1946, it was announced that the Standard Oil Company (S.O.C.) of New Jersey had made an arrangement with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (A.I.O.C.) for the purchase of crude oil over a period of twenty years. The Agreement provided, among other terms, for a preliminary investigation of the possibility of constructing a pipeline from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean which would be partly owned by the S.O.C. of New Jersey.

The same company, in order to provide its affiliates with oil, proposes also to acquire a one-third share in the Arabian American Oil Company (Aramco), and to construct a second pipeline from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean, for which it would share the cost in proportion to its interest in Aramco. A final settlement, it was agreed, would depend on the satisfactory conclusion of surveys now being undertaken and talks in progress.

Another deal, details of which have not yet been made public, is being discussed between the Shell Oil Company and the Gulf Oil Corporation (G.O.C.) whereby Shell would transport to the Far East and there refine and market for a period of ten years the G.O.C's share of the oil produced in the Kuweit oilfield. Annual shipments starting at one million tons would gradually increase to ten million tons. One of the probable results of these agreements, if they materialise, would be that half of the output of the Kuweit oilfield would be shipped by tanker to the Far East, the other half being transported by pipeline to the Mediterranean.

The interest of the United States in projects for the transport of oil from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean is not new. In February, 1944, Mr. Harold Ickes, then U.S. Secretary of the Interior and Petroleum Administrator for War and also President of the Petrol Reserves Corporation, announced that the Administration had agreed with Aramco and the G.O.C. to construct a pipeline which would carry oil from the fields owned by these companies from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean. Other producers, he intimated, would be permitted to use the pipeline.

The question duly came up for discussion during the Anglo-American talks on oil supplies which opened shortly afterwards at Washington. An Anglo-American Oil Agreement was signed in August, 1944. Owing to the opposition of the American Oil Companies, however, this Agreement was not ratified by the Senate, and the plan for a pipeline was dropped.

In the case of the present proposals, the Acting Secretary of State has stated that the United States Government have no objection to the agreements, since they do not involve any new concession or development rights.

Oil Groups in the Middle East

It would seem desirable to set down here the nature and extent of the interests of the various oil groups in the Middle East. The S.O.C. of New Jersey, apart from controlling numerous companies, has thirty-three subsidiary companies. The Standard Vacuum Oil Company (S.V.O.C.), one of its affiliates which would benefit from these agreements, was formed in 1933 by the amalgamation of the Far Eastern properties of the S.O.C. and those of the Socony-Vacuum Oil Company. Hitherto its chief source for crude oil was the Dutch East Indies.

The A.I.O.C., which also has many affiliates and subsidiary companies, has its main oilfields in Persia. They are worked under a concession granted by the Persian Government in 1933 for a period of sixty years. The figure for 1945 production is given as 16,839,231 tons. The oil is conveyed by pipeline to Abadan, where there is a large modern refinery capable of refining 19 million tons annually, together with a large plant for the production of aviation spirit.

The A.I.O.C. holds 50 per cent. of the shares of the Kuweit Oil Company (K.O.C.), the other half being held by the G.O.C. A concession was granted to this company in 1934 by the Sheikh of Kuweit for the whole of his territory, excluding a neutral zone in the south claimed both by himself and Ibn Sa'ud.

In Iraq the A.I.O.C. is the sole shareholder of the Khanaquin Oil Company which works the Naft Khaneh oilfield, where production in 1945 amounted to 200,000 tons. It also holds a 23·75 per cent. of the shares of the Iraq Petroleum Company (I.P.C.), which, by the agreement signed with the Iraqi Government in 1931, has a concession for lands east of the Tigris till the year 2000. A similar proportion of shares is held by each of the following companies, the Royal Dutch Shell group through the Anglo-Saxon Petroleum Company (A.S.P.C.), *Compagnie Française des Pétroles* and the Near East Development Corporation, a holding company of which the shares are held in equal parts by S.O.C. of New Jersey and the S.V.O.C. The remaining 5 per cent. of the shares is held by Participations and Investments Ltd., representing Mr. C. S. Gulbenkian's interests. The main oilfield is in the Kirkuk area; 4,341,578 tons were produced from it in 1945. Production has hitherto been limited by the capacity of the existing bifurcal pipeline to Haifa and Tripoli. The capacity will be increased from 4 to 7 million tons annually, however, when the duplication of the pipeline, now in progress, is completed. The southern branch is expected to be ready in 1948, and the northern branch in 1949. The refinery at Haifa, owned by the Consolidated Refineries Ltd.—the shares of which are held in equal parts by the A.I.O.C. and the A.S.P.C.—can deal with 4 million tons annually. The I.P.C. also controls the Mosul Petroleum Company and the Basrah Petroleum Company, which has a concession for 75 years for all parts of Iraq not covered by the concessions of I.P.C. and A.I.O.C.

In Arabia, the Petroleum Development (Qatar) Ltd., an associated company of I.P.C., obtained in 1935 from the Sheikh of Qatar a promising concession covering the whole of his territory. Other associated companies of the I.P.C. hold concessions on the Trucial coast and other parts of Arabia, as also in Palestine, Syria, Lebanon and Cyprus. A concession covering the whole territory of Transjordan is on the point of being granted to the company.

Finally, an important party to one of these agreements is Aramco, the shares of which are held in equal parts by the Standard Oil Company of California and the Texas Company. Their original concession rights, granted in 1933 by Ibn Sa'ud for a period of 60 years, were extended in 1939 over territory further westwards so as to include Saudi rights in the two territories known respectively as the "Saudi Arab-Kuweit Neutral Zone" and the "Saudi Arab-Iraq Neutral Zone." The fact that the frontiers between Saudi Arabia and her neighbours Kuweit, Iraq and Qatar have never been demarcated may possibly prove to be an obstacle at some future time in the development of the oilfields in this area. Production in 1945 amounted to approximately 2,840,000 tons (21,300,000 barrels). Oil is taken by pipeline from the Dammam field to Ras Tanura on the coast, where there is a new refinery with a capacity of 70,000 barrels a day, or by a new submarine pipeline to the Bahrein Refinery which has a capacity of 2,750,000 tons annually. An aviation spirit plant is conected with the Bahrein refinery, which belongs to the Bahrein Petroleum Company, the shares of which are held in equal parts by the partner companies of Aramco. The concession, granted by the Sheikh of Bahrein in the first place to Eastern and General Syndicate, was taken over by the Company in 1925 and later extended till 1989. Production in 1945 was one million tons.

Oil Production in the Middle East

Total oil reserves in Iran are estimated at 900 million tons, while those of Iraq and Arabia are both placed at 700 million tons. The reserves of the Kuweit oilfield have been estimated at 600 million tons and those in Qatar at 100 million tons.

In nearly all the oilfields mentioned above, especially in the case of the Kuweit oilfield, potential production is believed to be much greater than the present output. The development of many of these oilfields was retarded or indeed entirely stopped during the war. The following table indicates the large estimated increase from proven resources in these countries during the next eight years:—

Millions of tons

	1945	*1950*	*1955*
Iran	16·8	25	35
Iraq	4·8	13·5	20
Saudi Arabia and Bahrein	3·9	15	20
Kuweit	...	15	20
Qatar	...	2·5	3·5
Egypt	1·3	1·5	1·5
Total	26·8	72·5	100

Further supplies may be procured from the development of present or future concessions which are still non-productive. In the meantime it is clear that A.I.O.C. and Aramco will have increasing quantities of oil at their disposal, since they have considerable control over the oilfields which show the greatest promise of expansion.

A proportion of the increased output of the Middle East will be needed for the growing consumption of the British Commonwealth (excluding that of Canada and India). It is estimated that the requirements of Commonwealth countries from this part of the world will increase from the 1945 figure of 25 million tons to about 43 million tons in 1955. This should still leave an increasing balance, which would approximate to 67 million tons in 1955, for disposal to other countries, including the United States. While con-

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sumption in the United States is estimated as likely to rise from 225 million tons in 1946 to 275 million tons in 1955, it is believed that her output will decline from 247 million tons in 1945 to 215 million tons in 1955. This deficit of 60 million tons may in part be covered by an estimated increase of 24 million tons in production in the Caribbean area. The balance of 36 million tons will probably come from the Middle East, made up as follows: the proposed agreement between the S.O.C. of New Jersey, and A.I.O.C. will involve, it is said, an amount of 134 million tons which, delivered over a period of twenty years, gives an average of over 6 million tons per year; in addition, U.S. interests should be obtaining in 1955 20 million tons from the Aramco oilfields and 10 million tons from Kuweit.

Pipeline Proposals

In 1944, when the United States Administration put forward its plan, it was suggested that one pipeline would probably link Qatar with Kuweit at Dammam in Saudi Arabia and then traverse the Arabian peninsula to Alexandria or Haifa, with a possible branch to the Gulf of Aqaba, while a second pipeline might link Abadan with Haifa. The idea of Alexandria as the Mediterranean terminal appears later to have been discarded in favour of Haifa, since the Trans-Arabian Pipeline Company, owned by the same companies as Aramco, in January 1946 had obtained a concession for seventy years from the Palestine Government to lay a pipeline through Palestinian territory to a terminal port on the Mediterranean, for the erection of refineries, and for the construction, maintenance and use by the Company of a port or ports in the zone adjacent to the pipeline. This proposal in its turn, however, appears to have been discarded in favour of a course still further north, namely, through Syria. When the Syrian Government objected to this plan, an alternative route through North Palestine with the terminal at Saida in South Lebanon was suggested. The United States, possibly on account of the present, and potential, unrest in Palestine, does not favour the alternative plan and is seeking to have pressure brought to bear on Syria by the other Arab States to agree to the pipeline passing through her territory. Whether the terminal would then be at Tripoli or elsewhere can only be a matter of surmise at present.

The proposed pipeline mentioned in the agreement with the A.I.O.C. would probably start at Abadan and run through Iraq and Transjordan to Haifa, although there is no information as to its course or terminals.

It would seem that some time must, in any case, elapse before negotiations can be successfully concluded with the Governments of some of the Middle Eastern States for the construction of the pipelines through their territories. However, the increase in revenue from royalties, which no doubt would result from such concessions, may be sufficiently attractive to overcome any fears that those Governments may entertain of foreign penetration or control.

Formal representations have been made to the British and United States Governments by the French Government on behalf of the *Compagnie Française de Pétroles* in which it has a 35 per cent. interest. The C.F.P., representing the only French oil interests in the Middle East, has a 23·75 share in the I.P.C. The Company claims that the Agreements are a contravention of the terms of a secret agreement made in 1928 between the groups represented in the I.P.C. that they would not separately seek concessions in what is known as the "Red Line" area which includes the old Ottoman Empire. While they appear to be irritated in general at being excluded from these deals, their chief grievance is against the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey and the Standard Vacuum Oil Company as parties to the 1928 Red Line Agreement for acquiring a one-third share of the concessions held by Aramco. Steps are being taken to test the validity of their claim in the British Courts. In the meantime the American companies have been legally advised that the 1928 Agreement is null and void—apparently on the basis that, under the Trading with the Enemy Act, France technically became an enemy during the last war. Negotiations are now proceeding between the groups of the I.P.C. with a view to settling the dispute. It is understood that the United States Government are awaiting the result of the court action here before taking any steps in this matter.

THE FAR EAST

Japan

Bargaining between the principal Japanese parties failed to produce a coalition Cabinet. The 'old Guard' in the Liberal and Progressive parties grudgingly agreed to the proposal but stipulated that Ishibashi, the Finance Minister, should be retained. The moderates in the Social-

Democratic Party persuaded the left-wing to agree to the coalition but their consent was obtained only on condition that Ishibashi should go. Premier Yoshida then hastily dropped the idea of a coalition and re-shuffled the Cabinet so as to include 6 Liberals (including Ishibashi), 4 Progressives and 3 Independents. The younger members of the two Parties are far from happy at this solution and are now taking a hand at the game of forming a coalition cabinet. There is even talk of forming a new Party to stand in the middle of the road between the two conservative parties and the Social Democrats.

The weakness of all the parties, except perhaps the Communist, is that members are still grouped round outstanding personalities rather than bound together by common principles. And the weakness of the whole political structure is that there are too many parties. Moreover the general election was held before the main problems that would face the Japanese Government had been generally appreciated. A new election was obviously necessary but it is significant of the inertia of the Government that it has now been necessary for S.C.A.P. to send a personal letter to the Premier indicating that a general election should be held as soon as practicable after the 3rd April.

Ishibashi is accused by his opponents of allowing the financial situation to get out of hand. The note issue passed the 100,000 million yen mark at the end of January (it was 70,000 million in mid-November). Even Zen, the then-Director-General of the Economic Stabilisation Board, stressed the possibility of a grave economic crisis around the end of March, but Ishibashi blandly stated "it is impossible for me to term the current financial situation as inflationary." The general public would like to know, not what he terms the situation, but what he proposes to do about it. The answer is apparently, nothing: production will presently catch up with demand and all will be well. Watching the hare outdistancing the tortoise by leaps and bounds, the public considers that the race is unfair and is even inclined to impugn the honesty of the handicapper. It is darkly hinted that the Liberal Party is receiving financial backing from the *nouveaux riches* who are waxing fat on pickings from the black market. These ugly rumours cannot but exacerbate the growing resentment of Labour circles against the Government.

In spite of the verbal warning given them by S.C.A.P. Headquarters, the committee for the general strike on the 1st February refused to cancel their arrangements. They professed to find justification of their attitude in the principle recently enunciated by the Far Eastern Commission that unions should be permitted to take part in political activities and to support political parties. Since they would not listen to reason, General MacArthur on the 31st January ordered them to desist. In a statement issued at the same time S.C.A.P. explained that he could not permit the use of so deadly a social weapon in the present impoverished and emaciated condition of Japan. The paralysis which inevitably would result might reduce large masses of the Japanese people to the point of actual starvation, and would produce dreadful consequences on every Japanese home regardless of social strata or direct interest in the basic issues. He was not prepared to ask the Allied Powers to make good losses in food and other supplies that would be caused by the action of a small minority of the people. At the same time he did not intend otherwise to restrict the freedom of action of Labour for the achievement of legitimate objectives.

Since General MacArthur's action might have been foreseen, the question arises what the Labour leaders expected to achieve by their audacity. They may have hoped that the order to desist would be based on the needs of the occupation forces since these were mentioned in the verbal warning. Or, again, they may have hoped to embroil the General with the Allied Council and the F.E.C. If so, he has once again given them proof of his quality. One significant fact emerges. A year ago the Japanese scurried to anticipate General MacArthur's least desire. Now it has needed an order to induce the union leaders to cease from action which they knew to be directly opposed to his wishes. S.C.A.P. is known to blame the recalcitrance of union leaders on Communist agitators. Japanese newspapers generally welcomed S.C.A.P.'s action while inclined to lament that the irresolution on the Government had made intervention necessary. But in an appeal sent to S.C.A.P., to the Allied Council and to the F.E.C. and also issued to the press, the Yokohama strike committee criticised S.C.A.P.'s order on the two-fold score that (*a*) the "small minority" consisted of 2,600,000 Government workers and their familes; (*b*) the

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general strike was an indispensable means of democratising Japan. This latter assertion has a curious ring. It suggests that the form of democratization desired is fashioned after a Soviet model. But possibly the emphasis should be placed merely on the right to strike. According to the press, the Welfare Ministry has mobilised half a million repatriates to aid the removal of reparations equipment, which is expected to start shortly.

French Indo-China (see under "France")

The contrast between the war-rent coastal States and the relatively peaceful interior kingdoms was vividly illustrated by a recent festival which a correspondent did not hesitate to describe as "a memorable day in the annals" of Cambodia. The ceremony, which was "celebrated with due pomp and popular rejoicing" was none other than the anointment of a new sacred white elephant. Taken in conjunction with the restoration of the lost provinces, the consecration was regarded as a happy augury of the reign of the young King.

The impression gained is of a people quite content to build on the past. It is conceivable that the masses in Viet-Nam would also be prepared to progress in gradual stages. Unfortunately, for the realisation of this French dream, the communist Viet-Minh, who now hold the administrative machine in their firm grasp, are determined to advance *per saltum*. The replacement of the High Commissioner and the Commander in Tonking, if confirmed, will be taken as a turning-point in French policy. Foreign observers seem generally agreed that the High Commissioner's action in setting up a *Provisional* Government in Cochin-China was, at least tactically, a blunder calculated to defeat its own object. At the same time the Viet-Nam Government, by its constant broadcast suggestions of a truce, strengthens the view, which seems to be gaining ground in official circles in France and which has been suggested to the French Government by the U.S. Ambassador on orders from his Government, that discussions should be resumed, however distasteful such a course may be after the treachery of the 19th December, 1946.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

General Marshall held his first press conference as Secretary of State on the 7th February. The occasion excited unusual interest, and more than a hundred newspaper correspondents were present. Speaking for the first thirty minutes in answer to written questions, the General touched upon every important aspect of current United States policy—the United Nations, disarmament, the Moscow Conference, Argentina, Poland, Palestine, tariffs and relief, trusteeship and China. He said that it would be his aim, as it had been that of the President and of Mr. Byrnes, to make the influence of the United States felt in world affairs by doing all that was possible to strengthen and perfect the United Nations. The statement which Mr. Austin had made in the United Nations Security Council on the 4th represented the "well-settled and thoroughly considered opinion" of the United States Government on the question of disarmament, and there would be no "repetition of the tragic consequences of unilateral disarmament" which occurred after the first World War. As far as the forthcoming Moscow Conference was concerned, the Soviet Embassy had now informed the State Department that no more than fifteen to twenty American correspondents could be accommodated (a position likely to cause dismay among publicity-minded Americans, both inside and outside the newspaper world), but the Soviet authorities were being pressed to increase this figure. On Argentina there had been no change in the position previously announced by Mr. Byrnes (see also under "Latin America"). In the Far East, the American Marines, having almost completed their task of evacuating the Japanese from China and Manchuria, would be withdrawn from those countries and only a small force would remain to secure communications.

At one point General Marshall went out of his way to express his satisfaction with a series of proposals on the delicate subject of tariffs which had just been issued by Senators Vandenberg and Millikin, the Republican Chairmen of the Senate Foreign Relations and Finance Committees respectively. These proposals, which were worked out after long conferences with Mr. Acheson and Mr. Clayton at the State Department, call upon Congress to take no action on the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act until the Act itself expires in June, 1948. In return they ask the President to give the United States Tariff Commission greater authority in reviewing tariff adjustments and to insert "escape clauses" in all future trade agreements so

that these can be abrogated if they become detrimental to vital American interests. The proposals thus represent some advance towards a *modus vivendi* between the President and the Republican majority in Congress on matters of economic policy abroad. Both Mr. Truman and Senator Vandenberg are clearly anxious that there shall be a measure of understanding on these matters. In his letter to Congress of the 5th February, which accompanied his 200-page report on the participation of the United States in the United Nations, the President had emphasized the desirability of pursuing "without hesitation bi-partisan policies of economic co-operation with the rest of the world in such matters as economic reconstruction and development and the expansion of world trade and employment." On the previous day, in declining the President's invitation to accompany General Marshall to the Moscow Conference, Senator Vandenberg pointed out that one of the reasons why he felt it necessary to remain in Washington was that Congress still had to work out a policy of international trade and international relief.

Not all Republicans, however, are likely to see eye to eye with Senators Vandenberg and Millikin on the tariff question or on the necessity of granting economic assistance to other nations. At the moment a member of Senator Vandenberg's own delegation from the State of Michigan, Representative Fred Bradley, is pressing hard for America to exact her pound of flesh under war-time agreements by compelling Great Britain to return the ships which have been on loan since 1944. Hearings on a concurrent resolution calling for the immediate return of the ships are at present being held by the House Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, of which Mr. Bradley is the Chairman. Much confused testimony has already been given by Admiral W. W. Smith, of the United States Maritime Commission, who apparently feels that the 306 merchant vessels in question should be reclaimed without further ado. On the other hand, Mr. Clayton, who has also appeared before the Committee, maintains very firmly that the question is one for negotiation by the State Department, and he has emphasized that His Majesty's Government are in any case willing to buy a large number of the ships (particularly those of the Liberty type) and to return the rest by June, 1948.

The American press continues to display a lively interest in the affairs of Europe and the Middle East. More than usual prominence is being given to the news from Palestine, where the evacuation of non-essential British civilians and the other recent security measures are generally believed to betoken a policy of greater severity on the part of His Majesty's Government. The American Zionists are said to be greatly perturbed about the possibility of martial law being proclaimed in Palestine, and the State Department feels that a violent campaign will be launched against this country in the United States if any such drastic step is taken. A full explanation of recent measures has, however, been communicated by His Majesty's Government to the U.S. Embassy in London, and it was presumably on the basis of this that General Marshall was able to assure the press at his conference on the 7th February that he did not think that "strong military tactics" would be employed in Palestine. General Marshall also stated that he was being kept fully informed "of the very delicate and critical discussions" on Palestine in London.

In domestic affairs the President has been the dominant figure of the week. On the 3rd February Mr. Truman turned the tables on those Republicans who have been clamouring for a curtailment of the Presidential war powers by boldly asking Congress for a year's extension of his authority to control the distribution of scarce foodstuffs and to regulate certain exports under the Second War Powers Act. He has also again asked Congress to revise the Presidential Succession Act of 1886 so that, in the event of his death, the Presidency would go to the Speaker of the House of Representatives or to the President *pro tempore* of the Senate (both of whom are elected by the people), instead of to the Secretary of State or to the Secretary of the Treasury (the present heirs, who are not elected to office, but appointed by the President himself). Meanwhile the House of Representatives has mustered the requisite two-thirds majority for a constitutional amendment to limit the tenure of office of any President to two terms. To become effective the proposed amendment requires similar endorsement by the Senate and then ratification by 36 of the 48 States. On the 6th February, at a dinner in New York, the Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Mr. Robert E. Hannegan, threw out a hint that Mr.

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Truman might be called upon to run for a second term in 1948. In any event the President's prestige is clearly rising once more from its nadir last October. The results of a Gallup Poll published on the 3rd February indicate that 48 per cent. of Americans now approve of the way in which he is handling his job—as against only 32 per cent. four months ago.

LATIN AMERICA

Inter-American Organisation

Mr. Messersmith has now returned to Buenos Aires, and in conversation with H.M. Ambassador has expressed confidence that the United States Government intend to settle the question of relations with Argentina without delay.

Such a settlement would permit the resumption of Pan-American meeting, and in particular the holding of the Rio de Janeiro Conference on Hemisphere Defence. So far as is known, the United States remains committed to a policy of complete standardization of military equipment for all the American Republics, and it is probable that the Economic Mission from the United States now in Argentina is attempting to put over this point of view. Whether the Argentines will accept it is another matter, though it seems likely that United States prices will be artificially lowered by subsidies, loans or rebates.

Chile

The Argentine-Chilean agreement (see *Summary* No. 373) is expected to be ratified shortly by the Chilean Senate. It stipulates that Chile shall spend her credits in Argentina, unless the Argentine Trade Promotion Institute is unable to supply goods required at competitive prices, in which case Chile may obtain the necessary foreign exchange from Argentina. This arrangement gives Argentina an obvious measure of control over Chilean purchases abroad.

The Agreement with Argentina offsets to some extent Chile's considerable commitments in the United States. Chile accumulated large balances of dollars in the years 1942 to 1944; these led to large currency issues in Chile, which strongly accentuated the already serious inflation. The cost of living has soared steadily; foodstuffs are now five times their 1928 price, while persistent strikes by the "workers" have brought about the strange state of affairs in which an engine-driver is paid more than a High-Court judge. Ever-rising costs and uncertain future face Chile's two industries, nitrate and copper, and the Government and industrialists have been doing their best to develop alternative means of wealth. These include iron smelting, chemicals, textiles and canning. Most of such activities appear to rely on continued assistance from the United States—the Concepcion Steel Works alone will cost U.S. $33 million. Whether Chile, with her high labour costs, will be able to produce steel at exportable prices is highly problematical. Meanwhile, the inflationary trend persists, Chile continues to accept all possible credit from the United States, and public finances deteriorate: and by the end of 1945 the note circulation was ten times that of 1930.

Nicaragua

Presidential elections took place on the 2nd February. President Anastásio Somoza, having finally accepted the fact that he could not stand in person, chose as his successor Dr. Leonardo Argüello, an elderly physician who has several times stood unsuccessfully as Liberal candidate for the presidency. He was in fact the sole candidate in 1936, when General Somoza seized power before the elections could be held. Dr. Argüello went into exile at the beginning of the Somoza régime, but soon returned, was reconciled, and became Minister of Interior until July 1944. The opposition candidate, Dr. Enoc Aguardo, was supported by the Independent Liberals and Conservatives.

Complete results are not yet to hand, but the Government have announced that Dr. Argüello has been elected. The Opposition has protested that as the electoral machine was controlled by the Liberals, and opposition observers, though present at the polling booths, were excluded from the count, the results are fraudulent. These complaints are probably not without foundation.

Venezuela

The Government has launched a Press campaign against a possible rising on behalf of ex-President López Contreras, and this, coupled with recent promotions in the army, appears to have lessened the tension.

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UNITED NATIONS

Security Council

Disarmament

The main point of disagreement in disarmament discussions is still the amount of independence that the Atomic Energy Commission should enjoy, with the U.S. representative championing the cause of independence, though in far more conciliatory terms than formerly, and the Soviet representative trying to secure that the right to ban atomic weapons should be entrusted to the new Disarmament Commission, which the Security Council may set up.

Five countries have submitted disarmament resolutions. The last of these, U.S.A. proposed that all fields of disarmament should be explored simultaneously. A Committee should be set up to advise the Security Council on all practical measures for disarmament, safeguards, &c., with the exception only of that part of the problem which the Assembly had entrusted to the Atomic Energy Commission. On the 4th February the Security Council adopted an Australian proposal that Representatives of the five countries to submit resolutions, Australia, Colombia, France, U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. should form a Committee to try to evolve an agreed text to submit to the Security Council. After three sessions the Committee agreed to put before the Council a draft containing the matters on which it agreed, and also the U.S. reservations on Atomic Energy with which it disagreed. The U.S. have made it known that they will oppose the whole resolution if the reservations are not accepted.

According to the agreed parts of the draft resolution, the Security Council is asked to resolve to give practical effect to the Assembly resolution of the 14th December, 1946, "to consider as soon as possible the report submitted by the Atomic Energy Commission and to take suitable decisions to facilitate its work," "to set up a Commission consisting of representatives of the members of the Security Council" to make proposals on the problems of disarmament, safeguards, &c., and to report what progress they have made within three months. The Commission shall guide the work of the Military Staff Committee and other organs of the United Nations on disarmament, and request the Military Staff Committee to produce "as soon as possible" the recommendations on Article 43 of the Charter (U.N. Security Forces), for which the Security Council had asked it on the 15th February, 1946.

Greece

The Security Council decided on the 10th February by 9 votes to nil, Russia and Poland abstaining, that the Commission of Enquiry in Greece had no right to request the Greek Government to suspend the execution of condemned rebels, unless it considered that the condemned would prove useful witnesses. (See under "Greece.")

The Corfu Case

On the 31st January the Security Council decided to defer hearing the U.K. complaint against Albania to a later meeting to be called by the Chairman. Had the Council accepted the Russian view that it should wait until Albania's representative arrived, its prestige would have suffered; since there was no certainty that Albania was making all haste to send a representative. On the other hand, it would have been unsatisfactory for the Council to consider the complaint in Albania's absence; especially as the Secretariat of the United Nations had not made all possible haste to get into touch with Albania. By its decision the Council combined dignity with common sense.

Economic and Social Council

Human Rights Commission

On the 3rd February the Commission resolved that "The Chairman of the Commission, the Vice-Chairman and the *Rapporteur* undertake, with the assistance of the Secretariat, the task of formulating a preliminary draft of the International Bill of Human Rights, in accordance with the instructions and decisions of the First Session of the Commission. This draft is to be submitted to the Second Session of the Commission for thorough examination. In the course of this work the Chairman may enlist cooperation, and shall receive orally or in writing any observations and suggestions from any member of the Commission. The Chairman may also consult experts with the approval of other Governments members of the United Nations." The body thus set up has come to be known as a "working group." The paper which they hope to produce is a "working paper," since the view is generally held that little progress is possible in defining human rights without some draft or paper to work on. An attempt was made to extend the work of the working group by asking it to study proposals on the question of execution and enforcement of the Bill of Rights and to

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make recommendations to the Commission at its Second Session. As the result of some opposition, including that of the U.K. representative, who considered that it was premature to consider the question of execution and enforcement until the Commission had a definition of human rights, a compromise was reached under which the working group was asked to explore the field and to study the proposals put forward for the benefit of the Commission at its next Session. The Russian representative persisted in his objection to this widening of the functions of the working group and withdrew his support for the resolution setting up the group. Among the proposals which will be studied by the group is one put forward by Colonel Hodgson (Australia) suggesting that there should be an International Court of Human Rights, similar to that put forward by the Australian Delegation at the Peace Conference.

There has been a general tendency among delegations to envisage a Bill of Rights covering a very wide field, including political rights. If this tendency develops too far it may gravely prejudice the success of the Bill. However, the Russian representative went significantly far in the opposite direction when, in the course of the general debate on the contents of the Bill, he urged the omission of the following concepts: prohibition of slavery and compulsory labour, right to petition National Governments and U.N., the non-retro-activity of penal laws, right of property, freedom of movement and freedom from oppression. He claimed that most of these rights and freedoms were either superfluous, beyond the present power of the United Nations or impinged on the local laws and customs of national States.

International Refugee Organisation

The U.K. representative, Sir Alexander Cadogan signed the Constitution of the I.R.O. on the 5th February, bringing the total signatories to eleven, and the proportion of the first year's budget guaranteed to 69·80 per cent., the U.K. contributing 14·75 per cent. The organisation will come into being when fifteen States have signed and 75 per cent. of the budget has been guaranteed. Meanwhile the Preparatory Commission of I.R.O. began its first meeting on the 11th February in Geneva. Its main task is to "provide for an orderly transfer of the functions and assets of existing organisations." It will continue in existence until it is possible to elect a Director General for I.R.O. itself. So far the following countries have signed the Constitution, U.K., Canada, U.S.A., France, Netherlands, Norway, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Honduras, Liberia, and the Philippine Republic.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary
No. 381

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
19TH FEBRUARY, 1947

Copy No 143

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EUROPE

GERMANY

The Foreign Ministers' Deputies for Germany in their meetings of the past week have been largely concerned with questions of procedure (but see under "Scandinavia" and "Soviet Union"). In Berlin considerable progress has been made in preparing the Control Council's report for the Foreign Ministers. This does not mean that when completed it will give one coherent account of administration in Germany since the occupation; although on some topics agreed reports have been drafted, in many cases the Occupying Powers have only agreed to differ, and thus several independent statements have been included. Even this procedure has necessitated a good deal of give and take in discussions—which have been aided by Russian anxiety to secure a report of some kind, however voluminous.

The deadlock over the Berlin Trade Union elections (see *Summary* No. 379) has now been broken. At the meeting of the Kommandatura on the 11th February a compromise between the American and Russian views was reached after the French representative had undertaken the task of mediation—at Russian instigation. The Russians conceded that a uniform ratio between the delegates of the F.D.G.B. and its members should be established for all districts of Berlin, and that the Greater Berlin Conference should not be able to exercise the right to reject delegates elected by the district unions because they are politically displeasing to them. The Conference will only be able to confirm the legality of these elections. On the other hand, the U.K. and U.S. representatives withdrew their objection to the new executive consisting of 45 instead of 30 members. It should now be possible to hold elections fairly soon. Despite the display of Russian indignation against the other representatives, the F.D.G.B. itself has apparently shown no inclination to adopt an intransigent attitude or to attempt to carry through the elections on the basis of the 1945 procedure.

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In the continuing cold weather discomfort and real hardship persists throughout Germany. It is now reported that in the Schleswig-Holstein *Landtag* on the 15th January, the Communists alone hesitated to blame the Occupying Powers for the coal crisis, and a resolution was carried unanimously stating that no blame devolved upon the German authorities and that it was entirely a Military Government responsibility. In Berlin, where extensive electricity cuts have been in force since the beginning of November and have necessitated the closing of several industries the position now seems somewhat improved. In January electricity was cut off for four hours daily in the Soviet Sector, 8 hours in the French and U.S. Sectors and as much as 14 hours in the British Sector. As from the 15th February cuts have been reduced to a uniform four hours daily (one hour less than in Great Britain). The effect of the cuts has probably been felt less in the industrial sphere than in the homes of the Berliners where personal hardship has undoubtedly been severe. A British Military Government official, however, made a statement on the 17th February showing that the Germans have tended to exaggerate the crisis (there have been somewhat hysterical debates in the City Assembly). There are from 12–16 days' stocks of hard coal at the generating stations and gasworks, and there has recently been a surplus in deliveries from the Ruhr—although no reasonable household distribution is possible. The British medical authorities also oppose the Germans' contention that there are great shortages of hospital beds, saying that the position is as good as anywhere else in Europe. It is maintained that deaths from cold in the whole of Berlin between the 1st December and the 5th February numbered 68 which, though serious, is far below German figures of about 130–150 for the same period.

A statement on the future policy of His Majesty's Government towards displaced persons in the British zone of Germany was circulated by Mr. Hynd in the House of Commons on the 19th February. The aim will still be to encourage and assist displaced persons to return to their countries of origin, but no one who is not a traitor or war criminal will be compelled to do so. The proposed International Refugee Organisation will take some time to get working effectively, and in the meantime displaced persons still in Germany will be brought within the ordinary machinery of direction to useful work so that they may become self-supporting. They will be protected from discrimination or hostility on the part of the Germans. A measure which will help to combat such hostility is the proviso that the standards of living of displaced persons, which have in some respects been higher than those of the Germans, will be brought into line with the latter. Every effort will also be made to preserve cultural and welfare organisations "so long as these do not lend themselves to political activities or act as a deterrent to repatriation." On the 31st December, 1946, a total of 270,836 foreign displaced persons and former prisoners-of-war were held in or registered at assembly centres in the British Zone while 1,832,810 had been repatriated. Of those remaining 137,639 were Poles, 82,415 Balts and 12,492 Yugoslavs.

The text of a communication from the South Schleswig Association to the Allied Control Council in Berlin was published on the 12th February. It is largely on the lines of a memorandum sent to the Danish Government in September 1946. It requests the political recognition of the South Schleswig Association and separation of Schleswig from Holstein to form an independent area. The point is made that the Association asked at the same time for an administrative separation of Holstein and Schleswig. The repetition of this latter request, which has the support of the Danish Government, at the same time as the demand for complete severance from Germany indicates that the Association is not unduly hopeful of attaining its ultimate aims. It is asked that South Schleswig should be placed under a special administration of a form to be determined in the Peace Treaty, for example by the appointment of an international commission or the establishment of some other form of self-government under the United Nations or by the formation of an autonomous area administered by the resident population. All refugees must be removed within a fixed number of years. Whereas formerly the Association suggested that an international or Scandinavian mandate should be followed later by a plebiscite to determine the final status of the area, international administration now appears to be considered as a possible permanent alternative to autonomy or inclusion in Denmark—although it is stated that the population must have the right to decide whether it wishes later to ask for a final decision on the question of the national status of the area on the basis of self-determination. Execution of the present

scheme, the memorandum states, should be dependent on the results of a plebiscite in South Schleswig from which all persons not born in South Schleswig who entered the area after the 30th January, 1933, would be excluded. This referendum, however, could be dropped if the Peace Conference considered it unnecessary. As regards German opinion it may be noted that in the Schleswig-Holstein *Landtag* on the 15th January the Association demanded full recognition as a political party, but the motion was decisively rejected, although Social Democratic speakers were conciliatory in tone. The law for elections to the *Landtag* has also been passed without making provision for the Association to enjoy the benefits of a reserve list (see *Summary* No. 374). It is nevertheless possible that this matter may be discussed again before the *Land* elections, which have been postponed from the 30th March until the 20th April in the whole of the British zone.

AUSTRIA

The Foreign Ministers' Deputies in London have discussed further points in the political clauses of the Austrian Treaty during the past week. On the 11th February the Deputies accepted the texts proposed by the Political Sub-Committee for articles on the recognition by Germany of the Austrian State; franchise and democratic institutions; human rights; the recognition of the peace treaties with the ex-satellite nations; the liquidation of certain international institutions; bilateral treaties; and the restoration of archives.

When the Deputies came to discuss further the prohibition of any *Anschluss* in the future, there was a clash between General Clark and M. Gusev on the inclusion of a ban on "Pan-German propaganda in any form whatsoever." General Clark's view was that Pan-Germanism "like democracy, had very different meanings in Russian and English," and he feared that the inclusion of such a phrase in the treaty might give the Soviet Government an opportunity to interfere in Austrian affairs. He did not want any interference with such matters as the freedom of the press and of speech, to which he knew the Soviet Government "attached less importance than did his own." This aroused the indignation of M. Gusev, and he protested against General Clark's statement on the alleged intentions of the Soviet Union. General Clark was prepared to include some phrase such as "Pan-Germanic propaganda in favour of such a union"; but his fears of the ultimate Soviet intentions in Austria have been well demonstrated in his battles with the Soviet members of the Allied Council in Vienna, and he is determined not to put in the treaty words which are not perfectly clear and could be construed later to give the Soviet, or any other, Government an opportunity to interfere in Austria's domestic affairs.

On the 13th February M. Gusev opposed a proposal by the other three deputies that, in this same article on an *Anschluss*, which states that Austria should do nothing to impair her political and economic independence, the words "or territorial integrity" should be included. The matter is referred to the Foreign Ministers for decision. The unagreed text of a clause on the dissolution of Fascist organisations is also to be submitted to the Ministers. The Political Sub-Committee, in consultation with the Military and Economic Committees, is to prepare a draft giving articles which have been agreed, articles which have been partially agreed, and unagreed articles, as a basis for the final report which the Deputies have to submit to the Foreign Ministers.

On the 14th February the Deputies heard the Yugoslav and Austrian representatives amplify their previous statements on Yugoslavia's territorial claims. Here again, the three Deputies for the United States, France, and the United Kingdom took one side, rejecting the Yugoslav claims, while the Soviet Deputy maintained that the claims should receive further study on the grounds of Yugoslavia's rôle in the war and Austrian oppression of the Slovene minority. This matter too goes to the Foreign Ministers for decision.

At this meeting Dr. Gruber, the Austrian Foreign Minister, was present, and agreed to a clause in the treaty binding Austria to maintain the principles of the laws passed during the Allied occupation, but M. Gusev is pressing for a definite undertaking to keep in force all the provisions of the severe denazification law and other laws passed by the Allied Commission.

On the 15th February the French, United States and United Kingdom Deputies agreed on the maintenance of Austria's 1937 frontiers, with the Soviet Deputy pressing his wish for further consideration of the Yugoslav claims. The Italian Government is to be consulted on the question of including the Austro-Italian agreement on the South Tyrol. (There has been

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growing Austrian dissatisfaction lately at the failure of the Italian Government to implement this agreement, and Dr. Vollger, one of the South Tyrolese who helped to negotiate it in Paris, said recently that he doubted whether Italy would fulfil her obligations any better now than she did in 1919.)

In Vienna the Allied Council met on the 14th February. It discussed ordinances concerning the iron and metal industries and as no agreement was reached they will come into effect by default. The Soviet member, however, pursued his policy of refusing to accept this, in spite of the Control Agreement's provision, and said that he would not carry the ordinances out in his own Zone, but would safeguard property of the United Nations affected by them in accordance with his own views. After inconclusive discussion of trade with Germany, the Council came to the questions on Herr Piesch, *Landeshauptmann* of Carinthia, and on war criminals, set by the Deputies in London. General Kurasov strongly supported the Yugoslav contention that Herr Piesch, in taking over authority in Carinthia from the Nazi régime had accepted power from the Nazis after negotiation with them and within the framework of Nazi laws. This allegation was founded on reports published in the *Kärntner Zeitung* at a time when that paper was entirely under Nazi direction. The French member strongly supported the United States and British members' opinion that the allegation was "not capable of substantiation from an unbiased source." General Cherriére pointed out that Herr Piesch as Mayor of Villach in 1933 had been labelled "Public Enemy Number One" by the National Socialists, and had had to take to the hills after assisting partisans in 1944. The Council's report to the Deputies contains the majority view of the three members, and General Kurasov's dissenting view.

On the subject of war criminals no more satisfactory agreement was reached, and the Council's report contains the separate definitions of a war criminal, a description of the policy pursued, a note on extradition procedure and statistics of results obtained up to the 1st February, 1947, by each Element, with a fifth report from the Austrian Government covering their policy for arrest and trial and statistics.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The signing of the Peace Treaty with Hungary has been the occasion for Czechoslovak spokesmen to comment regretfully upon the deadlock continuing in the Slovak-Magyar dispute. Czechoslovakia evidently sees no change from pre-war days in the Hungarian attitude, which the Czechs interpret to be a failure, ever since 1918, to admit the break-up of the old Empire, and an implication that Hungary hopes to exploit the presence of the Magyar minority in southern Slovakia to its own ends. If no change has been evident in the Hungarian outlook, which is that of a rump empire trying, understandably, to prevent the shrinkage of the territory still occupied by its nationals, the Czechoslovak Republic has certainly been forced to modify its own views. It believes that the multi-national state, in this part of Europe, has been proved an impossibility; consequently, it abandoned its former minorities policy, and set about the task of establishing a nation-state. It secured the support of the Great Powers in the major part of this work, but the sanction given at Potsdam for the expulsion of the Germans. It was unable, however, to solve the Magyar problem with the same rapidity, and the misgivings concerning the advisability of sponsoring further expulsions felt by the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom, led these Powers to postpone the issue, and later to advise Czechoslovakia to try direct negotiation. Czechoslovakia attempted to find a partial solution, by signing the head-per-head Exchange Agreement of February 1946, which would have disposed of one-fifth of the minority; one-half of the remainder, it was hoped, would be assimilated and the other half, the "hard core" of 200,000, would be expelled. The anniversary of the apparently still-born February Agreement finds Czechoslovakia with the problem almost entirely unsolved, and with Hungary, so far successfully, staving off any solution which would mean a final recognition of Czechoslovak sovereignty over territory still mainly Magyar in its national composition. (See also under "Hungary.")

Since the onset of winter, which has been unusually severe, Czechoslovakia has been obliged to ration the consumption of fuel and power supplies in an attempt to maintain the production targets required by the Two-Year Plan. January statistics claim that the Plan has been fulfilled in its first official month by most branches of industry; in some instances, such as textiles, locomotives, and agricultural, radio and electrical equipment, a 20 per cent. margin has been achieved. In motor cars, artificial fertilisers, rayon and particularly building materials (cement, bricks, etc.) output is

from 10 to 40 per cent. below the target figures. This month cannot hope to be so successful, as, according to an emergency appeal on the 13th for assistance in clearing blocked marshalling-yards, a phenomenal blizzard has hit the vital Ostrava coalfield, and has thus reproduced some of the conditions obtaining at the moment in Britain.

The success of the Two-Year Plan depends largely upon overcoming the man-power shortage, which was, of course, aggravated by the German transfers. The Government have resorted to a variety of methods, some of which will take time to bear fruit. These methods include long-range rationalisation of industry, and the return of Czech and Slovak settlers from other European lands, as well as short-term improvisations, such as voluntary "shock-brigades," emergency labour conscription (see *Summary* No. 378) and the importation of "friendly" foreign labour. Thus, for example, General Svoboda, the Minister of Defence, has recently welcomed the first groups of Czechs to arrive from the territory of the former Volhynian Government. These Czechs are descendants, now numbering 45,000, of members of the Mennonite religious sect (including also Germans) who found greater freedom in the Ukraine under Catherine II, after 1786, than further west under Teutonic domination. Many were members of the General's Czechoslovak contingent of the Red Army during the war. The movement is being effected by virtue of the Citizenship Exchange Agreement signed in Moscow on the 10th July, 1946. By this Agreement, also, Russian, Ukrainian and Belorussian settlers in Czechoslovakia were given the right to opt for Soviet citizenship; the time-limit for these prospective Soviet citizens has again been extended, to mid-March. It is expected that by summer, over 100,000 repatriates will have returned from France, Austria, Germany, Roumania, Yugoslavia, and Volynia.

As regards foreign labour, use is to be made of surplus man-power in Bulgaria, Roumania and Italy. An agreement signed in Rome, on the 10th February, arranges for the recruitment of 5,000 Italian workers, including Sicilian miners, for one year, with option for renewal for a further year. The Italians will sign individual contracts with their Czech employers, and enjoy the same working conditions, pay and insurance, as Czech workers. They will be permitted to send home their pay up to the value of £7 (married) or £4. 5. 0. (single) per month. The Agreement will stimulate the export of coal to Italy.

For the possibilities of a Franco-Czechoslovak alliance see under ("France").

POLAND

The Polish Resettlement Bill received its second reading in the House of Commons on the 11th February. In the words of Mr. Ede, the Home Secretary, the Bill's primary purpose "is to enable Departments to take over the functions which have been performed by the Interim Treasury Committee for Polish Questions." The Committee came into being on the 5th July 1945, with the object of caring for the welfare and education of Poles in the United Kingdom. Mr. Ede said that His Majesty's Government had knowledge of some 213,000 Polish nationals. Of these, 127,000 were now in the United Kingdom; 25,000 were overseas, and 61,000 had returned to Poland or emigrated elsewhere. Of the 127,000 in the United Kingdom, 65,400 had opted for the Polish Resettlement Corps; 19,600 had opted for repatriation or emigration; 15,400 were still undecided after the various alternatives had been put to them, and 26,600 had not yet been approached. The various alternatives were described by Mr. Ness Edwards, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour:—

> "There are three alternatives—to emigrate, join the Resettlement Corps and take up civilian employment in this country, or go back to Poland. If they decide to emigrate we will pay their fares and give them allowances. If they go back to Poland we will ship them there, and give them certain allowances when they land there. If they join the Resettlement Corps and enter civilian employment, again they will get certain allowances. But if they say, 'We will do nothing,' in order to remain a charge on this country, then the Government must take some action in order to get a decision."

In fact, seven days' notice to decide had already been given to 200 Poles who had refused to make a choice, and this would henceforth be the rule, he explained, for anyone from the day he declared a similar intention.

On the question of using the Poles as an armed force, and with particular reference to Mr. Churchill's statement that he had always intended to send 180,000 to the Army of Occupation in Germany, Mr. Ede said that such a suggestion had never been accepted by His Majesty's Government. In establishing the Resettlement Corps, Poles had been brought into a Unit of the British Army for disciplinary purposes. They were unarmed, and were

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being steadily prepared for absorption into civilian life.

> "We do not regard," said Mr. Ede, "any of the people who remain in this country as being available as military personnel, if at any time there should be disputes or trouble in Poland. We are determined that, as far as we are concerned, they are not to be regarded as the nucleus of some anti-Warsaw Government army in this country."

Poles who wished to join His Majesty's Forces would be able to do so, and the Home Secretary hoped they would soon be able to become British citizens. The number of Poles to be enrolled, and the highest rank permissible to them would be fixed by the Bill. No Pole would be forced to return to Poland against his will, although H.M. Government wished that as many as possible who felt that they could return with safety to Poland should do so as soon as possible. Those remaining in Britain would, if possible, be assimulated into the British way of life. After the statutory five years' residence, they would, it was hoped, be able to benefit from the provisions of the naturalization laws.

More details of the amnesty projected by the Polish Government have been given by President Bierut. Political prisoners in very large numbers are expected to benefit, and a chance is to be offered to "nearly everybody in conspiracy" except murderers. It has been reported that even members of the former London Polish Government may benefit, as well as the Polish officers in the United Kingdom, recently denationalized by the Warsaw Government. The full text of the law has, however, still to be published. The amnesty is expected to last for three months, after which period it will probably be possible to discern the Polish Government's genuine aims and intentions.

Polish comment on the present fuel crisis in the United Kingdom might perhaps have served as an opportunity for the promotion of the friendly relations with the Western Powers, recently mentioned by the Prime Minister, M. Cyrankiewicz. In fact, the humour of such press comment as there has been displays a cheapness equalled only by the virulence of the poisonous malice which so clearly inspired it.

SOVIET UNION

Generalissimo Stalin's elucidation of his views on the Anglo-Soviet Treaty, delivered in a message to the Secretary of State dated the 10th February, contained no surprises. As anticipated, the reservation of which he complained proved to be that in Article 4 of the Treaty, which stated that the obligation of either of the Contracting Parties to come to the assistance of the other in the event of attack by Germany or her satellites would remain in force until the High Contracting Parties, by mutual agreement, recognised that it was superseded by the adoption of the proposals referred to in Article III (1) of the Treaty for common action to preserve peace and resist aggression in the post-war period. The Generalissimo further stated that the first part of the Treaty had lapsed in view of the achievement of victory over Germany and intimated that the text of the Treaty would demand certain other amendments and additions.

It was hardly to be expected that the Soviet press would express sympathy with the British fuel crisis. It has not been dealt with specifically, but *Izvestiya*, on the 12th February, came out with a full-dress criticism of the achievements of the Labour Party to date. Hitherto remarkably little attention has been paid to internal developments in the United Kingdom. In view of the present difficulties of the U.S.S.R. this may have seemed to the authorities an excellent opportunity of showing their public that conditions are as bad, or worse, in a capitalist country. The main points of the article were that nationalisation, particularly in the coal industry, had not been opposed by the ruling classes because they were glad of Government assistance in re-equipping backward industries and because the compensation had been so generous that their financial position was untouched. This applied also to the nationalisation of the Bank of England. In the case of iron and steel, however, the "bastion of the power of the ruling classes," the Labour Government had been forced to yield to the protests of "monopoly capital" and to abandon its programme. The failure of the housing programme, leniency towards rising Fascist organisations and the refusal of equal pay to women were other features singled out for criticism.

New Times gave a cautious though interesting analysis of the present feelers on the part of Conservative elements in the direction of a coalition. Admittedly the Labour Government had disappointed everyone, but it was too soon for the British elector to have forgotten why he turned down the party of Churchill and Eden. Mr. J. B. Priestley was quoted to show what the British people were longing for were dramatic and exciting changes. A coalition would not satisfy them, for the Labour Party was unpopular chiefly for its too close resemblance to its predecessor, particularly in the field of foreign affairs.

In view, presumably, of the exchanges between London and Washington over the question of strengthening the Anglo-Soviet Treaty, a number of articles have been devoted to Great Britain's increasing subservience to the United States. The well-known Soviet economist, Academician Varga, said that Mr. Bevin's policy of "invariably presenting a single front with the U.S.A." was being opposed, not only from the Left, but from the extreme Right, as represented by Mr. Amery. The British people as a whole were beginning to feel that the burdens resulting from the war and the fruits of victory were being unequally distributed. "The law of unequal development is nothing but the law of the imperialist wolf pack, under which the strong suppress the weak, and this law is fully applicable to the U.S.A. and Great Britain." A commentary on the American loan stated that Great Britain's transformation into a junior partner of the U.S.A. was the loan's inevitable corollary. It was not merely that Britain would have to sacrifice certain privileges of her colonial monopoly or cede some part of her empire—the whole independence of her foreign policy was at stake.

M. Molotov has protested to the American Ambassador over a statement made by Mr. Acheson before a Senate Commission of inquiry on the 10th February, which included the remark that Russian foreign policy was "aggressive and expansionist." The Soviet note described the statement as "a blatant slander"; the American reply was to the effect that restrained comment on a matter of public policy was not a slander.

Despite these attacks on the strongholds of capitalism, a lengthy disquisition on the peaceful co-existence of different social systems by Dr. Lemin was broadcast from Moscow on the 9th February. This theme has occasionally been brought forward of late in Soviet propaganda, the most notable occasion being the use of it more than once by M. Molotov in one of his U.N.O. speeches in October last year. Dr. Lemin pointed out that just as many disputes had occurred in Paris during the peacemaking in 1920, when there were no differences in ideology as in 1946, when these loomed so large. He quoted numerous statements by Stalin in support of the thesis of peaceful co-operation, going back to the Fifteenth Party Congress of 1927, when he had said that the basis of Soviet relations with capitalist countries consisted in allowing for the existence of two opposite systems. One could not develop into the other, but they could continue side by side. Dr. Lemin concluded by saying that the principle of allowing for the peaceful co-existence of different social systems was not a temporary slogan of expediency but a permanent feature of Soviet foreign policy.

Delegations from the Lebanese Society of Friends of the U.S.S.R. and of the Syrian Society for Cultural Relations with the U.S.S.R., headed by their respective Presidents, have just arrived in Moscow at the invitation of *Voks*. The Societies, which are mainly Communist, appear to have been formed in 1945. The leader of the Lebanese delegation, Antoine Tabet, is a member of the Central Committee of the Lebanese Communist Party and has recently visited France, where he was received by M. Thorez! The Soviet press, though still cautious, has had a slightly pro-Arab orientation in discussing Palestine during the week.

M. Saburov has again been made a deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, bringing the number up to ten. In 1941 he was deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars but from 1943 onwards he was apparently seconded to other work. In 1945 he was Assistant Chief of the Soviet Administration in Germany and participated in the Potsdam Conference.

Most of the results of the elections to the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics have now come in, nearly all showing a monotonous total of over 99 per cent. of the electorate polling and an almost equal percentage of votes cast for the candidates of the Communist and non-Party *bloc*. As usual, Politburo members were given the honour of being selected as candidates in various republics, Generalissimo Stalin on this occasion being nominated in all 16. The degree of publicity accorded to various members of the Politburo confirms earlier indications of M. Molotov's coming definitely second to the Generalissimo, with Beriya and Zhdanov as third and fourth. Although the elections are certainly not elections as we understand the term, and are mocked at in private by many Soviet citizens, still they are not wholly negligible. They are used as an occasion for the masses to demonstrate their confidence in the Party and Government and they gave the more naïve element of the population the illusion of active participation in the affairs of State.

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SCANDINAVIA

Denmark

The Danish statement on the future of Germany, dated 5th February, consists of two parts, the first dealing with Political, the other with economic questions. It also has two annexes, of which Annex 1 sets out the importance of Germany to Denmark's pre-war economy and the consequences for Denmark of the plan for Germany's industrial disarmament, while Annex 2, very much shorter, reiterates the demand for the repatriation of German refugees still on Danish soil.

It is interesting that among the political questions the Danes have been careful to enumerate—under Section (6)—*Measures to Safeguard the Privileges of Non-German Groups of Population*—most of the demands originally put forward in respect of the Danish minority in South Schleswig alone. By thus making these demands a matter of interest to any country which has a minority inside the German frontiers—if there is such an one—the Danes obviously hope to gain the support of such country, with beneficial results for their own minority in Schleswig. With one exception the demands themselves are not new, being those which the Danes have persistently put forward on behalf of the Schleswig Danes; but in the penultimate paragraph of this Section (6) the creation of a "special body of an international character" is proposed, which organ is to decide "with binding effect for German authorities" such questions as may be submitted to it by members of the population groups in question.

As regards the South Schleswig question itself, the statement does not deviate from the attitude taken up in the Danish Government's statement of the 19th October, 1946, and it emphatically reiterates the protest against the admission into German Schleswig, on equal terms, of the "foreign refugee element," the settlement of which is said to be contrary to the wishes of very large numbers of the "indigenous population"—thus again avoiding to mention the Schleswig Danes alone. This paragraph ends with the well-known general complaint that the accumulation of these refugees also constitutes a threat to the future security of Denmark, which conveniently overlooks the fact that other countries with land frontiers have to face a foreign population across their border. (See also under "Germany.")

The section of the statement dealing with economic questions is perhaps more interesting, since it gives a good deal of factual information. On the general problem of Germany's economic reorganisation it takes the line that Denmark is as disinclined as are her Allies to allow economic considerations to be the only decisive factor, but that, when security considerations do not constitute the decisive factor, needless restrictions on German participation in the economic life of Europe ought to be avoided. It also suggests that the final restoration of the country to its position as an efficient factor in the economic life of Europe is dependent on it not becoming disintegrated by tariff or other economic frontiers.

In regard to reparations (while expressing the hope that it will be possible to obtain compensation from current German production and that special privileges may be granted to individual countries in the form of concessions or compensations in kind), the statement makes no specific demands but merely reserves the right to set forth Denmark's wishes in this respect "with due regard to the principle of equality."

Annex 1 provides an illuminating survey of the important rôle played by Germany in Denmark's pre-war economy. Germany met roughly one-fourth of Denmark's normal import requirements, but within the total of such imports she was, for instance, Denmark's *sole* supplier of chemicals, her *principal* supplier of most of the important dyestuffs, her only important supplier of sulphate of ammonia and potash for fertilising purposes, and the supplier of more than one-half of Denmark's pre-war imports of raw materials and semi-manufactures of iron and steel. At the same time Germany was also the *sole* or *predominant* buyer of live cattle and live pigs, horses and especially also of perishable commodities like offals and the less valuable kinds of fish. In fact it is made clear that continued economic relations with Germany must be considered of decisive importance for the full utilisation of Denmark's productive capacity and the maintenance of a reasonable standard of living in that country.

In view of this, the Danish statement emphasises, Denmark views with much concern the possible realisation of the reparations plans hitherto known, which assume an average curtailment of Germany's industrial capacity by about 50 per cent. It is pointed out that Denmark has, for instance, found it impossible to satisfy anything like the existing demand for the supply of raw materials and semi-manufactures of iron and steel hitherto imported from Germany; and that the replacement of heavy and light machinery and machine tools originally imported from that country and for which spare parts are now needed which cannot be obtained elsewhere, would require capital investment, the magnitude of which could not at present be gauged, an expenditure which could be avoided if the continued working of the existing plant could be secured by the delivery of spare parts from the original makers. Similar concern is shown in regard to the proposed scaling down of Germany's output of chemical raw materials. The dependence of Denmark on foreign fuel is also given prominence and it is suggested that she be allotted a certain share of the German output of coal.

Annex 2 mainly reiterates Denmark's demand for the repatriation of the German refugees, which, incidentally, it is stated, are interned in sixty-one camps and twenty-nine other encampments, and concludes with a categorical pronouncement that "Denmark is under no conditions willing to absorb the German refugees into the Danish community." On the other hand, it is also pointed out, the Danish Government cannot take the responsibility on humane grounds of keeping these people in continued confinement.

At the twentieth meeting of the Conference of Foreign Ministers in London the hearing of the Danish Delegation headed by Count Reventlow was the first item on the Agenda. According to reports so far to hand, little of further interest transpired, and, compared with the Dutch and Belgians, whose force and clarity they lacked, the Danes are said to have made a somewhat indifferent impression. Count Reventlow read out a summary of the original statement of his Government.

Sweden

On the 10th February, M. Undén, the Swedish Foreign Minister, speaking at Gothenburg, denied that Sweden was isolationist. In joining the United Nations Organisation, he said, she had pledged herself to active co-operation in the promotion of the aims of that body. But he protested against the contribution payable by Sweden as being excessive. Her external financial engagements amounted to some three thousand million kronor (more than 200 million £ sterling) and caution would have to be observed before extending further credits. Nor was Sweden quite ready to join the new international refugee organisation, since it was not yet clear whether on joining she would be credited with the fifty million kronor which she had promised to contribute in an agreement concluded regarding German assets—and which sum would shortly be paid. As regards Sweden's adherence to the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction, M. Undén stated that no bill would be submitted yet to the Swedish Riksdag, because these steps come up for consideration in conjunction with the plan for the United Nations commercial organisation. He also repeated the importance that Sweden attached to the Great Powers' *veto* and said that any attempt to diverge from this cardinal principle lay outside the realm of practical politics.

FRANCE

The drafts of the U.K. and French Governments for the proposed Anglo-French treaty of alliance were exchanged at the Foreign Office on the 14th February. The French draft had been approved that morning by the French Cabinet. M. Bidault seems determined to press on with the negotiations and is not disturbed by the fact that the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly, while voting in favour of the signature of the treaty before the opening of the Moscow Conference, has urged him to press for adequate recognition of France's need for security against Germany. The Communists continue to minimise the good effects which would result from the alliance, but M. Blum is devoting himself to its justification.

The French Government also announced on the 14th February that discussions with the Czech Foreign Minister during his visit to Paris for the signature of the peace treaties had resulted in agreement between the two Governments to open negotiations "within the framework of current international discussions" for strengthening collaboration between the two countries. Such negotiations would start from the agreement of the 22nd August, 1944, which declared the Munich agreement to be null and void. A Franco-Polish pact is also in the offing, and a statement may be made on the occasion of the signature of a Franco-Polish Cultural Convention on the 19th February. Both the Czech and Polish Governments pressed for the conclusion of

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pacts with France last summer, but the French Government were then unwilling to commit themselves, particlarly in view of the objections expressed by H.M.G. These objections, in the opinion of Mr. Duff Cooper, would be largely discounted by the preliminary conclusion of an Anglo-French alliance, and M. Bidault has given assurances that negotiations with Poland and Czechoslovakia will not be started until after the alliance has been signed.

French reactions to the fuel crisis in this country are sympathetic. The moral is drawn that both France and Britain need compensation from Germany to repair the effects of the war, and that both countries must also accept the need for foreign immigrants.

Paris is again without newspapers. The printers' men struck on the evening of the 13th February and their demand for higher wages has so far been refused by the Government. Papers therefore ceased to appear all over France on the 14th, and it seems that the strike may be of considerable duration. The Communist leaders of the C.G.T. are not wholly in favour of the strike, and an incident is reported to have occurred at the offices of *L'Humanité* when members of the staff of the paper evicted a strike picket from the telephone switchboard. The wages question as a whole remains unsettled, and there was a token strike of employees in all public services on the 14th February in protest against the Government's refusal to meet their demands in full (see last week's *Summary*). Negotiations are being held between the Government and the trade unions on the question of the minimum wage, but M. Ramadier declared in the Assembly that there could be no question of granting a general wage increase. The date of the new 5 per cent. cut in prices has not yet been announced. The Government have thus failed so far to take any decisions on the major problems which face them.

M. Tanguy-Prigent, Minister of Agriculture, has been visiting the United States and Canada to ask for seed wheat. Considerable quantities are needed for the spring sowings in France since the autumn-sown wheat was very severely damaged by frost. H.M.G. have not been able to accede to the French request for a loan of seed wheat; they are willing, however, to try and help the French to transport any wheat they may secure in America.

M. Schuman, Minister of Finance, revealed to the Finance Committee of the Assembly on the 12th February, the budget figures for this year. Total expenditure is estimated at the huge figure of 1,150 milliard(1) fr., of which 660 milliards are for the ordinary budget, 360 milliards for the extraordinary budget (reconstruction and special military expenditure), 70 milliards for the re-equipment of nationalised industry and 60 milliards for grants to local authorities. Budget receipts are estimated at 550 milliard fr. M. Schuman hopes, however, to balance the ordinary budget. The Cabinet has already approved the extraordinary budget, but the Assembly will only be asked to vote 60 per cent. for the time being as the Minister feels that the French economy cannot bear the full burden unless the ordinary budget is balanced and economic conditions improve generally. It is pointed out that a further 100 milliards must be invested by private industry if the Monnet Plan is to be carried out.

ITALY

Demonstrations were held throughout the country on the 10th February, the day of the signing of the Peace Treaty and the Constituent Assembly stood adjourned for half an hour as a protest "against the very harsh conditions of the so-called peace treaty imposed on the nation." When the sitting was resumed Count Sforza, the new Foreign Minister, stated that the Italian Representative in Paris had been allowed, before signing, to submit a formal statement to the Secretary-General of the Conference in these terms: "The Italian Government appends its signature to the Treaty, subject to ratification by the sovereign decision of the Constituent Assembly which, according to Italian law, is invested with the approval of international treaties."

Count Sforza also sent the following note to the Allied Governments:—

"In signing a treaty which it was not called upon to negotiate and which must be submitted to the Constituent Assembly the Italian Government wants to prove that it faces squarely those painful acts as the only way to hastening the advent of a constructive peace in the world. But the first duty of my Government is to act with absolute loyalty towards the signatory Governments and their peoples. In the spirit of this loyalty it is well to remember that peace treaties cannot be carried out unless they are upheld by the moral conscience of the people who sign them. The

(1) 1 milliard = a thousand million.

Italian people is conscious of having acted under pressure from that régime which later drove it into war, that régime which so many people abroad sustained by lavishing their praises upon it. The Italian people could only demonstrate its true character to the world by being the first nation in the Axis camp to free itself from an oppressive régime and by then offering to the Allies during the war of liberation a number of direct and indirect advantages, for which not enough justice has been given. The Italian Government believes it is both for the common good and in the direct interests of the great democracies that they should review their attitude to and dealings with the Italian problem, which is an essential part of the problem of world reorganisation. We may well admit innumerable past errors, but our expiation has already been so hard that we look forward to a revision of that which might paralyse or poison the life of forty-five million people living upon a soil which cannot possibly nourish them."

The next day, Mr. James Dunn, the new United States Ambassador to Italy, said, during the course of a Press Conference, that a large part of public opinion in the U.S. was favourable to revision of the Treaty with Italy, although any decision on this subject would, of course, be the concern of all the United Nations. According to the *Popolo* (Christian Democrat newspaper) he added that in his opinion if Italian law required ratification of the Treaty by the Constituent Assembly, the Treaty would not be effectively valid without such ratification.

Mr. Bevin has sent a message to the Italian people in which he says:—

"For nineteen centuries there was no war, no hint of war, between the people of our islands and the people of your peninsula. To-day the signing of this Treaty means that friendly relations can be restored as they existed of old. Despite the interlude of Fascism, now we hope buried for ever, we can remember that the Italian tradition of liberty and democracy, and of solidarity with the peaceful nations of the world, was never really extinguished. We saw that in the last phases of the war the real Italy—the Italy inspired by the spirit of Mazzini and Matteotti—awoke and arose in successful revolt against Nazism. We want Italy to live, to thrive and prosper as a member of the community of peace-loving nations. The chance is now offered to all of us to rebuild the world as we want it; with hard work and goodwill we can succeed."

The Italian Press reports that naval officers and men have met in Naples and passed an order of the day protesting against the "so-called peace treaty" and urging the members of the three services who have allied decorations to return them on the ground that such decorations "are now merely the symbol of a bitter mockery."

(For Italo-Czechoslovak Trade Agreement see under "Czechoslovakia.")

THE VATICAN

The formal ceremony of the signing of the Peace Treaties with Italy and the satellite States of Germany on the 10th February was made the occasion for a characteristic broadside on the Allies by *Osservatore Romano*. The Allies are taken to task in particular, of course, for their repudiation of moral principle as a result of association with the Red beast of Moscow. "Let us remember," says the writer sagely, "amid protests by those on whom the treaties are inflicted, that the responsibility does not lie so much with men as with events. This is no longer a peace negotiated between combatants, but between allies, united for different motives, on the same side and pursuing their several aims through that peace." (Which is to resurrect the pet thesis of General Franco and his Spanish friends about the co-existence of two different wars.) The writer then sheds a tear for the vanished Atlantic Charter. The Allies' ship, he says, was forced to shift course, and make for port under very different conditions and in different company from what had been the original intention, and during their unfinished journey, of which Moscow is the next stop, they had lost overboard justice, logic and commonsense. "From the chrysalis of ideals the butterfly of practical negotiations emerged." Then follows the usual lament over the subordination of justice to other considerations. The makers of the treaties (which are described as "dictates") should take heed—especially with regard to Germany—that peace, properly speaking, means the revival of trust and collaboration, and that justice subsists, nevertheless, in the minds of men transforming to-day's sentiments of regret into to-morrow's confidence and a

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rapprochement among the peoples who never wanted war. "Nations do not die; they survive and remember . . . ."

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

Hungary

Regret that the first year of Hungarian democracy's greatest efforts had met with "little but contemptuous criticism or malicious intrigue" tempered the general tone of cordiality with which Mr. Bevin's message to the Hungarian people on the signing of the Peace Treaty was received. As to the Treaty itself the most optimistic appraisal of it could find little to say in its favour beyond an expression of satisfaction that Hungary would hereafter be entitled to the blessings of peace, notably the return of her prisoners of war, the restoration of her sovereignty, with all that the term implies, and release from the cost of supporting an army of occupation. Significantly enough the burdensome economic conditions have aroused less bitter comment than the fact that the minorities outside her frontiers have obtained no guarantee that their human and civil rights will be respected.

The context of the complaint which the Hungarian Treaty Delegation in Paris incorporated in a Note to the Great Powers is the continued deportation of the Magyars in Southern Slovakia. The Czechoslovak proposals to implement the February Agreement on the exchange of populations (see last week's *Summary*) have not led to a renewal of negotiations, since from the Hungarian side it is affirmed that they entail wide departures from the original scheme entirely in Czechoslovakia's favour. Czechoslovak circles, for their part, disregard, or disbelieve, the statement of M. Szakasits that Hungary will abide loyally by the heavy terms imposed upon her. In her hope of a "resurrection", they see irredentist designs and a violation of the Treaty which forbids her to conduct revisionist propaganda. Particularly they condemn the publication of a "Blue Book" dealing with the labour mobilization of Magyars both as a stubborn misrepresentation of facts and as an attempt to disrupt the unity of Czechs and Slovaks by suggesting that the latter are to blame for the present situation. Interference in Czechoslovakia's internal affairs in connection with the general labour obligations and systematic infringement of the Repatriation Agreement are alleged in Notes which General Dastich has handed to the Hungarian Government.

M. Nagy appears tacitly to have approved the withdrawal, on the intervention of the Communist Minister of the Interior, M. Rajk, of the first edition of the Smallholders' evening paper which contained a Declaration drawn up by the Smallholder Peasant Deputies and unanimously accepted by the Party. The Declaration condemned in the strongest terms attempts to cause dissension in the Smallholders' ranks and demanded the immediate appointment of a Parliamentary Committee to conduct an impartial investigation into the charges of conspiracy against the Republic. The left-wing *bloc*, however, resisted this proposal on the ground that machinery adequate for the purpose already existed, and the motion which found its way to the Agenda of the National Assembly was subsequently removed therefrom at the instance of a Smallholder Deputy, M. Istvan Kovacs. A further concession to the Left has been the decision taken by the Smallholders' Political Committee to return to the policy of peasant radicalism as laid down in Bekes in 1930. Though their main concern will be the welfare of the peasants, they pledge themselves to promote the interests of the intelligentsia, the small bourgeoisie and the workers. While remarking that deeds must follow words, the Communist newspaper, *Szabad Nép*, views the step with guarded approbation. As the Smallholders were formerly what their name implies—a Party representing the interests of the smaller landowning peasants—until Communist discouragement of any Conservative or even Right Central Party attracted to them the support of voters for whom their programme was merely the lesser evil, left-wing pressure would now seem to be urging them back to the point which it had forced them to surrender.

M. Nagy has obtained a vote of confidence from the Political Committee and the Parliamentary Group of the Smallholders' Party. The seven diplomats recalled to answer charges of complicity in the plot are reported to have been deprived of their citizenship in consequence of their failure to return within the given time limit.

Roumania

The Peace Treaty which was signed a week ago contains (Article 36) a somewhat hesitant provision on the subject of the navigation of the Danube. The history of Danube navigation was dealt with fully in a special article in Summary No. 377 of 22nd January. Up to 1940 Roumania's position was exceptional amongst the

riparian States, as all the three channels of the delta were in Roumanian territory. The inclusion of Bessarabia in Russia made Russia a riparian State, since the northern bank of the most northerly channel was now Russian territory. From that time onward the Danube question has been largely concerned with ever-expanding Russian claims, and with what she was prepared to allow to other countries. After opposing the inclusion in the Peace Treaties of any reference to the Danube, Russia eventually consented to the article providing for free navigation. That article—while Russia is in a position to control the course of events—cannot be said to have achieved much. (See *Summary* No. 378.) Following on the treaty provisions, details are to be worked out at a Conference at which the riparian States will be represented and also Great Britain, the United States and France. It is probable that the two former Commissions will now be replaced by a single Commission. The British view is that such a Commission is necessary to preserve the international character of the river, and to prevent action being taken which would be disadvantageous to interested, but non-riparian countries. A preliminary problem is to secure agreement between Great Britain, America and France. Each of these countries has its own point of view. France would like to take part, but does not wish to lay herself open to a claim from Russia to an interest in the Rhine. America is not sure if she wants to be let in for permanent membership of a Danube Commission. The British point of view is that all international rivers should be brought under the United Nations, and, until that is done, is anxious that the interests of all the non-riparian users should be safeguarded. When that comes to pass Great Britain would not feel so strongly about non-riparian membership of commissions for any particular river. Great Britain's legal position is a strong one, for, when the Peace Treaties come into force, the Definitive Statute of 1921, by which the whole of the Danube was brought under international control, again becomes operative. The details of the forthcoming Conference have not yet been decided upon, but it would seem to be most suitable that the meeting-place should be at some place on or near the Danube, which possessed the advantage of not being within any definite sphere of influence.

On the 19th January the Peasant Party newspaper *Dreptatea* published an outline of the Peasant Party programme of the future. It is to be "a social democracy from the juridical point of view, a Liberal-Socialist State from the politico-economical point of view, and a Workers' State from the social point of view." Dl. Maniu's aim seems to be to base his programme on that of the British Labour Party, providing for nationalisation, but not restricting private enterprise in small concerns. The older members of the party are not likely to be sympathetic, but he has hopes of the younger ones. In this connexion a somewhat formidable essay which has recently appeared on "The Situation in Roumania" indicates that ability is not wanting among the younger people, but does not suggest that the Labour programme would as a matter of course commend itself to them.

Mr. Platt-Mills, M.P., has been interviewed by the *Central European Observer* and gives the following account of the achievements of the present régime. Solution of the nationalistic and racial problems; the gaining of the workers' confidence, thus enabling an increase in industrial production; revolutionary measures taken against the drought, and transport of peasants from drought-stricken areas to do work in Bucarest so that "there is more rebuilding and reconstruction activity in Bucarest than in any other 'European' town, with the exception of Stalingrad." All of which is pure invention. Racial problems are far from being solved, and with regard to the Jews, the present Government have made matters decidedly worse. So far from industrial production having increased, it has fallen disastrously in all branches of industry. Thousands of Moldavians have been left to die of starvation, while there was not enough labour in Bucarest to clear the streets of snow after the last fall. In point of fact, the amount of war damage compared with many other places was comparatively small. However, this latest effusion may have done some good, as it has definitely discredited Mr. Platt-Mills in the eyes of the Roumanian public.

The Bank of Roumania has been nationalised. A period of ten days was allowed for application from all shareholders for payment of their holdings. His Majesty's Government have asked for this period to be extended in the case of British shareholders to three months, and in the meantime "reserve the rights of British shareholders."

Yugoslavia

The Yugoslav Government have suggested that it might be of great assistance to Brigadier Maclean if he were to have a

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Yugoslav Liaison Mission at his disposal. While there would be obvious disadvantages in the attachment of representatives of the Yugoslav Government to the Maclean Mission, and it would involve a risk of forcible repatriation in cases where this would be unjustified, yet acceptance of limited help from the Yugoslavs on questions of identity and the furnishing of evidence may assist a satisfactory solution of the Yugoslav refugee problem in Italy. This possibility is being considered. The U.S. Government have made a suggestion that American representatives should be attached to Brigadier Maclean's mission for the purpose of securing camps under joint Allied control.

The Yugoslav authorities have taken steps to encourage voluntary repatriation by announcing that of all the exiles who have returned so far, only ·4 per cent. have been prosecuted for criminal acts. Attention has been drawn to the Amnesty Decree of August, 1945, whereby all members of the Royal Yugoslav Armed Forces, except senior officers and those who have acted against the interests of the State, may return with impunity. Moreover, it has been stated that even those who have lost their citizenship by remaining abroad, including četnici and members of the quisling organisations (*i.e.*, Serbian Volunteers Corps, Domobranstvo, &c.), may make individual applications to regain their citizenship, provided of course that they have committed no crime against the Yugoslav people. A special transmission from Radio Belgrade informed displaced persons of the material benefits, such as holidays with pay, to be had in Yugoslavia, besides the spiritual joys of a free religious life in the bosom of a "truly national Orthodox Church."

For some time there have been few public references to the "traitor Maček," and it appears that the Government have once more been trying to enlist the support of the Croat Peasant Party, holding out promises of greater autonomy for Croatia, the Presidency of the Croat Government for Dr. Maček, and posts in the Central Government for other Party leaders. But the Croats are traditionally cautious, and such bait is not likely to be swallowed without long and careful mastication.

There has been much publicity for the proceedings of the United Nations Commission in Greece (see under "Greece"), and for the Greek Government's alleged efforts to "tidy up" for the benefit of the Commissions. The removal of property from Pola has been denounced as a violation of the Duiro Agreement. Austria's participation in the war against Yugoslavia has been emphasised. The latest intrigue attributed to the British and Americans is a plan, submitted to a former Ustaši for his approval, to form a Danubian Confederation under the Archduke Otto of Austria or the Duke of Windsor.

Greece

The United Nations Commission's continued dalliance in Athens caused widespread dissatisfaction among all except the Communists. The Albanian, Bulgarian and Yugoslav spokesmen took up several days of the Commission's time by making long and tedious speeches, mainly devoted to counter-charges against the Greeks, having little bearing on the matter which the Commission were sent to investigate. The Commission have also come under criticism for agreeing to hear statements from EAM and from the Greek Confederation of Labour before proceeding to Northern Greece. Substantial agreement has, however, been reached that the 18th February alone should be devoted to the hearing of these statements and that on the 19th the Commission should transfer their base to Salonica where organisations not heard in Athens will be given an opportunity to air their views. The Soviet delegation are insisting that a team must be left behind for investigation in Southern and Central Greece and in the islands.

Meanwhile there has been a recrudescence of bandit activity. Reports have now come in of an attack on the 20th January by a band of 300 who retired into Albania. Vicious attacks have also been made against Konstandia, a Nationalist village in the Ardea plain, where 26 people were killed, and against Sparta where the bandits overpowered the entire police force and released 232 prisoners, many of them left-wing sympathisers. It is possible that these two recent incidents, which have afforded no evidence of foreign assistance, have been staged in order to demonstrate that they are quite feasible without it.

The new Maximos Government have shown both courage and an appreciation of Greece's need for economy by reducing their own numbers by well over half. The revised Cabinet now consists of:

M. Tsaldaris: Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs.
M. Venizelos: Vice-Premier and Minister of Navy, National Economy and Merchant Marine.
M. Kanellopoulos: Minister for Air and Public Order.

M. Papandreou: Minister of the Interior.
Gen. Gonatas: Minister for Public Works, Transport and Reconstruction.
M. Alexandris: Minister for Justice.
Gen. Zervas: Minister without portfolio.
M. Stefanopoulos: Minister for Economic Coordination and Labour.
M. Khelmis: Minister for Finance and Supply.
M. Stratos: Minister for War.
M. Papadimos: Minister for Education.
M. Kotsianos: Minister for Welfare and Health.
M. Hadjipanos: Minister for Political Coordination and Posts and Telegraphs.
M. Papathanassis: Minister for Agriculture.
M. Rhodopoulos: Governor-General of Northern Greece.

The press has stated that the Governorates-General of Central and Western Macedonia and the Aegean Islands will be suppressed and those of Crete, Epirus and Thrace retained only as administrative appointments.

Bulgaria

For the reasons already set out in *Summary* No. 375, His Majesty's Government decided, although with some misgiving, to extend *de jure* recognition to the Bulgarian Government directly after the signature of the peace treaty. This decision was made known to them in a note which was handed on the 11th February by Mr. Tollinton, the acting British Political Representative at Sofia, to M. Dimitrov. The note continued as follows:—

> "His Majesty's Government wish, however, to make it clear that the grant of *de jure* recognition in no way implies that they consider either the past methods employed by the Bulgarian Government to consolidate their position or the conduct of the recent elections to have been in keeping with the spirit and intentions of the Yalta Declaration on Liberated Europe. But they have taken into consideration the obligations accepted by the Bulgarian Government in Article 2 of the peace treaty and have decided to accord them *de jure* recognition in the hope that it is the intention of the Bulgarian Government henceforth to fulfil in the spirit as well as the letter their pledge to secure to all persons under their jurisdiction the fundamental freedoms, including freedom of expression, of press and publication, of religious worship, of political opinion and of public meeting. His Majesty's Government sincerely desire the well-being of the Bulgarian people. They will watch with close and friendly interest the course of future developments in Bulgaria, the disposition of the Bulgarian Government towards His Majesty's Government and the spirit in which the Bulgarian Government fulfil all their obligations under the peace treaty, and they will thereby determine their attitude to the Bulgarian Government . . . ."

The note was published in all the Sofia newspapers on the 13th, together with the Bulgarian Government's reply. This expressed satisfaction at the British decision and undertook to do everything for the greatest possible development of friendly relations. The Bulgarian Government would "naturally fulfil the obligations contained in Article 2 of the treaty." With regard, however, to H.M.G's criticism of the methods employed by them in the past, this appeared to them to take no account either of the special conditions in which the Fatherland Front was formed or of the struggle which had been necessary to exterminate Fascism and to prevent its revival.

The interview which M. Dimitrov gave Mr. Tollinton on the 11th was remarkably friendly and lasted for an hour and a half. He maintained a polite and reasonable attitude in discussing Anglo-Bulgarian relations, saying that he would welcome the extension of cultural and commercial contacts between the two countries. (It may here be noted that, if only for the purpose of securing goods—such as machinery—which they urgently need for reconstruction but find they cannot obtain from the U.S.S.R., many Bulgarian officials as well as business-men do seem genuinely anxious to get on better terms with the Western Powers.) M. Dimitrov further told Mr. Tollinton that he would personally guarantee that Bulgaria would loyally fulfil all her obligations under the peace treaty. But he could not spare a good word for the leaders of the Opposition. This did not prevent him, however, from making a fairly conciliatory speech in the Assembly later in the day—if the spider can ever be called conciliatory to the fly! Evidently addressing the back-benchers, he is reported to have said that the Government were quite ready to collaborate with "honest and patriotic Opposition members": they realised that "in the last elections about a million people who were not Fascists or reactionaries had voted for the Opposition"; but now that the treaty

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had been signed, their proper place was in the ranks of the Fatherland Front. It was not true that the Government were intending to expel the Opposition from the Assembly. On the other hand their leaders were "sabotaging the Government's efforts" to prepare against the supply difficulties expected in May or June; and they must be held in check.

Twenty-four of M. Lulchev's supporters, including his daughter, were sent to prison on the 10th February in connexion with the "bogus Byrnes speech" case (see *Summaries* 367 and 371). On the 12th four "Neutral Officer conspirators" were sentenced to 15 years' solitary confinement and eighteen others to shorter terms of imprisonment (see *Summaries* 373, 377, 378 and 380). On the 15th it was announced that 43 *more* army officers—members of the "Military League"—were about to be tried for alleged conspiracy. Outstanding among these figures the name of General Kiril Stanchev, the former Second Army Commander, who fell into the militia's hands last August (see *Summary* 357). Again, almost all the accused are stated to have admitted their guilt. The militia see to that.

Turkey

The Turkish budget, as finally passed by the Grand National Assembly on the 30th December last, shews expenditure at £T.1,136 million, revenue at £T.1,021 million and a deficit of £T.114,983,530 (say £10 million sterling). The expenditure is much greater than ever before, and the heavy deficit, a familiar feature in recent years, is to be met by internal loans and Treasury bonds. The excess of expenditure is due in large measure to the Soviet war of nerves which compels the Turkish Government to keep the army mobilised. While thus obliged to devote 35 per cent. of their resources to military purposes, the Turkish Government have to face the various direct and indirect consequences produced by keeping more than half a million men under arms: lack of labour, high cost of living, suspension of social and economic schemes, a growing sense of frustration and impatience among the men forced to endure a protraction of the rigours of life in the Turkish army. Upon the discontent which it has thus generated Moscow does not fail to play, demanding artlessly in repeated broadcasts why Turkey is the only country not to have demobilised.

At its congress mentioned in *Summary* 379 the Republican People's Party appears to have turned down the idea of reintroducing religious teaching in schools, but to have decided in favour of the opening of private theological schools. M. Tanriöver, who first raised the question, has stated that he will start a movement for modernising Islam.

Towards the end of January the Minister of the Interior presided over an administrative conference at Angora of about thirty valis (governors of provinces). Since these officials can be described as the backbone both of the Administration and of the Republican People's Party, there is perhaps some substance in the Democratic Party's constant complaint that the Administration is weighted against it.

In general the Turkish press did not take a clear line on the break-down of the Anglo-Egyptian negotiations, but Yalçin and Sadak consistently condemned the Egyptians for wanting to sever the British connexion. The Turkish Government have no illusions about the supreme importance to Turkey of the maintenance of British bases either in Egypt or elsewhere in the Middle East. At the same time they are eager, as soon as the Egyptian Government is less preoccupied, to make a treaty which would add Egypt to their Arabic-speaking friends—Iraq, Transjordan and Lebanon.

When sounded by the Syrian Government with a view to trying to reach some sort of a compromise over the Hatay (district of Alexandretta), the Turkish Government sent back a flat refusal. They suspect the Soviet Government of encouraging Syrian territorial pretensions in order to create a precedent for demanding a discussion about Kars and Ardahan. But the Syrians feel strongly enough about the matter, without any Soviet incitement, to take it to U.N.O. This would be regrettable, and both countries would be well advised to seek a compromise in the economic sphere without raising the territorial issue at all.

THE MIDDLE EAST

Egypt

There is no news of the reply which the Egyptian Government are to make to the offer of the Syrian and Lebanese Governments to mediate in the Anglo-Egyptian question, and it is clear that Nokrashi Pasha is somewhat embarrassed by it. He had decided on appeal to the United Nations because he was convinced that Egyptian public opinion was against any

continuance of negotiations from a belief that Great Britain was out to direct the Sudan towards separation from Egypt.

In the debate in the Senate on 12th February Sabry abu Alam Pasha, the Secretary-General of the Wafd, criticised the Government for failure to decide upon the international organisation to which it would appeal before breaking off the negotiations, but, at the same time, called upon the Prime Minister to declare that negotiations were no longer a means of settling the question. The debate was adjourned until 17th February.

In the Chamber of Deputies the Minister of Commerce and Industry is reported by the press to have said that the submission of the Egyptian case to an international organisation was in order to claim the nullity of the 1936 Treaty.

Ibrahim Abdul Hadi Pasha has been appointed Chief of the Royal Cabinet. Ibrahim Pasha has been Minister of Finance in Nokrashi Pasha's Cabinet since it was formed two months ago. He is a Sa'adist. The appointment is but one of a number of indications that the King is determined to keep Nokrashi in office as long as possible as the only alternative to the Wafd, and it is coming in for a good deal of criticism because it has previously gone to a non-party man. Nahas Pasha failed to sign the King's book on His Majesty's birthday in protest.

The appointment has resulted in a reshuffle of the Cabinet. Abdul Maguid Badr Pasha, a fairly recent adherent to the Sa'adist Party, becomes Minister of Finance and his place in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry goes to Mamdouh Riaz Bey (Sa'adist). Aly Abdul Raziq Bey becomes Minister of Waqfs (Religious Foundations).

Palestine

A final meeting with the Jewish Agency representatives was held on 13th February, and the Anglo-Arab conference came to an end on the following day. At both meetings it was announced that His Majesty's Government would refer the Palestine problem to the United Nations, without making any recommendation in favour of any one solution. The Arabs, who had all along expected this result, opposed the plan for cantonisation which had been put forward by the British delegates and maintained their stubborn opposition to Jewish immigration as also their claim that they have always rejected the mandate and the Balfour Declaration. In a written memorandum they argue that the Arabs of Palestine have an inherent right to independence which has been denied to them for the past twenty-five years, and that, if this right is not to be for ever withheld, there is no need for a Trusteeship; and they oppose partition in any form.

The representatives of the Jewish Agency showed themselves no less intransigent. They contrasted the admission of 4,000 immigrants a month for two years with the 100,000 in one year for which the Morrison plan provided. They interpreted the British proposal as meaning that, after five years, Palestine would become independent with an Arab majority, which was "the antithesis of the mandate," in which, they remarked, no mention occurs of an "independent State." Ben Gurion argued that the main object of the mandate was the establishment of the Jewish National Home, and it was clear that, in the Zionist view, an independent Palestine with a Jewish majority would not be open to the same objections. Dr. Goldman, who is known to favour partition, urged that His Majesty's Government should propose it to the United Nations as a solution, and there appears to be some prospect that a partition scheme may eventually be put forward by the Jews, although the area left to the Arabs under such a proposal would be extremely small.

Three members of the Irgun Zvai Leumi were sentenced to death on 10th February. The execution of Dov Gruner (see *Summary* No. 378) has been postponed pending a decision of the Privy Council on an appeal filed by his lawyer on his behalf.

The Jewish Agency have issued an official statement in Jerusalem in which the appeal to the United Nations is pronounced to be acceptable in principle although the delay involved is regretted. (For American reactions see under "United States.")

Saudi Arabia

The Amir Sa'ud (the Crown Prince) who is at present on a visit to the United States has been invited to make an official visit to this country on his way home. The invitation has been accepted, and the Prince is expected to arrive this week.

Iraq

On 13th January the Iraqi police seized the printing press of the Communist Party and afterwards made a number of arrests. These arrests shook the morale of the party, and the police were afterwards able to

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arrest a certain Yusuf Salman Yusuf, "the Secretary-General of the Communist Party of 'Iraq," who, under the name of the "Fahad" (Leopard), has eluded capture for several years. The police showed great zeal and efficiency. Among the documents so far examined there is nothing implicating the Soviet Legation. General satisfaction has been expressed by the public about the arrests. The left-wing press has maintained an almost complete silence on the subject.

Persia

The Persian Government have now offered Mulla Mustapha (see *Summary* No. 375) the following alternatives:—

(*a*) He and all his followers will be allowed to settle at Varamin, 30 miles south-east of Tehran, where land will be made available to them free, provided that they accept Persian nationality. They will be given seed corn and other assistance for the first year's harvest.

(*b*) The same facilities will be made available to Mulla Mustapha and 110 of his followers who have been condemned to death by the 'Iraqi Government. The remainder of the followers who have not been condemned to death and who, the Persian Government presume, have nothing to fear from the 'Iraqi Government, would be disarmed and sent back to 'Iraq.

(*c*) If the above offers are refused, the Persian Government will take steps to expel Mulla Mustapha and all his followers from Persia into 'Iraq. In this event it will not be possible to disarm them.

There is as yet no information with regard to the line Mulla Mustapha will take. The 'Iraqi Government, however, have no intention of pardoning those condemned to death, most of whom are deserters from the 'Iraqi Army who took up arms against their King.

Homayunjah, the Foreign Minister, has announced that a Persian mission is to be sent to India to study social and cultural matters there. If it arrives in time, the mission will attend the Inter-Asiatic Relations Conference whose Chairman is Pandit Nehru.

The delegation from the World Federation of Trade Unions (see *Summary* No. 376) is due to start work in Tehran on 26th February. The members of the delegation are Mustafa el Ariss, a Lebanese Communist and a member of the Executive Committee of the Federation, Borisov, a Soviet representative, and Mr. E. P. Herries, from the British Trade Unions Congress. The secretary of the delegation is a Frenchman, M. Malefete.

THE FAR EAST

China

The attention of the Government has been centred on the increasing seriousness of the economic position which has developed with remarkable rapidity into the long-feared national crisis. In an eleventh hour attempt to forestall the complete collapse of the foreign exchange value of the national currency, Dr. T. V. Soong announced on the 5th February, the establishment of a Board for the development of Export Trade and proposed to subsidise certain approved commodities by granting exporters a specially favourable rate of exchange of Chinese National $6,700 = United States $1, as against the then existing official rate of C.N.$3,350. The funds required to provide this subsidy were to be obtained from an *ad valorem* surcharge of 50 per cent. on certain selected imports. It is understood that Dr. Soong had originally intended to bring these measures into force before the end of January, but that General Chiang Kai-shek declined to permit their promulgation until they had been approved by the Defence Council, which body did not sit until the 5th February.

The delay proved fatal to the scheme. By the 12th February, the exchange rate on the black market had dropped from C.N.$9,000 to C.N.$19,000 = U.S.$1—a depreciation of C.N.$10,000 in five days—and, although there was a temporary rally due to covering operations by heavy speculators in Shanghai, who were alarmed by reports that the Generalissimo was contemplating drastic steps, public confidence remained badly shaken, as was evidenced by the failure of merchants to reduce commodity prices which had been increased in keeping with the sliding of the value of the national dollar from nine to nineteen thousand.

On the 17th February, the Minister of Economics announced that the proposal to subsidise exports had been dropped and

that a new control plan would be put into force, under which:—

"(1) the exchange value of the national currency is fixed at C.N.$12,000 equals U.S.$1;

(2) ceiling prices are fixed for daily necessities;

(3) the circulation of foreign currencies and the sale of gold within China is prohibited.

A scheme is also under consideration to ration supplies to factory workers and Government servants, also to supply them with essential household articles instead of following the existing practice of paying their salaries on a sliding scale, based on the cost-of-living index.

It is yet too early to attempt to forecast the success of these measures. Chiang Kai-shek's flat refusal to entertain any suggestions to permit further sales of gold is causing some misgivings and is in keeping with the recommendations recently reported to have been advanced by the Legislative Yuan to prevent the national currency from sliding to complete collapse: that all gold bars should become Government-owned; all transactions in gold halted; foreign currency transactions prohibited; and the black market wiped out; measures on which *The Economist* comments "This is indeed attempting to cure a raging fever by removing the thermometer." Nevertheless, the statement issued by the Generalissimo, together with economic emergency measures, is firm and confident in tone and concludes by appealing for the sympathetic understanding of friendly nations.

Some progress appears to have been made in the endeavour to persuade the Democratic League and minor party leaders to enter the Government, and General Chiang Kai-shek is reported to have expressed the hope that he may now be able to announce the formation of the State Council "in two or three days."

In the meantime the Government military campaign is being prosecuted with renewed vigour—doubtless in the belief that the infliction of a crushing and final defeat of the Communist forces in the field would be the more certain means of restoring public faith in the Nanking régime. But, although Government supporters are busily claiming a succession of victories, including the capture of Linyi—the Communist stronghold in Shantung Province—observers are inclined to the opinion that once again the Communists have outwitted the Nanking Generals and, by resorting to guerrilla tactics, are holding their own. It is of some interest to recall that the Communists have long maintained the thesis of the Government's inability to crush them by military force and have contended that the Kuomintang will eventually meet their Waterloo, not in the field of battle, but in the economic collapse of the country.

Indonesia

On the 20th December, 1946, the Netherlands Government adopted a motion proposed in the joint names of Professor C. P. M. Romme and Jhr. van der Goes van Naters. Briefly, this motion provided that the Netherlands Government should engage in a reciprocal undertaking with the Government of the Republic of Indonesia by acceptance of the Cheribon Draft Agreement in the light of the explanation afforded by the Commission-General in their Memorandum and of the interpretation of the Draft Agreement contained in the statement before the Second Chamber by the Minister for Overseas Territories, M. Jonkman (see *Summaries* Nos. 373 and 374 under "Low Countries"). And since the return of the Commission-General to Batavia, numerous, but fruitless, discussions have taken place in an endeavour to persuade the Indonesian Delegation to accept the Jonkman interpretation as an appendix to the Agreement. These discussions were discontinued in order to enable Mr. Sjarir to proceed to Jogjakarta in time to attend the meeting of his full Cabinet scheduled to take place on the 5th February. Before leaving Batavia Mr. Sjarir informed Professor Schermerhorn that, while he would discuss the whole question further with the Commissioners-General after he had consulted Dr. Soekarno and the other members of his Government, he was, himself, entirely out of sympathy with any suggestion to attach M. Jonkman's statement of interpretation to an Agreement already initialled by both parties.

On the 9th February, the Republican Government issued an official communiqué to the effect that, the Cabinet having given careful consideration to the Dutch Parliament's decision regarding the Romme–van der Goes van Naters motion which was forwarded by the Dutch Government to the Indonesian Delegation through the intermediary of the Commission-General, has decided to adhere to its decision, to authorise the signing of the Linggadjati Agreement only in the form as established after the Republican Cabinet session of the

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14th January—that is, based exclusively on the articles of the written Agreement and elucidations contained in the Minutes and official correspondence between both Delegations; and that the Indonesian Delegation have been authorised to inform the Netherlands Delegation accordingly.

Press editorials and reports of interviews with Dr. Soekarno indicate that the desire of the Netherlands Government to make the Jonkman "clarification" an integral part of the Agreement has increased Indonesian suspicion and bitterness; while the situation has not been improved in either Indonesian or Dutch circles by the die-hard nature of the public statements of Professor Romme (Leader of the Catholic Party in the Second Chamber at The Hague) now on a visit to Java. Nevertheless, there is a general impression that complete deadlock will not be allowed to occur; that both sides are anxious to sign; and that a satisfactory solution will somehow be forthcoming. A healthy sign is seen in the conciliatory attitude adopted by the Indonesian Government, when a highly provocative situation created by the Netherlands military contingent at Krian in the Sourabaya area was treated with commendable restraint and finally smoothed out by negotiations. Moreover, on the 14th February the Republican Commander-in-Chief issued a general "cease fire" ordinance. The order instructed all Indonesian military commanders to withdraw two kilometres behind the demarcation lines, from midnight on the 15th February, after which they were to contact the local commanders of the Netherlands units in order to arrange details necessary to the preservation of the truce.

Mr. Sjarir is reported to be disappointed at the present hitch. On the other hand, he is also said to be gratified at the manner in which the impasse has served to cement political unity among the members of his Government and make for improved discipline within the ranks of the army. In the past the Commission-General have frequently complained that the desired speed of negotiations towards the signing of the Agreement was obstructed by the inability of the Indonesian Government to control their forces and if, as Mr. Sjarir now claims, the "cease fire" order can be effectively enforced, a considerable step forward will have been made.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The coal crisis in the United Kingdom has given rise to genuine anxiety among thoughtful Americans. In an unsolicited statement issued at his press conference on the 13th February, to which British correspondents were specially invited, President Truman said that the United States Government stood ready to do everything within its power to relieve the plight of the British people in their present emergency. He stated that he had directed Captain Granville Conway, the Co-ordinator of the Emergency Export Programmes, to determine how quickly and in what quantity coal could be landed at British ports, and he added that he had instructed the United States representative on the European Coal Organization in London to support any request that might be made by this country for a "re-allocation" of shipments of coal at present on the high seas. The Prime Minister's decision to decline this spontaneous offer of assistance on the ground that European needs are as great as ours has been warmly praised as typical of the unselfish determination of the British people to overcome their domestic difficulties without causing hardship to other nations.

In Conservative quarters in the United States the crisis has produced the inevitable gibes at what the *Washington Post* calls British "planning without a plan." There has also been some wishful speculation on the possibility of the Socialist experiment coming to grief and of the country reverting to "free enterprise." Nevertheless, informed observers have not failed to recognize that the omens in the present situation may be hardly less portentous for the United States than they are for this country and that Americans have a common interest in helping the British people to pull through successfully. Mr. Walter Lippmann, for one, has hastened to point out that the position of the United States in world affairs would be left "highly vulnerable and precariously isolated" if the crisis resulted in the "British type of free, moderate and gradual Socialism" being abandoned and in a "forced and disorderly liquidation" of British commitments abroad. Others are similarly uneasy regarding the "power vacuum" that is likely to be left if the manpower shortage at home compels Great Britain to withdraw her troops from their

present foreign stations. The fear of finding themselves alone to cope with Soviet ambitions in a world shorn of British power and influence is thus clearly weighing more heavily with most Americans than their instinctive likes or dislikes of the internal economic policies of this country.

The Russians, for their part, have done much to inflame American opinion during the past few days by their short-sighted refusal to provide adequate facilities for press and radio correspondents at the forthcoming Moscow Conference. On the 11th February the four associations of American journalists and radio commentators normally assigned to diplomatic functions addressed a vigorous note to General Marshall, condemning the Soviet arrangements for news coverage of the Moscow Conference as "shockingly inadequate" and asking the Secretary of State to do all in his power to get the present offer of 20 visas increased to 52. The petition has been endorsed by nearly every newspaper that is not controlled by the Communist party, and even the left-wing New York journal *P.M.* has been constrained to suggest that, if proper accommodation cannot be provided for the press in Moscow, the meeting of the Foreign Ministers should be held elsewhere. In Moscow, General Bedell Smith has been instructed to approach M. Molotov personally on the subject. He is to make it clear how strongly the American press feels on the matter and to insist that 50 U.S. correspondents be allowed to attend the Conference as an "irreducible minimum." Such is the strength of feeling already engendered in the United States that Senator Vandenberg—himself a newspaper man of many years standing—found it necessary, in speaking on the forthcoming Conference in Washington on the 14th February, to remind the Moscow authorities once again that they had made a "very definite promise" to allow the press "unlimited entry and unlimited facilities" when the place of the next Foreign Ministers' meeting was originally fixed.

In the United States itself the drive against the alleged agents of Moscow and against native and other Communists tends to gain momentum in direct proportion to the exasperation produced by the policy and conduct of the Soviets abroad. This week the House of Representatives Committee on Un-American Activities, which has in the past been notorious for the levity with which it has impugned the characters of respectable American Liberals, has earned the praise of such fair-minded journals as the *New York Herald-Tribune*, the *San Francisco Chronicle* and the *Chicago Times* by its handling of the case against Gerhard Eisler, a German Communist, who is alleged to be the principal Soviet agent in the United States. The Committee has now persuaded the Department of Justice to prevent Eisler from leaving the country until the charges against him have been thoroughly investigated. Such is the present improved standing of the Committee that the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Mr. Joseph W. Martin, has deemed it safe to pledge the wholehearted support of the Republican party to its efforts to remove the "red menace" from America. The Committee itself has announced that 1947 is to be "the most active year" in its history.

An attempt to exploit rising sentiment against the Communists and their "fellow-travellers" in order to prevent the appointment of Mr. David E. Lilienthal to the all-important chairmanship of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission is at present being made by a coalition of Republicans and Conservative Democrats on the joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee. In this endeavour Senator Kenneth McKellar (Democrat, Tennessee), who dislikes Mr. Lilienthal for refusing him patronage over the Tennessee Valley Authority, has been joined by Senator Styles Bridges (Republican, New Hampshire, and Chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee) and Senator Kenneth S. Wherry (Republican, Nebraska, and party whip in the Senate), who object to Mr. Lilienthal's New Deal record. On the other hand, both the Secretary of War, Mr. Patterson, and the Under-Secretary of State, Mr. Acheson, have testified in Mr. Lilienthal's favour. On the 13th February President Truman entered the fray with an announcement at his press conference that he intended to support Mr. Lilienthal "all the way" for the post to which he had nominated him. It was the statement in Mr. Acheson's testimony on the 12th February that Soviet foreign policy was "an aggressive and expanding one" to which M. Molotov took exception as a "rude slander." In reply to a formal Soviet protest on this point General Marshall stated on the 18th that he felt that Mr. Acheson had acted "in his line of duty" in answering frankly and in accordance with his conscience the question regarding Soviet policy which had been

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put to him during the Committee hearings. He added that he knew that, on second thoughts, the Soviet Government would not "attribute hostility to frankness." (See also under "Soviet Union.")

Serious concern has been expressed by those who favour a strong defence programme at the decision of the joint Congressional Committee which has been examining the President's Budget (see *Summary* No. 376) to recommend a cut of $6,000 million in the estimates for the fiscal year 1947–48. More than a quarter of this saving would have to be made at the expense of the armed forces, and at his second press conference on the 14th February General Marshall spoke of the deleterious effect which the cut would have upon U.S. occupation policy in Europe and the Far East. The recommendation has still to be discussed by both Houses of Congress, and the Republicans are divided on the wisdom of adopting it at a time like the present.

The breakdown of the London Conference on Palestine has caused little surprise to an American public that had already been forewarned by the press to expect the worst. Comment on the present position is cautious and reserved, although the American Zionists are said to be showing some anxiety regarding the possible consequences of the British decision to make the United Nations the arbiter on Palestine. Every effort has been made by His Majesty's Government to keep the United States Government informed of developments at the London Conference, and a full statement of the considerations which have led them to submit the question of Palestine to the United Nations has been communicated to General Marshall. In replying to the latter General Marshall has suggested that it might be preferable to refer the issue first of all to the Trusteeship Council, which could give it some preliminary study before it is thrown into the General Assembly for a full-dress debate. He has also urged a substantial increase in the number of homeless European Jews to be admitted to Palestine while that country's future is being considered by the United Nations.

LATIN AMERICA

Argentina

Negotiations for the sale of the British-owned railways to the Argentine Government were successfully completed on the 12th February. The total price is £150 million, payable in London in sterling. The sum will be largely covered by Argentina's balances in this country, which amount to about £126 million. The outright sale replaces the plan for an Anglo-Argentine consortium which was agreed to last September; and, although the exchange of British securities so recently guaranteed to earn 4 per cent., for Argentine credits in this country, which require an outlay of only ½ per cent., seems a poor bargain, the measure is justified by the technical difficulties of operating a mixed consortium, and by the fact that no future Argentine Government is likely to offer a better price. It is understood that those at present employed by the railways in Argentina are to retain their posts under the Agreement.

Brazil

Results in the elections for state governors confirm that there has been a slump in the stock of President Dutra's P.S.D. The Liberal opposition (U.D.N.) won the governorships of Minas Gerais (Sr. Milton Campos) and Bahia (Dr. Otávio Mangabeira). Ex-President Vargas' candidate was defeated in his own state of Rio Grande do Sul, which Sr. Walter Jobim won for the P.S.D.

UNITED NATIONS

Economic and Social Council

The Human Rights Commission concluded its first session on the 10th February, and will meet again from the 21st July to the 2nd August if possible at Geneva, failing that at U.N. Headquarters. Its 'working group' is required to complete a draft Bill of Rights by the 25th June. It was decided that the Sub-Commissions on Freedom of Information and on Minorities and Discrimination should be composed each of twelve persons "selected by the Commission in consultation with the Secretary-General and subject to the consent of the Governments of which the persons are nationals." Not more than one member may come from any one country. The Commission desired that the Sub-Commissions should be set up at the earliest possible date, and since it was clearly impracticable to hold the elections before the Commission rose, it was decided to ask the Economic and Social Council to carry out the elections, from lists of nominations made by members of the Commission. The choice would be made in consultation with the Secretary-General, and be subject to government consent.

The Status of Women Commission held its first meeting on the 10th February, seven of its fifteen members being absent owing to the weather. A proposal by the Assistant Secretary-General to postpone elections until the next day was defeated by 5 votes (Australia, Mrs. Street, ByeloRussia, Mrs. Ouralova, Denmark, Mrs. Begtrup, Guatemala and U.S.S.R.) to three (China, Mrs. New, U.K., Miss Mary Sutherland and U.S., Miss Kenyon). All other voting was on the same lines. Miss Kenyon proposed Miss Sutherland for Chairman and was strongly supported by Mrs. New. Mrs. Street opposed this nomination and put up Mrs. Begtrup, who had been chairman of the Nuclear Commission. Mrs. Begtrup was elected. Mrs. Street became Vice-Chairman (defeating the candidate supported by the U.K. Delegation, Madame Ledon), and Mrs. Ouralova *Rapporteur*, defeating Mrs. New. Mrs. Street and Mrs. Ouralova are identified with the Women's International Democratic Federation Mrs. Ouralova proposed that the Commission should recommend the W.I.D.F. for inclusion among the highest grade non-governmental Organisations in Category "A," which would give to this new body a status superior to that of any of the long established women's organisations. Later, on the initiative of the U.S.S.R. delegate, the proposal was withdrawn on the ground that it was irrelevant to the work of the Commission.

International Refugee Organisation

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Security Council

Disarmament

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put to him during the Committee hearings. He added that he knew that, on second thoughts, the Soviet Government would not "attribute hostility to frankness." (See also under "Soviet Union.")

Serious concern has been expressed by those who favour a strong defence programme at the decision of the joint Congressional Committee which has been examining the President's Budget (see *Summary* No. 376) to recommend a cut of $6,000 million in the estimates for the fiscal year 1947–48. More than a quarter of this saving would have to be made at the expense of the armed forces, and at his second press conference on the 14th February General Marshall spoke of the deleterious effect which the cut would have upon U.S. occupation policy in Europe and the Far East. The recommendation has still to be discussed by both Houses of Congress, and the Republicans are divided on the wisdom of adopting it at a time like the present.

The breakdown of the London Conference on Palestine has caused little surprise to an American public that had already been forewarned by the press to expect the worst. Comment on the present position is cautious and reserved, although the American Zionists are said to be showing some anxiety regarding the possible consequences of the British decision to make the United Nations the arbiter on Palestine. Every effort has been made by His Majesty's Government to keep the United States Government informed of developments at the London Conference, and a full statement of the considerations which have led them to submit the question of Palestine to the United Nations has been communicated to General Marshall. In replying to the latter General Marshall has suggested that it might be preferable to refer the issue first of all to the Trusteeship Council, which could give it some preliminary study before it is thrown into the General Assembly for a full-dress debate. He has also urged a substantial increase in the number of homeless European Jews to be admitted to Palestine while that country's future is being considered by the United Nations.

LATIN AMERICA

Argentina

Negotiations for the sale of the British-owned railways to the Argentine Government were successfully completed on the 12th February. The total price is £150 million, payable in London in sterling. The sum will be largely covered by Argentina's balances in this country, which amount to about £126 million. The outright sale replaces the plan for an Anglo-Argentine consortium which was agreed to last September; and, although the exchange of British securities so recently guaranteed to earn 4 per cent., for Argentine credits in this country, which require an outlay of only ½ per cent., seems a poor bargain, the measure is justified by the technical difficulties of operating a mixed consortium, and by the fact that no future Argentine Government is likely to offer a better price. It is understood that those at present employed by the railways in Argentina are to retain their posts under the Agreement.

Brazil

Results in the elections for state governors confirm that there has been a slump in the stock of President Dutra's P.S.D. The Liberal opposition (U.D.N.) won the governorships of Minas Gerais (Sr. Milton Campos) and Bahia (Dr. Otávio Mangabeira). Ex-President Vargas' candidate was defeated in his own state of Rio Grande do Sul, which Sr. Walter Jobim won for the P.S.D.

UNITED NATIONS

Economic and Social Council

The Human Rights Commission concluded its first session on the 10th February, and will meet again from the 21st July to the 2nd August if possible at Geneva, failing that at U.N. Headquarters. Its 'working group' is required to complete a draft Bill of Rights by the 25th June. It was decided that the Sub-Commissions on Freedom of Information and on Minorities and Discrimination should be composed each of twelve persons "selected by the Commission in consultation with the Secretary-General and subject to the consent of the Governments of which the persons are nationals." Not more than one member may come from any one country. The Commission desired that the Sub-Commissions should be set up at the earliest possible date, and since it was clearly impracticable to hold the elections before the Commission rose, it was decided to ask the Economic and Social Council to carry out the elections, from lists of nominations made by members of the Commission. The choice would be made in consultation with the Secretary-General, and be subject to government consent.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary
No. 382

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
26TH FEBRUARY, 1947

Copy Nº 143

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EUROPE

GERMANY

The approaching Moscow Conference has been the background and stimulus to nearly all propaganda and political activity in Germany during the past weeks, and all bodies of opinion have, very naturally, been taking stock of their programmes and jockeying for a favourable position so that in the eyes of their supporters they shall not be accused of failing to represent Germany's interests.

Only *Nachtexpress* of the Soviet-controlled newspapers in Berlin even mentioned General Robertson's statements to the Co-ordinating Committee (see *Summary* No. 380) and it has had no effect on the general tide of propaganda in the press and radio both from the Soviet Zone and from Moscow. This is devoted to praising conditions in the Soviet Zone and accusing the British and U.S. powers of failing to carry out their obligations, military, economic and democratic. The occupation authorities are frequently envisaged as birds of prey descending on their zones and stripping them of peaceful industries, while maintaining war plants, with the long-term aim of bringing western German economy under the control of foreign monopolies and at the same time using it as a base for future policy, presumably directed against the East. Mr. Hoover's recent visit to study food conditions in Germany was the subject of a sharp attack by Leipzig radio on the 17th February. He was considered as an envoy sent by the reactionary wing of the Republicans who aimed at dovetailing Germany's economy with the West and making her the nucleus of the proposed West-European Federation. On the 19th February Leipzig radio carefully insisted that the new decartellisation laws in the British and U.S. zones failed to destroy the influence of monopolies and that British Socialisation plans were really being rendered void (see last week's *Summary*). Persistent reports, said to be based on a "story" carried by a U.S. news agency, continue to be about plans being drawn up by some circles in the British and U.S. zones, to set up a

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Government of Western Germany if the Moscow Conference fails. The official Soviet organ, *Tägliche Rundschau*, has asked whether it is not wishful thinking to assume that the conference will fail and has declared that certain people clearly do not want German unity and consequently prefer a dictated peace to a treaty which would require the signature of a central Government. By contrast a solitary gesture by the Soviet authorities to the French Government, was the banning for one day of *Berliner Zeitung* which published on the 19th February an article insulting the occupation authorities of the Saar.

Germans may draw slight hope from Sir William Strang's statement to the Deputies on the 12th February that if, when a conference was held to draft a peace treaty, a German Government adequate for the purpose of accepting it was in existence, it should be given an opportunity to express its views—and that in any case, before a treaty was signed by a German Government, that Government should have a chance to express its views. Grotewohl of the Socialist Unity party (SED) again insisted on the 15th February on the need for a central Government and said that the Trade Unions ought to participate. The SED is also planning a referendum on the formation of a unitary state with a "decentralised administration." The three political parties in the Soviet Zone have discussed the submission of proposals to the Moscow Conference and are to appoint a committee of experts. The recently formed Foreign Policy Committee of the Socialists (SPD) in Berlin is also preparing a memorandum. The eight premiers of the British and U.S. Zones, at a meeting on the 17th February, decided to set up a board for preparatory work in connection with the German peace treaty. The States Council officially denied reports that the premiers were preparing to form a bi-zonal parliament, although admitting that the question of some co-ordination between the bi-zonal committees, had been discussed. (The economic merger was of course carefully arranged in such a way that no political union took place.) Such zonal co-operation is virtually unknown in the French Zone, and the only reported preparation for the Conference of any note was a resolution by the Rhineland Palatinate Assembly on the 20th February opposing all territorial changes and appealing for peace conditions which would enable the German people to retain its faith in justice.

It is of considerable interest that, apparently on KPD initiative, it has been decided to set up a KPD/SED inter-zonal committee—openly centralised in Berlin—to promote collaboration between the parties in the Western Zones. Representatives from the French zone have not yet been nominated. *Neues Deutschland* hails the decision as of "historic importance" for the coming treaty. It is not yet possible to say whether this really means that KPD leaders recognise the hopelessness of expecting spontaneous "fusion" in the West or whether they consider that bitterness and despair in these areas have now reached a pitch where conditions are more favourable to an "Eastern" policy—and hence to "fusion"—than at any time in the past. By contrast rumours and reports since the end of January, which should, however, be treated with reserve, have hinted that the SPD might be readmitted into the Soviet Zone, but press sources such as *Der Kurier* are very cautious and point out that the SED might try to "infiltrate" the new SPD with specially trained officials. At the meeting of Soviet Zone parties to discuss proposals for the Moscow conference (see above) the Christian Democrats and Liberal Democrats even had the courage to ask that the SPD should take part, but this was turned down by the SED. The SED itself has not been without its setbacks. Between the end of January and the 11th February it was defeated twice in the Saxony Diet on measures for dealing with black marketeers and those who violated the rules of economic planning. This was no doubt due to over-confidence, since normally the party has a clear majority of one, but it is interesting that on the second occasion agreement had been contrived beforehand in Committee, yet when it came to the full session the other parties executed a *volte face*.

The British Zonal Committee of the CDU met on the 3rd February and agreed on a programme for reorganising German economy which represents a considerable triumph for the Left wing of the party and goes further than anything which Adenauer had favoured in the past. It proposes that mines and iron producing industries should be socialised (*vergesellschaftet*); if in particular cases the form of State Corporations appeared more appropriate the programme would not stand in their way. The time for the domination of private capital was past but the substitution of State capitalism would be even more dangerous for the individual. Therefore large concerns should be broken up into independent units, and if a firm were still too large for personal contact between employer and

employee the latter should have a say in the firm's decisions. Since then, the CDU of the Soviet Zone has advocated public ownership for mineral wealth although stating that the possibility, in some cases, of transferring working rights to private persons should not be excluded. The Christian Democrats in Germany, frequently at loggerheads in the past, have certainly been brought closer together during the month, and at an inter-zonal conference in the U.S. Zone on the 5th and 6th February, it was decided to set up a coordinating committee for the whole country.

An extensive round-up of members of a subversive organisation began in the British and U.S. Zones on the 23rd February, and by the following day approximately 80 per cent. of its leaders had been arrested. The group also has ramifications in the French and Soviet Zones and the authorities there have been informed of the arrests. Members included a number of persons wanted for war crimes and other high-ranking members of the S.S., including Walter Teich, formerly liaison officer with the S.S. in Denmark, and Edmund Biedelmeyer, former chief of the Secret Service in Lublin; a number of the leaders had been personal friends of Himmler. The aim of the organisation seems in general to have been the restoration of German militarist power, which might have been achieved by some secret weapon—possibly bacteriological warfare. Its immediate "demands," however, were devised to agree with the sentiments of a wider circle of Germans than would have at this stage lent an ear to talk of a secret weapon. Such demands included the return of all prisoners of war and the immediate cessation of dismantling. The group had been under close observation since the summer of 1946, but the authorities naturally delayed the round-up in order to spread the net wide. The programme of the group was of course fantastic, and it did not constitute a serious danger, though it could not be allowed to continue.

Franz von Papen, now 67 years old, was sentenced on the 24th February by a German Court in Nuremberg to eight years' "light" labour. All his property except 5,000 marks is to be confiscated, and he loses for a further period normal civic privileges and the right to enter a profession. Denazification in the U.S. Zone is expected to end by the 31st March, 1948, according to a recent statement by General Clay, who also now professed himself in general satisfied with the work of the German tribunals. In the Soviet Zone, Thuringia has led the way in passing an amnesty for all those born after the 1st January, 1919 (as in the British and U.S. Zones), and who have not held office in the Nazi party, Hitler Youth or other Nazi organisations nor engaged in "militarist, Nazi or anti-democratic propaganda after the 8th May, 1945." The latter condition is of course all too dependent on the interpretation of the word "democratic." There had previously been considerable confusion over the position of youth in this Zone.

From the 4th March, as a result of British and American decisions to relax certain regulations against "Trading with the Enemy," foreign firms will be able to buy goods by direct contract from German firms in the British and U.S. Zones, although such contracts will require the approval of the joint Import-Export Agency and will not apply to timber, potash or metal scrap from the British Zone. Germans will not be able to buy goods on this basis since the Agency continues to negotiate imports. Foreign buyers will pay the Agency in sterling or other currency, and German firms will then be paid in marks. Business is still handicapped by the fact that there is no uniform exchange rate and that the number of business men who may visit Germany is strictly limited. The actual volume of business in the early stages is therefore not likely to be large, but the new regulations are an important step towards fulfilling the aim to restore normal business channels. It is expected that similar arrangements will shortly be concluded with the Soviet Zone.

On the 20th February the French Government drew the attention of the Anglo-U.S. authorities to the serious difficulties experienced in the French Zone as the result of insufficient allocations of coal and steel from the British and U.S. Zones. It was pointed out that in some cases these allocations had been cut drastically below the level originally agreed (see also under "France").

AUSTRIA

The Foreign Ministers' Deputies completed their work on the articles so far drafted for the political clauses of the

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Austrian Treaty on the 20th February. Seven articles will go to the Foreign Ministers in Moscow as agreed, and eight will show a difference of opinion, principally between the Soviet and the other three delegations, and on such important questions as the Austro-Yugoslav frontier. In further discussion of the Preamble to the Treaty on the 18th February the Deputies again failed to reach agreement on the question of the list of States to sign the Treaty, and on that of Austrian responsibility for the war. When, on the 19th February, the Deputies came to consider the United Kingdom and Soviet draft articles on German assets in Austria, the fundamental difference in the attitude of the Western Powers and in that of Soviet Russia was emphasised still further. While the United Kingdom and United States representatives in particular are anxious to see a healthy independent Austria established by a just treaty, the Soviet policy seems to be to insist on Austria's responsibility for the war and her failure to act correctly since the end of the war in such matters as denazification and the treatment of war criminals.

M. Gusev, accordingly, said that German assets were a political problem associated with the separation of Austria from Germany. He complained that the Deputies had only succeeded in obtaining, as the result of his persistent questioning of Dr. Gruber, a verbal assurance of Austria's recognition of the Potsdam agreement, recognition of which was an essential preliminary to consideration of the whole question. The Soviet Government were anxious that Potsdam should be acted upon, and that they should receive the reparations to which they were entitled (as they had agreed with the Governments concerned in the case of Bulgaria, Roumania, Hungary and Finland), rather than that the detail of the question should now be discussed.

The United Kingdom draft proposals, while recognising the Potsdam decision that Austria should pay no reparations but that reparations should come from certain German assets in Austria, and that an obligation should be laid on Austria to carry out its principles, attempt to ensure that the Austrian economy is not hopelessly crippled by a sweeping interpretation of "German assets" such as the Russians seem to wish to adopt, and have in fact already used in many cases. The United Kingdom proposals suggest machinery by which the assets could be transferred, and include one that Austria shall prepare and submit to the four Powers lists of German interests and enterprises in Austria; that these lists shall be agreed between the Austrian Government and the occupying Power of the Zone in which the interests are; and that a four-Power assets commission, sitting in Vienna, shall decide which assets are liable to transfer. A further proposal, that some assets which were not transferred to the Allies should be transferred to the Austrian Government (as the U.S. authorities have already done provisionally in their Zone) was particularly criticised by M. Gusev as being "in direct conflict with Potsdam."

General Clark, supported by the United Kingdom representative, hotly defended the Austrian attitude to the Potsdam agreement, saying that the Austrian Government had given adequate answers in the light of the Control agreement and of the lack of any quadripartite instruction. He opposed equally strongly the Soviet attitude on German assets, saying that for two years the question had been repeatedly raised in Vienna without results because of the refusal of the Russians to discuss the matter. The legality of many of the seizures made in the Soviet Zone regardless of Austrian interests had never been and never would be recognised by the United States.

It was agreed that the Soviet and the United Kingdom proposals on German assets should be passed to the Economic Committee with a request for a report by the 24th February. The Soviet draft does not provide for any implementation of the agreement, nor for a definition of Eastern Austria, while it suggests that assets are already transferred by virtue of Potsdam, whereas in fact transfer can only be effected in accordance with Austrian law, and provides for excluding from Austrian jurisdiction assets transferred as reparations.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Transport and communication difficulties have, as in most parts of Europe, been increased so greatly by the latest tricks of the cold weather that signs of a minor crisis have appeared in Czechoslovakia. One of the worst hit services is the Czechoslovak State Airlines, while, to complicate matters, flying personnel chose the 16th February to go on strike. Although the air crews' grievances have been heightened by the rigours of this coldest of winters, discontent was already smouldering before the first snow fell. The Airlines pushed through a very rapid extension of services after the end of the war, when Prague was able to take advantage of the lack of facilities and the international uncertainties

existing in the other cities of central Europe. Czech crews have been flying for more than twelve months on regular services to the Balkans, eastern Europe, Scandinavia, the Atlantic Seaboard, and southern Europe. (The latest civil aviation agreement to be signed is that with Eire, which, together with that under discussion with the United Kingdom, will provide the Airlines with links to North America and even further afield.) These Czech services, and the internal artery between Karlový, Varý, Brno, Bratislava and Košice, together with the reciprocating foreign lines, have transformed Prague into an important aerial crossroads at the heart of the Continent.

The rapid expansion has imposed a severe strain upon the capacity of the men (many of them R.A.F. repatriates) and machines (Dakotas and a few, often rather decrepit, Junkers) which compose the *Československá Aerolinie*. Besides the growing operational difficulties and the tendency—not restricted to the *Č.A.*—for accidents to increase in number, and the personal troubles such as shortage of living accommodation for repatriates, these ex-R.A.F. aircrews and groundstaff have found themselves involved in the clash of rival influences. On occasion their interests and seniority have been set aside by men whom they consider less experienced, but who have acquired the right political complexion, namely, Communist.

The strike action of the flying personnel was condemned by M. Zapotocký, the Communist Chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, on the ground that it had been taken without first consulting the Airlines Works Council, but it was supported by the independent Association of Airmen. Although now back at work, the crews are standing by the demands embodied in their memorandum, and are calling for satisfaction by the 1st March. The affair was debated by the Parliamentary Transport Committee, and a resolution passed that all civil flying affairs should be placed completely under the control of the Minister of Transport. At the moment, this is M. Pietor, a Slovak Democrat; his party, in common with all the other non-Communists, are no lovers of doctrinaire interference with the proper functioning of crafts and professions. Dr. Pietor has set up a commission to investigate the situation in the Airlines, and it will be interesting to see, as a pointer to wider issues, if he is able to dismiss the Deputy Director-General and other individuals whom the crews have found unsatisfactory.

Czech-Slovak relations formed the subject of a frank statement by President Beneš on the 13th February. The occasion was the reception of the executive committee of the Czech-Slovak Association, which held a conference in Prague last week. Its chairman is Dr. Lettrich, leader of the Slovak Democrats, who is also Chairman of the Slovak National Council. The President questioned a statement made during the trial of Dr. Tiso (see *Summary* No. 372) which is continuing in Bratislava. Dr. Kmetko, the Catholic Archbishop of Nitra, to whom Tiso was once secretary, stated in evidence, that the Slovaks still wanted an independent state, but had been obliged to bow to *force majeure*. The President stated categorically that he would never agree to autonomy for Slovakia; another crisis in Czech-Slovak relations, he said, would finish the Republic, and an independent Slovakia would soon fall to Soviet Russia. With 70 million Germans on their flanks, the Czechs needed Slovak support just as much as ever, and the two brother nations must rest together upon the alliance with Russia. Future relations between the two partners must take the path of equalisation of wealth and political responsibility. The President forecast that the Slovak National Council would have no more and no less power than the Bohemian and Moravian Provincial Assemblies. Most leading Slovaks openly support this unitary form of government, and both the President and Dr. Lettrich expressed the belief that, with the increased understanding of the realities of the situation, the Constitution-makers would be enabled to find an acceptable permanent solution.

(See also under "Hungary and Switzerland.")

POLAND

On the 19th February, the Polish Parliament adopted the new interim Constitution, called the "Small Constitution," by 330 votes to 17. The opposition consisted of deputies of M. Mikolajczyk's Party, who had proposed that the old Constitution of March 1921 should be considered valid, pending the drafting of a new one. (The 1921 Constitution was considered in its time as an example of the fullest measure of Parliamentary democracy.)

According to the new Constitution the supreme authorities of the Republic are, as regards legislation, Parliament itself; in executive matters, the President of the Republic, the Government and the Council

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of State; on judicial questions, independent courts of justice. The precise powers of the various authorities are described by the Constitution's 33 Articles, of which only some have so far been published.

Parliament's term is to be five years, and it will be summoned twice yearly by the President for spring and autumn sessions. Its functions will be the passing of laws, the control of the Government, and the fixing of the principles of the State's policy. Together with the Government and the Council of State, it has the right to initiate legislation. It may also entrust the Government with the power to rule by decree for periods between Parliamentary sessions in the case of adjournments, or after Parliament has been dissolved, pending the convocation of a new one. Such power does not, however, extend to the most important aspects of the country's finances and economy, such as the Budget and the three year plan, or to Constitutional questions, or to military conscription. The decrees must be approved by the Council of State, and signed by the President, Prime Minister, and Ministers concerned.

The President is to be elected by Parliament for seven years, by an absolute majority of votes, two-thirds of the total number of Deputies (444) being the requisite quorum. His prerogatives are set forth in Article 13, a description of which has not yet been offered. One important Presidential power is described by Article 8, which provides that if, within three months of the Government tabling the respective Bills, Parliament fails to pass the Budget, the national economic plan, or the Conscription Bill, the President with the consent of the Council of State, will pass these Bills as laws in the form in which they have been drawn up by the Government.

The Constitution does not make any special provision for the relative position of the Government, except for defining its responsibility to Parliament. Precisely how Parliament will exercise its control has not yet been explained, though it appears that, in the case of Governmental rule by decree, any decrees must be submitted for Parliament's approval at the next session. The Cabinet's position is likely to be important by reason of its very elasticity. Article 18 provides for a Council of Ministers, not chosen by the various parties, but "forming a whole" under the President's leadership. The President will convene it to examine matters of "exceptional importance," on which occasions it is apparently to change its name, to become the "Cabinet Council." As such, it will have the very important power of recommending the Council of State to introduce a state of emergency or war in "certain exceptional situations."

The most novel feature of the whole Constitution is the creation of the Council of State. Its purpose, to some extent, is to assume the functions formerly exercised by the old Homeland National Council (K.R.N.), which was the genesis of the former Lublin Government of 1945. Its members will be elected by Parliament, which apparently has the power to review any decrees endorsed by it. The Council will be presided over by the President, and will include the Speaker and Vice Speakers of Parliament, as well as the President of the Supreme audit chamber. Three more members may be elected to it by Parliament on the unanimous recommendation of the already existing Council. Its powers as defined by Article 16 include: control over the local national councils within the prerogatives of the old KRN according to the law of the 11th September, 1944; confirming of Governmental decrees issued according to Parliament's authority; the right to initiate legislation; the consent to publication in the form of laws of the Budget and national economic plan according to Article 8; the passing of resolutions introducing a state of emergency or war, on the recommendation of the Council of State. Such resolutions must apparently obtain the approval of Parliament as early as possible.

The Constitution vests judicial powers in the Courts. Judges will be independent, and subject only to law. Courts will not, however, have the right to question the validity of laws duly published in the form of decrees with the force of law.

Whether the new Constitution will usher in the period of social harmony according to the often proclaimed intention and conviction of members of the Polish Government will be shown only by time. It is, however, interesting that, as in electoral, so also in Constitutional matters, the present Government has shown marked tendencies to imitate (and sometimes to surpass) the semi-totalitarian régime of Pilsudski established in 1935, on which it has so often bestowed such epithets as "fascist" and "reactionary," and thus to depart from the 1921 Constitution, its supposed model for democratic freedom. Unlike the 1921 Constitution, the two later ones give much more power to the executive, in the person of the President, as opposed to the legislature, though in the new Constitution, Parliament certainly appears as theoretically sovereign. While the 1921 Constitution had no provision for rule by decree, such provision exists in the 1935 as in the 1947 document, conferred in the former on the President, and in the latter both on the Government (though at the instance of Parliament) and in the Council of State, presided by the President. Admittedly, Parliament has the right to examine even the latter decrees, but, in view of the past attitude of Poland's rulers towards any attempted expression of popular will such a right can very easily remain theoretical. Moreover, as previously mentioned, out of 444 seats, the Government hold 394.

SOVIET UNION

The week has thrown up nothing basically new in regard to Anglo-Soviet relations, though on certain topics familiar criticism in press and radio has become sharper and more embittered. This is notably so in the case of the Western European *bloc* and the foreign policy of the Labour Party, to which *Pravda* last week devoted several columns under the heading "Unity or Schism in the Working Class movement." Special cause for alarm was found in the attitude of the British Labour party leaders, whose efforts are allegedly directed first to the division of the working class movement, and secondly to increasing British economic and political influence in European countries through the leaders of the Social Democrat parties. It is recalled that numerous Labour Party delegations have been sent to make contact with Socialist leaders abroad and there is special mention of France, where Mr. Laski is said to have urged Socialists not to cooperate with Communists, to have praised M. Blum for his independence and to have poured every sort of abuse on the French Communist Party, even suggesting that they are not true friends of Socialism. Labour Party representatives are criticised for persuading Social Democrats to cooperate with *bourgeois* rather than with Communist parties (which is tantamount, according to *Pravda*, to forming coalitions directed against the masses). Labour Party leaders were also accused of aiming at the establishment of an international centre to promote their so-called schismatic and reactionary policy and finally (and most important) of impeding the "beneficial historic process" of working class unification . . . . Thus *Pravda* virtually demands that we should change our European policy to one of support for "popular fronts," from which "genuine" Anglo-Soviet collaboration à la *Pravda* would apparently spring.

Soviet suspicions of a Western *bloc*, revived by the launching of Mr. Churchill's movement for a United States of Europe, have been fomented by Mr. John Foster Dulles' recent utterance. Just as, despite denials in London, His Majesty's Government have not been fully exonerated in Soviet propaganda from at least tacit sympathy with the objectives put forward by Mr. Churchill, so the Dulles plan is treated as a definite expression of the Republican Party platform. An important article in *Krasnaya Zvezda* (the 19th February) criticising Dulles, said that his scheme was in essence the same as that of Mr. Churchill and as M. Briand's plan of 1930—they all wanted Europe without the U.S.S.R., though each assigned to his own country the predominant rôle in the new set-up. The whole subject of the future of Europe was dealt with more in detail in *Pravda* by *Otto Kuusinen*, former prominent member of the Comintern, now President of the Karelo-Finnish Republic and one of the Deputy Presidents of the Presidum of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. He has emerged from a comparatively long silence to deliver an attack on Anglo-American economic domination of western Europe and attempts to interfere with the sovereignty of States in eastern Europe. Kuusinen cited the Soviet treaties with Czechoslovakia, Poland and Yugoslavia as models for the lines on which cultural cooperation between the peoples of Europe and non-European nations as well as among themselves should run. Neither his article nor that dealing with the Dulles plan contained any criticism of, or, indeed, reference to the proposed Anglo-French alliance. As well as the attack on Mr. Dulles, a general anti-American line has been taken during the week, including a broadcast in English castigating the Americans for deserting their own best traditions by their extensive remilitarisation programme. General Marshall's reply to M. Molotov's note complaining of Mr. Acheson's hostile statement on the U.S.S.R. has been rejected as unconvincing in a fresh note sent by M. Molotov on the 20th February.

The following message was sent by the Chiefs of Staff, on the occasion of Red Army Day. "On the anniversary of Red Army Day, the British Chiefs of Staff send their cordial greetings to the Russian

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Army, confident in the hope that mutual friendship and trust will continue in the years to come."

The 29th anniversary of the Soviet Army evoked a spate of articles paying tribute to it as the "defender of peace" and "an instrument against international reaction which is preparing new conflicts." Its unique achievements in winning the war against Hitlerite Germany were strongly emphasised. The Soviet cuts in military expenditure were compared to "the opposite policy of Great Britain." "Everybody capable of passing independent and objective judgement can see now who is the true champion of peace and who is concealing far from peaceful intentions behind empty prattle about peace." In fact, the expenditure of the Soviet armed forces in 1947, according to the new Budget estimates, is 72·2 milliard roubles or 18 per cent. of the total budget.

It was announced last week that the Delegation of the Supreme Soviet, which several months ago had accepted an official invitation to visit this country on the 1st March, had postponed the visit for two or three weeks owing to the meeting of the Supreme Soviet in Moscow on the 20th February.

It is reported on reliable authority that Marshal Zhukov was seated next to Marshal Koniev at the opening session of the Supreme Soviet. This disposes of the rumour recently circulating in Moscow that M. Zhukov was under arrest.

Culture and Life has now attacked the B.B.C. Russian broadcasts. Academician E. Tarle, the well-known historian and publicist, in a long article published in No. 5, says that these broadcasts "have begun to take on the nature of propaganda leaflets aimed invariably at misleading Soviet people." Detailed accusations are made about the publicity given to Schumacher's visit, the Polish elections, "The Committee of Economic Planning" (the 30th December), Australia (whose Ministers "gladly and coarsely attack the U.S.S.R."), Greece (the 11th February), the occupation of Greenland, &c. It is also alleged that Soviet listeners are indignant at the B.B.C.'s reporting of United Nations activities which contain "a deliberate misrepresentation of the attitude of Soviet representatives." Tarle ends on a sarcastic note, describing the B.B.C.'s "tendentious information" as a "free educational course" that "no one on this side wished to receive." His contention is belied by the friendly letters which have recently begun to reach the B.B.C. from listeners in the U.S.S.R.

Tass has issued a denial of the report published in several Chinese papers of the arrival at Dalny of three military vessels with Chinese Communist troops and of the transport by sea from Dalny and Port Arthur to Chefoo of large amounts of war supplies for Chinese Communist party troops in Southern Shantung.

SCANDINAVIA

Sweden

Two Swedish White Books dealing with relations between Sweden and Norway during the war were published last week with a preface to one of them which discloses that His Majesty's Government had refused consent to the inclusion of a telegram, dated 18th June, 1940, from M. Prytz, the Swedish Minister in London, to his Government in Stockholm. M. Undén, the present Swedish Foreign Minister, explained that his Government had been forced to take this step, since both press and public were aware of the nature of the telegram and would otherwise have clamoured for an explanation. The reason for His Majesty's Government's refusal to the publication of the telegram in question—which alleged British readiness to conclude a compromise peace—was that we regarded it as a misinterpretation of the gist of an interview which M. Prytz had had with Mr. R. A. Butler, at that time Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. In the circumstances it seems regrettable that the Swedish Government has decided to give publicity to the British refusal, as this may lead to further misinterpretations.

Denmark

On the 13th February two Russian representatives arrived in Copenhagen from Berlin for negotiations regarding the return of German refugees to the Soviet Zone. It was agreed that 1,000 refugees per week would be accepted up to a total of 12,000 and that arrangements for another 3,000 to be sent to Berlin were to be made later. Apart from these fifteen thousand, a message from Moscow states that the Soviet Government have agreed to take another twenty-one thousand some time in the future to bring the total up to the equivalent of that received into the three Western zones. According to the Danish press the Russian delegates also repeated M. Stalin's previous offer to take half of the total number of Germans in Denmark provided the Western Powers received the other half.

According to a Danish broadcast an agreement has been reached with the British Red Cross and the British authorities in Germany, under which the Danish Red Cross will take over the responsibility for the feeding of 80/100,000 children in the British zone for about six months. The Danish Government have approved a subsidy of 3 million kroner for this purpose. The negotiations also include an anti-tuberculosis scheme, since Denmark is the leading country in the use of the *Calmetto* vaccine and can undertake any number of inoculations and examinations. Such work has already been carried on in Yugoslavia and will shortly be started in Poland, Austria and Hungary. Now Germany has likewise applied for help. It is agreed that Denmark will carry out anti-tuberculosis work in Europe for two years.

Finland

To mark the occasion of the signing of the Finnish Peace Treaty in Paris members of the Control Commission were the guests of President Paasikivi at a banquet in Helsinki. In the course of the evening the President paid a warm tribute to the guest of honour, Col.-Gen. Zhdanov, whom he assured of his own personal friendship and of the fact that he would always be remembered with gratitude in Finland.

In his reply the Chairman of the Control Commission said that he wished to reiterate that Finland, despite many difficulties, had honestly and loyally fulfilled the Armistice terms. What was of even greater importance, General Zhdanov continued, was that a firm foundation had been laid for future friendly relations between Finland and the Soviet Union; a fact largely due to the personal contributions of M. Paasikivi and the present Prime Minister, M. Mauno Pekkala. In conclusion the speaker stated his conviction that Finnish-Soviet relations could be developed in such a manner as to serve as a model for international intercourse between all great and small nations.

The linking of M. Pekkala's name in this connexion with that of the President throws an interesting sidelight on the Soviet attitude to a change in the composition of the Finnish Government. The desirability of a change has frequently been mooted of late, and it may be expected to become topical with the ratification of the Treaty. Before returning to the Soviet Union Gen. Zhdanov is also reported to have told the parliamentary leaders of the Government coalition parties that he did not consider a change of Government necessary. With the exception of the Folk Democrats, most Finnish politicians, however, take a divergent view as M. Pekkala, quite apart from an unfortunate addiction to alcohol, has proved himself ill-fitted for his responsible office. As the Communists would probably experience considerable difficulty in securing the Premiership for a member of their own party, their reluctance to part with such a useful tool, entirely dependent upon them politically, is easily understood. Their opposition to a change is further reinforced by the fear that it might result in a weakening of the influence wielded in the Government by the Folk Democrats, which at present is far greater than is warranted by their strength in the Diet.

THE LOW COUNTRIES

The Netherlands

H.R.H. Princess Juliana gave birth to a fourth daughter at the Soestdijk Palace at 1·30 a.m. on the 18th February. The Princess has been given the names of Maria Christina, but will be known as "Marijke." Although there was doubtless some disappointment that the Netherlands should still be without a Prince of Orange, the event was made the occasion of great national rejoicing, and was heralded at 7 a.m. with a salute of 51 guns and the ringing of church bells throughout the country. The birth of another princess has kept up the tradition of the House of Orange-Nassau which, during the past four centuries, has produced but 15 males. The last Prince of Orange, Prince Alexander, youngest son of King William III, and half-brother of Queen Wilhelmina, died in 1884 at the early age of 33.

A Netherlands Government Memorandum on Indonesia, designed as a reply to the First Chamber of the States General, was published on the 20th February. "The political value of the basic agreement on [the] Linggadjati [proposals]," says the Memorandum, "is that, by the *de facto* recognition of the authority of the Republic, the necessary proof has been given of our peaceful intentions and of our efforts to achieve genuine co-operation, on the basis of political equality, with all Indonesian peoples in the Netherlands Indies." So long as the "new structure"

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in the N.E.I. remained unbuilt, the Netherlands Government had a responsibility towards Indonesia—the more so if the Republic proved unworthy of the confidence which had been reposed in it. In view of that responsibility the "necessary forces" were being maintained in Indonesia. The achievements of the "valuable constructive elements" in the Republic had justified the belief that the Republic would "succeed in protecting the country from the general economic collapse threatening it"; but the Government were aware of the conflict of aims which divided parties in the Republic, a struggle which (it could not be denied) would "more or less seriously" undermine the central government's authority, and which was aggravated by the "deep differences of opinion on the subject of Linggadjati." To these difficulties could be added another, the "disobedience" of Republican officials and of the T.R.I., as illustrated by the latter's "systematic violations of the Truce." The Memorandum goes on to dispose of allegations that Soekarno, Hatta and Sjarir had Communist sympathies, by pointing out that the Communist support which the Republicans, "in their struggle for national freedom," had admittedly enjoyed for the space of 25 years did not "stamp them as Communists." As for the Republic's own political creed, the Netherlands Government "were not prepared to go so far as to say that the Republic was dictatorially governed or was Fascist," as some members of the First Chamber had alleged. The Memorandum makes it clear that the Government have no intention of signing the Agreement until the Republic has "complied with the conditions stipulated by the Government on reasonable grounds." As far as the Crown's position was concerned, the Government understood the desire for a "more exact definition," but agreed with the Commission-General's view that the time for such definition was "not ripe." Dutch-Indonesian relations were better discussed after the Agreement had been signed. The Government agreed with those members of the First Chamber who wanted "special consideration" to be given to the economic interests of both the Netherlands and Indonesia; accordingly, they aimed at supplementing the political agreement with a financial and economic agreement. The Netherlands Government would have liked the attitude so far adopted by the U.K. and the U.S.A. to have been "otherwise"; but that "certainly did not justify the notion that the Great Powers, by making use of their superior strength, had tried to drive the Netherlands in certain directions by threats." On the vexed question of the secret minutes taken during the discussions on the Agreement, the publication of which a number of persons had recently urged, the Memorandum says that the Minister [M. Jonkman] did not consider himself entitled to reveal them without the consent of the other party, but was prepared to consult the Commission-General in order that the Indonesian Delegation might be asked whether they were agreeable to the minutes being given confidentially to members of the States-General. With regard to the Truce, the Government had instructed the Commission-General not to sign the Agreement until the cease-fire order had been given. The Government refused any longer to "tolerate" violations of the Truce "at the cost of its troops or of the population or prosperity of Indonesia and the Netherlands." If the Government's attitude in this matter should lead to "military action," their "political aim" would remain unaffected.

This year's Lenten Pastoral from the Dutch Roman Catholic Hierarchy, which was read in all Catholic churches on Sunday, the 16th February, takes the dangers of Communism as its theme. The development is along familiar lines, but includes partial condemnation of Socialism. Communism, says the Pastoral, was "a danger as great as National Socialism, or even greater": its origins were the same; so were its methods—"deception, coercion and tyranny." Socialism was "much more moderate" than Communism: even so, it had its "own methods of teaching the meaning of the term 'community,'" which was "irreconcilable" with Christianity. From this the Pastoral argues that "a good Catholic" could not be "a good Socialist in the true sense." The Bolshevik idea of the omnipotent State was "unacceptable," since it denied "moral freedom" and was undemocratic; events in Poland and Yugoslavia provided examples of that idea put into practice. Bolshevism had "a most detrimental influence" on marriage and family life; and the "large" Communist following was the fruit of "crafty propaganda" which was attempting the domination of "humanity's longing for happiness." "Opposed to Communism were the opinions of the Pope, who had always appealed for the renewal of public and personal life in the spirit of the Gospel, and for Christian love of neighbour and social justice."

Belgium

Several thousand former prisoners of war—as many as 50,000, according to one estimate—took part in a demonstration in Brussels on the 26th February, because of the Government's failure to fix their service bonus. The demonstration began with a march past the Colonne du Congrès (where the Unknown Warrior is buried), after which the men invaded the area of the Rue de la Loi, with the intention of making their way to Parliament. At this point the demonstration developed into a riot, since demonstrations of any description are prohibited in the Rue de la Loi and its immediate neighbourhood. Unable to hold back the demonstrators, the police called out the fire brigade, but the hoses were cut and police and firemen pelted with bottles and stones. An attempt by the police to disperse the demonstration by firing blanks proved equally unsuccessful. At the height of the riot a brick was thrown through a window of the office of Col. Defraiteur, the Defence Minister, and two cars—one belonging to the Army, the other to the Catholic ex-Minister of Colonies, M. de Vleeschauwer—were overturned and burnt. Dr. Marteaux, the Communist Minister of Health, was slightly injured whilst attempting to cross the line of march on his way to Parliament. Altogether, some 30 or 40 persons—mainly demonstrators and police—were injured, one seriously injured policeman apparently having later died. The Parliamentary sessions were not disturbed, and after three hours quiet was restored. Eventually a delegation of demonstrators was admitted to the Parliament building to present their claims to the Prime Minister.

In a speech in the Chamber, M. Huysmans described the incidents as "a breach of faith" by the ex-prisoners, whose delegates had already undertaken to hold an orderly demonstration. No country, he declared, either in America or in Europe, had expended so much on its ex-servicemen, its disabled and its deportees of both wars as had Belgium. Col. Defraiteur said that the cost of ex-prisoners' benefits now under consideration would cost about one milliard of francs (nearly £5,760,000).

FRANCE

The French Government have officially requested His Majesty's Government to cancel the cut in Ruhr coal exports introduced last autumn; they propose that any increase in output over 220,000 tons a day (output at the end of January was 217,800 tons) should be divided equally between export and German internal consumption. This request is in tune with the assurance secured by M. Blum on his visit to London (see *Summary* 377) although that agreement did not anticipate the restoration of the full coal export quotas until the end of April. (See also under "Germany.")

The Anglo-French Economic Committee met in London from the 17th–19th February. It reviewed the balance of payments between the franc and sterling areas and decided on various measures for increasing trade. M. Laurentie, secretary-general of the French Ministry for Overseas France, also came over last week to have discussions at the Colonial Office, and it was agreed that an Anglo-French-Belgian conference should be held in Paris in late April or early May to discuss mutual co-operation and questions arising from the trusteeship system of the United Nations.

As anticipated in last week's *Summary*, the signing of a Franco-Polish Cultural Convention on the 19th February was accompanied by a decision to revise the Franco-Polish treaties of 1921 and 1925 and replace them by a pact of mutual defence against Germany.

The French Government and the Government of India have decided to exchange diplomatic representatives, and M. Henri Roux is to be *Chargé d'Affaires* in Delhi with the rank of Minister plenipotentiary. The French are naturally anxious to be on good terms with the Indian Government on account of their own possessions in India.

The Paris press is still out on strike, and Government news bulletins posted up in the streets are the only form of printed news available. The printers' men, who have been having a go-slow strike since the dispute at the beginning of January (see *Summary* No. 376), are demanding a 25 per cent. increase in wages in spite of the fact that they are very well paid in comparison with other trades. Those newspapers which are not supported by party funds cannot afford to pay higher wages and the Government have been asked to intervene. It is feared that in any case this long suspension will ruin the independent papers such as *Combat* whose circulation has been steadily declining in spite of its exceptionally independent and intelligent presentation of news and views. It is now evident that no morning paper can pay its way without a circulation of 200,000 (the figure is double for an evening paper), even at the present level of costs;

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among the important papers only the Communist *L'Humanité*, with 321,000, *Franc-Tireur* (Communist sympathiser) with 220,000, the Conservative *Le Figaro*, with 330,000, and the centre *Le Parisien Libéré*, with 262,000, attain the requisite circulation. Consequently, the ideal of a press free from the taint of money is vanishing and newspaper trusts are already making their presence felt. The standard of journalism is low and mortality among papers has been high since the liberation, but there are long lists of applicants for authorisation to revive old papers or produce new ones. At present, partly as a result of the need to replace the collaborationist press and partly because of the continuing shortage of newsprint and printing presses, the State controls and allots newsprint and presses, fixes the size and price of papers and the wages of the workers, and gives permission for papers to appear. This scheme was due to expire at the end of this month but it now seems that it will be prolonged until a permanent and more liberal system can be set up, since the information committee of the Assembly has rejected the new set of temporary regulations proposed by the Government.

The new 5 per cent. cut in prices is to take effect on the 26th February. M. Ramadier announced this decision in a broadcast speech on the 24th and said that there would be some exceptions. The cut would not be applied to wheat, so long as it was delivered by certain fixed dates; nor to iron and steel, except for those products entering into the manufacture of agricultural machinery; nor to some metals and alloys and some chemicals and drugs. M. Ramadier acknowledged that the price-reduction would cause loss to some traders and producers. Price statistics now issued for the month of January show that, in spite of the campaign for the reduction of prices, wholesale prices rose by 3 per cent. and the only prices to fall were those in retail shops, which fell by 1 per cent. Prices would indeed have risen far more, if nothing had been done, but the most serious feature of the situation is the failure of the Government's efforts to bring hoarded stocks on to the market.

Admiral d'Argenlieu arrived back in Paris on the 24th February, and will take part in the meeting of heads of overseas territories which opens at the end of the week. It is also reported that M. Sainteny, Commissioner in Tonking, is to resign his post on grounds of ill health.

A new Resident-General in Tunisia has at last been appointed. He is M. Jean Mons, a Socialist sympathiser and trade unionist, who was *directeur de cabinet* to M. Blum in the last Government and since then has been secretary-general of the Seine Préfecture.

SWITZERLAND

The Swiss-Czech negotiations, which were initiated in Berne in December and continued in Prague in January (see *Summary* No. 378) with regard to Swiss assets in Czechoslovakia placed under State administration or confiscated, resulted in an agreement which provided for compensation payable by way of interest-bearing debentures made out in crowns and guaranteed by the Czechoslovak State. A Czech delegation, composed of representatives of the Foreign Ministry, the Ministry of Foreign Trade, and the National Bank, left for Berne on the 8th February for further discussions, which it is expected will result not only in further amplification of the above agreement, but also in a new Trade Agreement.

At a reception given by him last week in honour of Dutch commercial representatives, the Swiss Minister to The Hague said (according to a Swiss wireless report) that commercial exchanges between Switzerland and Holland had been greatly increased during 1946, as compared with pre-war years. Swiss exports to Holland had amounted to 105,000,000 Swiss francs, while imports had amounted to 85,000,000 frs. It was estimated that this year's exchanges would reach a value of approximately 200,000,000 frs.

According to a wireless statement from Leipzig, General Schmittlein, in charge of education in the French zone, is in Switzerland to engage teachers and to obtain school books. In a speech at Zurich the General declared that as a result of denazification, schools in the zone were short of 7,000 teachers. Reuter is quoted for the statement that the General declared the relationship between the French Authorities and the German population in the French zone to have deteriorated in every respect during the past 12 months.

The following figures show the development of Swiss foreign trade since the war :—

	Imports		*Exports*	
	1,000 tons	*million francs*	*1,000 tons*	*million francs*
1938, monthly average ...	615	134	51	110
1946, November ...	501	331	48	268
1946, December ...	534	369	44	264
1945, Jan.–Dec. ...	1,461	1,225	176	1,474
1946, Jan.–Dec. ...	5,440	3,423	496	2,676

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Customs duties yielded 270 million francs in 1946—a figure exceeded only in 1939 when imports were extremely heavy to build up war stocks.

A marked improvement has been shown in Anglo-Swiss trade. In 1946 Swiss imports from the United Kingdom were 153,237 tons, with a value of 197 million frs., as compared with 26,849 tons and 22 million frs. in 1945. Swiss exports to the United Kingdom in 1946 were 5,581 tons, with a value of 58 million frs., as compared with 6,227 tons and 32 million frs. the previous year. In 1938, Swiss imports from the U.K. were 348,257 tons, and exports 34,056 tons.

The state of electricity stocks is becoming still more precarious as a result of low rainfall (see *Summary* No. 377). Additional restrictions to meet the situation include the banning of all domestic electric water heaters, except in households which include invalids or children under two years of age. Hotels and boarding-houses are required to reduce the consumption of electricity by 10 per cent. from February. As a result of severe cuts already made in transport and industry, a few factories which have exhausted their electricity quota have closed down for a month.

Since the 6th January, the rationing of wood for domestic fuel and gas-generators has been cancelled, as a result of favourable timber production, coal imports of 1·5 million tons as against an estimate of 600,000 tons, release of military stocks, timber imports from France and the unexpected decontrol of fuel oil.

The value of agricultural production in Switzerland increased from 1,960 million frs. in 1945 to 2,085 frs. in 1946, due mainly to improvement in the yields from fruit, wine, cattle exports, milk, pigs and poultry.

SPAIN

The situation in Spain remains devoid of any excitement, but rumours of Ministerial changes are flying thick and fast. The suggestion is that General Franco, at present head of the State and head of the Government, proposes to divest himself of the latter function, thus spreading the shadow of power and retaining the substance. There is jubilation in Francoist circles over the decision to return to Spain of the Count de Guadalhorce, who was one of General Primo de Rivera's discoveries and was quite a successful Minister of Public Works. The Count, a brother of Señor Benjumea, the Minister of Finance, left Spain in 1931 on the advent of the Republic and settled in Argentina, where his engineering abilities were employed in the construction of the Buenos Aires Metro. He is being appointed to be head of a Board which will take in hand the job of reorganisation of the Spanish railway network (RENFE). Owing to shortage of rolling stock and of coal Spanish railways have been having a hard time.

In the meantime the Caudillo continues to see himself as a man with a mission—the keeper of Spain's Catholic conscience, and, now, a master in the field of economics. A spate of articles which have appeared recently in *Arriba* under the pseudonym of "Hispanicus" are generally attributed in Madrid to the pen of the head of the Spanish State.

An excited crowd of Monarchists about 3,000 strong were able to give vent to their Royalists sympathies when the Infante Don Jaime and his sister Doña Cristina on their way to Italy after paying a visit to their brother Don Juan at Estoril touched down for a two-hours' stop at Barajas airport (near Madrid) on the 18th February. It was the first occasion on which the two Infantes had set foot on Spanish soil since the departure of the Royal Family from Madrid in 1933. Spanish police guarded the road to Barajas, and quite a number of Don Juan's supporters failed to reach the airport. Monarchists in motor coaches, also, were held up in Madrid, presumably on the orders of the Government whose policy on this occasion appears to have been one of hindrance rather than of repression. On the other hand the Head of General Franco's Military Household and other Government officials were dispatched by General Franco to give official sanction to the whole affair, though the former apparently got lost in the crowd of milling Monarchists and failed to carry out his mission of conveying the Caudillo's respects.

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among the important papers only the Communist *L'Humanité*, with 321,000, *Franc-Tireur* (Communist sympathiser) with 220,000, the Conservative *Le Figaro*, with 330,000, and the centre *Le Parisien Libéré*, with 262,000, attain the requisite circulation. Consequently, the ideal of a press free from the taint of money is vanishing and newspaper trusts are already making their presence felt. The standard of journalism is low and mortality among papers has been high since the liberation, but there are long lists of applicants for authorisation to revive old papers or produce new ones. At present, partly as a result of the need to replace the collaborationist press and partly because of the continuing shortage of newsprint and printing presses, the State controls and allots newsprint and presses, fixes the size and price of papers and the wages of the workers, and gives permission for papers to appear. This scheme was due to expire at the end of this month but it now seems that it will be prolonged until a permanent and more liberal system can be set up, since the information committee of the Assembly has rejected the new set of temporary regulations proposed by the Government.

The new 5 per cent. cut in prices is to take effect on the 26th February. M. Ramadier announced this decision in a broadcast speech on the 24th and said that there would be some exceptions. The cut would not be applied to wheat, so long as it was delivered by certain fixed dates; nor to iron and steel, except for those products entering into the manufacture of agricultural machinery; nor to some metals and alloys and some chemicals and drugs. M. Ramadier acknowledged that the price-reduction would cause loss to some traders and producers. Price statistics now issued for the month of January show that, in spite of the campaign for the reduction of prices, wholesale prices rose by 3 per cent. and the only prices to fall were those in retail shops, which fell by 1 per cent. Prices would indeed have risen far more, if nothing had been done, but the most serious feature of the situation is the failure of the Government's efforts to bring hoarded stocks on to the market.

Admiral d'Argenlieu arrived back in Paris on the 24th February, and will take part in the meeting of heads of overseas territories which opens at the end of the week. It is also reported that M. Sainteny, Commissioner in Tonking, is to resign his post on grounds of ill health.

A new Resident-General in Tunisia has at last been appointed. He is M. Jean Mons, a Socialist sympathiser and trade unionist, who was *directeur de cabinet* to M. Blum in the last Government and since then has been secretary-general of the Seine Préfecture.

SWITZERLAND

The Swiss-Czech negotiations, which were initiated in Berne in December and continued in Prague in January (see *Summary* No. 378) with regard to Swiss assets in Czechoslovakia placed under State administration or confiscated, resulted in an agreement which provided for compensation payable by way of interest-bearing debentures made out in crowns and guaranteed by the Czechoslovak State. A Czech delegation, composed of representatives of the Foreign Ministry, the Ministry of Foreign Trade, and the National Bank, left for Berne on the 8th February for further discussions, which it is expected will result not only in further amplification of the above agreement, but also in a new Trade Agreement.

At a reception given by him last week in honour of Dutch commercial representatives, the Swiss Minister to The Hague said (according to a Swiss wireless report) that commercial exchanges between Switzerland and Holland had been greatly increased during 1946, as compared with pre-war years. Swiss exports to Holland had amounted to 105,000,000 Swiss francs, while imports had amounted to 85,000,000 frs. It was estimated that this year's exchanges would reach a value of approximately 200,000,000 frs.

According to a wireless statement from Leipzig, General Schmittlein, in charge of education in the French zone, is in Switzerland to engage teachers and to obtain school books. In a speech at Zurich the General declared that as a result of denazification, schools in the zone were short of 7,000 teachers. Reuter is quoted for the statement that the General declared the relationship between the French Authorities and the German population in the French zone to have deteriorated in every respect during the past 12 months.

The following figures show the development of Swiss foreign trade since the war :—

	Imports		*Exports*	
	1,000 tons	*million francs*	*1,000 tons*	*million francs*
1938, monthly average ...	615	134	51	110
1946, November ...	501	331	48	268
1946, December ...	534	369	44	264
1945, Jan.–Dec. ...	1,461	1,225	176	1,474
1946, Jan.–Dec. ...	5,440	3,423	496	2,676

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Customs duties yielded 270 million francs in 1946—a figure exceeded only in 1939 when imports were extremely heavy to build up war stocks.

A marked improvement has been shown in Anglo-Swiss trade. In 1946 Swiss imports from the United Kingdom were 153,237 tons, with a value of 197 million frs., as compared with 26,849 tons and 22 million frs. in 1945. Swiss exports to the United Kingdom in 1946 were 5,581 tons, with a value of 58 million frs., as compared with 6,227 tons and 32 million frs. the previous year. In 1938, Swiss imports from the U.K. were 348,257 tons, and exports 34,056 tons.

The state of electricity stocks is becoming still more precarious as a result of low rainfall (see *Summary* No. 377). Additional restrictions to meet the situation include the banning of all domestic electric water heaters, except in households which include invalids or children under two years of age. Hotels and boarding-houses are required to reduce the consumption of electricity by 10 per cent. from February. As a result of severe cuts already made in transport and industry, a few factories which have exhausted their electricity quota have closed down for a month.

Since the 6th January, the rationing of wood for domestic fuel and gas-generators has been cancelled, as a result of favourable timber production, coal imports of 1·5 million tons as against an estimate of 600,000 tons, release of military stocks, timber imports from France and the unexpected decontrol of fuel oil.

The value of agricultural production in Switzerland increased from 1,960 million frs. in 1945 to 2,085 frs. in 1946, due mainly to improvement in the yields from fruit, wine, cattle exports, milk, pigs and poultry.

SPAIN

The situation in Spain remains devoid of any excitement, but rumours of Ministerial changes are flying thick and fast. The suggestion is that General Franco, at present head of the State and head of the Government, proposes to divest himself of the latter function, thus spreading the shadow of power and retaining the substance. There is jubilation in Francoist circles over the decision to return to Spain of the Count de Guadalhorce, who was one of General Primo de Rivera's discoveries and was quite a successful Minister of Public Works. The Count, a brother of Señor Benjumea, the Minister of Finance, left Spain in 1931 on the advent of the Republic and settled in Argentina, where his engineering abilities were employed in the construction of the Buenos Aires Metro. He is being appointed to be head of a Board which will take in hand the job of reorganisation of the Spanish railway network (RENFE). Owing to shortage of rolling stock and of coal Spanish railways have been having a hard time.

In the meantime the Caudillo continues to see himself as a man with a mission—the keeper of Spain's Catholic conscience, and, now, a master in the field of economics. A spate of articles which have appeared recently in *Arriba* under the pseudonym of "Hispanicus" are generally attributed in Madrid to the pen of the head of the Spanish State.

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led to the suggestion being made to Lisbon that a National Confederation of Monarchist Forces should be formed to group the Monarchists in Spain in one organization. This would probably be a very sensible move on Don Juan's part in view of the jealousies among his champions, each group anxious to be Don Juan's official mouthpiece and to have a hand in bringing about his return to Spain.

The more the changing of the guard of the Republican Government-in-exile is examined, the less it seems to make sense. As if conscious of the shaky basis of the new set-up, the Premier, Señor Llopis, has been explaining that his purpose was to give substance to a (hypothetical) National Council of Resistance inside Spain which would embrace former Republicans and Monarchists attached to no political party as well as members of the *Alianza*. With these elements represented in the "Government" Señor Llopis felt he could go before the United Nations and maintain that his Government fulfilled its part of the desiderata of the U.N. Resolution. He would then look for U.N. approval and support. While disclaiming any intention of seeking contact with the Monarchists he vouchsafed that he had no objection to his own supporters doing so. (This is rather rich in view of the extent to which such contact has already been established!) The Republicans, he added, would naturally offer themselves for the leadership of any interim government that might be formed in Spain after the ejection of General Franco: for the moment he was concerned to efface the impression (given through Señor Giral's recognition by East European countries) that Spanish Republicanism was oriented towards Communism. Finally he was anxious to maintain contact with H.M. Government.

The President, Señor Martínez Barrio, incidentally, has got himself into trouble by some cryptic remarks in an interview with José Maria Aguirre, editor of the "Febus" News Agency in Paris, which were picked up and commented upon by Reuter's Paris Correspondent.

He was asked whether the Llopis Government would be prepared to bide its time until a military Junta received Franco's resignation or whether it contemplated a *coup*, if power were not willingly relinquished. He replied oracularly:—

"The Republican Government has other things to do than await such an event. In my Note I referred to understanding with Spanish sections of opinion which, without being included in the frame of Republican ideas, could unite with us in the appreciation of the need for the disappearance of the Franco régime . . . These *rapprochements* could create an external atmosphere of support for a coalition of Spaniards who, from different positions, gather their efforts to overthrow Franco. Such an atmosphere might perhaps indicate to the Spanish Army its moral obligation to the country. The Spanish exile Republican Government has the corresponding duty to work for the creation of such an atmosphere as soon possible."

And he went on to make clear that, in his view, the holding of power by a military Junta, if that should happen, could only be a temporary situation pending elucidation of the political will of Spaniards.

The report as written up in the London Office of Reuter's represented Señor Barrio as envisaging favourably the restoration of a constitutional monarchy, openly avowing that there was no chance of overthrowing the Franco régime without the support of the army and the Monarchists, and declaring that the anti-Franco movement must lean heavily on Great Britain and the U.S. if it was ever to become effective. A note of apology was issued by Reuter two days later, and, subsequently, Señor Barrio's office described the report as "untrue from beginning to end" and denied that he had ever received any Reuter correspondent.

ITALY

The Italian press has already been indulging in some wishful thinking on the subject of Treaty revision and the attitude likely to be taken by His Majesty's Government. With regard to the question of ratification of the Treaty on the part of Italy, the U.S. Government have stated that in their opinion Italy will remain subject to the Armistice terms until she ratifies and that until she does so she can claim no rights or benefits under the Treaty

On the 25th February the general debate in the Constituent Assembly came to an end, and Signor De Gasperi received a vote of confidence of 291 votes to 107.

The U.S. Government have now submitted to the Security Council five nominations for the Governorship of the Free Territory of Trieste. They are: Mr. Leif Egeland, South African Minister to Belgium and the Netherlands, who was

Chairman of the Italian Political and Territorial Commission at the Paris Peace Conference; General Henri Guisan, former Commander-in-Chief of the Swiss Army; Dr. Alberto Lleras Camergo, wartime President of Colombia; and Lieutenant-General Nordenskiold and Justice Emil Sandstroem of Sweden.

The Italian Government, in association with the General Confederation of Labour, is anxious to speed up and facilitate emigration schemes by means of special bilateral agreements. The General Confederation wishes to secure reasonably good working conditions for the emigrants, but it is now accepted by the Government that the emigrants must accept assimilation to the country of their adoption, in contrast to the Fascist idea of close links being retained with the homeland by means of a special office (Italians Abroad) set up for that purpose. In the first eleven months of 1946 34,000 Italians left the country, including 7,000 permanent emigrants. In the same period 4,200 returned. Switzerland took the majority of the emigrants, 19,000, followed by France with 7,000 and Belgium with 3,000. On the 21st February an agreement was signed with Argentina which in its scope is the most important of all those bearing on emigration that have been concluded since the end of the war. Negotiations had been going on for some weeks but showed signs of breaking down owing to the persistence of the demands of the General Confederation for adequate assurances with regard to the working conditions of emigrants. (The Argentine Trade Unions are not recognised by the International Labour Office or by the World Federation of Trade Unions). The first contingent of emigrants will leave this month, and it is expected that average departures will be about two thousand a month. No figure is given of the total number which Argentina will accept. The emigrants will consist of unskilled manual workers as well as of skilled workers and should, therefore, help to reduce agricultural unemployment in Italy. An assurance has been secured that the emigrants will enjoy the same labour legislation, social insurance and trade union rights as Argentine workers. They will be allowed to send home remittances, and the Argentine Government will advance the fare to those who are unable to afford it.

SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE

Hungary

For a brief moment it appeared as though M. Masaryk had succeeded in establishing better relations between Hungary and Czechoslovakia by his promise to attempt to correct any mistake which might have occurred on the Czechoslovak side in connection with the Exchange of Populations Agreement, and the Social Democratic newspaper, *Népszava*, voiced Hungary's readiness to respond to what it considered the manifestation of a genuinely new spirit. Shortly afterwards, however, the customary tone of mutual recrimination returned. Among accusations directed against Hungary was that of bribing Slovak repatriates to withdraw their registrations by offers of land, while Hungarians asked whether the hostile attitude of the Czechoslovak Press indicated a different policy from that officially laid down or whether it interpreted this policy only too faithfully. On his return from Paris M. Gyöngyösi revealed that he had held private conversations with M. Bidault and the representatives of neighbouring countries. He had also approached Czechoslovak statesmen about the possibility of starting new negotiations, but there is as yet no evidence that any concrete result was obtained.

The implications of the left-wing demand for the raising of M. Kovac's parliamentary immunity reach far beyond the question of his personal guilt. His enemies profess to see in him the embodiment of every kind of reactionary threat to the continued existence of a democratic Hungary. The Communist organ, *Szabadság*, merely paraphrases the words of MM. Rákosi and Szakasits when it says that the fate of the Coalition depends upon the issue. By a majority vote of eight to six the Committee of Privileges decided not to surrender M. Kovacs to the judicial authorities, and the Smallholders are again asking for the appointment of a Political Committee of Enquiry to investigate the case, although they had previously agreed to withdraw the motion from the Agenda of the National Assembly (see last week's *Summary*). M. Rákosi, in an angry speech, recalled that M. Ries, the Social Democratic Minister of Justice, had examined the files of M. Kovacs and had found ample evidence for suspecting him of complicity in the plot. The matter therefore, he argued, was one for the Courts, and in no event would the Smallholders' Political Committee be accepted as judges. He claimed that the progressive intelligentsia and the peasant members of the Smallholders' own Party backed him in urging the merciless punishment of the conspirators and called on his followers to unite

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more closely with the rest of the left-wing *bloc*, as well as with the democratic elements among the Smallholders. "If the Smallholders' Party continues to obstruct the conspirators being brought to justice," he concluded, "we shall appeal to the working people, to the nation . . . . We shall demand new elections, and in these the Hungarian people will support not the conspirators of the old gentlemanly world, but the constructive forces of democracy." Here it is worth noting that the Communist Press has devoted much space to the Polish elections, emphasising their impartiality and pointing to Poland as a model for Hungary to copy.

The Smallholders, too, are preparing to launch a nation-wide campaign in view of the elections which may shortly be forced upon them. The astute, if unscrupulous, Fr. Balogh has been instructed to reorganise the Party, of which he became Acting Secretary-General on the resignation of M. Kovacs. M. Kovacs has also resigned his membership of the Party's Political Committee and his position as Editor-in-Chief of *Kis Ujsàg*. In addition he has asked permission to absent himself over a long period from the meetings of the National Assembly. While vigorously disclaiming any share in the conspiracy, he admits responsibility by reason of his office for those members of his Party who were involved. He further hopes that his action will advance the cause of political reconciliation.

The Social Democratic Under-Secretary of State in the Ministry of Finance, M. Kemeny, has negotiated a British loan to Hungary of £500,000 to be used for the purchase of cotton, rubber, machine-tools and raw materials. It is expected that this will greatly increase the prestige of the Social Democrats who are preparing a house-to-house recruitment scheme in an attempt to gain new members for their Party. The loan which Hungary obtained from the United States is to be raised to 30 million dollars; it will be expended on surplus American stocks in Germany and, if the concession is granted, in Italy and the U.S.A. Negotiations to buy raw cotton are in progress with the Egyptian Government and a private Egyptian firm. M. Rácz, the Minister of Finance, stated in the National Assembly that foreign assistance and the reduction of her international obligations would greatly hasten Hungary's economic recovery, but that she was resolved ultimately to balance her Budget from her own resources.

Yugoslavia

The Yugoslav Government have agreed to send a delegation to Trieste to discuss with Italian representatives the exact delimitation of the provisional Italo-Yugoslav frontier, under the supervision of a Four-Power Commission. Arrangements are also to be made for the transfer of administration in Zone A.

The press still concentrates on vilifying the Greek Government and the British forces in Greece. The strange career of Mr. Balfour, now First Secretary of H.M. Embassy in Athens, has provided *Borba* with material for a sensational article in the best spy-story tradition.

Grievances against Austria have also played a prominent part. The Yugoslav Government have sent notes of protest to the Deputy Foreign Ministers against the inclusion of Herr Piesch in the Austrian delegation, and to the Allied Council for Austria against a proposal to settle Balkan *Volksdeutsche* in Carinthia, news of which was apparently gleaned from *The Times* and *Reynolds News*. The Yugoslav Government have also complained that lack of control over "armed bands" in the Austro-Yugoslav frontier area is causing tension and offers a threat of disorders.

A year after the Yugoslav Government, in their note of the 25th November, 1945, had given assurance that British property in Yugoslavia would be returned to the owners, the Law of Nationalisation, affecting most, if not all, foreign interests, was rushed through the National Assembly. H.M. Government, in making enquiries as to British concerns thus affected, reminded the Yugoslav Government of their previous assurance and suggested that it was a suitable moment for a meeting of the Anglo-Yugoslav Mixed Commission, in which questions of compensation, *&c.*, could be discussed. The Yugoslav reply of the 20th February was not encouraging. Questions of compensation, it was said, would be settled according to a decree shortly to be published. British property owners would, however, be consulted. There was now no point in the existence of the Mixed Commission since it had originally been set up to fulfil an entirely different set of conditions.

It is now over a year since the Yugoslav Government first suggested that an Anglo-Yugoslav Mixed Commission might be formed to settle questions concerning the restoration of British property. H.M. Government welcomed the suggestion as being a practical means of tackling a complicated problem. But for various reasons

the Commission never met in 1946. For one thing, H.M. Government were dissatisfied with the Yugoslav attitude towards representatives of British concerns who wished to inspect their property, also with the unpleasant practice of convicting local managers for collaboration with the enemy and confiscating the enterprise. Then, while the Shipping and Property Agreements were being negotiated in London, the formation of the Mixed Commission was held in abeyance.

In spite of a barely disguised intention to confiscate as much property as possible on the ground of collaboration, and thus reduce their commitments to pay compensation, the Yugoslav Government may, perhaps, be induced to fulfil their remaining obligations if it is made clear that British signature of the now completed Shipping Agreement may depend on this. According to an unofficial and unconfirmed report Swedish property-owners are to receive eight million U.S. dollars in compensation for nationalisation.

But the Yugoslav record in this question of British interests is nothing to be proud of, and their promise to fix compensation in consultation with British owners may mean as little as their original assurance of November, 1945.

Corrigenda

Summary No. 381, p. 14, col. 1, line 16, for "securing" read "screening": last line, for "Duiro" read "Duino."

Greece

On the 18th February the United Nations Commission completed the series of preliminary sessions which have been held in Athens. To the last the statements of the Albanian, Bulgarian and Yugoslav representatives continued to overlap and to bear a marked resemblance and also strangely to resemble the statements made by the Greek left-wing organisations. All pointed towards the Greek internal situation as the cause of the disturbances on the frontier and towards Greek expansionist aims as a threat to the peace of the Balkans. The final speech made by the Greek representative exposed the weakness of their arguments and stressed the peaceful intentions of the Greeks. The Commission have now moved to Salonica in order to proceed with fuller enquiries in Northern Greece and in the three neighbouring countries.

There has been no diminution in the general unrest throughout the country. It is estimated that the number of armed bandits increased by 240 recruits in Macedonia and 200 in the Peloponnese as a result of the Sparta incident mentioned in *Summary* No. 381. The sphere of activities of the bandits in Thrace has been enlarged, giving them considerably more control, particularly in the Xanthi and Komotini areas. Increased activity in the Lamia district has been accompanied by an influx to that area of local recruits and reinforcements from Northern Thessaly. It is also reported that the bands in central Macedonia have been reorganised. Meanwhile the Greek Government are hastening their preparations for dealing with the bandits. A third amnesty bill is being presented to the Chamber on the 26th February offering pardon to rebels who surrender within a month. A drive against the others will be conducted by the Greek Army and, to that end, several changes have been made in the Higher Command. Moreover, General Zervas, the former leader of the right-wing resistance movement, who was originally Minister without Portfolio, has been sworn in as Minister of Public Order. It is also reported that the Greek Army are already conducting operations on a considerable scale in the area North of Salonica.

There is a growing realisation that any large-scale drive for final liquidation of the bandits is going to prove an almost intolerable burden to the Greek Treasury, particularly in view of the imminent exhaustion of Greece's holdings of sterling and dollars. The revised estimated deficit for 1947, calculated on an austerity basis for imports and a maximum export programme, was placed at not less than £44,000,000; and this estimate assumed that Greece would not be called upon to furnish foreign exchange for the provisioning and equipping of the Greek Army. It will be remembered that the British Government have undertaken to provide sterling for this purpose only until the 31st March; and that the bandits may be expected to intensify their activities in the Spring.

Albania

(See under "United Nations.")

THE MIDDLE EAST

Egypt

In interviews with the correspondents of the *Times* and of the *Chicago Tribune*, Nokrashy Pasha has specified the Security Council as the body to which Egypt will appeal. He told the *Times* correspondent

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that he realises that Egypt has not a very good case, but thought that it was better for relations between the two countries that they should be able to blame a third party rather than that one party should blame the other if the result dissatisfied them. This curious argument partially confirms his statement to the *Chicago Tribune* that the possible resumption of negotiations is only a rumour, and may be an indication of the line which he will take if he finally decides to refuse the offer of the Levant States to mediate with that object.

There is little doubt that the removal of all British troops from Egypt and the Sudan will be claimed by the Egyptian delegation. Nokrashy is obsessed with the idea that the Sudan Administration is deliberately encouraging anti-Egyptian feeling amongst the Sudanese (see last week's *Summary*). He told the *Chicago Tribune* representative that, when the Sudanese have reached the stage of autonomy *after the evacuation of their country by the British*, no force in the world could prevent the Sudanese from deciding their own fate. History, however, gives some clues to what that fate might be.

King Farouk seems to be of the same mind as his Prime Minister on the subject of the Sudan, and to be persuaded that the "disloyalty" of the Sudanese is the result of British intrigues. This, quite apart from his hostility to the Wafd, may be an additional reason influencing him in his apparent determination to keep the present Cabinet in power as long as possible. There are signs, however, that his personal popularity is not what it was. A torch race which is usually held on his birthday (11th February) was cancelled at the last moment this year on the excuse that it was out of place while national aspirations were unfulfilled, but, in actual fact, because of the risk that Wafdist supporters might have interfered with it.

Palestine

Minor acts of terrorism continue, and, although the Jewish Telegraphic Agency claim that the Hagana has recently frustrated several attempts of the Irgun Zvai Leumi to attack military transport and installations, there is no official change in the policy of non-co-operation. In addition to a number of road-mining incidents an attack on an R.A.F. airfield at Ain Shemer, near Hadera, took place during the night of the 19th/20th February, and on the 20th the 'Iraq Petroleum Company's pipe line was cut in two places. The Irgun Zvai Leumi are threatening reprisals if the three terrorists recently condemned to death are executed. As a matter of fact, the carrying out of the sentences on them is being postponed pending a settlement of the case of Dov Grüner (see last week's *Summary*).

The announcement that the Palestine question will be referred to the United Nations appears to be welcomed by the Jewish Agency as a recognition of the international character of the question, and the indications are that, while pressing for an increased immigration quota, every effort will be made to mobilise world opinion in favour of Zionist aspirations. The Arabs express dissatisfaction at the continuance of immigration at the present rate of 1,500 a month, and, while somewhat reassured by the fact that concessions which the Jews might have gained in London have been averted, show some apprehension at the final outcome.

Mr. Bevin opened the debate on Palestine in the House of Commons on the 18th February. He said that there was no denying that the Mandate contained contradictory promises, and had been proved by the experience of the last 25 years to be unworkable. He referred to the difficulties which had ensued from President Truman's demand for 100,000 Jewish immigrants, and protested at the intrusion of domestic politics in international affairs. He outlined both Arab and Jewish cases. He said that he had made efforts that this country should take its proportion, with all the other countries, of the million displaced persons in Europe—not only Jews; he did not think that they should be singled out—and he had failed. He was studying the matter to see whether it could be considered by the United Nations before September, and would prefer, even now, that it should be dealt with on humanitarian grounds. He ended his speech with the words:—

"Let them go back to relieving Europe of 100,000, and if there was a dispute let there be arbitration, so that they could as quickly as possible create an independent State in Palestine where Jews and Arabs, who had such traditions and had contributed so much to the religious and cultural thought of the world, could work together and end century-old conflicts."

It is announced in the press that Fauzi al Qawuqchi, who was prominent as a leader of the Palestine rebels from 1936, and took part in the Rashid Ali rebellion in 'Iraq in 1941, has returned to the

Middle East. He was wounded in 1941, and has since that date been in Germany, latterly in the Russian Zone.

Transjordan

Haji Amin al Husseini has sent a message to King Abdullah asking for his immediate intervention in view of Mr. Bevin's statement on Palestine. His Majesty has replied suggesting that the question of future action appears to be a matter for consideration by the Arab League. Haji Amin has also telegraphed to a leading tribal chief of Transjordan, and may have sent messages to others.

Public opinion in Transjordan approves the reference of the Palestine case to the United Nations, the only criticism heard being that the delay involved would allow further Jewish immigration and land-buying.

Iraq

There is little news of the progress of the elections, but the general opinion is that Government supporters are assured of a handsome majority. Taufiq as Suweidi's Liberal Party is reported by the press to have withdrawn from the elections on the ground that pressure is exerted on them, although there was evidence that little or no support was forthcoming for this party.

By an administrative decree the Government will take over all supplies of newsprint entering 'Iraq, which will enable them to control all sales to the press. This step appears to have been necessitated by the issue of a licence to the Soviet Legation to import four hundred tons of newsprint, which offered dangerous possibilities of support to undesirable newspapers.

Persia

Mulla Mustafa (see last week's *Summary*) has failed to persuade any of his followers to accept the Persian Government's offer of settlement, and the whole band are returning by devious mountain routes to 'Iraq. Persian army columns are ensuring that they cross the frontier without provoking hostilities en route.

More information has now been received about the Oil Workers' Union (see *Summary* No. 379). A manifesto of the 21st January, issued in Abadan by the "Executive Committee of the Oil Workers' Union," states that it was formed as a result of dissatisfaction with the Tudeh Party, which controlled the old union. The new Union intends to remain free from all political influence: its sole concern will be to protect the interests of the workmen. The members of the Executive Committee are all either oil labourers themselves, or have experience in oil matters. Hence it is claimed that they will be well fitted to represent the workers' interests. The new Union is to be officially registered under the Labour Law.

A report from His Majesty's Consul, Khorramshahr, indicates that, so far, this new Union has not made great headway. Many workers, recalling the misappropriation of party funds by the Tudeh treasurer (see *Summary* No. 379), have little confidence that the officials of the new Union will set a better example. Furthermore, the Union is still awaiting official recognition, and is without a headquarters. Nevertheless, a reliable but unofficial report states that the majority of Anglo-Iranian Oil Company employees at Abadan now support Qawam's Democrat Party rather than the Tudeh, which has not recovered from the severe setback to its prestige occasioned by the restoration of Central Government authority in Azerbaijan. A report from another source states that the uncompromising attitude which the new Union proposes to pursue towards the Tudeh has made a ready appeal among the workers. It seems, therefore, that, once it has overcome its initial difficulties, the Union should eventually gain the workers' support.

His Majesty's Consul, Tabriz, reports that the Russians are apparently unwilling to keep the refugees (muhajirs) (see *Summary* No. 373), Armenians and Fidais, who fled to Russian Azerbaijan in the summer. They are said to be, at present, in a concentration camp, fed on a starvation diet.

THE FAR EAST

Japan

After 7½ months the prosecution in the Toyko International War Crimes Tribunal has concluded its case against the 26 defendants. In one sense it is Japan herself that is on trial, since the prosecution has cited more than 100 treaties, international agreements and conventions that Japan has violated since 1890. The crimes charged fall into three categories: (1) "crimes against peace"—planning and waging aggressive war; (2) "war crimes"

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—ill-treatment of prisoners and internees; (3) "crimes against humanity" *e.g.*, promotion of opium sales to China to weaken the will to defence. The trial differs from the Nuremberg trial in that 11 nations are represented instead of 4, and it is claimed that certain aspects of "war as a crime" are being more thoroughly explored.

The Japanese press has hitherto shown little interest in the proceedings. In so far as the monthly magazines may be taken as a guide, thinking people arraign the past semi-feudalistic, authoritarian form of government, which, it is argued, was bound to issue in oppression at home and aggression abroad. The actual authors of the last war were guilty of plunging the country into a war which it could not win but, presumably because they were the products of the system and not its makers, there is no admission of their moral guilt.

Now that it is the turn of the defence, the newspapers are displaying a lively interest. The defence is expected to maintain that (1) the Japanese war preparations were identical with those of other countries; (2) Japan attacked the Netherlands only after that country had declared war on her and (3) local commanders, and not the defendants, were responsible for "war crimes" and "crimes against humanity." As for Pearl Harbour, that was necessary to break the encirclement by the ABCD Powers (American, British, Chinese and Dutch).

Korea

Since their orgy of strikes in the late autumn, the Korea communists have remained quiescent. It would be too much to hope that they have suffered a change of heart. It seems more probable that they are watching their political opponents dig a grave for themselves.

On the 20th January the interim legislative assembly passed an anti-trusteeship resolution by 44 votes to 1. The result was a pyrrhic victory for the extreme right, Rhee-Kim Koo, faction, since opponents of the motion—a pro-coalition group and most of the appointed members—had not the courage to vote. Their abstention, however, is evidence of the strength of feeling against trusteeship.

Some American correspondents paint a sad picture of the bewilderment and dismay of the southern Korean at the results to date of the American occupation. Signs of any growth of liking for western democracy are wanting. The people have no confidence in the officials appointed by the Military Government, most of whom they accuse of being ex-collaborators, and they have a naïve belief that all their troubles would vanish if only the occupation forces would go away.

The egregious leader of the right faction —Syngman Rhee—is now touring the United States in a courageous attempt to win over American opinion to a reversal of the decision of the Moscow Conference (December 1945) and the grant of immediate independence to Korea. It is understood that he hopes to send his lieutenant to the United Kingdom. Meanwhile his henchman, Kim Koo, in Seoul has nailed his colours to the mast and excluded himself and his followers from consultation by the Joint-Commission (see *Summary* 376), should it meet.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The economic crisis in Great Britain continues to be front-page news and to provide a leading topic of discussion in the United States. In the words of the *New York Herald-Tribune* "the weather reports from the British Isles have suddenly taken on all the nightmare quality of the communiqués that once described the Battle of Britain. . . . And, as in 1940, the world watches, a little awed, more than a little fearful and all too helpless, while one of the pillars of the order that men and nations have known for generations is shaken under the weight of its accumulated burdens." There is also a growing demand for the United States to show its sympathy in the form of "quick, effective and sufficient action" to assist the British people through the emergency period. Newspaper editors have spoken of the desirability of extending the British loan, and it has been suggested that the United States ought even to take a lenient view of any failure on the part of His Majesty's Government to make sterling freely convertible into dollars this summer (July) under Articles 7 and 8 of the loan agreement.

The combined effect of the latest White Paper on the British economic situation and of the Prime Minister's announcement regarding the forthcoming withdrawal from India has been to awaken an even stronger body of opinion to the fact that any change in the disposition of British power and influence over the globe is necessarily a matter of supreme concern to the United States. Thus Mr. Charles A.

Eaton, the Chairman of the House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs, has been constrained to remark that he could not conceive of "any greater disadvantage to the American nation as a world leader than the disappearance of the British Empire." Nevertheless, as an earnest of British intentions to accord full political freedom and self-government to the people of India, Mr. Attlee's announcement of the 20th February has been cordially welcomed by American Liberals and Conservatives alike. At the State Department, General Marshall, to whom the text and a full explanation of the Prime Minister's announcement were submitted in advance, has assured His Majesty's Government that he has the fullest confidence in their sincerity of purpose with regard to India, and he has offered to make any statement in sympathy with their policy which they feel might help them. He has also spoken highly of the new Viceroy, Lord Louis Mountbatten.

General Marshall has been warmly praised by press and radio commentators for his swift and outspoken vindication of Mr. Dean Acheson in his Note to Moscow of the 18th February (see last week's *Summary*). His reply to the Soviet charges of "slander" has been taken to mean that he intends to be candid with the Russians right from the very start and that, while he is at the State Department, "a spade will be called just that and aggression, military or diplomatic, whatever national label modifies it, will be given its proper name." At the same time there has been a tendency to contrast Mr. Acheson's mild description of Soviet policy as an "expanding and aggressive one" with the raucous abuse of the United States and its leaders that has issued from Radio Moscow in recent months. In this connexion the State Department has been widely commended for its efforts to give the Russian people the other side of the American picture in its newly-inaugurated "Voice of America" broadcasts.

In American domestic politics the major issue of the moment is whether Mr. David E. Lilienthal is to be confirmed in office as Chairman of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission. The hearings on Mr. Lilienthal's appointment have tended at times during the past few days to degenerate into a boisterous discussion on the virtues of military, as opposed to civilian, control of atomic research and on the iniquity of the Government monopolizing the development of atomic energy for commercial purposes. The fact that Mr. Lilienthal (in common, it must be observed, with the 79th Congress which passed the McMahon Act last year) is against the exploitation of atomic energy for private profit has been adduced as further evidence of his leanings towards "Socialism." His part in drawing up the plan whereby the United States might make the atomic bomb international property if adequate safeguards against its abuse were forthcoming is also cited as a strong disqualification by those who object to sharing atomic secrets with the Soviet Union. For their part the atomic scientists are said to be united in support of Mr. Lilienthal, and a survey by the *Washington Post* of 95 newspapers in 35 States reveals that 80 per cent. are in favour of his nomination being confirmed. Senator Taft, however, has made it plain that he will vote against the appointment. Much therefore depends upon Senator Vandenberg, who refuses to take a very definite stand until the current hearings on Mr. Lilienthal's fitness to serve have been completed.

During the past week Senator Vandenberg has been fully occupied in trying to prevent the Republican die-hards in the Senate from confirming the proposed reduction of $6,000 million in the Federal Budget estimates. This reduction was approved by the House of Representatives on the 20th February by 239 votes to 159. On the 21st Senator Vandenberg opened the debate in the Senate by pointing out that the proposed economy would seriously jeopardize the chances of "winning the peace" and that America could not "take the hazard of weakening herself in the world in such critical times." He therefore suggested that the Senate might compromise on a reduction of $4,500 million—a figure which would take the burden of retrenchment off the armed services. Such a compromise is favoured by Senator Chan Gurney, the Chairman of the Senate Committee on the Armed Services, and by Senator Eugene Millikin, the Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee. Meanwhile, the House Appropriations Committee has been applying itself with zest to Mr. Truman's supplementary estimates, which it has endeavoured to prune by as much as 56 per cent. If the cuts which the Committee has recommended are allowed to stand the Veterans' Administration will be deprived of a substantial portion of its working funds, while the $9,000,000 already provided to keep the rent control and sugar rationing schemes in operation until the 30th June will be cancelled altogether.

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LATIN AMERICA

Inter-American Affairs

The Inter-American Defence Board has published its recommendations to the Latin American Governments. Proposals include standardization of training and equipment for the armed forces of the Western Hemisphere. This suggests that the Rio de Janeiro Conference to discuss a permanent Inter-American Defence pact may soon be held.

Brazil

Reports on the Brazilian elections for State Governors (see *Summary* No. 379) show that General Dutra's P.S.D. hold the governorships of nine states and can rely on support from the governors of two more, while the opposition U.D.N. win seven, and other groups two. The very disparity of the results is a testimony to the fairness of the elections, and it is probably true to say that no previous Brazilian administration has so reflected the wishes of the people.

It now emerges that the Brazilian Communist (P.C.B.) Party, despite their great efforts, have not appreciably increased their voting strength since the Presidential elections at the end of 1945. The one Communist candidate for a state governorship (in Pernambuco) polled only a fifth of the total votes. Elsewhere Communists offered their votes to candidates of various colours; in São Paulo their support of Sr. Adhemar de Barros was decisive, and it remains to be seen how Sr. Barros will pay for his victory. In Rio de Janeiro, their other stronghold, the P.C.B. have a third of the seats on the Municipal Council. It would appear, therefore, that the Communist proliferation is arrested for the time being. It may be arrested further, for, according to a recent broadcast report, the Brazilian Attorney-General has requested the Supreme Electoral Tribunal to declare the Brazilian Communist Party illegal in accordance with the terms of the new Constitution.

A second feature of the elections has been the collapse of Dr. Vargas and his Labour Party (P.T.B.). Dr. Vargas thought himself strong enough to break with the Communists, formerly his friends, before the election. In fact, his three candidates for State governorships were all defeated: his own state of Rio Grande do Sul voted against his candidate by 255,000 to 225,000. The only state to elect one of his supporters as governor was Pernambuco, where the unscrupulous Agamemmon Magalhãis appears to have been elected by a bare 700 votes on a combined P.T.B.-P.S.D. ticket.

The party which has made most progress is the liberal opposition party, U.D.N., which has won the important states of Minas Gerais (where Dr. Vargas' satellite Benedito Valdares was well dug in) and Bahia. The U.D.N. is perhaps more truly a party in the English sense than any of the others, which remain largely groups in support of a particular individual. A division has existed in the U.D.N. between those who favour collaboration with General Dutra and those who prefer full opposition. Their leader, Dr. Otavio Mangabeira, who has strongly supported collaboration, has been elected Governor of Bahia, and will therefore give up the active leadership of the party, while the position of secretary is vacant since the resignation of Sr. Virgilio Melo Franco, who took the opposite line. The future leader of the party is to be chosen early in March, and the candidates are Dr. Prado Kelly, who follows Dr. Mangabeira, and Sr. José Américo, the leader of the non-collaborating group.

One effect of the election has been to ease the general political atmosphere. The discomfiture of Dr. Vargas and the Communists is pleasing to the army. The P.S.D., though not strong, is satisfied with its majority, while the U.D.N. is particularly gratified by its victory in Minas Gerais. General Dutra himself is given credit for allowing a free election in a country where the government in power has almost always "won" elections.

UNITED NATIONS

Security Council

Corfu incident

On the 22nd October, 1946, two British warships, H.M.S. *Saumarez* and H.M.S. *Volage*, were mined whilst passing through the Corfu Strait, and 44 of their officers and ratings lost their lives. Having failed to get satisfaction from direct negotiations with the Albanian Government, H.M.G. brought the matter before the Security Council, and on the 18th February, 1947, Sir Alexander Cadogan presented the British case.

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The ships were moving northward, through a channel swept clear of mines in 1944. On their left was an unswept German minefield: close to their right the Albanian shore. They were in Albanian territorial waters; but this was the channel normally used by shipping, and the "right of innocent passage" entitled them to be there. At 2·45 the ships heard two bursts of machine-gun fire from the Albanian shore. At 2·53 *Saumarez* struck a mine, *Volage* taking her in tow. At 3·32 an Albanian launch, flying a white flag, came up, asked the business of the British ships, and retired after about half an hour, without once offering to help. Three-quarters of an hour later *Volage* also struck a mine.

On the 12th and 13th November the British swept the channel, at the unanimous recommendation of the Mediterranean Zone Board of the International Mine Clearance Organisation (its members being France, U.K., Greece, U.S., U.S.S.R., and Yugoslavia). Twenty-two mines were found, of the German Y type, the most powerful of all anchored mines. They had been laid within the last six months. They stretched for three miles along this shipping channel, coming to within 300 yards of the Albanian shore. They had been laid in secret, and shipping had not been warned.

On the basis of these facts, Sir Alexander Cadogan asked the Security Council to find that an unnotified minefield had been laid by, or with the connivance of, Albania; that this action had resulted in the loss to British lives and ships; that Great Britain and Albania should settle the dispute according to this finding; that the dispute remain on the Council's agenda until settled, and that the Security Council remind all States that they were bound by international law to sweep or allow the sweeping of all parts of their territorial waters where there was reason to suspect mines. Briefly, the British case was that Albania had committed a crime against humanity in laying or conniving at the laying of an unnotified minefield.

M. Kapo replied for Albania. His country, he said, had not laid the mines, nor had she any knowledge of their existence. They were old mines. He admitted the right of innocent passage, but claimed that the State through whose territorial waters innocent passage was intended, must receive previous notice. Albania had deceived none. He claimed further that the British ships were in battle order, that theirs was not "passage" through but penetration into territorial waters, and that such penetration destroyed the rights of innocent passage. His argument—as Sir Alexander Cadogan later pointed out—led to the conclusion that counter-action was justified. Continuing on the subject of the international law concerning innocent passage, M. Kapo gave instances, which, he said, showed that Great Britain had in the past acted as though her rights over territorial waters justified her in preventing passage, by force.

The second part of M. Kapo's speech was an account of Anglo-Albanian relations, in which the British appeared as unresponsive to Albanian affection, aggressive, working with Greece against Albania, &c., and he quoted eight occasions, beginning with the 16th July, 1945, and ending on the 30th April, 1946—*N.B.* within six months of the mining of the British Destroyers—on which he alleged that Greek or other warships had committed aggression in Albanian territorial waters. As Sir Alexander Cadogan said, in reply to M. Kapo, it was too much to believe that a minefield had appeared miraculously at the exact spot where the Albanian Government obviously wished to prevent passage. M. Kapo's speech had supplied the motive for laying the minefield. The Albanian Government, he concluded, might differ from the majority of international lawyers in its views on the right of innocent passage. It had no right to enforce those views by high explosives. The charge remained the laying of an unnotified minefield.

The Security Council resumed its consideration of the Corfu incident on the 24th when M. Gromyko attacked the British and seemed to justify any Albanian action. He said that the fairway used by the British ships was not that cleared in 1944–5: that Great Britain and Greece had excluded Albania from her rightful share in clearing her own waters: that the Mines Board had not unanimously recommended Great Britain to sweep the mines, and that the British action was therefore unilateral: that foreign warships were "bossing" Albanian waters under pretext of sweeping mines, and that the French expert, Captain de Mestre, a member of the Mines Clearance Board, had examined the mines at the request of the British and not of the Board, and that, therefore, his evidence as to their age was worthless. Albania was no threat to peace. The case should therefore be dismissed. Sir Alexander Cadogan corrected "the great and important inaccuracies" of the Russian speech. It was "untrue," he said, that the British ships were not in the

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unswept channel; and the Mines Board's recommendation had been unanimous, though later, Russia tried to have it reversed. At this stage the representatives of U.S. and of Australia proposed setting up a small Committee to hear evidence and report to the Council.

International Refugee Organisation

The Preparatory Commission adjourned on the 21st February, and arranged to meet again in Geneva on the 15th April. It appointed an experienced and highly qualified United States citizen, Mr. Arthur Altmeyer, who is U.S. Commissioner for Social Security, to be its Executive Secretary and drew up instructions to enable him to carry out his work with the least possible delay. That work is to ensure the birth of the I.R.O. itself, to which the Slav States are known to be opposed. The Secretary-General of the U.N. has responded to the appeal of the Preparatory Commission, and has agreed to make advances from the U.N. Working Capital Fund in order to enable it to carry on its work until the Organisation is able to finance its own activities.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary

No. 383

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
5TH MARCH, 1947

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Since August, 1946, this Summary has become a more confidential document than it had previously been, and full weight must be given to the label SECRET. The side-lined passages especially must not be divulged to anyone other than the authorized recipients.

GERMANY

The report for the Conference of Foreign Ministers was approved by the Control Council in Berlin on the 25th February after being hustled through with unseemly haste in its last stages, owing to the reluctance of the French, Soviet and United States delegates to incur the imaginary stigma of delaying its passage. This Gargantuan document (weight six pounds) holds a mirror to four-Power disagreements on many essential issues and is incomplete and uncoordinated as a record of fact. It has not, however, degenerated into a lopsided advertisement of Soviet views. The Soviet representatives have been more conciliatory than was expected in admitting the statements of the other delegates, probably because they saw that this was the only way to get a report at all and therefore were content to rely on a different type of protest. This took the form of direct reproofs from Moscow, the first delivered on the 20th January (see *Summaries* Nos. 378 and 379); the second on the 25th February, when members of the Control Council were just congratulating each other on the conclusion of the report. Marshal Sokolowsky read a twenty-minute lecture on Anglo-U.S. policy which was in effect a formal anthology, in more restrained terms, of Moscow press attacks since the beginning of 1947. Control Council procedure was again defied and the statement was published in the Moscow press on the 27th February. Marshal Sokolowsky referred to reports (see last week's *Summary*) that preparations were being made for bi-zonal political fusion. He attacked economic fusion as contrary to Potsdam. He contended that the original and excusable argument that this was done to mitigate the burden of the British and U.S. taxpayer (although the Soviet Union did not harp on her "not less heavy expenditure") had been abandoned. The bi-zonal authorities were ignoring their

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EUROPE

GERMANY

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obligations to carry out the liquidation of war potential, the provision of reparations and the elimination of monopolies. The fusion had facilitated an anti-Allied campaign by "fascist dregs" and others. The two Powers were hampering the economic rehabilitation of Germany by splitting her in two and orientating trade only towards the Western countries. Marshal Sokolowsky attacked the talk of a large loan to be granted to Germany and said that the bi-zonal area was being subordinated to foreign monopolies while support was given to German monopolies, the heralds of aggression. The territorial reorganisation of these zones aimed at federation, which the Germans did not want, and they ought to have the opportunity to express their views freely on this matter. At the conclusion of this diatribe General Robertson merely said that there was no agreement for political fusion, he knew of no monopolies in the British zone, and, unlike the situation obtaining in the Soviet zone, no German property had been transferred to the ownership of the occupying country. The remedy for bi-zonal fusion was to make it quadri-zonal.

In the meantime preparations are going ahead with proposals which His Majesty's Government will take to Moscow on the future structure of Germany and allied questions. Agreement has been reached to negotiate with other Occupying Powers for a revision of the level of industrial production based on an annual production of 10 million tons of steel. This figure was arrived at after considerations of a French memorandum which favoured German steel capacity being restricted to the present level of industry basis (steel capacity 7·5 million tons). It is not known whether the United States Government will agree to H.M. Government's proposal. The United States Government have informed H.M. Government that with regard to Germany's Eastern frontier "The United States Government is inclined to the view that, in the interest of the recovery of Europe as a whole, the German territory transferred to Poland shall be limited to an area which Poland can be expected to utilise fully within a reasonable period of time." Mr. Matthews of the State Department in the course of conversations in London has stated that the U.S. Delegation will, in fact, strongly oppose the present frontier at Moscow and will propose a revision in Germany's favour, to a line following the Oder (but East of Stettin) or failing that the Oder and Eastern Neisse.

Details of new regulations for foreign trade from the Soviet Zone were broadcast over Berlin Radio on the 28th February. As in the case of the British zone (see last week's *Summary*) direct contracts may now be made with foreign firms, but each contract will require the approval of the German central administration for Trade and Supply and of the Soviet Military Administration. The Germans, however, will not be allowed to make definite price offers for their goods. These will be determined by the Central Administration who will also be responsible for paying German firms in marks. Unlike the British and U.S. zones German firms in the Soviet zone may contract for imports also. They will have first to obtain an offer from abroad and then apply for a license which will usually be granted only for raw materials or semi-finished goods. The S.M.A. approve of schemes for importing such material which will then be processed for re-export, but the Order lays down that during this period the material remains the property of the foreign contractor. It is curious that this provision is not considered to be at odds with the constant stream of propaganda against the influence of foreign firms in Western Germany.

Mr. Hoover has now returned to the United States and has made a report on the German food situation in which he lays emphasis on Germany's distress, but in his proposed remedy is ever mindful of the cost to the Allies and considerate of Great Britain's dollar difficulties. He has told His Majesty's Government that it must be clearly established that claims for repayment of sums thus expended have priority over reparations. A tax on German exports, to be paid in dollars after the 1st July, 1947, might be an effective means of recovering expenditure. Mr. Hoover recommended an immediate allocation of some 60,000 tons of maize and 500,000 tons of potatoes from the United States to tide supplies over until the summer. A system of soup-kitchens for the children and aged should be established "at once." He also recommended that some "normal" consumers should receive the rations of moderately heavy workers. Although he proposed in his report a dollar provision for increasing the calory level to 1,800, if necessary, after October 1947, he has told His Majesty's Government that he hoped other remedies would prevent the necessity of being committed to this general increase in the near future since neither the food nor the funds were really available. Other suggestions made included an extension of

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fishing, the use of Germans to help transport potatoes from abroad and, within Germany, stricter measures to prevent hoarding by displaced persons and inefficient collection of farm yields. Mr. Hoover has expressed the opinion that denazification had gone too far, particularly with regard to the doctors and engineers.

On the 28th February, the Schleswig-Holstein Diet adopted an SPD motion for a socialisation law providing for the transfer of certain basic industries and transport services to State ownership with provision for the participation of other bodies at a later date. The CDU, the FDP and the Conservative party voted against the motion. Although the Christian Democrat Premier, Steltzer, supported a measure of socialisation and of land reform he failed to gain his party's co-operation. On the 12th February Goerlinger, leader of the Social Democrats in the North Rhine-Westphalia Diet, put forward a resolution that the transfer of certain basic industries to public ownership should be submitted to a plebiscite to be held at the same time as the *Land* elections. He also sent a telegram to Dr. Schumacher suggesting that similar proposals should be submitted in the other Diets. This move was entirely unexpected. Dr. Schumacher has stated privately in the past that although he had considered a plebiscite he would only wish to adopt it as a final resort if other means failed. The CDU may find it difficult to oppose such a measure. This step has been followed up in Lower Saxony where the Minister of Economics has said that the SPD will ask in the Diet for the transfer of key industries to public ownership—and if other parties opposed this will organise a referendum. These moves are likely only to cause a cleavage of public opinion and may in the end tend to harden the opposition of the CDU. Within the CDU itself considerable friction persists, and no one can accept the statement by the CDU executive in the British zone on the 28th February, that all reports alleging differences between the CDU in the British zone and the CDU in the Russian zone were unfounded. It is now learnt that at the inter-zonal conference to which reference was made last week, the personal hostility between the British and Soviet zonal Chairmen came to a head, and Adenauer accused Kaiser in front of all the delegates of consorting with high German officers in Berlin and of planning with them and with the Russians for the recreation of the German Army. This is a striking demonstration of Adenauer's pathological hatred of Berlin and the Russians.

At long last a law dissolving *de jure* the Prussian State was signed by the Control Council on the 25th February after the Russian representative had withdrawn his objections—of many months' standing—that the matter was not within the competence of the Control Council and should be dealt with by the Council of Foreign Ministers. In fact, of course, Prussia had already been administratively wiped out under the Nazi régime.

(See also under "France," "Poland" and "Council of Foreign Ministers' Deputies.")

AUSTRIA

At their final meeeting on the 25th February, the Foreign Ministers' Deputies approved the Report and Draft Treaty to be sent to the Ministers. The Report included a recommendation that the Deputies should meet again in Moscow on the 10th March to resume discussion. It was left to the Ministers to decide whether, as the U.K. representative advocated, the Draft should be circulated to interested persons. There has also been no resolution of the difference between the U.K. view that all Allied Governments with a direct interest in Austria should be original signatories of the Treaty and the view of the other three Powers that such Allied Governments shall only have the opportunity of acceding to the Treaty after signature by the Big Four.

The Articles which have not yet been discussed do not relate to any matters of great controversy, except the disposal of Displaced Persons. The thorniest subject on which partial agreement was reached was the limitation of the Austrian Armed Forces: these were fixed at either 50,000 or 55,000 including frontier guards and gendarmerie, *plus* an air force of 90 aircraft and 5,000 men. The list of subjects which were discussed but on which no agreement was reached includes the outstandingly difficult one of German assets in Austria, and the equally prickly though less solid obstacle of the Austro-Yugoslav frontier. An article in the *New Times* of Moscow—apparently dated 22nd February—gave an important review of the Soviet attitude to the Austrian Treaty. The article distinguishes between "major" and "other" problems connected with the

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Treaty. The latter include the international guarantee of Austrian independence, the date for withdrawal of occupation forces, settlement of Austrian pre-war debts, reparation claims for Yugoslavia and Greece, and, interestingly enough, the Yugoslav frontier and Slovene minority question. About German assets, however, which count as a major question, the article asserts that Soviet rights are incontestable and that any attempt to revise them would only delay the preparation of the Peace Treaty. The disposal of "over half-a-million" displaced persons in the western zones, it says, constitutes a grave threat to democracy, and the activities of these are fostered by the Occupying Powers. The U.S. is obstructing the surrender of war-criminals. The economic life of the country has not been democratised, nor indeed has even the new Austrian Constitution. Pan-Germanism is reviving and must be suppressed. And, foremost in the indictment, Austria actively supported Nazism both before and during the War, and her guilt must be proclaimed in the Treaty.

Recent Russian action in Vienna over two cases allegedly involving German assets has again illustrated Soviet stubbornness on this point. In the Allied Council meeting on 28th February the Soviet representative refused to discuss an Anglo-French-U.S. complaint that the Soviet authorities had prevented an Austrian firm in the Soviet zone from declaring its foreign exchange holdings as required by the Foreign Exchange Law: General Winterton declared that the Soviet action was tantamount to a claim for extra-territoriality, and that the principle would tend to prevent Austria from balancing her foreign trade. The Soviet representative also heard in silence a further statement by General Winterton that it would be contrary to the Control Agreement for the Austrian authorities to comply with a recent Soviet instruction to hand over "German assets" lodged in Austrian credit institutions.

On 27th February Chancellor Figl appealed to Provincial Governors at a meeting in Vienna to "collect the last reserves of foodstuffs in the months ahead" in order to maintain the ration until the position improved in May. The Austrian machinery for enforcing food collection from peasants has been notoriously weak, and no good is boded by an article, published the same day, in the People's Party *Kleines Volksblatt* praising the peasants for excellent production and delivery. Unfortunately the peasants hold the whip-hand because the narrow People's Party majority rests on their vote, and in their treatment of this key-vote none of the parties is likely to diverge from precedent set by political parties elsewhere. Under extreme pressure from countries which have had to send food to subsidise Austrian inefficiency the Government has at last decided to impose a complete cropping plan for the country, but this is only the first step in the struggle. In the Executive Committee meeting in Vienna on the 25th February the Russian representative broke the usual Allied front in the line of attack on the Austrian estimates for grain collection from the 1946 harvest: he supported the low Austrian estimate, no doubt in order to preserve as much grain as possible within the Soviet Zone.

POLAND

On the 22nd February the Amnesty Bill became law by a unanimous vote of the Polish Parliament. According to Col. Romkowski of the Ministry of Public Security (which has charge of the secret police), it concerns two different groups of people: those already in prison, and members of the forest bands still at large, who are asked to come out into the open. Of the first group, 45,000 persons serving prison sentences or remanded for investigation will come under the amnesty. 25,000 will be freed at once, and the others will have their sentences reduced, at the most by half. As regards the second group, the persons concerned will be invited by public posters to report to Commissions, composed of public security officers acting together with provincial, district, municipal and national councils. Those reporting will have to sign statements that they have given up their criminal activity, as well as surrender all weapons and other forbidden articles. Once legally pardoned, they will receive work and assistance from welfare organisations. The Colonel said that 244 members of forest bands had reported between the 1st and 15th February, and 104 from the 15th to the 20th.

It seems clear that the amnesty will not apply to spies, of whom there are now said to be 158 in gaol, to about 3,000 people sentenced for collaboration with the Germans or for joining the Ukrainian terrorist or German werewolf organisations, and certain persons convicted of "sabotage and counterfeiting, bribery and economic sabotage." Neither will it benefit those

guilty of organising the concentration camps of Bereza, Kartuska and Brześć (Brest Litovsk), used for the detention and maltreatment of political opponents of the Pilsudski régime. The position of those responsible for the disaster of September 1939 and the pre-war "fascistization of public life" seems uncertain, since press and radio reports are conflicting on this subject, and the full text of the Amnesty is not yet available.

In order to rectify an important omission from the interim Constitution, Parliament closed its first session by passing a fourteen-point declaration guaranteeing full personal, religious and political freedom, as well as the right to work, leisure, education and social services.

With the approaching Moscow conference, Germany has again assumed a natural prominence in Polish affairs. Negotiations with France have recently been concluded in Paris by the Polish Foreign Minister, M. Modzelewski, who is reported to have said that it had been agreed to bring the 1921 Polish-French Alliance into line with present conditions. Questions of reparations and frontiers were also discussed. M. Modzelewski said that France would support Poland's claim to her Western frontier at the Moscow Conference, and that Poland would support France's endeavours to "bind up" the Saar economically with France. As to the future structure of Germany, *Kurier Codzienny*, the paper of the Democratic Party (known for its pronounced inclination to the Communist viewpoint), has condemned the idea of splitting up the country into various states. This, it says, by disregarding German unification achieved during the two world wars, would provide one more argument for German nationalism. Moreover, it would be easier to control a unified Germany and to extract reparations from it. That a German danger still exists is proved, according to the Poles, by the recent revelation of the neo-Nazi conspiracy in the British and American zones. While professing to be deeply shocked, Polish commentators have explained that nobody in Poland was the least surprised that such things should be, since their origin lies in "the ideas of such British politicians as Lord Beveridge, British and United States propaganda, and the banquets for Schumacher, who, indeed, did not threaten a bacteriological war, but only the wrath of the German people." Anglo-Saxon tolerance is in fact represented as reaping what it has sown.

Discussions have recently begun between Mr. Marquand, Secretary for Overseas Trade, and a Polish trade delegation led by Dr. Lychowski of the corresponding Polish ministry. Methods of extending commercial relations between the two countries are under review, and it has been reported that Poland might export to the United Kingdom during 1947 about £5,000,000 worth of cement, furniture, eggs, sugar and other articles, while placing orders for about £20,000,000 of machinery and raw materials.

On the 23rd February the Polish Prime Minister M. Cyrankiewicz left Warsaw for Moscow, together with M. Minc, Polish Minister for industry, to have discussions with Russian leaders on "current political and economic matters." They have been received by Generalissimo Stalin and President Shvernik.

SOVIET UNION

The tone of Soviet publicity on the eve of the Moscow Conference has been one of qualified optimism, the U.S.S.R. being presented as eager to reach a settlement as speedily as possible, while circles abroad which have expressed doubts of the likelihood of agreement are dismissed as reactionaries. Mr. Churchill and Mr. Dulles were personally attacked; it was alleged that they expected to reap advantages if the treaties were not concluded. According to Viktorov, the experience gained in working out the treaties with Germany's satellites showed that with goodwill and "by adhering to the principles of truly democratic international co-operation," the German problem could likewise be solved in accordance with the demands of peace and security.

No new line on the German question has emerged; both public lectures and articles on the subject have given first place to the case against federation. The main arguments against it were that a disrupted Germany would mean a disrupted working-class and that federation would foster the "nests of reaction" in the Ruhr and Bavaria. A lecture delivered by Yerusalimsky on the 27th February brought up the old charge that Great Britain, since the days of Bismarck, had continually been building up Germany as a counter-weight to France and Russia. No surprises appeared either in the position taken up over Austria; the American plan for Austria, it was alleged,

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would turn the country into a colony for Western capital, while the British scheme of restoring the 1937 frontiers would be detrimental to the rights and interests of Yugoslavia, which had already been wrongfully deprived of Trieste. *New Times* (No. 8) insisted on Austria's responsibility for the war; Nazism had not been imposed on Austria from outside, but was the fruit of a long period of pan-Germanism. The new Treaty must above all things preclude the possibility of a second *Anschluss*.

There are reports that the Russians are inviting a delegation of German politicians of several parties and journalists to Moscow for the Conference, including Grotewohl and possibly Pieck. On the whole question of Germany, the only fresh point to be noted is the evidence of increasing Russian interest in the Rhine. The Soviet unilateral report to the Council of Foreign Ministers on transport included a request that the question of a new International Convention for the Rhine should be discussed at Moscow. (See also under "Germany" and "Austria.")

A warning to France not to follow slavishly the British line at the Conference has been given in the form of a *New Times* article dealing with the Anglo-French alliance, a subject on which hitherto a discreet silence had been observed by the Soviet press. Great Britain was described as hurrying on the negotiations precisely with the object of having at the Conference a submissive partner in France. After tracing the course of Anglo-French relations since 1914, *New Times* was at pains to emphasise that at every point Britain had tried to use France as an obedient tool. The proposed new alliance would only enhance French dependence on Great Britain, for it would merely give France the promise of British military assistance in the event of future German aggression while denying her effective guarantees of security. Apart from the demobilisation and denazification of Germany and the destruction of German war potential, France, to be truly secure, would need the separation of the left bank of the Rhine from Germany, the transfer of the Saar and general international control, with Soviet participation, over the Ruhr. Although so highly critical of the British attitude towards French security requirements, *New Times* carefully avoided committing the Soviet Government to support of them. The article returned to the charge over the Western *bloc*, claiming that the Anglo-French pact would be its cornerstone; such a *bloc*, "the policy of the Labour Government being what it is at present," would be pointed aggressively at the U.S.S.R. The *bloc* would also have a defensive anti-American edge, owing to the common colonial interests of all the Western European Powers. Communist members of the French Embassy staff in Moscow and, in particular, the Press Attaché, have taken the line that the article should be regarded as an authoritative expression of the Soviet view and as a warning to French Communists not to adopt too pro-British an orientation before the Moscow Conference. The French expectation that this propaganda line would be followed up by the Russian daily press has not so far been confirmed. There has been a noticeable absence of further comment and M. Thorez's speech at Toulon of the 23rd February, in which he welcomed the conclusion of the alliance as a reinforcement of the Franco-Soviet alliance, was not reported.

After a press silence of several weeks on events in Korea, *Trud* (the 25th February) reviewed the situation in detail. Emphasis is laid on the "unanimous approval" expressed by the Conference of People's Committees in Northern Korea for the Government's agrarian reform (which had "changed the social face of Northern Korea"), the labour and social insurance laws and the nationalisation programme. "No tricks and manœuvres of the corrupt Korean reactionaries, who are the bosses of Southern Korea, will distract the Korean people from setting up a single democratic Korea," according to *Trud*. The "so-called legislative organ" is alleged to have been created on American orders, over half the delegates were American nominees and the remainder had been elected through falsified elections. The legislative body also contained no workers' or peasants' representatives, and its majority was composed of quisling landlords, industrialists and right-wing editors. General Hodge's visit to the United States is described as an attempt to persuade the Americans to supply his "democratic party" with arms in order to start military operations against the Northern "Communists." The article concludes with a reference to the desire of the Korean people to "build its future on the principles of peace, liberty and democracy," guaranteed at the Moscow Conference discussions on Korea.

It was announced on the 3rd March that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. had complied with Generalissimo Stalin's request to be relieved of his post of Minister of the Armed Forces of

the U.S.S.R. "in view of the excessive burden of his other work." His successor is General N. A. Bulganin, who had been deputy P.C. of Defence since 1944 and a member of the State Committee of Defence set up in 1940. General Bulganin was born in 1895 and was the son of a small factory employee. He is not a professional soldier and before the war held the following important posts: Chairman of the Moscow Soviet (1931); Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. (1938); President of the Board of the State Bank (1938) and President of the Economic Council in 1940. He also has an important position in the Communist Party, having been made a member of the Central Committee of the Party in 1939 and in March, 1946, elected Candidate Member of the Politburo and of the Orgburo.

Important changes and additions to the text of the U.S.S.R. Constitution were approved by the Supreme Soviet on the 25th February, while the Statutes of the Standing Commissions on Legislative matters of both Chambers (set up in 1938) were approved. Among the amendments to the Constitution worth recording here are the following: (*a*) redrafting of several clauses of Article 14, which defines the functions of the All-Union Government, to include notably (*a*) the denunciation as well as the conclusion and ratification of Treaties; (*b*) a new clause W—"the establishment of principles of legislation on marriage and the family" . . . "so as to ensure a further strengthening of the family"; (*c*) the institution of the eight-hour working day (article 19); (*d*) abolition of the 1936 Constitutional right to free higher education, this right being now constitutionally limited to free seven year education (as has been Soviet practice since 1940), fees being paid in the 8th, 9th and 10th classes of the secondary schools. The Commissions for Legislative Matters have been set the complex task of the unification of Soviet law, as there are no All-Union codes and many discrepancies exist between the Criminal, Criminal Procedure, Civil and Civil Procedure Codes of the several Union Republics. During the debates on the subject it was revealed that malicious theft, for example, was punishable according to the Georgian code by imprisonment up to eight years, according to the Azerbaidzhani code by imprisonment up to five years and according to the R.S.F.S.R. criminal code by imprisonment up to one year. The establishment of a system of education common to the whole of the U.S.S.R. is now to be actively pushed forward in place of the former individual Union-Republican arrangements, based on certain all-Union principles. All these measures aim at fuller and more rigid centralisation of the Government machine and the abolition of local and national "vagaries" in legal administration.

The new collective labour agreements to be concluded on the 1st March between the administrative boards and factory and workers' trade union committees as proposed by the Central Trade Union Council, aim at increasing the productivity of labour, strengthening working discipline and improvement in the living conditions of the workers. The collective agreements must be concluded in accordance with the State production plans for the various ministries for 1947 and are required to make minute provision for guaranteeing fulfilment of the plans in regard to wages, cost of production, as well as output. These agreements "should also promote the development of livestock and poultry breeding" (as auxiliary foodstocks for industrial workers), include plans for individual housing construction (important in view of the acute housing shortage) and are designed to stimulate socialist competition and measures for improving workers' production standards.

(See also under "Roumania.")

SCANDINAVIA

Norway

After a debate in secret session, the *Storting*, on the 15th February, defined its attitude to the proposed joint militarisation of Spitsbergen by Norway and the Soviet Union (see *Summary* No. 376). In a resolution which was communicated to the Russians two days later, the opinion is expressed that since the original Norwegian offer was made the situation has undergone fundamental changes through the creation of the United Nations Organisation and the recent disarmament proposals made by the Soviet Union herself. Negotiations of a military character with any single foreign Power regarding Norwegian territory, are, therefore, held to be contrary to the foreign policy pursued by the Government in concert with the *Storting*. Norway does, however, recognise that the Soviet Union has particular economic interests in Spitsbergen and is prepared to continue the discussions of the non-military aspects of the question with

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a view to making the Spitsbergen Treaty more satisfactory. There is at yet no report of the Russian reactions to the Norwegian note.

In a statement to the *Storting* on the 27th February, the Foreign Minister, M. Lange, disclosed that Norway had been handed a note by General Franco's Government which contained a veiled threat to close Spanish ports to Norwegian shipping. The Spanish note alleged unfair discrimination by Norway in her trade with Spain and ended by questioning the practicability of continuing commercial relations in the present circumstances. In his assessment of the implications which the contemplated Spanish action would have M. Lange regretted that many member States of the United Nations had clearly shown that they did not intend to allow the recent decision of the General Assembly to influence their trade policy. Norway was consequently in danger of losing an important market to her competitors; a futile sacrifice which would not bring about a change of régime in Spain. That country, moreover, M. Lange went on, occupied a key position for shipping, and, since nearly a half of the Norwegian merchant fleet was engaged on time charter to foreign Governments, the closing of Spanish ports would have more far-reaching repercussions than the mere cessation of Norwegian-Spanish trade. The Minister ended his statement, which was referred to the Foreign Affairs Committee, by saying that the primary duty of the Government was to safeguard Norway's interests, and that it would be dangerous for his country to attempt to solve the Spanish question single-handed, as this could only be done on an international basis.

After making his appearance in the *Storting*, M. Lange (who was recently discharged from hospital after a short illness) was due to fly to London with his wife in order to join a Norwegian ship for a cruise in the Mediterranean. It seems hardly likely in any case that the Norwegian Government are contemplating the instigation of direct negotiations with the Spanish authorities.

Agreement for the abolition of visas has been reached between Great Britain and Norway, and holders of British passports may now travel to Norway, though not to Spitsbergen, without first making an application at a Norwegian Consulate. Negotiations to the same end are in progress with the Swedish and Danish Foreign Ministries.

Denmark

Agreements embodying the results of the negotiations between His Majesty's Government and the Government of Denmark, covering the general trends of trade and payments between the two countries and the operation of the Anglo-Danish Monetary Agreement, were signed on the 28th February. Under the new arrangements Denmark will balance her payments with the sterling area for the year 1947 and will make additional exports of food to the limited extent at present possible. In order to achieve the desired balance in payment she has found it necessary, however, to adopt an import programme based on her essential requirements—although provision will be made for the import of a strictly limited quantity of goods not eligible for inclusion in such programme. The United Kingdom will assist Denmark to purchase from non-sterling countries certain essential commodities, such as feeding stuffs, not otherwise obtainable. The Agreement also provides for an increase in the price of butter from 220/– to 242/– per cwt. f.o.b. as from 1st January, 1947, and in that of bacon from 150/– to 161/– per cwt. f.o.b. as from 1st February, 1947, and up to 30th September of the same year. It is interesting to note that the British proviso for passing on to the producers the increase of 11/– per cwt. in the price of bacon has been maintained, despite the fact that it had aroused some indignation in Denmark on the ground that Great Britain was seeking to interfere in Denmark's internal affairs. Full particulars of the arrangements were provided in an official statement agreed with the Danish Legation and released to the press of both countries on the 28th February.

THE LOW COUNTRIES

The Netherlands

In compliance with an undertaking given to the Conference of Foreign Ministers' Deputies on the 28th January, 1947, the Netherlands Government have submitted a Note containing an evaluation of their claims against Germany as set forth in their Memorandum of the 5th November, 1946 (18th February, 1947). The total value of the claims, " in so far as these may be appraised in money," is estimated at about 231 million florins (about £21,590,000 at current exchange rates) of which 100 million florins are in respect of mines in production, 87 million in respect of territory, and 44 million

in respect of minerals (coal and oil). The mere addition of these figures, it is pointed out, " does not correspond with the facts." For example, the value of the mines in production at pre-war exchange rates amounts to 75 million florins; that of the territory to RM 145 million in 1928. In its concluding paragraph the Note again draws attention to the value, in terms of money (on the basis of 1938 prices), of the total damage suffered by the Netherlands through " German aggression and occupation "—some 25,725 million florins (about £2,404 million). This figure had already been mentioned in the Netherlands Government Memorandum on their indemnity claim against Germany, which had been submitted to the Paris Reparations Conference. The claims considered in the present Note " should consequently be set at about one per cent. of the total damage "; —a calculation which had " only been made by way of illustration."

Belgium

During a recent conversation with H.M. Ambassador, M. Spaak, the Foreign Minister, referred to the question of his country's position in view of the imminence of the signing of the Anglo-French Treaty of Alliance. He believed that Belgian public opinion was favourably disposed towards Anglo-French understanding: he himself certainly was; and he had in mind the proposal that Belgium should " integrate herself " with the Alliance. The possibility of Soviet reactions had, of course, to be taken into account; and he recalled the proposal which he had earlier put up to M. Vyshinsky for a Belgo-Soviet Treaty, but which had remained unanswered. M. Spaak's idea now was to see the Soviet Ambassador with a view to reviving this proposal, and at the same time to apprise him of his own views on the subject of Anglo-French understanding. There was, he thought, the useful analogy of a treaty between western and eastern European countries provided by the forthcoming negotiations between Czechoslovakia and France, which evidently enjoyed Soviet approval, since without it Czechoslovak participation would be impossible.

First reports in the Press of the demonstration in Brussels on the 26th February by former prisoners-of-war [see last week's *Summary*] appear to have been somewhat exaggerated. There were, for instance, no fatal casualties; and the undertaking given by the organizers of the demonstrations that the procession would be orderly was fully respected until the police attempted to divert it from the Rue de la Loi area. The Government apparently attach no partisan political significance to the affair.

FRANCE

The Anglo-French Treaty of Alliance was signed at Dunkirk on Tuesday, the 4th March. It was M. Bidault who suggested that the town of Dunkirk, with its historical associations, should be the place of signature, and Mr. Bevin was able to break his journey to Moscow in order to be at Dunkirk for the ceremony. The signature took place in the *Sous-Préfecture*, the only public building left intact in this war-shattered town. After the signature M. Bidault made a short formal speech and Mr. Bevin spoke at greater length, saying that the Entente Cordiale had never really been broken and that the new Socialist Britain would strive to avoid misunderstandings with the new France such as those which had arisen between the two wars. Mr. Bevin referred in warm terms to M. Bidault's personal record and standing, and ended by saying: " My country will never leave the side of France; France will never leave the side of Britain." Afterwards the two Ministers went to stand on the beaches where the evacuation from Dunkirk had taken place in 1940.

The Treaty is one of alliance and mutual assistance, and the Preamble, which refers to the " cordial friendship and close association of interests " between the U.K. and France, declares that the two countries are " determined to collaborate in measures of mutual assistance in the event of any renewal of German aggression, while considering most desirable the conclusion of a treaty between all the Powers having responsibility for action in relation to Germany with the object of preventing Germany from becoming again a menace to peace." Article I states that in the event of any threat to the security of either of the two countries arising from the adoption by Germany of a policy of aggression, they will take, after consulting with each other and where appropriate with the other Powers having responsibility for action in relation to Germany, " such agreed action (which so long as . . . Article 107 [of the United Nations Charter] remains operative shall be action under that Article) as is best calculated to put an end to this

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threat." Article II states that should either country become involved in hostilities with Germany the other will at once give it all military and other assistance. Article III states that in the event of either party being prejudiced by the failure by Germany to carry out her economic obligations, the two countries will consult with each other and where appropriate with the other countries concerned with a view to taking agreed action. Article IV refers to the strengthening of economic relations between the two countries. Article V places the Treaty within the framework of the United Nations Charter and states that neither country will take part in any coalition directed against the other. Article VI provides for the ratification of the Treaty and states that it will remain in force for at least 50 years and without any specified time limit thereafter unless either country gives one year's notice of its desire to terminate it.

A joint declaration was made by the two Foreign Ministers and published at the same time as the text of the Treaty. It expressed the hope that the guarantees against German aggression contained in the Treaty " will soon be completed by the conclusion of a Four-Power Treaty laying down conditions for the disarmament and demilitarization of Germany and the methods of putting them into effect." This agreed wording met the anxiety of General Marshall and the U.S. Government that the Anglo-French Treaty should not appear as in any way a substitute for the Four-Power Treaty proposed by Mr. Byrnes.

Mr. Bevin had announced to the House of Commons on the 28th February the successful conclusion of the negotiations. M. Bidault made a similar announcement to the National Assembly on the same day in the course of the foreign affairs debate. He referred to the Franco-Soviet alliance and said that the new Treaty was not in any way a counter-alliance. He also spoke of the French Government's attitude to the forthcoming Moscow Conference and said that, now that the time had at last come for serious discussions on Germany, France was determined to press her views and would not give way. It seems therefore that the French representatives will abandon the somewhat neutral rôle they have hitherto played in the peace negotiations and will urge their case with energy. In the negotiations for a German peace treaty they feel that the very existence of France is at stake. On the question of reparations M. Bidault, replying to the desire expressed by several speakers, said that the Government would accept the payment of reparations out of current German production under certain conditions. The debate ended with the passing of a unanimous vote of confidence in the Government.

The Government's decision on the demand of the *Confédération Générale du Travail* (C.G.T.) for the establishment of a minimum wage was announced by M. Ramadier in a broadcast speech on the 28th February. He said that all workers who earned less than 7,000 fr. a month in Paris (the figure for the provinces is lower) would be given special allowances to bring their income up to that figure and that a bonus of one-tenth would also be added to family allowances. The Government have thus maintained their refusal to agree to any general rise in the level of wages. Their attitude is that, while all workers must be given enough to live on, no general wage adjustment should be made until there has been time to judge the success of the policy of deflation. M. Ramadier said he believed that by July the fall in the price-level would be an accomplished fact, production would have increased, and it would then be possible to re-examine the wage situation. M. André Philip, the Minister of National Economy, broadcasting on the 25th February, described the progress of his deflationary campaign. He said that the Government were about to release substantial quantities of consumers' goods, textiles, household goods and agricultural tools and supplies, at prices from 30 to 50 per cent. lower than those recently prevailing. He appeared confident of the possibility of reducing prices on the free as well as legal markets and spoke with energy of the publicity measures devised to acquaint the public with their legal rights. On the more general issues, M. Philip quoted the Government's determination to present a balanced budget to the Assembly and to set the nationalised industries on an economic footing.

The Minister of Agriculture, M. Tanguy-Prigent, has obtained from the U.S.A. and Canada an allocation of over half-a-million tons of wheat including seed-wheat, which is already on its way for the spring sowings. This quantity will be sufficient to enable the bread ration in France and North Africa to be maintained until the next harvest.

The French are greatly impressed by the fuel crisis in the U.K., having been brought up to look on this country as one of the main sources of coal in the world. They are shocked but sympathetic, and the news

has made them less apt to compare their own condition unfavourably with that of the British. In fact, the French people have long had to endure severe restriction on the use of coal, gas, electricity and oil, for both industrial and domestic uses, but the black market has spread to these as to other commodities and there is considerable evasion of the regulations. The domestic coal ration is extremely small and is only allocated to the townspeople; in the country people are expected to use wood. Since the end of November, the use of electricity in industry has been prohibited for 12 hours on two consecutive days each week, and in January there were a number of stoppages in industry because of lack of coal.

A new session of the High Court of Justice opened at Versailles on the 25th February to try 14 Vichy Ministers and high officials. Paul Baudouin, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the early Pétain Governments (June–October 1940), was the first to be tried and was sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment with hard labour.

(See also under "Poland" and "Spain.")

SWITZERLAND

According to a Finnish broadcast of the 24th February. M. Petitpierre, head of the Swiss Political Department, declared in an interview with a correspondent of the *Stockholms Tidningen* that Switzerland was following her own line after the bitter experiences of the second World War. He reiterated that the Swiss Parliament, Federal Council and general public alike sincerely believed in their policy of neutrality, and asserted that the people would reject by a majority vote of 80 to 90 per cent. any attempt on the part of the Authorities to sacrifice neutrality for membership in the United Nations. This did not mean that Switzerland lacked confidence in the new world organization, which was the sole means of achieving a lasting peace, and if Switzerland were to be given a special place in the United Nations, ensuring Swiss neutrality, the position would be altogether different.

Mr. Krishna Menon, representing the Government of India, has arrived in Berne on a special mission, and has delivered to M. Petitpierre a letter from Pandit Nehru, Indian Minister for External Affairs.

It is expected that the Franco-Swiss trade negotiations which took place in Berne from the 13th to the 15th January and resulted in the signing of a protocol on the 18th January, will be resumed in June. On the whole, the development of trade between the two countries has been favourable, with special arrangements for coping with problems as they arose. France is said to have agreed to deliver 100,000 tons of coal which were then in arrears.

Under the agreement made at the end of 1946 with the Soviet-occupied zone of Germany, Switzerland will import timber, potash, glassware, optical instruments, and certain chemicals; her exports will include dyestuffs, watches with intricate mechanism, ball-bearings and electric motors.

Commercial discussions with Spain have so far proved unsuccessful owing to the high prices of Spanish goods. According to the Press, it is expected that an import premium of 33⅓ per cent. will be imposed on Swiss imports into Spain to form a fund for lowering the prices of deliveries to Switzerland. Swiss imports would include pyrites, lead, oranges and wine; exports would be mainly machinery, precision instruments and pharmaceuticals.

Swiss transport insurance companies have reduced their premiums in order to meet competition from British and American firms. For exports of machinery, tools and instruments the reduction amounts to about 30 per cent., while a special rate has been agreed for imports of wool. Although thefts of watches warrant an increase, Swiss insurance firms have also lowered the premiums on watch consignments, especially those to the United States, Canada, Australia, South Africa, the United Kingdom, Scandinavia and Iceland.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

The enthusiastic reception received by the Royal Infantes on their journey through Spain (see last week's *Summary*) appears to have caused alarm and despondency in Falangist circles, and may well have been one of the irritations which led to the disturbances outside the Church of Jesus in Madrid on the occasion of the anniversary mass held as usual on the 28th February in memory of King Alfonso XIII. About 2,000 Monarchists had taken part in the service, and on their way out of the church they were intercepted by a squad of Falangists who roughly jostled their way through the crowd. Indignant Monarchists retaliated, and individual scuffles looked like leading to a free-for-all

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when Spanish shock troops, fully armed, arrived and engaged the Monarchist stalwarts while the Falangists beat a hasty retreat to the strains of the party anthem. General Franco has an efficient spy system and may well have heard of Don Juan's decision (reported here last week) to group all Monarchist sympathisers in Spain into one organization.

A small round-table conference of the active Monarchist leaders has been convoked by Don Juan for the middle of March. They will review the present position of the negotiations with the representatives of the *Alianza*, and, if it is considered that the time is ripe, Don Juan will issue in Lisbon a statement calculated to appeal to Centre and Left opinion. (It will be almost exactly two years since his last manifesto, in which he staked his claim to return as King of all Spaniards—with a liberal constitutional programme.) What is certain is that the Monarchists will not be prepared to treat directly with the Llopis "Government" as such, much less agree to be represented in it. In his public statements Señor Llopis (and the Spanish Socialist press published in France) continues to assume that any interim caretaker Government would be wholly or largely Republican in character—although Señor Llopis concedes that "the question of legitimacy must be left in abeyance." That assumption is, of course, open to the same objections—*i.e.*, as prejudging the issue—as the opposite view of a "Restoration" caretaker Cabinet. There are some grounds for thinking, however, that Señor Martínez Barrio, who emerges as the real source of power, now realizes that the solution for Spain must come not from any Government-in-exile but from inside the country, and that he regards the present team as a stop-gap arrangement which, if and when the current Right-Left negotiations have borne fruit, would disappear.

Franco-Spanish relations have not been improved by the recent decision of the French Government to permit the Moroccan rebel leader, Abd-El-Krim, and his family, to settle in the South of France on the grounds of health. (Abd-El-Krim was sent to exile in Réunion twenty years ago.) This decision, communicated to the Spanish Government on the 10th February, directly violated the terms of an Exchange of Notes on the 10th July, 1926, which bound both Governments to consultation before any action on matters concerning Abd-El-Krim and his property. The Spanish Government were highly indignant at this independent decision on the part of the French Government, and a statement on the subject issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs appeared in the Spanish press on the 12th February. The Spanish Government, it said, were not in a position to form an opinion on the justification for the French Government's action, for they had received no previous communication on the subject of Abd-El-Krim's health. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs had protested most vigorously to the French Mission. (See also under "Scandinavia.")

Portugal

After negotiations which have lasted some five months a contingent Agreement was signed in Lisbon on the 21st February between the Portuguese Government and an allied Delegation on the subject of German assets, State and private, in Portugal. At the demand of the Portuguese, the Agreement will not come into force until a future date, which for practical purposes means until a final settlement has been reached on the subject of the gold stocks in Lisbon, part if not all of which were German loot from Holland and Belgium.

The terms are not unsatisfactory. In the first place the agreed definition of "assets" is a comprehensive one—"assets of whatever nature." Moreover, the Portuguese Government, unlike the Swedish and Swiss Governments, have accepted the principle that the totality of German State assets passes into Allied hands for liquidation. After deduction of expenses of administration the Agreement provides that the proceeds of liquidation of private assets shall be allocated as follows: (1) the first hundred million escudos for the benefit of the non-repatriable victims of German aggression; (2) the next fifty million escudos to the Portuguese Government as a first instalment to be set off against Portuguese claims on Germany. These claims are for an amount between a hundred and fifty and a hundred and eighty million escudos; (3) thereafter on a fifty-fifty basis as between the Portuguese Government and the Allies up to the ultimately agreed limit of Portuguese claims, any surplus above this limit passing to the Allies.

The Allies accept responsibility for the indemnification in Germany of the dispossessed German owners.

At Portugal's request the signature of this Agreement is to be kept secret for the time being. Negotiations for a parallel agreement with the Spanish Government are continuing in Madrid.

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

Hungary

Although the Committee of Privileges which met to consider the case of M. Béla Kovacs decided against handing him over to the judicial authorities, M. Nagy later admitted that the possibility of his having been, perhaps unwittingly, implicated in the plot could not be excluded. Deliberations between the Premier and the leaders of the Communist and Social Democratic Parties ended in an agreement that the former Secretary-General of the Smallholders' Party should "voluntarily" present himself for examination by the Political Police. A more startling development occurred on the 26th February when the Soviet occupying forces arrested M. Kovacs on charges of "active participation in the formation of underground anti-Soviet armed terrorist groups and organizing espionage aimed against the Soviet Army."

In spite of the recently intensified campaign against M. Kovacs in the Soviet Press the step taken less than three weeks after the signing of the Peace Treaty has come as a surprise and shock to Hungarian public opinion. The foundation for the charge of espionage is not yet clear unless it refers to the supply of economic information to the U.K. and U.S. Missions in 1945 on matters such as the Soviet removal of factories from Hungary.

Meanwhile large-scale arrests are continuing. There has been a further round-up in Budapest of 380 persons. From recent information it would seem that the renewed left-wing threat to force elections has again been turned aside—and again by Smallholder concessions. These are said to include the acceptance of a more radical Party purge and an educational "reform" by which religious teaching in the schools is to become optional. The Smallholders are unwilling to face the prospect of elections in the immediate future, since they feel that the conspiracy has seriously endangered their position as the majority Party. In particular the allegation that the plotters were fostering the idea of restoring the medium-sized estates has harmed them in the eyes of the peasantry from whose ranks the bulk of their supporters are drawn. Since the land reform was inaugurated the maximum holding of 300 yokes has been granted only, and exceptionally, to those able to prove outstanding anti-Nazi merits.

The trial of the conspirators which began on the 27th February has been heralded by the Communist Press as a triumph for democracy, and punishment of the guilty is demanded. The Smallholder newspaper, *Kis Ujság*, while agreeing that no time should be lost in bringing them to justice, asks only that justice should in fact be strictly adhered to, a condition which, it adds, Hungarian democracy is strong enough to observe. A cautious weighing-up of the effects both at home and abroad which even the "slightest departure from the formal requirements" of the law would entail somewhat mars the disinterestedness of the sentiment.

M. Erdei has succeeded M. Imre Kovacs as Secretary-General of the National Peasant Party. M. Kovacs resigned his position on finding himself in disagreement with his Party's strongly pro-Left outlook.

M. Gyöngyösi has gone to Prague to open discussions on the Hungarian-Czechoslovak minority question. Recent reports indicate that the Hungarian Government Commissariat in charge of the population exchange is preparing the transfer of Hungarians from Southern Slovakia. As a preliminary step 3,000 families are to be repatriated within two weeks. If the news is confirmed it may be hoped that the Czechoslovak authorities will mitigate their deportation policy.

Roumania

During the war Roumania exported many of her products to Germany. All she received in return was "credits," that is promises to pay at some time, all being well. The value of these promises depended upon two things: Germany's willingness to pay, and her ability to do so. The latter depended upon whether or not she won the war. Towards the end of 1944, Roumania, evidently feeling less certain about a German victory, declined to export further goods except against payment in gold. As Germany was in urgent need of Roumanian goods she was obliged to consent to these terms, and by the end of the war something over £16,000,000 worth of gold had been sent from Germany to Roumania. It has been estimated, however, that about three-quarters of this gold was looted by Germany from other countries. By the end of last year claims were received from certain countries for the return of gold which had been taken from them. The Allies asked for proof that gold in the possession of any countries which had been in diplomatic relations with Germany was not "tainted." At the beginning of this year the U.S.A. began to press for a joint investigation of the gold position by the

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Governments of the U.S.A., Great Britain and France in order to reach agreement upon the return to its owners of such gold as could be proved to have been looted; they requested that the gold holdings of Roumania should be "immobilised" pending the settlement of the whole business. H.M.G. suggested a proviso that Roumania's own production of gold, amounting to 17,165 kilogrammes, should be exempt from this proposed order. In reply to this action by the Allies the Roumanian Government recognised their obligation to restore all looted gold, and undertook to provide all information and details of all gold they had obtained since January 1939. The Government also promised to ask permission from the Allied Control Commission to make restitution to Great Britain, France and the U.S.A. as the representatives of the owners. The consent of the Allied Control Commission to this depends, of course, upon Russia.

The food situation in Roumania has now made it a matter of extreme urgency that Roumania should be able to purchase cereals abroad. The State Department's estimate of the amount of gold which is "tainted," is £12,000,000. The United States now propose to make it a condition of a loan for the purchase of food that four wagons of gold, amounting to £12,000,000, shall be deposited in Switzerland. The Roumanian Government have now asked for a permit for the transit of this gold through the American zone of Austria.

Information was received recently that Russia had agreed, in fact had suggested, that the reparation payments from Roumania should be postponed for a term of years. This proof of Soviet generosity was received with enthusiasm by the inspired press, but the Roumanians are beginning to learn the significance of the old tag "*timeo Danaos.*" If Roumanian assets are not to be used for payment of reparations the way is open for utilising them in some other way. A Trade Agreement with the Soviet Union concerning trade, navigation, payments and organisation of transport has just been concluded and will remain in force until the end of this year. Russia is to supply what is necessary for setting certain parts of Roumanian industry on its feet. She is to exchange goods to the value of 15 million dollars, and to give a credit of 10 million dollars repayable in four years. The supplies from Russia are not, however, to be drawn from the territory of the Soviet Union, but may be drawn from areas, such as Germany, which are under Russian control. The demands of the Sovrom groups are to be met before anything else, and of the total amount of 25 million dollars 3 million dollars are to be set aside as profits on past dealings of the Sovrom companies.

On the 25th February, Dl Franasovici at a Press Conference made an appeal for publicity in the British press about the present food situation in Roumania. He speaks of a death-rate amongst children in Moldavia of from 60 per cent. to 80 per cent., and announces that Russia has "renounced" the delivery under the terms of the Armistice of 14,000 car loads of grain. The American Red Cross has provided clothing for 100,000 children and is distributing large quantities of food. Help has also been received from Sweden and from Ireland.

The existence of famine in Roumania has reacted on the discussions which are in progress about looted gold. The Americans are coming to feel that they must supply grain against payments in gold and leave the question of "tainted" gold to be settled later.

Yugoslavia

The Yugoslav Government have submitted to the Deputy Foreign Ministers a supplementary note on Austrian participation in the occupation of Yugoslavia (see also *Summary* No. 382).

On the whole there has been less publicity recently for Austrian misdemeanours than for Greek circumstances. Attacks on British aid for Greece have become increasingly violent; British forces, and not the Greek Government, are now credited with the main responsibility for the civil strife. The Yugoslav, Bulgarian and Albanian statements to the United Nations Commission are said to have proved the utter falseness of the Greek case.

It has been announced in Yugoslavia that the "National Liberation Committee for the Slovene Littoral" (P.N.O.O.) is to be dissolved, since the partition of Venezia Giulia between Yugoslavia, Italy and Trieste will make its work impossible in the future. Its main function seems to have been to harass A.M.G., or as the Yugoslavs put it, to protect the rights and prosperity of the Slovenes in Zone A. The Slovene population in the area is urged to join the Italo-Slav Anti-Fascist Union (U.A.I.S.) which will continue to exist.

The appeal of General von Loehr and other German officers against the death

sentences recently imposed on them in Belgrade has been rejected. Dr. Harald Turner, the head of the German military administration in Belgrade, and twelve other occupation officials accused of war crimes, are now on trial. Some former Domobranci and other Slovenes have been tried in Ljubljana on charges of treachery committed before and after the Liberation, and of espionage conducted on behalf of a foreign Power.

Mr. Patterson, the U.S. Ambassador, who has been in the United States for some months, has been delivering some rather outspoken "off-the-record" lectures on the situation in Yugoslavia. This has not escaped the attention of the Yugoslav Press, which, not unnaturally, considers this a breach of diplomatic privilege. It is doubtful whether the Ambassador will be very welcome if and when he returns to Belgrade.

An American newspaper correspondent in Belgrade has reported that Dr. Dragoljub Jovanović, the People's Peasant Party leader, who is almost the only remaining public critic of the Government, has been beaten up by a gang of young Communists.

Greece

Most of the Greeks hoped that, when the United Nations Commission moved to Salonica, they would concentrate on the task assigned to them of investigating the Greek Government's allegations against their neighbours. The Greek liaison officer has, in fact, submitted to the Commission a proposal that they should divide into four groups: the first group to visit the district near the Yugoslav border; the second to cover Greek territory near the Bulgarian border; the third to cover the Jannina/Florina district; and the fourth to visit places in Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to be indicated by the Greek representative. Except, however, for the small team sent to interview political refugees and prisoners in the islands, the main commission are still engrossed in listening to the evidence of left-wing Greeks and of captured bandits. A surprise item of Greek evidence was the production of a manual for training in partisan warfare which had been compiled at Rubig camp in Albania and which was subsequently distributed to Greek refugees undergoing military training at Bulkes in Yugoslavia.

The Commission have also discussed the practicability of their seeing Markos Vafiades, the bandit leader who has offered to appear before them. There are obvious objections to bringing him for this interview into Government-held territory where he has long been wanted by the police for several murders and where the relatives of his victims will undoubtedly try to take their revenge. There are equal objections to the Commission's visiting him in any bandit-controlled area; the "Democratic Army," despite any formal reservations by the Commission, are certain to claim that their visit implies formal recognition of the bandits' status. It is unfortunate that the Commission should have been drawn into long discussions on the legal status of the rebels. Either as recognised "insurgents" or rebels and outlaws, the Commission have still to decide whether they are being supported by Greece's neighbours.

Meanwhile raids by the bandits have continued and the Government are proceeding with their counter-measures. Three bills have been submitted to the Chamber extending the clemency measures. The first bill gives all persons sentenced to deportation the right to appeal; the second "prohibits all organisations which seek to take upon themselves powers belonging to the Government"; the third extends the amnesty to all rebels who surrender by the 15th March.

Both the implications of the Government's plans to mount an all-out offensive against the rebels who do not surrender and Greece's financial position have been the subject of discussion in London and Washington (see under "The United States").

Albania

During the last two or three weeks the Albanians have been told little enough about the proceedings of the Security Council directly affecting their country's honour (see last week's *Summary* under "United Nations"), but a diversionary counter-attack has been kept up against Great Britain and Greece from Tirana, in the course of which various red herrings have been drawn across the path. Thus General Scobie and another British army officer are alleged to have told two detachments of Greek troops towards the end of the War that British forces would not be withdrawn from Greece until Northern Epirus had been won for her from Albania; and some sentences from one of Brigadier Hodgson's secret political reports home from Albania, relating to events in July 1945, have been taken out of their context

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and published in a garbled form in *Bashkimi*, together with a facsimile of the original (how obtained it is not known), by way of proving that even he was prepared to admit, after investigation, that in at least one case occurring at that time a couple of Greek ships had behaved off Sarande in a provocative manner. (It will be recalled that Greece considered herself to be still at war with Albania.) For the rest, the Albanians are constantly being told that Russian and Yugoslav support will see them through anything.

The economies of Albania and Yugoslavia are being ever more closely welded together. The Tirana telegraph agency announced last week that joint Albanian-Yugoslav corporations had just been set up to deal with questions relating to banking, electricity, railways, minerals and petroleum, on a common basis.

An earlier announcement stated that two new Ministries—of Industry and of Trade—had been set up in place of the former Ministry of National Economy.

Bulgaria

In the course of last month three draft laws have been published, marking a further stage in the Government's increasing control of the economic life of the country. The Minister of Finance has presented to the Sobranye a law establishing a tobacco monopoly, under which all sections of the industry except retail sales will be taken over. Compensation is to be fixed by a commission. Payments up to 3 million leva will be made in cash, and above that sum in 4 per cent. bonds. The second law will bring into effect the Supreme Economic Council's two-year plan for Bulgarian economy. The plan aims at increasing agricultural production in 1948 by one-third over 1939, and industrial production by two-thirds over 1939. The Economic Council is also responsible for the third new law, which establishes a central price commission, in place of the present system by which each ministry fixes prices for the commodities concerning it. The new commission will fix prices for imported as well as home-produced goods, and will also establish wages and profits levels.

While a Bulgarian delegation has been negotiating a trade agreement in Paris, a representative of the U.K. Ministry of Food arrived at Sofia last week to open similar discussions. He has been reported as saying that Great Britain hoped to buy from Bulgaria tobacco, fruit pulp and other produce, including later on chickens, eggs and meat. Bulgaria would in return receive industrial products from Great Britain.

The coal crisis in the United Kingdom has been given considerable publicity in the Sofia press. Sofia likewise has been very short of coal, and treatment has been sympathetic. The new two-year plan provides for improvements in the housing, rations and wages of miners, and exempts from military service those youths who prefer to work in the mines. "Imitation is the sincerest form of flattery."

The newly-appointed British Political Representative in Bulgaria, Mr. J. G. Sterndale Bennett, C.M.G., M.C., is expected to arrive at Sofia about the middle of March.

There is good reason to think that M. Dimitrov took advantage of the absence of M. Georgiev and M. Kulishev last month, in Paris and Athens respectively, to overhaul the personnel of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, dismissing some officials there whom he suspected of being too friendly to the Opposition and planting Communists in their place. The Sofia wireless virtually admitted as much on the 20th and 21st February in announcing new Bulgarian diplomatic appointments to Belgrade, Rome and Stockholm.

Preliminary results of the census held on the last day of 1946 give Bulgaria (including Southern Dobruja) a total population of 7,020,863. On the last occasion, at the end of 1934, without Southern Dobruja, it had 6,077,939. Sofia now has 436,936 inhabitants, as against 328,527 in 1934. Plovdiv has 122,875 now, against 99,883 then; and Varna has 77,636 now, against 69,944 then.

Turkey

Before adjourning until the 14th April the Grand National Assembly passed a Bill on the formation of employers' associations and of workers' unions. Turkish industry is a recent and artificial creation, in an overwhelmingly agricultural community its relative importance is small, three-quarters of it is run by the State on paternal lines, much of the labour is migratory and seasonal, and in general there is little class feeling. For all these reasons the workmen are not greatly interested in forming trades unions. The new measure, although it owes much to the inspiration and counsel of the British adviser to the Ministry of Labour, must therefore be regarded as largely window-dressing: to acquire merit in Great Britain and America for a truly democratic development, and to stultify Soviet fulminations against the previous ban on workers' unions. In view of the persistence with which Soviet agents have attempted to establish Communism in Turkey, it is not surprising that the law just voted forbids strikes and lock-outs, political activity and connexion with foreign or foreign-inspired unions. Although a leader of the Democratic (minority) Party objected to the ban on strikes, the Bill seems to have been passed with little opposition. The idea that appropriate social reform is the great safeguard against Communistic upheaval has already begun to find expression in the newspapers.

The coal crisis and the resultant paralysis of British economy, coupled with what seems to Turkish minds to be abdication in Egypt and India, not unnaturally produced in the press misgivings with regard to the military and diplomatic strength of Great Britain. It was no doubt to correct such doubts that the semi-official *Ulus* flatly repudiated Soviet insinuations that the Anglo-Turkish alliance was useless to Turkey, and insisted on its value and on Turkish determination to hold to it.

The Foreign Minister, if correctly reported, claimed on the 18th February to have received assurances from the Syrian Government that Turkish reports of the persecution of Turks in Syria were unfounded. Thereupon the *Ulus* admitted that it had no complaint against the Syrian Government, but—without mentioning Russia—it warned the Syrians against propaganda of foreign origin designed to provoke them against Turkey. While expressing the wish for friendship with Syria, the Turkish press has firmly rejected all idea of discussing Turkish sovereignty over the Hatay (district of Alexandretta), an attitude which was underlined in a chauvinistic speech by General Kâzim Karabekir, the President of the Grand National Assembly, at Antakaya on the 16th February.

In the general attitude of the Soviet Government Turkish commentators see discouraging omens for the Moscow conference. Moreover, they are inclined to be anxious lest the Straits question should be discussed over Turkey's head, as happened at Potsdam.

THE MIDDLE EAST

Egypt

The Egyptian Government have replied to the offer of mediation by the Syrian and Lebanese Governments, asserting that their difference with His Majesty's Government is not merely a minor one of interpretation of a particular clause, but goes much deeper than that. They allege that the attitude adopted by His Majesty's Government ignores "the spirit of friendship which Egypt expected after the services rendered by Egypt and the obligations fulfilled by her," and that His Majesty's Government's policy tending to spread the spirit of separatism amongst the Sudanese is leading to "a state of affairs which, if it continued, would endanger international peace and security." The reply ends with a hint that, unless the Levant States have an official assurance from His Majesty's Government that they are prepared to modify their policy, there is nothing to be gained from any further intervention (see also "Syria and the Lebanon.") A statement issued by the Prime Minister on the 3rd March implies that any further efforts at mediation—by the Levant States or others—will be fruitless. Nokrashy Pasha attributes the breakdown of the negotiations to the failure of the Egyptians to obtain satisfaction on the two essential points claimed unanimously by the Egyptian people. These are:—(i) the evacuation of British troops from Egypt, immediate, complete, and without conditions as laid down in the Treaty; and (ii) the maintenance of the unity of Egypt and the Sudan, self-government for the Sudanese, and the restoration to Egypt of her rights in the administration of the Sudan in order to prepare the Sudanese for self-government. He repeats his charge against His Majesty's Government of inciting the Sudanese to secede from Egypt, and claims that, if Egypt had not been deprived of her fair share in the administration of the Sudan, greater progress towards self-government would have been made. In conclusion he expressed the opinion that the Charter of the United Nations may fairly be regarded as applicable to the two points in dispute. Meanwhile, there are signs that consultations are in progress between Hussein Heikal Pasha and Independent elder statesmen who believe that a coalition Government, including the Wafd, should be

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formed. Such a coalition would probably be against Nokrashy Pasha, who has remained outside these conversations.

Towards the end of February the widespread enthusiasm at the breaking-off of the Treaty negotiations had given way to some anxiety at the result of submitting the case to the United Nations, although the general public had become preoccupied with economic troubles and appeared to have lost interest in both national and internal politics. The press continues to attack the Greater Syria plan as a British manœuvre to divert attention from Egypt and to break the unity of the Arab States.

Syria and the Lebanon

His Majesty's Representatives in Damascus and Beirut were informed on the 26th February that the Egyptian reply had been received. Both the Syrian and the Lebanese Governments concluded from the tenor of the Note that there was nothing more they could do. They had been fiercely attacked in the Egyptian press and by telegraph and telephone, and the Syrian Minister for Foreign Affairs suggested that the present Egyptian Government was so weak, and the internal situation so complex, that a rebuff by the United Nations would be preferred by Egyptians to the resumption of negotiations.

The Greater Syria plan (see also under "Egypt") has remained a subject of interest to the Syrian and Lebanese press. Although King Abdullah has declared his abstention from interference with the internal affairs of his neighbours, there is evidence that privately he talks a good deal on this subject. At the same time the feasibility of the project, which has no backing from His Majesty's Government, is so doubtful that the extent of the discussion of it in the press gives rise to the suspicion that it is deliberately inspired as an item of propaganda against this country, and also against the unity of the Arab League.

Palestine

On the 2nd March statutory Martial Law was imposed on a restricted Jewish area of Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Ramat Gan, Bnei Braq and Petah Tiqvah. The regulations were made under a Palestine (Defence) Order-in-Council and provide for the withdrawal of the usual facilities for civil government (including courts of law), for the closure of banks, and for the control of entry into and departure from specified areas of persons and vehicles by order of the Military Commander, and for the trial by Military Courts of all criminal offences committed in the specified areas.

This step has been taken as a result of the terrorist outrages of the 1st March, the most serious of which was the blowing-up of the Officers' Club in Jerusalem, in which at least twelve persons were killed and fifteen injured. Attacks on transport occurred on several roads elsewhere in Palestine, causing deaths and injuries. On the 28th February an explosion caused considerable damage to a floor of Barclay's Bank building in Haifa, and several casualties, including two Jews who were injured and have since died.

The announcement of the imposition of Martial Law stressed the failure of the Yishuv to co-operate with the Government in anti-terrorist measures, and the refusal of the Jewish Agency and Vaad Leumi to respond to the invitation to co-operate in bringing terrorists to judgment. The fact was mentioned that vehicles used in attacks at Jerusalem and Haifa on the 1st March had been stolen in Tel Aviv, which was thus clearly linked with these outrages.

The Jewish Agency declare that they will continue their efforts to stop terrorists and undermine their organisation, though hampered by "lack of adequate power." They complain that the Government have failed to give any help on the question of immigration which would have assisted in arousing the community, and that they now seek to punish the community without any real likelihood of deterring terrorists. There had already been indications that the influence of the Agency was rapidly declining, and that, seeing their resolutions denouncing terrorism openly defied, they were seeking popular support in opposition to the Government. The Government have replied to the Agency's statement, which is described as a deliberate misrepresentation of facts. Not only has immigration at the rate of 1,500 monthly been continued after the admission of the 75,000 allowed by the White Paper of 1939, but His Majesty's Government proposed as part of the scheme suggested to the Jewish representatives in the recent talks in London that 4,000 a month should be admitted for two years, after which the rate should be determined, with due regard to economic absorptive capacity, by the High Commissioner, or, in the event of disagreement, by an Arbitration Tribunal appointed by the United Nations. This proposal was

rejected by the Jewish Agency. At the same time the flow of illegal immigrants was unscrupulously promoted and organised by the Agency, and the quota was mortgaged for many months ahead. Deserving applicants for immigration certificates were debarred by inclusion amongst the illegals of a considerable number of terrorists.

An illegal immigration ship, the *Ulua*, re-named the *Haim Arlossorof*, was sighted by naval patrols on the 27th February and arrived off Haifa on the evening of the 28th. The ship was run ashore west of Haifa town and some of the passengers jumped overboard. All were captured. The naval boarding-party met with considerable resistance, but the passengers were eventually trans-shipped to transports in preparation for their journey to Cyprus. An application for *habeas corpus* for these illegal immigrants has been made, and the transports are remaining at sea until the court has discharged the order.

Fauzi al Qawuqchi (see last week's *Summary*) arrived in Cairo at midnight on the 23rd February, and, although Nokrashy Pasha is said to have been extremely put out by his arrival, he agreed, at Azzam Pasha's request, to grant him a visa to remain for four days. Fauzi is a Lebanese subject, originally from Tripoli, and was indiscreetly entertained by the Lebanese Minister in Cairo. He is also reported to have called at Abdin Palace and on the Mufti. Receptions were being prepared in his honour in Tripoli, since he is expected to go to the Lebanon this week. The Lebanese Minister for Foreign Affairs, however, is warning him that he must be on good behaviour and not go to Tripoli.

Persia

On the 26th February Tabriz radio announced that the Martial Law regulations forbidding political meetings were to be relaxed from that date in order to allow preparations for the elections to be made in an atmosphere of "absolute freedom." Polling is expected to start very soon in Tabriz, and may be already under way.

A much brighter picture of conditions in Azerbaijan than that painted in *Summary* No. 380 has been provided by Nikpay, former Minister of Posts and Telegraphs (see *Summaries* Nos. 366 and 374). He informed His Majesty's Ambassador that, on his recent visit to the province, he had seen no sign of disorder nor of excess, and that conditions were improving daily. According to Nikpay, the Governor-General, Ali Mansur, has the situation well in hand, and even the Soviet Consul-General has said that there had been a general improvement since Ali Mansur's arrival.

Efforts are now being made in labour circles to depose Reza Rusta from his position of Secretary of the Central Committee of the Persian Federation of Trade Unions, and to form a new Executive Committee. On the 13th February a number of workers, claiming to be members of the Federation of Trade Unions, held a meeting, attended by Persian and foreign press correspondents, at which they elected a new Executive Committee. On the 15th February the old Executive Committee staged a counter-offensive on the Trade Union Headquarters, which, however, remained in the hands of the reformers. The Ministry of Labour is now supporting the demands for Rusta's removal. Their opposition to him has been strengthened by the investigations they have been making into Tudeh activities in preparation for the visit of the World Federation of Trade Unions delegation (see *Summary* No. 381). An imposing *dossier* has been prepared containing signed evidence of Tudeh malpractices. Much evidence of financial and administrative irregularity appears to involve Rusta.

The eclipse of the Tudeh party (see last week's *Summary* and *Summary* No. 375) now appears to be almost complete. In Khuzistan, Kermanshah, Isfahan, Kerman and Gilan party headquarters have been forcibly closed down by the police or by the local population. In Khuzistan several important Tudeh trouble makers have been arrested, while elsewhere many former Tudeh supporters have recanted and joined the Democrat party.

The Persian Government have asked the International Rehabilitation Bank for a loan of $250,000,000, a course of action which has aroused much adverse criticism in the Persian press. Nearly all the Tehran papers oppose the idea. *Mardum*, the official Tudeh organ, in an article of the 7th February states: "Small nations, Persia amongst them, have very painful memories of past foreign loans. Through this loan the country may come under economic domination, which is the first step towards political domination."

Most papers welcome the attendance of Persian representatives at the Inter-Asian

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Relations Conference (see article under that title, and *Summary* No. 381). The Persian Mission is also to study political, economic and cultural questions in India, and suggest ways and means of strengthening the ties between the two countries in these three spheres.

CORRIGENDA

Summary No. 382.—For "refugees (muhajirs)" read "refugees—muhajirs . . . . Fidais."

Summary No. 365.—Special article, the Tribes of Southern Persia, section C, line 6. For 7,000 read 16,300.

INTER-ASIAN RELATIONS CONFERENCE

This Conference, which is to be held at New Delhi from the 23rd March to the 2nd April, has been organised by the Indian Council of World Affairs. This is an unofficial body whose activities are somewhat similar to those of our Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House). Pandit Nehru will probably be the Chairman of the Conference.

Invitations to attend have been sent to the thirty-two major Asiatic countries, including Japan and the Asiatic Soviet Republics. All the Middle East Asiatic countries have been invited. Egypt has also received an invitation owing to her close connections with the rest of the Arab World. In Palestine the invitation has been extended to Jews and Arabs. The delegation from each country is intended to consist of sixteen members and four "observers," chosen for their academic qualifications. Women will not be excluded. So far, nearly all the countries invited have accepted, including the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan, (which is sending members from their branch of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences and from the University of Baku), and Uzbekistan (which is sending members from the State University of the Middle East, Tashkent); the Pacific Institute of the Academy of Science of the U.S.S.R. in Moscow will also be represented. Sa'udi Arabia and Yemen have refused the invitation.

In addition, observers have been invited from academic bodies in non-Asiatic countries which are likely to be interested. Chatham House is sending two representatives from their India branch; the Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, is sending four.

The items on the agenda will include race conflicts, problems created by the transition from a colonial to a national economy, economic co-operation among the Asiatic countries, industrial development, labour welfare and the status of women in Asia. The Conference will take the form of group discussions and planning meetings. Its main objects will be to promote a sense of solidarity in Asia, to formulate a co-ordinated policy on cultural and economic matters, and to stimulate a cultural and intellectual revival. The promoters of the conference have announced that political subjects will not be discussed. How far this is adhered to remains to be seen, and the acceptance of the Soviet delegates is already giving rise to some anxiety as to the way the conference may develop.

THE FAR EAST

China

On the 1st March it was announced in Nanking that Dr. T. V. Soong had resigned from the Government and that, by a decision of the Supreme National Defence Council, his place as President of the Executive Yuan would be filled for the time being by General Chiang Kai-shek.

Although Dr. Soong's resignation is calculated to cause considerable misgivings in financial circles at Shanghai, in Chinese political circles it was not altogether unexpected. For some weeks he has been subjected to considerable internal political pressure, while his attitude in connection with the recent economic crisis has been widely criticised, more particularly in the Legislative Yuan. A man of explosive temperament, he does not suffer interference gladly. When, therefore, following a discussion of the situation with General Chiang Kai-shek on the evening of the 28th February, the Generalissimo advised him not to attend the meeting of the Legislative Yuan on the following morning, Dr. Soong tendered his resignation and was somewhat taken aback when General Chiang Kai-shek accepted both it and that of the Governor of the Central Bank, Pei Tsuyee. Contrary to the advice which he had been given the previous evening, Dr. Soong decided to present himself before the

Legislative Yuan, where in a lengthy statement he rendered an account of his stewardship and stoutly defended the emergency measures introduced to meet the recent economic crisis. According to press reports, Dr. Soong's reception in the Yuan was exceedingly hostile and on being assailed with questions he merely replied that he had resigned and walked out. It is understood, however, that there has been no breach of personal friendship between the two brothers-in-law and that Dr. Soong has promised General Chiang Kai-shek to remain in Nanking in order that his advice may be available when required.

Dr. Soong's withdrawal may ease the general political situation. It has long been an open secret that he has stood between the Government and Carson Chang, leader of the Social Democratic Party, and the removal of this barrier may render possible the immediate broadening of the several Yuan and the formation of the State Council with minority and non-party representation. This reading of the situation reflects the belief among quite a large number of those who welcome the departure of Dr. Soong that General Chiang Kai-shek will remain President of the Executive Yuan only until a Government reorganisation has been effected, when, they hope, the post may be given to General Chang Chun, present Governor of Szechuen Province and leader of the Political Science Group which is closely associated with Carson Chang's Social Democratic Party. It is also thought that if General Chang Chun were made President of the Executive Yuan, he, in turn, would appoint as his Minister of Finance Chang Kia-ngau, a brother of Carson Chang, recently Finance Commissioner in Manchuria and who has now been selected to succeed Mr. Pei Tsuyee as Governor of the Central Bank. On the other hand, there are those who fear that General Chiang Kai-shek may have been too readily tempted to dispense with Dr. Soong's expert financial knowledge by a false sense of security born of the initial success which has attended his own determined, if drastic, measures of intervention in the recent economic crisis. "Investigations" are still being carried out, and many have thought it wise to cash their U.S. dollar holdings at the new official rate. Moreover, to judge by current imported commodity prices, the black market is already showing signs of renewed activity. The voice of Labour is also making itself heard in Shanghai with increasing strength in protest against the decision to fix wages on the rates ruling in January instead of adjusting them monthly on the cost-of-living index. The granting of a flat supplement calculated to meet the rise in cost of the six basic commodities—rice, sugar, salt, oil, coal, and cloth—is regarded as a totally inadequate measure while the Government are still unable to fulfil their promise to control prices. Even the anti-Kuomintang paper *Lien Ho Jih Pao* admits that Dr. Soong is not entirely to blame for the existing state of economic chaos and that there can be no effective check on inflation so long as the country continues to be ravaged by civil war.

This statement of home truths, however, has evidently not been taken to heart by General Chiang Kai-shek, who has now decided on a complete and open severance of relations with the Communist Party and an intensified military offensive, regardless of expense. The leaders of the Communist Liaison Delegation in Nanking, Shanghai and other centres have been summarily ordered to remove themselves and their "esteemed party" from Nationalist-controlled China before the 5th March. There is much talk of a full-scale military offensive in progress in China proper which is claimed to be bringing the Government a series of important victories: but it seems that, in fact, the Government forces have been badly defeated in Shantung Province. No less than three Kuomintang divisions are reliably reported to have been lost in the neighbourhood of Linyi; while Tsinan, capital of Shantung and an important railway junction, is said to be in imminent danger of capture by large numbers of Communists who have succeeded in isolating the city.

According to the latest reports, however, it would appear that the tide has turned in favour of the Government in Manchuria, where particularly large Communist forces are reported to have been engaged in a vigorous offensive covering a large area, with the important railway town of Changchun as their main objective. But, although their initial efforts were attended with some success, reliable press reports from Nanking support the Government's claim to have broken the attack on Changchun by surrounding the main body of Communists in the neighbourhood of Tehwei and driving the remnants of the defeated force in a northerly direction towards the Sungari River. It is generally thought that the Government have now succeeded in restoring their lines in Manchuria.

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General Chiang Kai-shek still appears hopeful that if he can demonstrate his ability to deal successfully with the Communists in the field, the United States will decide to come out openly in support of his Government, in which case the Communists might well seek a compromise. Be this as it may, it is certain that the Chinese Government is most anxious that external intervention in her affairs should not come from elsewhere. During the course of a recent interview with H.M. Ambassador in Nanking the Minister for Foreign Affairs said that it was the earnest desire of the Chinese Government that the Foreign Ministers at the forthcoming Moscow Conference should come to no agreement concerning China without first consulting her. He hoped that neither the problem of China nor any Far Eastern issue would figure in the Moscow discussions. The Chinese Ambassador in London also made the same request on the 3rd March, when he called on His Majesty's Secretary of State and was assured that this was the policy he intended to follow. According to a recent Press message from Nanking, Mr. Liu Chieh, Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, has stated that all the "Big Four Powers" have given China a similar assurance.

Japan

According to newspaper correspondents, General MacArthur, in an interview given to a party of Congressmen accompanying Mr. Julius Krug, U.S. Secretary of the Interior, expressed the view that a peace treaty should be signed with Japan without delay. He is reported to have said that Japan could become a more thorough democracy than Germany and that delay in concluding peace was handicapping her development. He is also said to have envisaged the Japan of the future as "a foremost centre of American democracy and Christianity."

It has been apparent for some time that one inevitable result of the occupation is that any Japanese Government administering the country under the control of a Supreme Commander must lack initiative and suffer in prestige in consequence. Moreover, the belief, whether well or ill-founded, that progress towards a particular type of democracy will be welcomed by military headquarters is bound to result in measures that do not represent the considered opinion of the people and are regarded by them as dictated by S.C.A.P. In no sphere has the decline in prestige been so apparent as in the half-hearted attempts of the Government to secure a fair distribution of food. The farmers flout Government orders; they conceal a portion of their stocks, partly for their own use and partly for sale through irregular channels. The salaried classes sell their possessions and buy on the black market to keep body and soul together. Behind all this lack of co-operation with the Government is the belief that the American "war-lord" will provide.

At the same time it is equally apparent that to leave the Japanese to their own devices in the immediate future might well entail far worse disasters. It is possible, therefore, that what General MacArthur has principally in mind is (1) an early transition from military occupation to some form of civilian control and (2) a final settlement on reparations.

General MacArthur's reported hint that the American type of democracy is most suitable for Japan can scarcely meet with the approval of the Soviet Union. The Russians have more than once complained that Japan is being built up as a defensive bastion against themselves.

In the House of Representatives in Canberra Dr. Evatt also pleaded for an early peace settlement with Japan.

S.C.A.P. is understood to be asking the U.S. Government for the supply of 1½ million tons of food-stuff during 1947. Imports in 1946 amounted to 700,000 tons thanks to which the individual ration was 1,200 calories. With the increased import it would be possible to raise the ration for workers to 1,550 calories. Many foreign observers maintain that the 1946 crop, if fairly distributed, would, without imports, be sufficient to give the Japanese, during 1947, a low but adequate diet which would still be better than their diet in the later years of the war. It is pointed out that certain countries in South-East Asia, which were overrun and despoiled by the Japanese during the war, are relatively worse off now than the Japanese themselves.

In an endeavour to get industry going again, the Government are proposing to allocate materials to essential industries and to withhold them from others. A Tokyo newspaper quoted from the Economic Stabilisation Board's statistics to prove that further 1,500,000 workers would be thrown out of work and hinted at the danger to public security if the already great number of unemployed were added to in this way. Wada, former Minister for Agriculture, has now rejoined the Government as Minister without Portfolio. He is to take over supervision of the E.S.B.

The Cabinet has decided on a tentative programme for elections. The Diet session is to end on the 30th March, town and village heads are to be elected on the 5th April, the general election for the House of Representatives is to take place on the 15th April and local elections on the 30th April. This prospect of a general election has been the signal for intensive political activity, but as yet there are few signs of the parties closing their ranks. The rift among the Social-Democrats has been widened by the action of the left-wing in "stealing" the Farmers Union, originally sponsored by the right-wing of the Party. There is talk of a merger between two other left-wing parties: the Co-operative Democrats and the People's Party (the *Kokuminto* formed as late as September 1946 out of the earlier *Shinseikai* or New Life Party). The new Party would muster 75 members but there is the usual dissension with regard to leadership. Trouble simmers in the Progressive Party, too, where the young bloods have actually suggested to their elders that the party should be dissolved and a new party formed.

The Communist Party have decided that general strikes do not win votes, and *Nozaka*, donning sheep's clothing, has warned the unions of the danger of their going too far in their political activities. There is some hope, therefore, of a temporary subsidence of strike fever. The Government were in fact within an ace of settling the nine month's old dispute with the State employees. The average wage was to be doubled to Yen 1,200 but the Government asked for the dissolution of the special "strike preparedness" committee, and to this the union would not agree.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

American interest in the British coal crisis is beginning to ebb slightly with the receipt of more favourable news from this side of the Atlantic. Nevertheless, the conviction remains that, for purely selfish as well as for broader humanitarian reasons, it behoves the United States to assist as generously as possible in alleviating the economic burdens of this and other European countries. This is especially the case as Congress turns its attention to the foreign relief programme of the United States Government. That programme has been embodied in a special message which President Truman addressed to Congress on the 21st February, asking for $350 million to provide direct assistance under United States control to the war-stricken areas. It has been followed by another message on the 24th, urging Congress to authorize the United States to participate in the United Nations International Refugee Organisation. Hearings on the relief programme, which are at present being conducted by the House of Representatives' Committee on Foreign Affairs, have included testimony by Mr. William L. Clayton, the Under-Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, who on the 25th February mentioned Austria, Greece, Hungary, Italy and Poland as the European countries requiring assistance when U.N.R.R.A. goes out of business. Mr. Herbert Hoover, whose 21-page report to the President on the German food situation should cause some of his fellow-Republicans to take a more favourable view of requests for funds for the joint administration of the American and British zones, has also given evidence. On the 28th February he outlined a scheme whereby the distribution of foreign relief would take place under the strict supervision of experts of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the U.S. Health Service and the International Emergency Food Council, and whereby all nations receiving relief would have to undertake to assure repayment by imposing a special tax on their exports. The scheme would forbid relief to be given to countries where "either commodities or cash" were being drawn off for reparations or for the purchase of armaments.

As a result of information which—by intention or otherwise—has been allowed to leak out regarding the discussions which President Truman and General Marshall had with leaders of Congress behind closed doors at the White House on the 27th February, considerable attention is now being given to Greece and, to a lesser degree, to Turkey as the countries where American economic assistance is most vitally needed. There has also been speculation in the press on the nature and content of the American reply to the *aide-mémoires* on Greece and Turkey presented by His Majesty's Government to the United States Government on the 24th February.

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REPEAT
REPETER

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In delivering this reply Mr. Acheson informed His Majesty's Ambassador in Washington that the State Department has been giving considerable time to the problem of Greece and that it hopes to have proposals ready for the President on his return from Mexico on the 6th March. These will include a request to Congress to authorize the Export–Import Bank to extend credits to Greece. The United States Government are apparently ready to make every effort to maintain the territorial and political integrity of both Greece and Turkey, and they propose that consultations be held at once between the State Department and His Majesty's representatives in Washington regarding the financial considerations involved. They also suggest conversations with His Majesty's Government on more general problems of common concern relating to Asia as well as to Europe. (This reflects perhaps the state of mind induced in Washington, not only by the appeal for assistance in the case of Greece, but also by what the American press has been saying about possible changes in the disposition of British power abroad as a result of developments in India and of the economic crisis at home. In this connexion it is probably not surprising that, in delivering the American reply on the 1st March, Mr. Acheson laid great emphasis on the desire of his Government that our troops shall not be withdrawn from Greece.)

Mr. Bevin's reference, in his House of Commons speech of the 25th February, to the way in which the problem of Palestine had been "made the subject of local electioneering" by American political leaders, and his own efforts to reach a solution had thereby been impeded, has given rise to a spate of lively comment. Reactions have ranged all the way from the angered retort of Representative Emanuel Celler (Democrat, Brooklyn) that the whole speech was a "damnable lie" to the equally strong assertion of the *Los Angeles Times* that Mr. Bevin was right and that President Truman "demeaned his office by wooing Jewish votes." Some commentators admit that the President's statement of the 4th October last, which was referred to in the House of Commons debate, "smacked of electioneering," and they recall that they as good as said so at the time. (Mr. Truman was, in fact, reproached last October for bringing Palestine down to the level of "ward politics" and for possibly jeopardizing Mr. Byrnes' good work on the subject in Paris.) In these quarters the White House *démenti* of the 26th February, which stated that it was "unfortunate and misleading" to suggest that American interest in Palestine was "motivated by partisan and local politics," has tended to fall completely flat. Others, however, have been inclined to question whether the President's action could really have had the effect on the London negotiations ascribed to it by Mr. Bevin, the *Washington Post* remarking that "there could have been no negotiations worthy of the word if Bevin was trying to duck the issue over immigration."

With characteristic readiness to believe only the worst of Soviet conduct in the international sphere the majority of commentators have imputed none but the most sinister motives to the Russian decision to accept without further question the proposed U.S. trusteeship over the former Japanese mandates in the Pacific. This unexpectedly amicable gesture on the part of the Kremlin, to which General Marshall referred at his press conference on the 25th February, is generally believed to stem from a desire to establish a precedent in the disposal of ex-enemy territory which will work to the advantage of Soviet claims in Europe. Thus the consistently Russophobe *New York Daily News* has been prompted to ask "just what *quid pro quo*" Stalin wants for this "seeming generosity" and to add that "until we know the answer to that question let's go easy on dancing in the street." In view of the firm line which he is known to favour in dealing with the Russians, and in view of his recent positive contribution to Republican thought on the subject of Germany (see *Summary* No. 377), the choice of Mr. John Foster Dulles as General Marshall's "special adviser" at the forthcoming Moscow Conference has given much satisfaction in all but left-wing quarters. As the *New York Herald-Tribune* has observed, "it is most unlikely that Secretary Marshall would have issued the invitation unless he believed that Mr. Dulles' approach to the German problem was compatible with his own, or that Mr. Dulles would have accepted unless he felt that his views were sufficiently representative of those of other Republican leaders to be more than a personal contribution."

On the 26th February it was announced that President Truman had appointed Mr. Lewis William Douglas, a former Congressman-at-large from Arizona and Director of the Budget from 1933 to 1934, to be U.S. Ambassador to the Court of St. James's in succession to Mr. O. Max Gardner, who died suddenly on the 6th February, only a few hours before he was due to leave for this country. Like Mr. Gardner, Mr. Douglas is a successful business man. Since 1940 he has been President of the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York. From 1938 to 1939 he served as Principal and Vice-Chancellor of McGill University, Montreal. His appointment has been well received among American Conservatives. A few Liberals, on the other hand, while admitting his lifelong friendship for this country, have suggested that his known antipathy towards the New Deal at home will not make it easy for him to see eye-to-eye with a Socialist Government in Great Britain.

LATIN AMERICA

Bolivia

The inauguration of the new Bolivian president is envisaged for the 10th March, following confirmation of the results by Congress. It is reported in the press, however, that the event may be postponed, apparently on account of the recent disastrous floods at Trinidad, which are described as a national calamity.

The complete electoral returns give Dr. Enrique Hertzog a narrow victory over Dr. Luis F. Guachalla by 43,581 votes to 43,302. Dr. Paz Estenssoro, the leader of the disbanded *Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario* (M.N.R.)—the "fascist" party under the Villarroel régime—received 5,194 votes; his very appearance as a candidate is a sign of broadmindedness on the part of the Government. The number of votes cast represents nearly 72 per cent of the total electorate of 130,000. This is the highest percentage recorded in Bolivia, though the electorate remains a bare twentieth of the population.

Dr. Hertzog is a member of the "Union of Republican Socialists," which will have 14 out of 27 seats in the new Senate and 45 out of 111 in the Chamber of Deputies. With the aid of Señor Juan Lechín's miners and other small groups, Dr. Hertzog's supporters should command a majority in both houses. Dr. Guachalla was supported by the Liberals (who are extreme conservatives) and the Left Revolutionary Party (P.I.R.): these two disparate groups have 15 and 35 seats respectively in the Chamber, and could therefore outvote the Republican Socialists if these failed to come to terms with the minority groups.

Peru

The political situation in Perú has further deteriorated since the Graña murder (see *Summary* No. 376), and President Bustamente's new Cabinet holds a precarious balance between the Apristas and the conservative opposition. Antagonism between right and left is now intense; the Graña murder has been followed by an armed attack on the offices belonging to the Padro family, one of whom is related to the late Señor Graña by marriage. While conflicting versions of the latest affray have been published, the official investigation of the Graña affair seems more and more unlikely to lead to an impartial assessment of responsibilities.

The existing tension throws into clear relief the difficulties of A.P.R.A. itself. While Sr. Haya de la Torre remains the idealistic leader of a popular crusade, his party contains few experienced administrators together with a considerable and apparently growing number of undisciplined toughs and political place-hunters. Señor Haya de la Torre had recognised that his party is passing through a critical phase, but its relations with the President remain undefined. Should the Graña investigation absolve the party, it may possibly be cajoled back into taking its share of the responsibilities of Government. Should the investigation implicate the party, it would presumably become openly oppositionist. In this case it is difficult to see who would govern; President Bustamente could turn to the armed forces, though such a move might be resisted forcibly by the Apristas. According to broadcast reports, two hundred leading Peruvians have recently issued a statement that liberty, security and order "no longer exist" in Perú.

UNITED NATIONS

Security Council

Japanese Mandated Islands

On the 26th February Senator Austin presented to the Security Council his Government's claim to the trusteeship of the islands. In submitting the draft agreement to the Security Council, he pointed out that the U.S. had conquered the islands in its struggle against Japanese agression:

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that it was in occupation of them: that they were vital to the security of the U.S., and that Japan had forfeited her mandate. No other Power claimed the islands. At the same time the U.S. was anxious to carry out the Assembly's Resolution that trusteeship agreements should be completed promptly for all former mandated territories. His Government therefore proposed trusteeship rather than annexation. The proposed trusteeship would, however, allow the administering Government to declare certain areas closed for security reasons. On the other hand, whatever international controls became part of an Atomic Energy agreement would apply to the islands.

Mr. Gromyko supported the U.S. request on the ground that the U.S. had made greater sacrifices than had any other Power in the war against Japan. (For the possible implications of this doctrine see under "The United States.") Mr. Gromyko proposed three amendments to the draft agreement, the most important of which would give the Security Council the right to amend or terminate the Agreement.

Corfu Incident

On the 27th February the Council voted in favour of an Australian proposal to set up a Committee of three to examine all the available evidence concerning the dispute and to report back to the Council by the 10th March. The Committee consists of representatives of Australia, Columbia and Poland. During the general debate the Soviet representative once more raised the alleged illegality of the U.K. action in sweeping the mines. Sir Alexander Cadogan tried to bring the discussion back to the original complaint, and demonstrated the irrelevance of this issue.

Economic and Social Council

The Council opened its Fourth Session on the 28th February, and elected the following officers, President, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, First Vice-President, Jan Papaner (Czechoslovakia), Second Vice-President Arca Parro (Peru). Thirty-one items were on the Agenda, one has now been dropped and two added, on the F.A.O. Timber Conference and on States not members of the United Nations joining U.N.E.S.C.O. During the first two meetings the Council approved the report of the Narcotics' Commission. A Soviet proposal to make members of the Permanent Central Opium Board Government representatives was defeated, after the Canadian delegate had pointed to the stipulation in the 1925 Geneva Convention that they should be experts in their own right. The report is to go before a Committee whose members represent U.K., U.S.A., U.S.S.R., France, China, India, Peru, New Zealand, Byelorussia, Venezuela and Lebanon. It is assumed that other social matters on the Council's agenda will also be referred to this Committee. A certain amount of discussion arose on the question of the right conferred by the Assembly upon all Category 'A' Non-Governmental Organisation, to propose items for the provisional agenda. It will be remembered that the Assembly had first given the right to the World Federation of Trade Unions, thus violating the equality which these bodies must enjoy according to the Charter. The Assembly had then restored the constitutional balance by extending the right to all Organisations in Category 'A.' It is not clear, however, what is the best method of carrying out the Assembly's resolutions, which the President ruled must be taken together. On the President's suggestion, a special Committee will now study the matter and report back to the Council. The Council will then be in a position to decide how to deal with the W.F.T.U. item. The Soviet representative urged a simpler procedure which would have led to the W.F.T.U. resolution being taken more speedily. Russia voted against the President's motion. France and Czechoslovakia abstained.

COUNCIL OF FOREIGN MINISTERS DEPUTIES

Following the instructions given them by their Foreign Ministers on the 12th December, the Deputies met in London from the 14th January to the 25th February. Those for Austria had to "proceed with the preparation of a treaty recognising the independence of Austria." Those for Germany had to "consider questions of procedure with regard to the preparation of a peace treaty for Germany." Both had to hear the views of "neighbouring Allied States and other Allies who had participated with their armed forces in the common struggle against Germany." Eighteen allies were invited to give their views, Denmark being added to the seventeen of the Paris Conference.

The Deputies for Austria had a comparatively definite task, and managed to agree to a fourfold classification of the articles of the peace treaty, (1) agreed articles, (2) articles agreed in part, (3) articles on which no agreement had been possible, (4) articles not discussed (see under "Austria"). The Deputies for Germany had before them the study of procedure and "procedure" had set the whole Paris Conference by the ears from the 29th July until the 7th August. As at Paris, the centre of debate was the share that the "other Allies" who had fought the war, should have in making the peace, or, as the Canadians put it, in seeing that they were not drawn into another war. Russia, as Mr. Byrnes once said, had striven ever since Potsdam to reduce the share of the Allies, and Mr. Gousev maintained this policy in London. The only apparent concessions which he made to the contrary view, held most strongly by the U.K. and the U.S., and held, though with an eye to compromise, by France, illuminated the motives of this Russian policy. He invented a new category of allies, those "directly interested," whose countries had been occupied by Germany, *i.e.*, Albania, Belgium, Byelorussia, Denmark, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Ukraine, Yugoslavia. They would take part in the discussions of the Standing Committee which Mr. Gousev intended to be the organ for consultation with the Allies. Other non-occupied allies might be present as observers. The Dominions would thus be excluded from participation on the ground that their territory had not been occupied; and the occupied States contained a substantial pro-Russian majority. The U.K. Deputy, Sir William Strang, had no difficulty in showing that the new category was unknown to Potsdam, was based on a confusion between States directly interested in a particular issue—these could not be defined apart from the particular issue—and States directly interested in the German problem—these had been defined when the eighteen invitations were sent out. Mr. Murphy remarked dryly that it was more important that Canadian troops had arrived in Germany than that no German troops had occupied Canada.

The U.K., the U.S. and France all agreed that the other Allies must be kept informed of the process of peacemaking, be able to express their views and to discuss matters of direct interest to them. Mr. Murphy (U.S.) went further and wished them to share in discussions on any aspect of the German problem; Sir William Strang went further still, calling the question of Allied participation the most important matter before the Deputies. The procedure for the "Satellite" treaties had not, he said, been satisfactory in this respect and he recommended that the Deputies should observe two principles in preparing for the German treaty: (1) Allied consultation at every stage of peacemaking, and (2) the final decisions on the text of the treaty to be made at a full conference of all the governments concerned, the Foreign Ministers having drawn up only the general lines. Here, of course, Russian views clashed; Mr. Gousev insisting that the entire responsibility for drafting lay with the Ministers, who should present the other allies with a text agreed in detail; and it was obvious that he had in mind the same kind of pledge that confronted the Paris Conference—that the Four Powers would support everything in the treaty they had previously agreed upon. In this way a new conference would be presented with *faits accomplis*; against this the Dominions' representatives orally and in their memoranda had protested to the Deputies. French, U.K. and U.S. representatives all submitted plans for securing Allied consultation and ensuring the smooth achievement and general acceptance of a treaty. The French yielded most to what was at the Paris Conference the "Big Four" view. The U.S. plan was detailed and a little rigid, but contained the ingenious idea that the four Big Power members of the four Standing Committees should each choose one member of the other Allies. The U.K. plan was more elastic, a consultative and information committee in which any ally who wished could take part, and sub-committees which should include a "convenient" number of allies.

It is not surprising that the matter of Allied participation was not settled. Mr. Gousev failed utterly to trap Sir William Strang into agreeing that he had previously agreed to propositions to which he had not agreed—on one occasion the French and U.S. Deputies confuted Mr. Gousev by reading the minutes of what had taken place—nor did he succeed in the subtler plan of securing agreement to part of a document, *i.e.*, the Russian proposals on procedure and consultation, and putting aside as a separate matter, the unagreed portions. Sir William Strang was unshakeable in his contention that documents must be taken as a whole, and that any report submitted to the Ministers must

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record that U.K. agreement on one part was conditional on agreement on the whole. Thus in their Report, the Deputies listed and attached the various Soviet, French, U.S. and U.K. proposals on procedure. They adopted a report by the Committee of Experts on procedure for the German treaty. The Report indicates the areas of agreement and of disagreement. Part 1 contains matter on which disagreement would be difficult—who are the Big Four, etc. It also indicates two matters of controversy: (1) Russia and France wish to add Albania to the eighteen allies. U.K. and U.S. object. Mr. Murphy contended that his country had no diplomatic relations with Albania. Mr. Gousev replied that Russia collaborated happily in the United Nations with governments with which she had no such relations. Mr. Murphy at once quoted Russia's grounds for refusing to admit Eire and Portugal to the United Nations: (2) A far more important issue, the problem of a German government; and the opposing views are best shown by quotation: (1) U.S.S.R. "a conference shall be called to discuss the draft treaty, when a central government is formed in Germany which will be deemed adequate for the purpose of accepting the said document." (2) U.K. "If at the time of the conference there exists a German government adequate for the purpose of accepting a peace, representatives of the German government will be given an opportunity of expressing their views at this conference." The experts' report says that the allies will be consulted as laid down in Part 2; but the Deputies told the Foreign Ministers that "they failed to work out the procedure for consultation of the allied governments"!

Much of the Deputies' time was taken up in hearing the views of the allies, and in questioning the speakers. For the most part the views of the Slav States were on familiar lines, 40 years of control over Germany, democratisation, demilitarisation, unified Trade Unions for all Germany, a centralised government, etc. Poland's representative wished to ensure that Germany's standard of living was not superior to that of her neighbours and considered that reparations from current production and dismantling of industrial plant would help to bring this about. The argument was put forward that Germany's pre-war economy was artificially swollen, and was not a true measure of a German peacetime economy. Yugoslavia asked for minority rights for the "Serbs of Lusatia" and contemplated the removal of 100,000 "Germans" from Yugoslavia.

Of the other States, the Dominions stressed the right to full consultation, and the need for fact-finding committees, South Africa's representatives contending that it would help the discovery of truth if boundary commissions contained disinterested as well as interested States. All the Dominions dwelt on the part principle must play in a lasting settlement. On the whole they were at one with Belgium, the Netherlands and Denmark in seeing the problem not as a mere German problem, but as the place of Germany in a prosperous and contented Europe. Urgent domestic needs accounted for some suggestions, such as the Norwegian that Germany should not go whaling, or the Greek, that Germany should be compelled to buy Greek tobacco.

The last communication which the Deputies received came from Mr. Beasley of Australia, and it summed up the disappointment of the supporters of full allied consultation: "my Government is forced to the conclusion that the Deputies are agreed that, while the fullest participation of active belligerents was required in time of war, such participation is unappropriate or undesirable in the drafting of the Peace Settlement." Only Mr. Gousev seemed to hold the view thus stigmatised; but he was able to block the ideas of the other three, and the Deputies failed to agree.

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 384

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
12TH MARCH, 1947

Copy No. 143

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EUROPE

GERMANY

The Coordinating Committee, having disposed of the Report for the Council of Foreign Ministers, returned to normal business on the 4th March. Except for approving the law to end the operation of German insurance companies abroad it achieved little. A Draft Law on electoral procedure for local government in the various zones was withdrawn from the agenda after a brief debate on the pros and cons of proportional representation. The Russian representative insisted that the Germans wanted proportional representation and he wished to revert to the procedure of the Weimar Republic, although it was pointed out that the Constitution had not been an outstanding success. The British representative thought it unwise to dictate to local Governments the exact electoral procedure which should be followed. (At present the State Governments in the British zone are each drawing up their own electoral laws for elections at State level.) The chances of agreement were obviously remote since the fundamental issue of Germany's political unity was involved. At the end of the meeting General Clay asked for an investigation into arrests in the Soviet zone of former prisoners-of-war from the U.S. zone, all of whom were carefully vetted before release. General Clay issued a warning that, if his Soviet colleague could not make investigations, he would be obliged to place his information in the hands of his Government. This is not the first time that the question has been raised. On a previous occasion (see *Summary* No. 370) a protest was made by the Episcopal Conference at Fulda, and it was reported on the 5th March that the German Catholic bishops had sent a letter to the Allied Control Council protesting against former prisoners-of-war being sent to the Soviet Union.

A proposal for the free exchange of newspapers between all zones and Berlin was tabled by the Russian representative in the Political Directorate on the 27th February. The Russians have consistently

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refused to agree to such an exchange, and details of the proposal will obviously require careful scrutiny. The possibility of such a move was forecast in *Summary* No. 374 and it has obvious tactical advantages during the present Conference season.

The position of the Berlin Government is still highly unsatisfactory. It is now three months since it took office and during the entire period the central question has been the degree of freedom which should be allowed to the Government and Assembly, behind which lies the question of future quadripartite control over any Central Administrations. The British and United States representatives on the Kommandatura, supported usually by the French, oppose the Russian desire for strict control of the Government—a desire made more keen by antagonism to the Social Democrat Party (SPD) which has replaced the Communist-dominated Socialist Unity Party (SED) as the leading faction. The conflict has already been brought into the open over the question of approving Government appointments (see *Summaries* Nos. 373 and 374). On the 23rd February it was reported that the Kommandatura had issued a new order, based on the provisions of the Constitution, laying down that all decrees and orders required Kommandatura sanction. The Government does not appear to have been quite clear on this point, and only three out of seventy-five orders have been confirmed. The law governing the transfer of combines to public ownership still awaits approval. The administration is also burdened by the large number of SED functionaries who obtained posts before the elections, but here again the Russians seek to restrict the German Government's power to dismiss employees. According to Berlin Radio of the 6th March the Kommandatura has now laid down that "leading personages" who may not be dismissed without their approval (which has to be unanimous) include police chiefs and deputy heads of departments. In many cases these positions are held by SED members, and so the order appears to represent a virtual victory for Russian views, although the number of posts affected by these restrictions is probably less than they hoped. Small wonder that under these uncertain conditions the German administration is the victim of a growing mood of defeatism. The material difficulties of the winter and the internal problems of personnel besetting the SPD and Christian Democrats (CDU) have contributed to this situation. This is doubly unfortunate in Berlin, an outpost of Western ideas, where the SPD ought to take the initiative in building up a vigorous and efficient administration.

A revealing account of how the *Bloc* policy works was given in a broadcast by Otto Buchwitz, the SED President of Saxony Diet, on the 26th February. He claimed that under normal procedure the SED, "with its small majority in the Diet," could force its will on the minority parties, but that this would mean a head-on clash on every issue and an "undemocratic" neglect of the minority. "On top of this the SED would have to bear sole responsibility." On the other hand, under a *bloc* policy agreement on major political points was reached outside the Diet in small *bloc* committees on which the three parties were represented equally. Buchwitz added significantly that not only was the Communist-dominated Free Trade Union Organisation (FDGB) present at these meetings, although not represented in the Diet, but the Committees could also coopt "experts" who were not members of the Diet. They presumably weight the scales in favour of the SED. The CDU and Liberal Democrats (LDP) thus get the worst of both worlds since they appear to have little influence over important decisions taken and are expected to share the blame for anything that goes wrong. Another interesting point is that in fact the SED has not a clear majority in the Diet, and Buchwitz thus confirms the view that the ostensibly non-party representatives of the "Peasants' Mutual Aid Association" and "Cultural League" are counted as members of the SED.

As in 1946 the Leipzig Trade Fair, held at the beginning of March, was the occasion of a rally organised by the SED in support of German unity. Leipzig radio claimed that Germans attended from all over the country, but in fact it appears to have been conducted largely by the Soviet zone leaders, Pieck and Grotewohl (SED), Jakob Kaiser (CDU) and Wilhelm Kuelz (LDP). The SPD was not represented. Grotewohl emphasized the need for helping German youth, urging that they must not be allowed to feel themselves inferior and thus be led into the arms of chauvinism. Germans must be educated to lose the spirit of blind obedience and narrow-mindedness—the latter failing could be overcome if the several States of Germany gave way to German unity. The SED now favours a referendum on the structure of Germany. From references in the Moscow press it seems likely that this course will be proposed during the Conference and that the Russians will also

advocate adoption of the SED Draft Constitution for Germany which is already serving as a model for the State Constitutions in the Soviet zone. As regards the Trade Fair itself, *The Times* of the 10th March noted that the Soviet-owned industries were among the exhibitors. This shows that although they are producing exclusively for the benefit of the Soviet Union their goods will in some cases be available for German as well as foreign buyers.

General Robertson told a press conference in Berlin at the end of February that the efficiency of German administration had recently suffered a decline. In spite of that many people liked to say that all would be well if Military Government let the Germans run things themselves. German officials paid too much attention to party politics and were not "tough enough." *Die Zeit*, the right-wing British zone weekly, supported such views on the 20th February when a leading article attacked German Governments for their lack of sense of responsibility combined with a striving for bureaucratic tyranny. *Die Zeit* then said that German politicians were afflicted with a blind belief that their particular party alone was capable of saving Germany. Criticism directed against the Government was criticism of the party and must therefore be suppressed, while party discipline was so severe that members of the Administrations dared not take any step which might displease the party hierarchy. The article contains a good deal of truth, but unfortunately seems motivated by an equally dangerous attitude, and one likely to have wide support, particularly among the "disillusioned," namely a dislike of all democratic political parties which may tend to deepen the impression, cultivated by the Nazis, that they are corrupt and ridiculous.

A recent British investigation into the mood of the people gave ground for the belief that self-pity had reached the stage where any mitigation of German hardships would be received not with gratitude but as proof of British consciousness of guilt in maltreating the Germans. The report stressed that besides the "hard core of resistance" which might amount to 8 to 12 per cent. of the population of the British zone there were the considerably more numerous and quite as dangerous "Yes-men" of Nazism who were still authoritarian in outlook and prepared to follow any strong lead.

Members of the Saar Committee and of the leading political parties were received by M. Bidault in Paris on the 7th and 8th February in order to make "friendly contact" in anticipation of economic union between the two areas. An interesting feature of the meetings was the presence of the Saar Communist leaders who until then had made a lone stand against economic union. In the rest of the French zone steps have recently been taken to perpetuate French influence. The south-west German News Agency set up on the 5th March, 1947, is a German Company in law, but will have a majority participation of French news agencies. In the British and U.S. zones the press agencies will have no British or American participation. A German film distributing company is also planned for the French zone in which French interests will hold a majority of the shares.

AUSTRIA

The United States Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, before leaving for Moscow, said he hoped that the provisions of the Austrian Treaty might be completed at the Moscow Conference.

Two further Memoranda were handed in to the Deputies before the conclusion of the London talks. One, from the Yugoslav Government, was framed as a reply to the Statement and Memorandum of the Austrian Delegation; it sought to establish Austria's responsibility for her part in the war and for aggression in Yugoslavia, and to minimise the extent of the "Austrian" resistance movement as compared with that of the Carinthian Slovenes, and thus to support the Yugoslav territorial claims. The other Memorandum gave certain of the Canadian Government's general views on the Austrian Treaty. It recommended that, on the entry into force of the proposed Treaty, the authority exercised by the Allied Control Council for Austria should be transferred to the Austrian Government and the Allied occupation forces should be withdrawn at the earliest possible date. In the view of the Canadian Government the Treaty should provide for a specific prohibition of any future *Anschluss* with Germany and should also contain a clause about the Austrian Government abstaining in the future from any action likely to impair Austria's independent status. They suggest that any threat to Austrian independence should be dealt with by the United Nations.

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A Reuter report of the British draft of the (unagreed) Article in the draft Treaty concerning compensation for United Nations property in Austria has caused considerable apprehension in that country and has been compared unfavourably with the United States attitude. The Austrian Minister for the Safeguarding of Property and Economic Planning has estimated that a sum of between one and a half and two milliard schillings would be involved. This would be beyond Austria's capacity to pay. Ernst Fischer, speaking for the Communists, has used the occasion to urge more friendly relations with the U.S.S.R. and to assess, as the sole result of the "one-sided policy of Western orientation," mistrust of Austria by the U.S.S.R. and her neighbours, on the one hand, and "milliard-demands" by the West, on the other. The Chancellor has sought to allay apprehensions by holding out prospects of a satisfactory compromise solution.

The Austrian Minister of Agriculture has given details of the "emergency contribution" recently announced by Chancellor Figl to maintain the 1,550 calory ration for the next two months. Some 16,000 tons of grain must be collected, and, to meet the fats ration, 20,000 pigs are to be slaughtered. This measure will also release food for human consumption which would have been used as fodder. When a British official recently pointed out to the Minister that Austria's pig population had been allowed to increase by nearly 50 per cent. in the past year in defiance of the Emergency Economic Committee for Europe agreement signed by Austria in 1946, the Minister remarked simply that it was the will of the Lord. Ultimately it is of course the British and U.S. taxpayer who pay because the Austrian Government allows grain and potatoes to be fed to pigs instead of to the semi-starving population of the towns. The policy of the Peasants' League in this respect has been condemned by the Socialist *Arbeiterzeitung*, which has called for a re-orientation of Austria's agrarian policy.

The trial for high treason of Guido Schmidt, Austrian Foreign Minister at the time of the *Anschluss*, opened in Vienna on the 26th February. Articles in the Socialist and Communist press have portrayed the trial as evidence of the guilt of Herr Schuschnigg's régime.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

During the past few days public attention throughout the Republic has been focussed principally upon foreign affairs—more particularly in respect of Czechoslovak relations with those countries which repeatedly have fallen prey to German expansionist designs. The fear is prevalent in Czechoslovakia, as elsewhere upon the Continent, that Germany will again emerge as a powerful nation, intent upon revenge. The uncertain international situation and the clash of Eastern and Western ideological conceptions has added to, rather than detracted from, this growing apprehension. In this conflict the Czechs see a golden opportunity for a German revival. Hence they are determined that no loophole shall be left through which German nationalism can again escape to wreak fresh havoc.

Since the end of hostilities the Russian *bloc* has been impelled—partly as a consequence of its suspicious reaction to "Western" policy where Germany is concerned, partly from its conviction, justified or not, that the Slav nations have always suffered the most when Germany has embarked upon a war of conquest—to fall back upon its own exclusive system of alliances. In this defensive pattern there was, however, one serious deficiency: the absence of any such agreement between Poland and Czechoslovakia. The traditional friendship between the Republic and Yugoslavia, based upon similar experiences under the old Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the realisation that the Soviet Union is Czechoslovakia's natural defender against German aggression eliminated any obstacles to a Czech-Yugoslav or a Czech-Soviet agreement. Relations with Poland, on the contrary, were not on such a happy plane. Different historical backgrounds, frontier disputes, and the narrow chauvinism of the Polish Communists made it difficult for any satisfactory compromise to be effected. Nevertheless the Soviet policy of presenting the Moscow Conference with a united Slav front has now led to the signature of a Twenty-Year Pact of Friendship and Mutual Assistance against any aggression on the part of Germany or other satellite country. (See under "Poland".) It is to be hoped that a new era has thus dawned in Czechoslovak-Polish relations; but the agreement to leave in abeyance the Czechoslovak claims to parts of Polish-occupied Silesia, and the Polish claim to Czech Teschen, is extremely unpopular with all the non-Communist parties.

Czechoslovakia, in view of her Western gravitation, is not prepared to seek security from the East alone. Indeed, she has tried to avoid, at least in the case of the Yugoslav Pact, anything but very limited commitments with the Slav *bloc*. Cultural, historical, and economic reasons still incline the Republic to keep a door open for Western influences, even to the extent of seeking military co-operation. Prospects of a Franco-Czech military alliance have again been revived, whilst M. Spaak—during his visit to Prague a cultural agreement was signed last week between Czechoslovakia and Belgium—expressed the hope that a Czech-Belgian Alliance would be concluded as a stepping-stone to a future Soviet-Belgian Agreement. Incidentally a Cultural Agreement is being prepared for signature between the United Kingdom and Czechoslovakia.

The first transports of some 400 Slovaks, descendants of those who emigrated to the Bukovina about 150 years ago, have returned to the Republic. So far about 70 factories have been transferred to Slovakia under the plan to industrialise that province.

(See also under "Hungary".)

POLAND

As a result of the conversations held at Moscow between the Polish delegation and various Russian leaders (see *Summary* No. 383), an agreement was reached on a number of political and economic questions, chiefly the latter. On the political side, the governments of Poland and Russia are described as being at one in their views on the German problem. They have also agreed to accelerate the repatriation to Poland of Polish nationals now in the U.S.S.R. as a result of the War, including former German citizens. The following are the economic clauses:—

(*a*) A loan to Poland of 27,875,000 dollars in gold.

(*b*) The settlement of mutual financial obligations as at the 1st January, 1947, and the establishment of a basis for the regulation of future financial claims.

(*c*) The reduction by half of deliveries of Polish coal to the U.S.S.R., according to the agreement of the 16th August, 1945.

(*d*) Compensation for damage caused by German occupation.

(*e*) Transfer to Poland of railway rolling stock from Soviet war booty. The railway line Katowice–Krakow–Przemysl is to be changed to the Central European gauge, before the 1st November, 1947.

(*f*) Scientific and technical collaboration in the field of industrial production.

(*g*) The supply to Poland by the U.S.S.R. of arms and war equipment on a credit basis.

(*h*) The transfer to Poland of that part of the German merchant fleet which is due to it before the 15th May, 1947.

A twenty-year treaty of friendship and mutual assistance between Poland and Czechoslovakia was signed at Warsaw on the 10th March. The treaty, which resembles that signed a year ago between Poland and Yugoslavia, is designed to render impossible aggression on the part of Germany or any other country. The two countries promise the widest cooperation in the cause of international peace and security and bind themselves to give immediate military aid, should one of them be involved in a struggle with Germany or any ally of Germany. The protocol attached to the treaty states that all territorial questions are left in abeyance, and that solutions will be found within two years. The problems of the Polish minority in Teschen and the Czechs in Poland are to be settled on a basis of reciprocity, the fullest rights being accorded to each.

The treaty marks a very important and welcome change in Polish-Czech relations. For some time after the war they remained difficult, partly owing to the old problem of the Teschen district, and partly to the new conflict of claims to Silesian territory taken from Germany. There was also the Polish feeling that Poland, as a nation, had suffered more than Czechoslovakia at the hands of Germany, and that this gave all the less justification to Czech territorial claims. A settlement seemed unlikely because of the obstinacy of the communists in the two countries, especially in Poland. Gradually, however, it was realized that danger from Germany was the fundamental reason for unity, in relation to which questions of territorial extension and national pride assumed a very small importance. Economic and cultural pacts were made, and a general atmosphere of reconciliation was introduced, chiefly owing to the activities of M. Fierlinger, head of the Czech Social Democratic Party, and M. Wierblowski, Polish Ambassador to Prague. To such a sequence the present treaty is a logical conclusion, the Czechs having made a great contribution to the cause of unity by their willingness not to insist on their claims to those areas of Silesia, notably Kladzko (Glatz) and

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A Reuter report of the British draft of the (unagreed) Article in the draft Treaty concerning compensation for United Nations property in Austria has caused considerable apprehension in that country and has been compared unfavourably with the United States attitude. The Austrian Minister for the Safeguarding of Property and Economic Planning has estimated that a sum of between one and a half and two milliard schillings would be involved. This would be beyond Austria's capacity to pay. Ernst Fischer, speaking for the Communists, has used the occasion to urge more friendly relations with the U.S.S.R. and to assess, as the sole result of the "one-sided policy of Western orientation," mistrust of Austria by the U.S.S.R. and her neighbours, on the one hand, and "milliard-demands" by the West, on the other. The Chancellor has sought to allay apprehensions by holding out prospects of a satisfactory compromise solution.

The Austrian Minister of Agriculture has given details of the "emergency contribution" recently announced by Chancellor Figl to maintain the 1,550 calory ration for the next two months. Some 16,000 tons of grain must be collected, and, to meet the fats ration, 20,000 pigs are to be slaughtered. This measure will also release food for human consumption which would have been used as fodder. When a British official recently pointed out to the Minister that Austria's pig population had been allowed to increase by nearly 50 per cent. in the past year in defiance of the Emergency Economic Committee for Europe agreement signed by Austria in 1946, the Minister remarked simply that it was the will of the Lord. Ultimately it is of course the British and U.S. taxpayer who pay because the Austrian Government allows grain and potatoes to be fed to pigs instead of to the semi-starving population of the towns. The policy of the Peasants' League in this respect has been condemned by the Socialist *Arbeiterzeitung*, which has called for a re-orientation of Austria's agrarian policy.

The trial for high treason of Guido Schmidt, Austrian Foreign Minister at the time of the *Anschluss*, opened in Vienna on the 26th February. Articles in the Socialist and Communist press have portrayed the trial as evidence of the guilt of Herr Schuschnigg's régime.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

During the past few days public attention throughout the Republic has been focussed principally upon foreign affairs—more particularly in respect of Czechoslovak relations with those countries which repeatedly have fallen prey to German expansionist designs. The fear is prevalent in Czechoslovakia, as elsewhere upon the Continent, that Germany will again emerge as a powerful nation, intent upon revenge. The uncertain international situation and the clash of Eastern and Western ideological conceptions has added to, rather than detracted from, this growing apprehension. In this conflict the Czechs see a golden opportunity for a German revival. Hence they are determined that no loophole shall be left through which German nationalism can again escape to wreak fresh havoc.

Since the end of hostilities the Russian *bloc* has been impelled—partly as a consequence of its suspicious reaction to "Western" policy where Germany is concerned, partly from its conviction, justified or not, that the Slav nations have always suffered the most when Germany has embarked upon a war of conquest—to fall back upon its own exclusive system of alliances. In this defensive pattern there was, however, one serious deficiency: the absence of any such agreement between Poland and Czechoslovakia. The traditional friendship between the Republic and Yugoslavia, based upon similar experiences under the old Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the realisation that the Soviet Union is Czechoslovakia's natural defender against German aggression eliminated any obstacles to a Czech-Yugoslav or a Czech-Soviet agreement. Relations with Poland, on the contrary, were not on such a happy plane. Different historical backgrounds, frontier disputes, and the narrow chauvinism of the Polish Communists made it difficult for any satisfactory compromise to be effected. Nevertheless the Soviet policy of presenting the Moscow Conference with a united Slav front has now led to the signature of a Twenty-Year Pact of Friendship and Mutual Assistance against any aggression on the part of Germany or other satellite country. (See under "Poland".) It is to be hoped that a new era has thus dawned in Czechoslovak-Polish relations; but the agreement to leave in abeyance the Czechoslovak claims to parts of Polish-occupied Silesia, and the Polish claim to Czech Teschen, is extremely unpopular with all the non-Communist parties.

Czechoslovakia, in view of her Western gravitation, is not prepared to seek security from the East alone. Indeed, she has tried to avoid, at least in the case of the Yugoslav

Pact, anything but very limited commitments with the Slav *bloc*. Cultural, historical, and economic reasons still incline the Republic to keep a door open for Western influences, even to the extent of seeking military co-operation. Prospects of a Franco-Czech military alliance have again been revived, whilst M. Spaak—during his visit to Prague a cultural agreement was signed last week between Czechoslovakia and Belgium—expressed the hope that a Czech-Belgian Alliance would be concluded as a stepping-stone to a future Soviet-Belgian Agreement. Incidentally a Cultural Agreement is being prepared for signature between the United Kingdom and Czechoslovakia.

The first transports of some 400 Slovaks, descendants of those who emigrated to the Bukovina about 150 years ago, have returned to the Republic. So far about 70 factories have been transferred to Slovakia under the plan to industrialise that province.

(See also under "Hungary".)

POLAND

As a result of the conversations held at Moscow between the Polish delegation and various Russian leaders (see *Summary* No. 383), an agreement was reached on a number of political and economic questions, chiefly the latter. On the political side, the governments of Poland and Russia are described as being at one in their views on the German problem. They have also agreed to accelerate the repatriation to Poland of Polish nationals now in the U.S.S.R. as a result of the War, including former German citizens. The following are the economic clauses:—

(*a*) A loan to Poland of 27,875,000 dollars in gold.
(*b*) The settlement of mutual financial obligations as at the 1st January, 1947, and the establishment of a basis for the regulation of future financial claims.
(*c*) The reduction by half of deliveries of Polish coal to the U.S.S.R., according to the agreement of the 16th August, 1945.
(*d*) Compensation for damage caused by German occupation.
(*e*) Transfer to Poland of railway rolling stock from Soviet war booty. The railway line Katowice–Krakow–Przemysl is to be changed to the Central European gauge, before the 1st November, 1947.
(*f*) Scientific and technical collaboration in the field of industrial production.
(*g*) The supply to Poland by the U.S.S.R. of arms and war equipment on a credit basis.
(*h*) The transfer to Poland of that part of the German merchant fleet which is due to it before the 15th May, 1947.

A twenty-year treaty of friendship and mutual assistance between Poland and Czechoslovakia was signed at Warsaw on the 10th March. The treaty, which resembles that signed a year ago between Poland and Yugoslavia, is designed to render impossible aggression on the part of Germany or any other country. The two countries promise the widest cooperation in the cause of international peace and security and bind themselves to give immediate military aid, should one of them be involved in a struggle with Germany or any ally of Germany. The protocol attached to the treaty states that all territorial questions are left in abeyance, and that solutions will be found within two years. The problems of the Polish minority in Teschen and the Czechs in Poland are to be settled on a basis of reciprocity, the fullest rights being accorded to each.

The treaty marks a very important and welcome change in Polish-Czech relations. For some time after the war they remained difficult, partly owing to the old problem of the Teschen district, and partly to the new conflict of claims to Silesian territory taken from Germany. There was also the Polish feeling that Poland, as a nation, had suffered more than Czechoslovakia at the hands of Germany, and that this gave all the less justification to Czech territorial claims. A settlement seemed unlikely because of the obstinacy of the communists in the two countries, especially in Poland. Gradually, however, it was realized that danger from Germany was the fundamental reason for unity, in relation to which questions of territorial extension and national pride assumed a very small importance. Economic and cultural pacts were made, and a general atmosphere of reconciliation was introduced, chiefly owing to the activities of M. Fierlinger, head of the Czech Social Democratic Party, and M. Wierblowski, Polish Ambassador to Prague. To such a sequence the present treaty is a logical conclusion, the Czechs having made a great contribution to the cause of unity by their willingness not to insist on their claims to those areas of Silesia, notably Kladzko (Glatz) and

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Ratibor, which were part of the old Bohemian kingdom. It is, of course, not surprising that two countries in the Soviet Zone of influence should have made this treaty, the conclusion of which publicly removes a serious point of friction from the organisation of inter-Slav solidarity. (See also under "Czechoslovakia.")

On the 4th March the House of Commons was informed by the Home Secretary of the measures to be applied to those Poles in the United Kingdom, as well as in other areas under British administration, who had reached no decision as to their future (see *Summary* No. 381). They are to come under the command of a person of British nationality, appointed by the Secretary of State, and experienced in British military law. He will be known as the Administrator. The law to be applied will be Polish law as it was on the 1st January, 1945, which will be administered by Polish military courts presided over by Polish officers. These officers will be responsible to the Administrator, who will be free to delegate to them as much or as little of his authority as he pleases, either generally or for any specific purpose. The courts-martial administering this law will not have the power to inflict the death-penalty, and no sentence of imprisonment longer than three months will be valid unless confirmed by the Administrator, who may have it reviewed if he thinks it inconsistent with British standards. This power of review extends to sentences passed before the act.

SOVIET UNION

After the hopes raised by M. Molotov's apparent concessions in regard to the control of atomic energy, M. Gromyko's statement at the Security Council last week (see under "United Nations") was a rude setback. M. Gromyko made it all too clear that in the Russian view the rule of Five Power unanimity must be applied in the case of sanctions against a violator of the atomic energy Convention. For the rest, his peroration on the "veto," attributing it, in the first place, to the initiative of the United States—and in particular to the late President Roosevelt—was most dishonest and to a large extent historically untrue.

On the eve of the Moscow Conference, there was hardly a part of the world where the press did not denounce the evil influence of British and American capital. Moreover, the daily reports of the Congress of the Empire Communist Party meeting in London effectively reinforced the Soviet press in attacking British imperialism throughout the Commonwealth. To the now familiar accusations against both Anglo-Saxon Powers for their activities in Germany was added a new charge against their financial policy, while the discovery of the Nazi conspiracy in Germany provided a golden opportunity for playing up the alleged Anglo-American failure to denazify their zones.

The Delegation of the Supreme Soviet which is due to arrive in this country on the 13th March contains representatives of most of the 16 Soviet republics of the Union Republics, with the exception of the Turkmen, Estonian and Tadzhik, and reflects a broad variety of interests. Apart from the leader of the Delegation, V. S. Kuznetsov, who has visited this country several times before on trade union business in his capacity of Chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, the political element in the Delegation is not predominant. Among the better known Delegates are the novelist, Alexander Alexandrovich Fadeev (a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party), appointed General Secretary of the Soviet Writers' Union during the purge last year, the famous Arctic aviator, M. M. Gromov, the Presidents of the Georgian and Kazakh Academies of Sciences (N. I. Muskhelishvili and K. I. Satpaev) the Presidents of the Unions of Soviet Writers of the Uzbek S.S.R. and of the Azerbaidzhani S.S.R., (Musa Aibek Tashmukhamedov and S. V. Vekilov), and N. A. Lunin, whose exploits in achieving rationalisation records in engine-running have made him famous in the Soviet Union.

The well-known commentator Zhukov writing in *Pravda* (5th March) under the headline "On the military alliance between the U.S.A. and Canada," again emphasised that Canada has fallen into the United States' sphere of military influence. After pointing out that the alliance is called an agreement in order to avoid Parliamentary formalities, publicity and revelation of secret clauses, Zhukov shows how Canada's "Northern Programme" is designed not for scientific or defence purposes but to provide a jumping-off base for United States aggression. Canadian Progressives' opposition to these plans (Messrs. Nollet, Archibald and Caldwell are mentioned with approval) is alleged to be based on distrust of United States imperialism and on the idea that the agreement implies a limitation of Canadian independence, since the United States of America are now likely to control Canada in much the same way that Great Britain formerly did.

Attacks on the Western *bloc* have been supplemented by a diatribe in *Trud* against the plans for a so-called Northern *bloc*. The conception of a military political *bloc* of the Northern countries which would fit in to the pattern of Churchill's United Europe was said to be supported by reactionary circles in Norway and Sweden who had taken up an extreme anti-Soviet line during the inter-war period. The military features of the plan were said to be transforming the whole of the North and the adjoining Arctic regions into an aerodrome for use in Anglo-Saxon strategic plans.

The Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. has appointed the Chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the U.S.S.R., Marshal A. M. Vasilevski, to be First Deputy Minister for the Armed Forces of the U.S.S.R. The Minister is General N. A. Bulganin, who has now been appointed a deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.

Moscow wireless has broadcast without comment the statement by the Tokyo "Reception Committee" for the visit to Japan of the delegation from the World Federation of Trade Unions that the U.S. War Department has refused permission for the Delegation's visit: "In conditions of unimaginable inflation we are waging a courageous battle against Fascism and are doing everything for the democratisation of Japan. Our burning desire is to show the delegates of the whole world that we are fighting for universal peace and freedom." The tenor of this message conforms exactly to the pattern already familiar from the utterances of Soviet-inspired bodies in other parts of the world and suggests that this reception committee is already working under the auspices of the U.S.S.R.

According to a statement issued by the Soviet Department for Repatriation Affairs, the Government of the U.S.S.R. adopted a decision in October, 1946, to begin the repatriation of Japanese prisoners-of-war and civilians of Japanese nationality from the territory of the U.S.S.R. to Japan. Repatriation of civilians was to be on a voluntary basis. The conduct of repatriation was entrusted to the Plenipotentiary of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. for Repatriation Affairs, Col. General F. I. Golikov. An agreement on the repatriation of Japanese was also concluded with the headquarters of the U.S. Occupation Forces in Japan, by which a monthly quota of repatriates was arranged by mutual consent in accordance with transport and technical possibilities for repatriation. As a result, it is alleged that by the 15th February, 1947, more than 145,000 Japanese had been sent to Japan from the U.S.S.R. and the territories controlled by it.

The reports which have appeared in the American press alleging that the Soviet Union was recruiting 500,000 inhabitants of Northern Korea for the Soviet Army have been denied by *Tass* as being without foundation and ridicuous fabrications.

(See also under "Poland.")

THE LOW COUNTRIES

The Netherlands

M. Jonkman, Minister of Overseas Territories, replying to last week's debate in the First Chamber on Indonesia (5th March), opened his speech by saying that, whatever Soekarno had done during the Japanese occupation, the nationalist movement regarded him as their "champion." Certain remarks made by the Opposition during the debate had merely served to "undermine the efforts to reach agreement." The issue of the publication of the secret minutes had again been raised by several members, continued M. Jonkman, but there was no question of their being published, for the simple reason that they had never been intended for publication. He admitted the Government's great concern about events in Madoera; but their hands were tied, since occupation of the island for the purpose of relieving the "distress" would "constitute a violation of the Truce." Besides, supplies of rice and textiles [both urgently needed] were short. The only way round the difficulty was through "co-operation" with the Republic. M. Jonkman then gave assurances that there "need be no fear of further concessions"; there would be no departure from the provisions of the Draft Agreement. He added that the Government would keep the Chamber fully informed about the Commission-General's work. Proof of the Government's wish for "peaceful consultations" was afforded by the fact that the army, "although strong enough," had not been used to solve the problem of internees, of whom there were still 23,500, including 6,000 in former Japanese camps. M. Jonkman thought that it might be possible to complete the evacuation of these persons in two-and-a-half months; but there were shipping difficulties. With regard to the "Conference of the Realm," this would have to be preceded by a round-table conference, at which the West Indies also would be represented. In conclusion, M. Jonkman said

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that there were times when the Government wondered " whether it would not have been better " to have instructed the Commission-General to sign the Agreement " straight away " rather than " merely " to initial it. He accepted Mr. Sjarir's recent statement at Malang that the signature of the Agreement was " merely a phase "; it was " the first step on the road towards a new political structure."

The vacancy in the Dutch Cabinet caused by the resignation, last November, of Dr. Ir. J. A. Ringers, Minister of Public Works and Reconstruction (whose portfolio had been held *ad interim* by M. Vos), has been filled by M. L. Neher, a member of the Party of Labour (1st March). (This increases the Party of Labour representation in the Cabinet from four to five, Dr. Ringers having been a non-party man). The new Minister, who began his career as an engineer in the Amsterdam Telephone Service, ultimately became Director-General of the Netherlands P.T.T. Service. The name of M. Neher's Ministry has been altered from Public Works and Reconstruction to Reconstruction and Housing.

Belgium

Mr. Huysmans' Cabinet resigned on the 12th March. The decision to resign was taken immediately after a long discussion at a Cabinet meeting the previous evening when, as a result of the Government's decision to abolish the subsidy to coal mines and to authorise an increase in the price of coal, the four Communist Ministers in the Cabinet themselves resigned. M. Spaak, the Foreign Minister, has been invited to form a Cabinet, and is to begin his task on the 13th.

Luxembourg

A new Luxembourg Cabinet, with M. Dupong again as Prime Minister, was formed on the 2nd March. Events leading up to the change are not very clear; but it appears that for some time past there have been considerable differences of opinion between M. Dupong and his Socialist Minister of Justice M. Bodson. Whatever the origin of these disputes, they seem to have been brought to a head by the failure to agree early last month on the question of increasing railwaymen's wages. By this time the breaches in the Cabinet had become unmanageable; and M. Dupong was left with no alternative but to resign (12th February). After consultations with the Grand Duchess (18th February), M. Dupong was once more entrusted with the task of forming a Cabinet, which he began next day. The ensuing negotiations were somewhat protracted; and it was not until the evening of the 2nd March that he was able to announce his success. The immediate result of the crisis is the disappearance of the National Union, which had been formed soon after the liberation and which had made a coalition Cabinet possible, and the driving into opposition of the Socialists and Communists. With four Ministers (including himself), the representation of M. Dupong's own party —the Christian Social Party—in his new Cabinet is unchanged. The rest of the Cabinet now consists of members of the *Groupement Patriotique et Démocratique*, a " centre " Resistance party, previously represented by one Minister. The list of Ministers (one less than in the old Cabinet) is as follows :—

M. P. Dupong (C.S.P.) : Prime Minister and Minister of. Finance and Labour.
M. J. Bech (C.S.P.) : Minister of Foreign Affairs and Viticulture.
M. N. Margue (C.S.P.) : Minister of Agriculture and Education.
M. L. Schaus (C.S.P.) : Minister of Food and Defence.
M. E. Schaus (G.P.D.) : Minister of the Interior, Justice and Physical Education.
M. A. Osch (G.P.D.) : Minister of Health, Repatriation and War Damage.
M. R. Schaffner (G.P.D.) : Minister of Reconstruction, Public Works, Transport and Electric Power.

Only MM. Bech and Margue retain their portfolios unchanged. M. Dupong exchanges the portfolio of Defence (which he had previously held concurrently with the Premiership and the portfolio of Finance) for that of Labour, formerly in Socialist hands. There has been a fairly extensive re-distribution of portfolios among the other Ministers; and the Ministry of Commerce and Economic Affairs has disappeared. The newcomers to the Cabinet are MM. Osch and Schaffner, of whom M. Osch (previously described as " non-party ") had been Secretary of State for War Damage.

FRANCE

France is still in the humiliating position of having no newspapers in her capital to present news and comment on vital international and domestic affairs such as the Anglo-French Alliance, the Moscow Conference, or the Government's economic policy. It is now four weeks since the Paris papers ceased to appear and the fact that the printers' men can afford to stay out for so long is an eloquent testimony of the fact that they are among the best paid of all French workers. The newspaper proprietors would no doubt have given in long ago to the demand of the machine-minders for a 25 per cent. wage increase, in spite of the financial burden incurred, had it not been for the Government's refusal to allow any wage increases except for the lowest-paid workers. Apart from this ruling, however, the Government refused to intervene in the dispute. M. Ramadier declared in the Assembly on the 7th March that the Government could only interfere with the right to strike when a public service was involved (sanctions are in fact being taken against the instigators of the civil servants' strike last month); the press was not a public service and any attempt to treat it as such would be an infringement of its liberties. Agreement between the newspaper proprietors and the printers' men seemed to have been reached at the end of last week through a compromise arrangement allowing increased wages in return for the working of a seven-day week, a solution acceptable to the Government; but at the last moment the machine-minders stood out for their full demands.

Meanwhile the Assembly has passed the Government's bill for the suppression of the system of permits authorising newspapers to appear, and the Minister of Information is soon to table another bill relieving his Ministry of the responsibility of allocating newsprint. These measures are a concession to the Radical members of the Government who are being pressed by their party to stand up for the freedom of the press and a gradual return to economic liberty.

Although no Paris papers are appearing, a summary of the editorials which they would have contained if they had appeared is broadcast daily on Radio Paris. The main topic of the last week has been the Anglo-French Alliance, which has been warmly approved. Some of the Right-Wing papers and also the Communist fellow-travellers emphasised that the Treaty must be judged by its fruits, but most papers approved it as having real as well as symbolic value. The M.R.P. paper, *L'Aube*, said that it would facilitate the settlement of existing difficulties, and the Socialist *Le Populaire* particularly welcomed its economic aspects. The Radical *Aurore* went so far as to say that it represented a great change from the policy of 1919 and showed that Britain had understood the impracticability of a policy of splendid isolation. *L'Humanité*, however, observed that the Treaty left unsettled the main problems of reparations and coal.

M. Champetier de Ribes, President of the Council of the Republic, died in Paris on the 6th March. He was a leading member of the M.R.P., having been one of the founders of its predecessor, the *Parti Démocrate Populaire*. He held Cabinet Office on several occasions before the war and in 1940, and played a distinguished part in the resistance movement during the occupation. A year ago he was appointed French delegate to the International War Crimes Commission at Nuremberg. H.M. Government have sent a message of condolence to M. Ramadier.

Fernand de Brinon, Vichy Ambassador to the Germans in Paris during the occupation, was sentenced to death by the High Court of Justice on the 6th March on the charge of conspiring with the enemy.

M. Emile Bollaert is to leave for Indo-China this week with Admiral Thierry d'Argenlieu to take over the post of High Commissioner. M. Bollaert has held responsible administrative posts and, after his dismissal from the prefecture of the Rhône by the Vichy Government, represented General de Gaulle in the *Conseil National de la Résistance* until he was arrested and deported to Germany. Politically his sympathies appear to be closely allied with those of M. Herriot. He now represents the Radicals in the Council of the Republic. The appointment was announced after a Cabinet meeting at which the Minister for Overseas Territories said that no fresh reinforcements would be sent to Indo-China. There is, however, as yet no indication that the Government will now set about negotiating with the Viet Nam Government. On the contrary, M. Ramadier told press representatives on 6th March that the status of Cambodia, of Cochinchina and of Laos in the French Union would be considered, in that order, before the Government turned its attention to Annam and Tongking. It would seem, moreover, from the recognition in a Cabinet communiqué of Admiral d'Argenlieu's services, and the award to him of the *Médaille Militaire* " in recognition of the gratitude of the nation," that the Government are anxious not to appear to censure his conduct of policy.

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ITALY

The question of the future of the ex-Italian colonies is giving rise to much discussion. The postponement of a decision by the Council of Foreign Ministers has aroused considerable hope in Italy that she may be granted the trusteeship of at least Tripolitania and Eritrea on the ground that they were Italian possessions before the advent of Fascism, and that the conquest by Italy of these territories was approved of by the great European Powers of the time. It is still felt that Italy has a right to administer these territories, and there is a general belief that Italian administration was popular among the natives concerned. Little has been done either by the Allies or by the Italian Government to prepare the public for the eventual loss of the colonies, and any decision which makes no provision for Italian participation in their administration would be likely to provoke great discontent and even stronger anti-allied feeling than exists already. Of the maladministration and atrocities on the part of the Fascist administrators—and possibly of others—the general public seems to have no idea. The old erroneous assertions regarding the colonies as an important outlet for emigration and as a source of wealth are being voiced once more.

Signor de Gasperi, in reply to a message from the Associations of Italian Refugees from Africa, has assured the Italian populations in Libya, Eritrea and Somaliland of the Government's concern for them and stated "The return of Italian labour to Africa, which we confidently expect from justice and in the general interest when the year is over, will mean that democratic Italy will have one objective in sight: in the most up-to-date forms of economic and political progress, to lead these countries to self-government and to independence, in the spirit of the San Francisco Charter." Don Sturzo, the veteran leader of the *Partito Popolare* (the predecessors of the Christian Democrats) voiced the popular feeling and that of Government circles when he maintained that Italy cannot be absent from the inquiry to be conducted by the Commissions of Investigation, meaning that the views of the Italians residing in the colonies should be taken into account. The leading protagonist for Italy's rights in Africa is Signor Cantalupo, former Fascist Under-Secretary for the Colonies (1924–26) and later ambassador in Egypt and Spain. His articles are decidedly anti-British, the more violent appearing under the *nom-de-plume* of "Africanus."

The Italian press continues to print reports that the United States Government are willing that there should be Italian participation in the future government of the ex-colonies. Signor Tarchiani, the Italian Ambassador in Washington, is said to have received an assurance from General Marshall that his Government would lend their support to the French plan put forward at the Council of Foreign Ministers in May 1946 for the return of the colonies to Italy, and M. Molotov's suggestion for Italian trusteeship. It is also reported that the United States Government would favour Italy being represented by experts to be attached to the Four Power Committee of Investigation. There has, as yet, been no official confirmation of these reports.

There are indications, however, that the French official attitude on the subject has undergone modifications. According to an official French source, the Quai d'Orsay would now be unlikely to propose Italy being granted a Trusteeship over Tripolitania, because it fears possible Arab repercussions. It seems probable that the French would now only support such a proposal if it came from one of the other three Powers.

At the moment there exists in Tripolitania a broad measure of toleration between Arab and Italian, at least in the case of the Italian and Arab agricultural population and from the economic angle the expulsion of the Italian agriculturalists would involve a drastic decline in the country's prosperity. The Italian town dwellers were for the most part bound up with the Italian administration and are disliked accordingly.

The Italian Economic Mission invited by the British Treasury arrived in England on the 7th March. The leader of the Mission is Signor Menichella, director of the Bank of Italy.

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

Hungary

His Majesty's Government and the Government of the U.S.A. have protested against the unilateral action taken by the Soviet Occupying Forces in the arrest of M. Béla Kovács. The British Note, which has not yet been published in the Hungarian press, is similar to that issued by the U.S. State Department. Hungarian newspapers were permitted to print the latter only after the Soviet reply had been

received. The U.S. Note describes the arrest as "unjustified Russian interference in Hungarian internal affairs" and an attempt to support minority elements against a freely elected democratic Government. It further proposes that a tripartite enquiry into the situation should be instituted.

The Soviet Government deny the charge of interference, maintaining that the Army of Occupation was acting merely in self-defence in arresting M. Kovács for espionage. They claim that the enemies of the democratic system were not the minority elements but the conspirators who had plotted to overthrow the Government, and in evidence point out that the Smallholders themselves admit the existence of a conspiracy. They reject the request for a tripartite investigation on the ground that this would constitute a flagrant violation of the rights of the Hungarian People's Court, which already has the matter in hand. In a conversation with M. Gyöngyössi General Sviridov also alleged that evidence pointed to a connection between the conspirators and an unnamed foreign Power for whom they had been attempting to find out details concerning the numbers, disposition and morale of the Soviet troops in Hungary. M. Gyöngyösi countered with the remark that such information, if wanted at all, did not require deep digging.

Recent reports from Budapest state that the Communists, emboldened by the Soviet answer, are pressing their demands more vigorously. These include a drastic purge which extends to forty members of the Smallholders' Party. They have also intensified their campaign for the resignation of General Sartha, Minister of Defence, M. Rácz, Minister of Finance, and M. Bárányos, Minister of Agriculture, all of whom are Smallholders. Whatever the outcome M. Nagy appears resolved to delay the elections until the departure of the Soviet Occupation Troops.

Damaging admissions involving not only himself but also M. Kovács, General Veress de Dalnok and others, have been made by General Szentmiklóssy during his trial. His Counsel has expressed doubts of his sanity and obtained consent for his examination by an alienist. The demeanour of the accused, however, does not suggest third degree treatment.

The hopes aroused by the seeming success of the first stage in the resumed Hungarian-Czechoslovak talks have been disappointed. The breakdown occurred over the question of compensation for damage caused to Hungarians in Slovakia which the Czechoslovak Delegation refused to consider. Since Hungary cannot accept the point of view that the dispossession of Hungarians called up for labour service is a purely internal Czechoslovak question no way out of the impasse by means of direct negotiation appears possible. M. Clementis has disclaimed responsibility for any results which may develop from the present "catastrophic" situation.

Roumania

As noted in last week's *Summary* the question of return by Roumania of "tainted" gold is complicated by the famine in Moldavia, and the negotiations for the supply of cereals from the U.S.A. against deposits of gold. The Americans propose to make the return of the looted gold a condition of the loan for purchase of cereals, and they also demand the deposit of gold in Switzerland as security for the repayment of the loan—the expression of quantities and values in a number of different ways does not make for clarity. Pounds sterling, dollars, tons, kilograms, and car-loads are all used in connexion with these transactions, and a comparison of the various figures quoted becomes extremely difficult—especially in view of the difference between metric and English tons. At the present stage of the negotiations it is believed that the Roumanians are prepared to settle, if a payment of 20,000,000 dollars can be accepted. Their original offer was for 7,500,000 dollars.

The United States administration are sending 7,000 tons of food for free distribution in Moldavia: allocations of this gift are to be supervised by the Red Cross to ensure against discrimination. Great Britain is also sending 500 tons. The *New York News*, referring to what has happened elsewhere, congratulates Roumania on having promised not "to follow the example of Tito in Yugoslavia and of the Communist régime in Poland, of feeding relief supplies to deserving Communists and letting non-Communists go hungry," and emphasises the American idea that the hungry should be fed and clothed "without asking how they vote." *România Libera*, referring to similar gifts received from Bulgaria, compares the unselfishness of the Bulgarian people with others "who accompanied their gifts with specific conditions." The fact is that in the Balkan countries no opportunity is ever missed of turning

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everything to political account. Dl Maniu has refused to join in a joint appeal to the Western Powers for help, because he felt that he could neither ensure fair distribution of supplies nor guarantee that they would not find their way to Russia.

The *Home Chronicle* broadcast by the Bucharest Radio reports that "as a result of the Moscow Agreements," food prices have fallen by 50 per cent. Moreover, owing to the nationalisation of the Bank, there is now a shortage of purchasing power, and credits are being directed towards productive uses, instead of financing profiteering middle-men. This is recorded for what it is worth but it reads like a miraculously rapid result, as to the probability of which experts will be able to judge.

Yugoslavia

Just over four months ago Marshal Tito spoke in a reassuring manner on the food situation. In spite of the bad harvest caused by the drought there was no need to worry, he said; Yugoslavia had enough to live on, everything had been done to keep all regions supplied and nobody would die of hunger. It is now doubtful whether this optimism was justified. Bread rations were reduced at the beginning of February, but the normal consumer in Belgrade was even then not getting the full 300 grammes due to him. A further reduction came into effect on the 7th March. In the passive regions—Dalmatia, Bosnia-Hercegoveina and Montenegro—a state of famine exists, and the head of UNRRA in Yugoslavia has cabled asking for the urgent despatch of two grain ships to Dubrovnik and Split. A warning has been issued to the public, through *Borba*, on the need for the strictest economy in the distribution and consumption of grain. Only by the most careful observance of rules and regulations would it be possible to come through "this most difficult period" until the next harvest.

A major factor contributing to the present shortage of supplies for the non-producing population has been the difficulty in compelling or coaxing the peasant in the productive areas to surrender his surplus crops. There have been a number of official and semi-official complaints of the inefficiency of local authorities in carrying out the grain-collecting scheme. It is in this sphere particularly that the Yugoslav Government find the gap between theory and practice hard to bridge.

Possibly for lack of clear directives from "higher authority" the Yugoslav Press have shown some uncertainty in their comments on the Anglo-French Treaty. Because the French Communists have accepted it, it must be all right, was the gist of one comment. But the fact that Mr. Churchill had expressed his satisfaction with the negotiations obviously meant that the Treaty must be of some benefit to "international reactionaries," and was likely to further their plans for a "Western *bloc*."

Since the conclusion of the Italian Treaty some of the more influential Yugoslav refugees in Italy, including those with bad consciences, have decided that life in South America holds brighter prospects. Nine suspected Ustaši were recently removed from the s.s. ***Philippa*** before she left Genoa on the 5th March. They include at least two of the men whom H.M.G. have agreed to hand over to the Yugoslav Government. It is believed that the departure of these people was arranged by an organisation of Croat clergy who enjoy extra-territorial rights in the Vatican city.

King Peter has been deprived of his nationality and his property has been confiscated, according to a decree of the Presidium of the National Assembly.

Greece

Bandit activity in Greece has continued, particularly in Thessaly. A gendarmerie convoy was attacked south of Dhomokos and bandit casualties are reported to have been heavy. Meanwhile considerable success is attending the Army's counter-operations in the north Vermion area, despite alarmist reports to the contrary which are being spread by the Communists.

The United Nations Commission have continued their hearings in Salonica of captured rebels who have been trained in Albania, Bulgaria or Yugoslavia. They have all produced evidence incriminating Greece's neighbours, and attempts made by the Slav representatives to discredit their testimony have failed. More visits have also been paid to Yugoslav refugees who have spoken of the training of Greek guerrillas in Yugoslavia. No decision has yet been reached on the detailed arrangements for the Commission's interview with Markos Vafiades. The Greek Government are opposed to his being examined on Greek territory, as any visit by the Commission to rebel-held territory will require negotiation with the bandit leaders and imply recognition of their status. There has also been considerable discussion on the Commission's future plans. If, as has been proposed, they complete their investigations in Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia by the end of March and then retire

to Geneva to write their report, it may be many weeks after that before effective action can be taken on it by the Security Council. During that period there will be no obstacle to the despatch of help to the bandits from abroad in perhaps the most critical period of the spring and summer. It is, therefore, hoped that a small sub-committee may be left behind in Greece "to clear up outstanding investigations."

The Government have now realised that the bandits cannot be dealt with effectively by the Army so long as "fifth-column" organisations in the towns are free to help the bands with supplies and with information about troop movements. On the 4th March, therefore, the Athens police arrested 571 men who were known to have been aiding the bandits. The Greek Government and the press, with the sole exception of the Communist newspapers, have approved of the steps taken, which imply no change in the Government's declared "reconciliation" policy. Their offer of amnesty to rebels who surrender still holds good; but they are determined to punish the unrepentant.

All except the Communists (who are now shouting "No Americans must come to Greece" as often as "The British must go") have welcomed the prospect of American aid to Greece (see under "United States"). The fear is expressed, however, not only that the United States may impose such a strict control over the uses of any loan as to endanger Greece's independence, but also that Great Britain may disinterest herself in the future of Greece, especially after the troops leave. This fear has not been allayed by our announcement that, despite the conversations being held in Washington, there is no change in present arrangements for the impending reduction of the British forces in Greece nor in H.M.G.'s decision to withdraw the remainder as soon as practicable.

Albania

The propaganda campaign against the Greek Government and the "British invaders" of Greece, to which reference was made in last week's *Summary*, has been carried on uninterruptedly. A page from one more British secret document has been reproduced in facsimile, with a translation of sorts, in the semi-official newspaper *Bashkimi*. This time it is part of a report written by Colonel Alan Palmer, of the former British Military Mission, on a five days' visit to Greece which he made in April 1945. The passages quoted relate to Greek treatment of the Chams—the Albanian Moslem minority in Greek Epirus who collaborated with the Axis Powers and whom General Zervas's forces drove north into Albania towards the end of the War. The same passages have also been unblushingly quoted in a letter from the Albanian liaison representative to the Greek Frontier Commission, together with sentences from Brigadier Hodgson's covering report, and a message from A.F.H.Q. of the same month.

This Commission's activities are naturally being followed with interest. Tirana radio told its Russian-speaking listeners on the 5th March that their investigations had recently taken them to certain Ægean islands where, "apart from numerous deported democrats, there are a number of Albanian, Yugoslav and Bulgarian quislings and war criminals." They found that "the war criminals live in fairly comfortable houses and receive 1,300 drachmas a month from the Greek Government," whereas the democrats and anti-fascists are bullied and suffer privations. How long the democratic world will put up with a situation like this is a question which the broadcaster left to the Russians; but he asserted vehemently that the Albanians would defend Albania—whether against "the British invaders" or "the former collaborators of Germany." Distortion and malice could scarcely go further.

Bulgaria

On the 7th March the Bulgarian Government suddenly issued a decree withdrawing from circulation all existing banknotes and currency worth 200 leva [say, 3*s*. 6*d*.] and upwards and all 3 per cent. treasury bonds. They must be handed in at the latest by the 16th March. Depositors would be allowed 2,000 leva per head of their family in new notes, the rest going into a blocked account. Business enterprises would be allowed half their February pay-roll in cash. Withdrawals of further sums from blocked accounts would have to be justified to the authorities of the Bulgarian National Bank.

In a broadcast delivered a few hours after the announcement the Finance Minister explained to an anxious and bewildered public that the step was one which had been contemplated ever since the country's liberation in September 1944 and that it was expressly designed "to consolidate the currency, remove the threat of inflation, put the national finances in order and liquidate the black market." He felt confident that very soon all Bulgarian citizens would come to appreciate the wisdom of the measure: their true interests would remain unharmed.

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Actually the whole population, including the peasants, have been holding on to currency as the only safe form of property, and they will not at all like having to justify regularly to the authorities every item of their expenditure. They will rightly judge that a further premium is being set on membership of the Communist party. Any independent enterprise that has up till now existed will, indeed, be still further crippled, and the remnant of the *rentier* class will be broken; but every non-Communist will feel the turn of the screw, whatever his social position.

However, this is not all. The same decree went on to state that "members of the Diplomatic Corps, Foreign Legations and Missions connected with the peace treaty and the armistice, Consulates and trade representatives in the country must exchange any of the banknotes and bonds above specified in their possession not later than 6 p.m. on the 7th March"—the very date of its promulgation!—"and foreign army units are required to do the same by 12 noon on the same date." Heads of foreign missions were informed that funds held by them would be exchanged at 100 per cent. for new notes, in so far as they could prove that they had been "acquired in conformity with the law on trade in foreign means of payment" (which would obviously involve presenting their accounts). Sums otherwise acquired would be accepted by the bank as "obligatory deposits."

Early in the day all foreign missions and the private dwellings of their staffs were surrounded by militiamen, who proceeded to interfere rudely with anyone entering or leaving. The French Minister was himself physically assaulted by them, although they knew who he was, and the First Secretary of the French Legation was later on dragged by them out of his car. Other disgraceful scenes occurred. After making an unavailing protest to the Foreign Under-Secretary, the Acting U.K. and U.S. Representatives called on the Governor of the National Bank, together with their colleagues, except those of the Slav *bloc*, who are known to have received quite other treatment—the Poles, for instance, being paid in full. The Governor had already refused to exchange currency held by the British Military Mission for new notes on the ground that he could not be sure where they had got it from, although his own books proved it to have come from the Bulgarian Government themselves. After a conference at the bank lasting from 4 p.m. till 1.15 a.m. the Governor finally agreed to exchange about one-third of the cash holdings of the French, Italian, United States and British missions, allowing each of their representatives to take away the balance in a sealed bag. More than this he refused to do.

Notes of protest to the Bulgarian Government have been sent on behalf of Great Britain, the United States, France, Italy, Switzerland, Sweden and the Vatican.

Turkey

Indications that concern for the situation in the Near East may impel the United States Government to afford Turkey more substantial support than hitherto, have not unnaturally created some sensation in Angora. The Soviet authorities seized the occasion for intensifying their propaganda in Turkey, and there were a number of mischievous suggestions in circulation. One was to the effect that Great Britain was asking the United States to take over her commitments in Greece and Turkey. Another rumour was that Great Britain had entered into an understanding with the U.S.S.R. regarding the Straits. Before leaving for Moscow Mr. Bevin assured the Turkish Ambassador that there was no truth in the rumour and that if any question affecting Turkey were raised at Moscow, he would inform the Turkish Government (see "United States" for President Truman's message to Congress).

On the 1st March the Prime Minister, M. Recep Peker, made a statement earnestly desiring friendship with Syria and deprecating Syrian agitation for the recovery of the Hatay. In their anxiety to prevent this from again becoming an active issue, the Turkish Government have made it plain to Syria that they are ready to make the most ample economic concessions there. They have also informed Persia, Iraq and Afghanistan that they are willing to consider making Iskenderon (Alexandretta) a free port for the benefit of the whole Middle East. Syria, however, seems to the Turkish Government to take no interest whatever in economic concessions, but to be bent on raising the territorial claim which the Turkish Government decline to discuss.

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Egypt

There have been no developments during the week either in the internal political situation or in the question of reference of Egypt's case to the United Nations. The general attitude of the Government to this country is shewn in a letter from the Prime Minister to His Majesty's Ambassador notifying him of the Government's decision to dispense with the services of the British Military Liaison Mission, and enclosing lists of the names of those who are to leave on the 30th June and the 31st December next. A similar spirit is shewn in the cancellation of the Marconi Company's broadcasting agreement. The Minister of Social Affairs, who is also the Chairman of Egyptian State Broadcasting, has told Marconi's Director-General that this action has no political significance, but is based on the desire that the Egyptian authorities should control broadcasting in Egypt. The agreement was to terminate on the 31st December, 1949, and the Minister has let it be understood that the Company will be compensated for the unexpired portion of it. Generally speaking, anti-British propaganda seems to be becoming more intense, and there is a move to close the Anglo-Egyptian Union, a club in which many prominent Egyptians and Englishmen have been closely associated, on the ground that it is failing to accomplish its purpose, and that, in view of Great Britain's present hostility, Egyptians should no longer associate with the British in such a club.

Mr. Attlee replied in the House of Commons on the 11th March to Nokrashy Pasha's recent statement on the reasons for the breaking-off of the Treaty negotiations. He pointed out that the sole reason why the Treaty was not signed was the attempt of the Egyptian Government to construe one phrase of the Protocol on the Sudan as meaning that they could rely on the support of His Majesty's Government to deny the Sudanese complete freedom of choice when the time came for them to choose their future status. In reply to a question Mr. Attlee said that we have fallen back on our rights under the 1936 Treaty, and that, while troops are being evacuated from Cairo, they are going to the Canal Zone.

The Anglo-Egyptian talks on Egypt's sterling balances, which amount to some £450 million, ended on the 3rd March, 1947. The talks were mainly exploratory, and during the negotiations agreement appeared near on the questions of the interest payable on, and the partial release of, the balances. The main stumbling-block, however, was the question of cancellation. We maintained, in accordance with the Anglo-American Loan Agreement, that there should be some writing down of the debt, on the ground that it was incurred in part in the defence of Egypt, and Egypt herself played only a passive part in the war. The Egyptians, on the other hand, took the view that formal cancellation would imply either that they had originally overcharged us, or that Egypt did not fulfil her obligations under the 1936 Treaty. They were apparently willing to concede the concealed cancellation of a certain amount by purchasing from us stores and installations at a price in excess of their sales value, but no final agreement resulted and both delegations are now reporting to their respective Governments.

Palestine

Owing to the unsuitability of the accommodation on board the two vessels to which some of the illegal immigrants from the *Ulua* (see last week's *Summary*) had to be transferred, they were taken to Cyprus. An assurance was given that their disposal would, nevertheless, be in accordance with the directions of the High Court hearing the action for *habeas corpus*. The order *nisi* in this case was discharged on the 5th March, and all the passengers from this vessel have now been transferred to Cyprus. Meanwhile the ss. *Abril*, which sailed from Marseilles about the 1st March under the auspices of the Hebrew Committee for National Liberation (an American extremist organisation) with a crew of 20, all claiming to be Americans, was brought to Haifa on the 9th March. The passengers have been transferred to Cyprus; the crew have been arrested on a charge of aiding and abetting illegal immigration.

Acts of terrorism have been widespread during the week, though none has approached in seriousness the attacks of the 1st March, which were the immediate cause of the imposition of martial law on certain areas. This measure had been under consideration for some time, but it is incorrect to describe the note of the 3rd February from the Chief Secretary to the Jewish Agency as an "ultimatum," although it was so called by the Zionists. The Agency have now countered the Government's charge of misrepresenting

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the facts about immigration (see last week's *Summary*) by ignoring the admission of 75,000 under the White Paper quota and subsequent arrivals at the rate of 1,500 a month. They point out that the 4,000 a month quota was conditional on acceptance by the Jews of a "unilateral Palestinian State" in which they would have been a minority, and that, "since the Arabs would have a voice in determining the rate of immigration" after two years, "this could hardly be described as making it subject to absorptive capacity only."

The Agency have asked officially for an increased immigration quota during the interval before the conclusions by the United Nations are reached, regardless of the probability that it would have the double effect of infuriating the opinion of the Arabs and encouraging them to suppose that resort to extremism would help them to the realisation of their own demands.

Complaints by Jews at the economic effects of the imposition of martial law are general in the areas affected, and attempts are being made, by requests for permission to import raw materials and by other means, to lighten the burden. Mr. Kaplan, the Treasurer of the Jewish Agency, at a meeting in Jerusalem at which a decision was passed barring strikes or lock-outs during the period of "emergency," went so far as to assert that the imposition of martial law was not designed to stamp out terrorism, but to destroy Jewish economy. This charge has been echoed by Dr. Silver, who, according to the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, has represented to the United States Government that the imposition of martial law is "part of a carefully conceived plan calculated to bring about economic strangulation of Palestine Jewry."

The satisfaction of the Palestine Arabs that the London Conference ended without either partition, federation, cantonisation or an increase in the immigration quota, was tempered by the reference in Mr. Bevin's speech (see *Summary* No. 382) to acquiescence by Arabs in the admission of immigrants above the White Paper quota. There has been some speculation as to which of the Arab leaders had, in fact, acquiesced, and the Arab Higher Committee has issued a manifesto calling for the cessation of Jewish immigration with the object, no doubt, of forestalling any future misunderstanding on this subject.

The Lebanon

Fauzi al Qawuqchi ignored the request of the Minister of Foreign Affairs not to go to Tripoli, and went there on the 4th March. A large reception arranged in his honour by rival political parties resulted in serious disturbances in which sixteen lives were lost and fifty people were wounded. The Minister for Foreign Affairs has told His Majesty's Minister that the trouble was not caused by Fauzi's arrival, but by internal politics, and that he would be suitably dealt with if he did stir up trouble. Fauzi has now left Tripoli at the request of the Lebanese Government.

Persia

The delegation of the World Federation of Trade Unions (see *Summary* No. 381) started work in Tehran on the 1st March. Since El Aris has not yet arrived (allegedly because the 'Iraqi Government have refused him a transit visa) Borisov has agreed to act as provisional leader of the delegation. The work so far covered includes the interviewing of members of the Tudeh Central Committee, rival Trade Unions and Government representatives. The delegation have also visited three factories. They had decided to leave Tehran for Abadan on the 8th March, but Borisov had the visit postponed to await the arrival of El Aris, who, he had been assured by Svernik, head of the Russian Trades Union Movement, was on his way, having travelled *via* Moscow.

Borisov has, in fact, being shewing increasing reluctance to continue the programme of future interviews and visits outside Tehran. He has been making daily visits to the Russian Embassy on the plea of illness, postponing decisions on the work of the delegation until after these consultations, which, it is strongly suspected, are also attended by Reza Rusta (see last week's *Summary*). Thus is appears that the Russians, ably assisted by Reza Rusta, intend to direct the work of the delegation. The delayed arrival of El Aris (who has doubtless been well primed in Moscow) is being used to strengthen Rusta's position.

The Prime Minister appears to have taken steps to implement his compulsory education scheme (see *Summary* No. 367) in Tehran, according to a recent broadcast. A hundred teaching centres are to be formed in the capital, six of which are already working. Further details are lacking.

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THE FAR EAST

Indonesia

Little progress has been made in the search for an acceptable solution of the deadlock which has occurred over the signing of the Linggadjati Agreement. The Indonesian Cabinet's refusal to accept the so-called "Jonkman interpretations" (see *Summary* No. 381) has been endorsed by the several political parties in the interior of Java, and all informal efforts to find a compromise that might be acted on without loss of prestige to either side have so far failed. For a brief moment it looked as if the Indonesian Delegation would allow itself to be persuaded to sign the Agreement following an exchange of Notes with the Commission-General, placing on record M. Jonkman's interpretations without actually committing the Indonesians to any written undertaking of their acceptance. Although this attempt to arrive at a compromise failed, its shadow still hovers in the background, and competent observers are inclined to the belief that it will be re-dressed and brought out of the cupboard once again when next Mr. Sjarir returns to Batavia. It is thought that it will probably take the form of a suggestion that each side shall affirm its right to interpret the Agreement in its own way and to resort to arbitration under Article 17 in the event of a dispute arising and proving incapable of local settlement—a clumsy solution designed to cover the discarding of the "Jonkman interpretations" in a "face-saving" manner for the Hague.

What the final outcome of any such overture will be it is impossible to hazard. There can be no doubt but that Mr. Sjarir has been most anxious to sign the Agreement and that he might well have accepted some such compromise, had it been proposed in the early days of the Commission-General's return to Batavia. Delays, however, are dangerous, as Lord Killearn took infinite pains to impress on both parties during the earlier stages of negotiations, and Indonesian public opinion is now becoming both less conciliatory and daily more suspicious. Nor has this outlook been improved by a memorandum which was issued by the Netherlands Government on the 20th February stating that Dutch troops would be stationed in Indonesia "so long as the new structure in the Indies has not been realised"; and that "the Government does not intend to tolerate any longer violations of the truce"; nor by the declaration made by the Minister for Overseas Territories in his speech at the end of the debate in the States-General at the Hague that, while the Netherlands Government were prepared to discuss the situation with the Indonesians in the hope of making it possible to sign the Agreement—and it has always been open to the Indonesians to put forward their interpretation—so far as the Netherlands Government were concerned their own interpretation remained binding; and that, in his opinion, the steadily worsening economic situation would sooner or later compel the Indonesians to accept his interpretation and sign the Agreement. The hint that the Netherlands Authorities might seek to reimpose their will over Indonesia by force has raised the ire of even the usually cautious Mr. Sjarir, who, in his speech at Malang, has made it known in no uncertain terms that force would be met with force.

On the 25th February, a new session of the K.N.I.P. (Provisional Indonesian Parliament) was opened at Malang by Dr. Soekarno and attended by more than 500 delegates from all parts of the Netherlands East Indies. Its main business was concerned with internal affairs and, by threatening his own and Dr. Soekarno's resignation, Vice-President Hatta succeeded in forcing acceptance of Dr. Soekarno's decree increasing the membership of the Indonesian Parliament by 232 seats, which had previously been rejected by the Working Committee. External affairs, however, were touched on during this meeting, and in the course of his speech Dr. Hatta also declared that the aim of the Indonesian Republic was not merely to comprise Java and Sumatra, as provided by the Draft Agreement, but to include as well all territories which form part of the N.E.I. He declared that "not a single Indonesian will believe that the Dutch-held areas are separated from the Republic, even spiritually." The session went on to discuss the Linggadjati Agreement and, finally, but only after considerable, and at times heated, argument, endorsed by an overwhelming majority the Sjarir Government's policy.

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While political settlement waits on the discovery of an acceptable compromise it is, of course, impossible for the Netherlands Authorities to enter into any formal economic and financial agreement with the Sjarir Government with the result that a difficult situation has been created which threatens to cause international repercussions. The Indonesians are well aware that the natural resources of their islands are attractive to foreign capital, and on the 27th February, the Republican Ministry of Economic Affairs announced that the Javanese port of Tjilatjap had been opened to world shipping: at Malang it has been prominently reported that among the many foreign guests attending the session of the Republican Parliament is the Director of the British Empire Shipping Company, who is studying the prospects of shipping communications between Cheribon, Singapore and Hongkong. The Netherlands authorities, on the other hand, consider that a drastic restriction of trade is essential to the prevention of smuggling of arms, *etc.*, into the Republican area and the selling and exporting by Indonesians of produce from the plantations and factories, which are the property of absent Dutch and other foreign owners. The Dutch Navy has enforced a strict blockade of all Indonesian ports in Java and Sumatra and have been engaged in stopping, and searching all vessels and diverting them to Dutch-controlled ports where their cargoes have been confiscated. British ships which have entered an Indonesian-controlled port have had Netherlands naval boarding parties placed on board and have been escorted to Batavia or Semarang for examination, even though from Cheribon the voyage under armed guard has necessarily been made outside territorial waters.

H.M. Ambassador to the Hague has been supplied with an *aide-mémoire* and asked to bring the series of acts against British vessels to the attention of the Netherlands Government and to point out that, quite apart from the stopping and boarding of vessels on the high seas, the sudden application of stringent measures of control without previous warning is contrary to the procedure agreed upon between Dr van Mook and Lord Killearn for joint consultation on such matters. H.M. Ambassador has also been asked to enquire if, with a view to the prevention of possible misunderstanding in the future, the Netherlands Government will clarify the position in regard to the contention that all produce is European estate-owned and, therefore, the property of the Netherlands East Indies Government as custodian for absent owners.

Similar treatment has been accorded the American vessel, S.S. *Martin Behrman*, which, after loading a valuable cargo of rubber, sugar and quinine at Cheribon, was escorted by a Dutch destroyer to Batavia. Her cargo is now reported to have been confiscated, and the American Master and crew to have left the ship in consequence. The United States Embassy at the Hague has now made representations concerning both this incident and the more general subject of the restrictions recently imposed on trade by the Netherlands East Indies Authorities.

In the meantime a threat from the Chinese merchants in Singapore to boycott all Dutch shipping unless the blockade of Java and Sumatra is called off and the export restrictions relaxed has caused Dr. van Mook considerable concern, the more especially in view of the disturbing financial situation with which the Netherlands East Indies is faced. On the 3rd March, therefore, Dr. van Mook convened a meeting of all estate owners or their representatives for the purpose of explaining the seriousness of the financial position; and of suggesting the formation of a Dutch-Indonesian disposal pool for the sale of produce from Indonesian areas as the only certain means of obtaining the considerable sums of foreign exchange so urgently needed. It appears, however, that estate owners were not impressed with the scheme and took the line that the most urgent need lay in the signing of the Linggadjati Agreement and then concentrating on the implementation of the restoration of the rights of foreigners, as laid down in Article 14 of the Agreement.

In his speech on Foreign affairs in the House of Commons on the 27th February, H.M. Secretary of State, after expressing regret that the agreement made between Indonesia and the Dutch has not been signed, went on:—

> "without endeavouring to interfere with the rights of others I earnestly hope that this settlement, which should have such a beneficial effect on so many millions of people, not only in the Far East but in the West, will soon be complete."

An unfounded report that H.M. Government have pressed the Netherlands Government to sign the Linggadjati Agreement, has been officially denied by the Foreign Office, the Netherlands Embassy in London, and H.M. Embassy at the Hague.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Considerable attention is now being given in the United States to the question of how soon and to what extent economic assistance can be lent to Greece. On the 4th March, after receiving a formal request for help from the Greek Chargé d'Affaires in Washington, General Marshall issued a statement describing the economic condition of Greece as "a matter of primary importance to the United States." He added that the problems involved were "so far-reaching and of such transcendent importance that any announcement relating to them could properly come only from the President himself." In other words the final decisions would rest with the President and Congress. On the 10th March Mr. Truman had another long conference at the White House with thirteen leading Republicans and Democrats from both the Senate and the House of Representatives, and it was afterwards announced that he would appear before a joint session of Congress on the 12th to review the whole problem of Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean and to present his plan for dealing with it.

The message which Mr. Truman delivered to Congress may well prove to be one of the most momentous of his Presidential career. In it he asked Congress to provide $400 million for assistance to Greece and Turkey over the next fifteen months and to authorise American civilian and military personnel to be sent to those countries at their request to help with the task of reconstruction and to supervise the use of such financial and material aid as might be furnished. The President made no effort to conceal the fact that his principal object was to protect the Greeks and the Turks from the machinations of the Soviet Union. He was, he said, "fully aware of the broad implications involved if the United States extends assistance to Greece and Turkey," but he believed "that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure."

In the American press, as well as in Congress, the discussion on the Greek question is rapidly broadening out into a full-dress debate on United States foreign policy. The more faint-hearted are endeavouring to find an easy way out of the present difficulties by suggesting that the affairs of Greece should more properly be referred to the United Nations, although it is conceded that this would do nothing to provide the necessary financial assistance. From such normally disparate exponents of international policy as Senator Pepper and the *Detroit Free Press* there have also been the inevitable objections to "pursuing the fools' goal of imperialism" by picking up British commitments. To these the *New York Herald-Tribune* has replied with a heated editorial reflecting the growing sentiment in more thoughtful internationalist quarters which states that, "if there is anything to be 'bailed out' here, it is not the British Empire; it is simply and solely the foreign policy of the United States . . . . If there is anything to be propped up, it is in the first instance the security, the influence, the adequacy of the American system in the world to-day."

It is widely agreed that it will be the Republicans in Congress who will be put to the test by the Greek crisis. Senator Taft, the Chairman of the Republican Policy Committee, called upon the Senate to ignore reports regarding the situation in Greece when the vote on the proposed Budget reduction of $4,500 million was about to be taken on the 3rd March. In the House of Representatives, on the other hand, Mr. Chester E. Merrow, a Republican member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, who has recently been to the Middle East, went out of his way to compliment the State Department upon its "realism" in trying to save Greece from being absorbed into the Soviet orbit. In the country at large the Republicans are being bitterly criticised for their lack of a coherent policy, and it is regarded as significant that the National Committee Chairman, Mr. Carroll Reece, has had to appeal for better team work in a recent issue of the official *Republican News*. In any case there is a strong feeling among informed observers that the nature and scope of the Federal Budget will ultimately be determined less by the present Congressional debate on the need for retrenchment than by events in the world outside. In this connexion there is anxiety regarding President Truman's proposal of the 3rd March to allow the selective service system to expire at the end of the month, it being

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feared that voluntary recruitment will prove inadequate and that some form of military training on a national scale is essential to meet modern needs.

General Marshall's "frank scepticism" as he left Washington for Moscow on the 5th March has done little to relieve the misgivings of most Americans regarding the Foreign Ministers' Conference. In a statement to newspaper correspondents at the airport the Secretary of State said that he recognized that the negotiations in Moscow would be "extremely difficult" and that it seemed doubtful whether a draft treaty for Germany would be ready for consideration. The outspoken tone of the United States' protest on Soviet interference in Hungary and the unhelpful and unrepentant nature of the Soviet reply, as well as M. Gromyko's categorical rejection of the Baruch plan for the control of atomic energy, are not believed to augur well for the success of the Moscow proceedings. In some quarters there is a lingering hope that the Conference may yet pave the way for the acceptance of a Four-Power pact along the lines proposed by Mr. Byrnes, and the Dunkirk treaty between Great Britain and France has been welcomed as a step in this direction. Nevertheless, in the bulk of American comment the emphasis is upon the need to contain Soviet ambitions, rather than upon the desirability of reaching any accommodation with the Russians. In reviewing recent attempts to keep Soviet power and influence in check "by supporting opposition to it around the immense periphery from Manchuria and Korea through the Middle East, the Balkans and Central Europe," Mr. Walter Lippmann reaches the sombre conclusion that "the situation on virtually every part of this diplomatic front is worse than when we undertook to maintain it." He therefore suggests that the United States and Great Britain concentrate their resources at keypoints like Germany, Western Europe, Turkey and Japan, and from these try to exert "a direct leverage upon Moscow." Something like this also appears to be the prevailing trend of thought at the State Department. Special departmental committees, covering the State, Treasury, War and Navy Departments, are now being set up in Washington to study the position in countries like Italy, Austria, Hungary, Greece, Turkey, Persia and China, which lie on the Soviet "periphery," and to formulate a policy for the United States to pursue there. Following the recent proposals for conversations with this country (see last week's *Summary*) the State Department has expressed a desire to learn more precisely the views of His Majesty's Government regarding the situation produced by Soviet Communist pressure upon Russia's neighbours, and it has intimated that it would welcome co-operation with us on this matter.

In his much-publicised speech of the 6th March at Waco, Texas, where he received an honorary degree from Baylor University, President Truman said little about the political aspects of present world problems. He pleaded in the main for bipartisan support for his economic policy abroad and championed the principles upon which the International Trade Organisation is to be based. He spoke fervently of the need for "free enterprise" in the world to-day, saying that the one thing which Americans valued more than peace was freedom: "freedom of worship, freedom of speech, and freedom of enterprise." Yet he assured the country that his Government did not intend to eliminate tariffs or to establish free trade. Tariffs would not be "cut across the board." Furthermore, as ordained in his executive order of the 25th February giving effect to the proposals which Senators Vandenberg and Millikin had worked out with the State Department (see *Summary* No. 380), a proviso would be inserted into every future trade agreement to permit the withdrawal of any concession which was found to jeopardise any American industrial interest.

On the 6th March the U.S. Supreme Court announced its decision to uphold the conviction of Mr. John L. Lewis and the United Mineworkers for failing to obey an injunction restraining the miners from breaking their contract with the Government last November. Mr. Lewis and the union were originally convicted by a Federal District Court on the 4th December last. The Supreme Court also confirmed the fine of $10,000 imposed upon Mr. Lewis personally, but ordered the fine of $3,500,000 imposed upon the union to be reduced to $700,000. Justices Frank Murphy and Wiley B. Rutledge both wrote dissenting opinions, arguing that the Norris–La Guardia Act did not permit the Government to use injunctions and that the methods employed to break the strike were therefore illegal.

LATIN AMERICA

Argentina

At a demonstration in Buenos Aires on the 24th February to mark the first anniversary of his election, President Perón proclaimed a ten-point "Bill of Rights of the Argentine Workers." This laid down for all the people of the Argentine the right to work for fair remuneration, to social security and welfare, proper working conditions, economic betterment, family protection and the right to form trade unions freely, with repression of all acts that might impede their working. With this declaration, the President said, Argentina had placed herself in the vanguard of the working masses of the entire world.

In a warning to the Communists, President Perón said that neither the Government nor the workers' movements would allow themselves to become the medium of Communist anti-patriotic designs, and they would not allow the liberty enjoyed by the workers to be exploited by those who represented nothing, had done nothing for the workers' benefit, and would use labour forces to impede the work of the Government. The Government and the Army, he insisted, were the faithful guardians of the workers' rights and of public order.

Chile

The labour situation in Chile has slightly improved since the beginning of the year, and none of the recent strike threats and short stoppages have occasioned a serious break in production or transport services. The decision of the Government to nationalise the National Tramway services—which with the Railways are virtually insolvent—and the precarious position of the Communist element in the Government, may have had a sobering effect on Labour, though the main deterrent to further strikes seems to lie in the indignation of large sections of the public at the effect of last year's strikes on production. A conciliatory gesture recently made by the Communist Party, in the form of a plan for production and "no more strikes," puts forward some sweeping and impractical measures of control in a framework of economic orthodoxy and Communist ideology and is hardly likely to prove a cure for Chile's economic ailments. Meanwhile the Communists indulge in their familiar sport of rowdy meetings and lose no opportunity of attacking the Socialists, with whom their feud is as bitter as ever. Unfortunately the former Minister of the Interior, Admiral Merino, is no longer available for dealing with disturbances.

In this setting the President's control is uncertain. He tries to manipulate problems rather than grasp them, and is criticised for spending his time in an effort to reconcile politically the many delegations that visit him, instead of dealing with problems of state. He has obviously disappointed many of his supporters, and a great deal depends on the ratification and success of the agreement with Argentina (see *Summary* Nos. 373 and 380) his only, and doubtful achievement, so far. In any event the popularity of the present Government is likely to be tested at the municipal elections which are due to take place in April.

Guatemala

The new Guatemalan Congress, which met on the 1st March to hear the President's message, is in a curious position. On the ground that the 1946 election was unconstitutional all independent parties, with one exception, declined to participate in the Congress elections, which, accordingly, resulted in a victory for the Government party by 29 to 5. The view of the Independents is strengthened by the Association of Guatemalan Lawyers, who have decided by a considerable majority that certain articles of the Election Law are unconstitutional. The Independent Parties are now organizing mass demonstrations to declare the elections null and void. The leader of the Guatemalan Independent Party has pronounced that the legality of the Election Law must be decided by Congress alone and has said that they naturally will not vote themselves out of their seats. Under pressure they would probably amend the law and regularize their position.

Uruguay

The inauguration of Sr. Tomás Berreta as President of Uruguay took place on the 1st March. In a speech which has merited the approval of all political sectors, the President emphasized his determination to carry out his great responsibilities, without deviating from constitutional rights and duties, with unbiased mind and unmoved by political passion. He referred to Uruguay's ceaseless effort for social improvement and her democratic sense, and he interpreted the "singularly expressive demonstrations" attending his recent journey to the United States and the

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presence of forty Special Missions at his inauguration as a homage paid, not to himself, but to the Uruguayan people. Sr. Berreta's first cabinet has now been formed as follows:—

Interior: Sr. Giordano Eccher.
Foreign Affairs: Sr. Marques Castro.
Finance: Sr. Hector Alvarez Cina.
Industry: Sr. Alberto Zubiria.
Public Works: Sr. Orestes Lanza.
Public Instruction: Sr. Francisco Forteza.
Health: Sr. Enrique Claveaux.
National Defence: General Pedro A. Munar.
Livestock and Agriculture: Sr. Aquiles Espalter.

With the exceptions of those holding the portfolios of Finance and National Defence all of the Ministers are new-comers.

UNITED NATIONS

Security Council

No Soviet statesman has defended the veto with more skill and less principle than did Mr. Gromyko before the Security Council on the 5th March. He broke confidence by quoting from a Soviet record of the secret discussions between President Roosevelt, Mr. Churchill and Marshal Stalin at Yalta to prove that the veto was due to American initiative, backed for selfish reasons of Empire by Great Britain; and that Russia agreed only because she realised that peace depended upon the unanimity of the Great Powers. He quoted Mr. Churchill as foreseeing the possibility of China demanding the "return of Hong Kong," or Egypt raising the question of the Suez Canal, and Great Britain feeling secure behind the veto; but "Generalissimo Stalin agreed with the proposals of Roosevelt and Churchill, since the principle of unanimity of the Great Powers corresponds to the interests of co-operation among them and to the interests of international peace." The fact is, of course, that the Russian representatives at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference five months previously had held most firmly to the veto, claiming the right even in cases where a Great Power was a party to a dispute: the Americans cleaved less strongly to the veto than Russia, but for all that set great store on it; and the United Kingdom delegation proposed specifically to deny the vote to parties to a dispute. Russia rejected this, and the United Kingdom then evolved a compromise which the U.S. took the initiative in proposing to the Russians at Yalta, and which became the ultimate solution (see *Summary* No. 283 under "United Nations").

M. Gromyko's speech was reported at length in all Moscow papers, the second and third parts, with the heading "more about the Veto" occupying seven columns on the 8th March. It can be inferred that the Soviet Government considered it important for the Russian public to know the history of the veto, to realise that in defending it, the Government were defending international peace, and to understand that the Americans and British, in attacking the veto were not only attacking peace, but they were innovators, who broke the agreements they had made. There is a parallel between the Mr. Gromyko of today and the Sir Edward Cokes of the XVIIth century in the high value each of them attaches to precedent, and in the defects in their historical scholarship. The parallel would be still closer if Sir Edward had been present at Runnymede or Mr. Gromyko absent from Dumbarton Oaks or Yalta.

Mr. Gromyko's speech contained little that he had not already put to the Council on the 14th February, or the 18th when he tabled the Russian amendments to the Report of the Atomic Energy Commission. He had already argued that atomic weapons must be banned and abolished before a system of control was elaborated, and that the agency of control must work within the framework of the Security Council. In his amendments he proposed the omission from the Report of all reference to the research and development activities of the Atomic Development Agency, and of its relation to development inside the various nations. All this he repeated on the 4th March but, as he himself said, "realistically": Prohibition must precede control. The United States held a contrary view in order to create a monopoly and dominate the world. International control is necessary; but it can be planned at leisure after the bombs have been destroyed. Such control must not interfere with production of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

To propose, as did the Baruch Plan of June 1946, to transfer enterprises of production and research to international ownership was tantamount to transferring them to the control of the United States.

This would be incompatible with State sovereignty and would not be accepted. Such control was an "excuse for interference in the economic life of other countries." Such interference could not, "in reality," be governed by a majority vote. "The Soviet Union cannot allow such a situation. It is aware that there will be a majority in the control organs which may take one-sided decisions, a majority on whose benevolent attitude the Soviet people cannot count." There must be no right of unlimited inspection, right to shut down plants, to interfere with mining or milling operations, to grant licences, &c. M. Gromyko then selected, to support his contentions, convenient passages from the report of the British Atomic Scientists Association, and left out others.

Turning to the question of violations, he agreed that violators must be punished, "if their guilt was proved"; but no progress was possible in this direction unless the full use of the veto were accepted. This was the central point of his speech, a defence of the veto, that great national bulwark against international interference with "national sovereignty"; and Russia knows what "interference" the United Nations can be persuaded to undertake.

It was something of an anti-climax when on the 10th March the Security Council agreed, unanimously, to a revised U.S. resolution, requesting the Atomic Energy Commission to continue its work, and hoping that a new Report will be ready before the Assembly meets in September. At this same meeting Senator Austin refuted many of M. Gromyko's charges, and M. Parodi (France) spoke of Russia's "conventional" conception of national sovereignty. He did not use the word "reactionary."

THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE

The Conference of the four Foreign Ministers, Mr. Bevin, Mr. Marshall, M. Bidault and M. Molotov opened on the 10th March. The Ministers will meet every afternoon, their Deputies every morning. Two changes have been made in the Deputies who met in London. Then, M. Gusev and M. Couve de Murville played a double rôle. Now M. Vyshinsky takes M. Gusev's place for Germany and M. Jacques-Camille, Paris, Minister-Plenipotentiary in London, is the French Deputy for Austria. It was agreed, provisionally to follow the agenda drawn up at New York, the main items of which are: (1) Allied Control Council's Report; (*a*) Demilitarisation, Denazification, Democratisation, Economic principles, reparations: (*b*) establishment of a central administration: (*c*) Liquidation of Prussia. (2) The Provisional Political Organisation of Germany. (3) Preparation of the German treaty. (4) The U.S. Draft Disarmament treaty. (5) Report of the Committee of Coal Experts. (6) The Deputies' Report on the Austrian treaty.

To give the Conference a good start, Mr. Bevin, as it were, put in his thumb and pulled out a plum, and said let us liquidate Prussia. It was unanimously agreed that Prussia as an administrative unit should be legally liquidated.

The Russian red herring which can usually be expected on such occasions was produced by M. Molotov in his request for a discussion on China. This was, to say the least, remarkably tactless in view of the presence of the French, who had been absent in 1945 and who would therefore be ignored again. M. Bidault's comments had a tartness worthy of the occasion. M. Molotov's argument was that the three Foreign Ministers (U.S.S.R., U.S. and U.K.) had agreed in Moscow in December 1945 that there was need for a democratic China, an end of civil strife and a withdrawal of Allied troops from China. The three should therefore discuss how the 1945 intentions had been carried out. Mr. Bevin and Mr. Marshall both refused to discuss China at the Conference, in China's absence; but Mr. Bevin suggested, and Mr. Marshall agreed, that the three Ministers could exchange views unofficially and away from the Conference. Indeed, the 1945 discussions on China had been unofficial in the sense that they took place outside the framework of the Council of Foreign Ministers. Neither Mr. Bevin nor Mr. Marshall agreed to M. Molotov's idea that a communiqué should be issued after these conversations. The Chinese Communists are believed to have been expecting their cause to be championed at the Moscow Conference, and the Nanking Government has insisted strongly that the subject of China shall not be raised, and certainly no decisions reached in China's absence.

Tuesday's discussions centred on the demilitarisation of Germany, and M. Molotov renewed old charges that the Western Zones were maintaining the German "war potential," and that the British, in particular, were maintaining

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German military formations. He proposed that the Conference instruct the Control Council to eliminate the "war potential" by the end of 1948, disband German formations, and disband and return home all non-German formations. This was the old Soviet demand for enforced repatriation, which Mr. Bevin once more rejected. He refuted the charge of maintaining military formations and reserved his full reply until Wednesday, the 12th, only asking meanwhile a question most awkward for the Russians—how many prisoners-of-war were still outside Germany. M. Molotov contrasted the high percentage of warlike factories which the Russians had dismantled and removed.

It has been agreed to add the Trieste report to the Conference Agenda.

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REPEAT
REPETER

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary
No. 385

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
19TH MARCH, 1947

Copy Nº 143

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SPECIAL ARTICLE

THE SUDAN

I.—Under Egyptian and Mahdist Rule

The peculiar status of the Sudan and the relation in which it stands to both Great Britain and Egypt have proved to be the stumbling-block preventing the satisfactory conclusion of His Majesty's Government's negotiations with the Government of Egypt for a revision of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936.

For an understanding of that status it is necessary to give a brief outline of events from the conquest of the Sudan by Muhammad Ali Pasha, the founder of the present dynasty in Egypt to the signing of the Condominium Agreements in 1899. It was for the purpose of procuring gold and slaves that Muhammad Ali Pasha decided in 1820 to invade the Sudan; he dispatched one army under his son Ismail to conquer the Fung kingdom in the east and another under his son-in-law Muhammed Bey the Defterdar to occupy the western province of Kordofan and destroy the Fur forces. Both men carried out their allotted tasks successfully.

In the Sultan's firman of 1841 the Government of the Sudan was confirmed to Muhammad Ali Pasha for his lifetime only but was included in the hereditary domains of his dynasty by later firmans. It remained, however, under the nominal juridical sovereignty of the Sultan.

The Egyptian officials who were sent to administer the Sudan instituted a policy of merciless exploitation of the natives; deprived of all their wealth they were forced to surrender themselves as slaves in lieu of taxes. After the middle of the century, when Egyptian control had been firmly established over the northern provinces, these slave-trading activities were extended to the southern Sudan, where they were carried out principally by Arab

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traders. These Arab intruders, having armed forces at their disposal, became petty potentates virtually independent of Egyptian authority. Attempts by the Khedives Said and Ismail to abolish the slave trade and break the power of the traders met with little success, even though a number of Europeans, including General Gordon, were employed for this purpose.

In the meantime Egyptian jurisdiction was extended to Suakin and Massawa, as a result of a firman from the Sultan to Khedive Ismail; Keren, part of the Ailet province and Harrar were occupied; and Zeila and the coastal rights to and including Berbera were acquired by purchase from the Sultan. After several expeditions to equatorial Sudan, territory extending to the north-east of Lake Albert was annexed, while Darfur province in the west was taken on behalf of Egypt by a powerful slave-trader.

Egyptian control of the Sudan and her other possessions was lost, however, as a result of the successful rebellion of al-Mahdi, the religious leader, which broke out in 1881.

Although Great Britain took Egypt under her tutelage in 1882 Her Majesty's Government had no intention of becoming involved in the Sudan. The Khedive's Government, however, were determined to assert their authority and, in 1883, sent an expedition under General Hicks with the hope of smashing the Mahdi. This was annihilated, and during the ensuing months, province after province was lost, General Gordon, who was sent early in 1884 with the task of evacuating the remaining Egyptian garrisons, was besieged in Khartoum. He was killed and the town was captured by the dervishes in January 1885. From this date began a period of appalling misrule under the Mahdi and his successor, the Khalifah, and the population was wasted by famine and disease as a result of continuous internecine wars.

Any attempt to reconquer the Sudan was deferred, on Lord Cromer's advice, because of the financial position of Egypt and of the inefficiency of the Egyptian Army, although it was strenuously advocated by sections of public opinion in both England and Egypt. In 1896, however, Her Majesty's Government decided that an expedition should be undertaken to reoccupy Dongola in order both to secure Egypt's southern frontier and to support the Italians who had just suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Abyssinians at Adowa. It was manifest that the campaign, once started, could not be terminated until the Mahdi was defeated. It was therefore continued until 1898 when the Mahdi was routed at the battle of Omdurman. (Some resistance continued until 1900 and Darfur remained practically independent until 1916.)

II.—The Condominium

After reconquest the problem arose of providing an administration which would enable the Sudan to recover from the evil effects of both Egyptian and Mahdist misrule. The British Government were chary of any attempt to annex the country, partly for fear of international complications—specifically with Turkey and France. Eventually, wishing to associate Egypt with the governance of the country for the sake of Egyptian prestige but unwilling to allow the Sudan to relapse into misrule and anarchy, the British Government decided to set up a "Condominium." Accordingly agreements were signed in 1899 with Egypt to achieve this aim. The main agreement which is described as "relative to the future administration of the Sudan" was designed

> "to give effect to the claims which have accrued to Her Britannic Majesty's Government, by right of conquest, to share in the present settlement and future working and development of the said system of administration and legislation . . . ."

The chief provisions were that the British and Egyptian flags should be flown side by side throughout the Sudan; supreme military and civil command was to be invested in the Governor-General, who was to be appointed by Khedivial decree on the recommendation of the British Government and in whom full legislative powers were to be vested; neither Egyptian legislation nor the jurisdiction of the Mixed Courts or the Capitulations were applicable to the Sudan; Egyptian goods going into the Sudan were to be free of import duty. The second agreement abrogated a special provision in the first document by which Suakin, the port on the Red Sea, was exempted from the régime to be set up.

Relations with Egypt

There was a section of Egyptian opinion which had never acquiesced in the conclusion of the Condominium Agreement, but opposition to it and to the gradual increase of British influence in the Sudan remained dormant for some years.

Egyptian officials are always reluctant to move far from their homes, and the Sudan is to them (whatever their politicians may say) a distant, alien and uncomfortable country. The Sudanese had no pleasant memories of their rule, and it was thus natural that the control of the administration should be assumed by the picked team of British officials headed by the Governor-General. When the Protectorate over Egypt was declared in 1914 the status of the Sudan was unaffected, and when Egyptian independence was proclaimed by the unilateral Declaration of His Majesty's Government in 1922 the question was reserved for later negotiation.

But in 1924 the Egyptians, led by their Prime Minister Zaghlul Pasha, became particularly insistent upon the indissoluble unity of the Sudan and Egypt and, under their guidance, a subversive organization, the White Flag League, was formed in the Sudan. This led to serious unrest amongst the Egyptian army units, and after the murder in November that year of Sir Lee Stack, Governor-General of the Sudan and Sirdar of the Egyptian Army, the withdrawal of these units was one of the demands in the ultimatum presented to Zaghlul Pasha by Lord Allenby, the High Commissioner in Cairo. In a second Note agreement was required for the creation of a Sudan Defence force "owing allegiance to the Sudan Government alone and under the supreme command of the Governor-General." The relative status of the co-domini thus underwent a change unfavourable to Egyptian aspirations. In the 1936 treaty the question was shelved by both parties reserving the right to conclude new agreements in the future modifying those of 1899.

Between 1924 and 1936 attempts to conclude an Anglo-Egyptian treaty had broken down over one aspect or another of the Sudan question, but it was not until the negotiations begun last year—which are too recent to require recapitulation—that Egypt had made a specific claim to absolute sovereignty over the Sudan *in perpetuity*.

Anglo-Egyptian relations with regard to the Sudan had been embittered and rendered difficult through the renewal during the war of Egyptian efforts to gain influence and reassert their rights in the Sudan by their previous subversive methods. Apart from giving support to the extremist pro-Egyptian party, they have utilized the existing economic, educational and religious channels there to spread their propaganda, while in Egypt a virulent press campaign from 1944 onwards demanded the "Unity of the Nile."

III.—The Development of Political Consciousness

Nationalism, as opposed to the hitherto prevalent tribal and religious loyalties, first made itself felt in the Sudan in 1924 after the suppression of the White Flag Society and the expulsion of the Egyptian army units and civilian officials. Political consciousness, inspired by Egyptian propaganda and intrigue, sought a new orientation and found it under the slogan "Sudan for the Sudanese." Resentment that the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 was concluded without any reference to the Sudanese with regard to the article effecting their status, provided a further impetus to the embryonic movement. The setting up of the Graduates Congress in 1937 provided an opportunity for the expression of these sentiments. Although the Sudan Government had agreed to give consideration to the views of Congress, provided that it acted as a semi-public organization interesting itself in philanthropy and public affairs, an extremist element among its members consistently attempted to direct its activities into political channels and to follow a policy both hostile and obstructive to the administration. Claiming to represent the opinion of the nation, it demanded in 1942 an immediate declaration by the British and Egyptian Governments that they would grant the Sudan the right of self-determination after the war. At the end of 1943 Saiyid Abdur-Rahman al Mahdi, son of al-Mahdi, the conqueror of the Sudan in the last century, although he had in the first place given encouragement to the Congress, decided to withdraw his support on account of the pro-Egyptian attitude adopted by the extremist party, which now became known as the Ashigga and was led by Ismail al-Azhari. The Saiyid is the religious head of the Mahdists and thus has a considerable following in the provinces of Western Sudan as also from among the riverine population south of Khartoum. Soon after he withdrew his support from Congress, it found a new sponsor in his opponent Saiyid Ali al Mirghani, leader of the religious sect of Khatmia, which is the dominant power in Northern and Eastern Sudan, including

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the big towns. While the rivalry between the Mahdist and Mirghani factions was, and still is, a constant factor of Sudanese politics, several other parties weighed in with clearly defined policies on the future status of the Sudan. The Ashigga favoured a complete political and administrative union of the Nile Valley under the Egyptian Crown; the middle group composed of the Ahrar, Ittihadyin and Qawmiyin parties desired union with Egypt on the basis of two self-governing and equal nations; the older graduates, senior officials and Mahdists made the achievement of independence their chief aim, after which they could make a free choice as to their future status. In April, 1945, this latter group formed the Umma party, which received the blessing of Saiyid Abdur-Rahman al-Mahdi, who for some time had been alleged by his opponents to be aspiring to be recognised as ruler of the whole Sudan. After lengthy negotiations the parties collaborated in sending a single unofficial delegation to Cairo to be present during the negotiations for the revision of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty. Their common demands were the acceptance by the Condominium Powers of a free democratic Sudanese Government in union with Egypt; his Government would decide the form of the union, and on the basis of such union would enter into an alliance with Great Britain. The alternative Egyptian formula of one Crown, one army and one system of foreign representation (which was accepted by Ismail al Azhary, the leader of the delegation) being unacceptable to the Umma and members of the middle parties, they returned after a few days to Khartoum.

As a result of Sidky Pasha's misleading statement in October 1946 that the British Government had accepted the unity of Egypt and the Sudan, the Umma party, which had up to then been well disposed towards the Sudan Government, veered round and became extremely hostile to the Government as well as to its rival, the Ashigga party. Reassuring statements with regard to the Sudan's right of self-determination, however, made both by the Governor-General and the Mahdist leader after their visits to London restored the confidence of the Umma, which resumed its collaboration with the Government. It is to be hoped that the clear statement by the Foreign Secretary in the House of Commons on 27th December, 1946, will have finally removed all misunderstandings about the attitude and policy of His Majesty's Government.

EUROPE

GERMANY

During the first week of meetings between the four Foreign Ministers in Moscow a good deal of sober and useful discussion took place which, on the whole, had the effect of clearing the air rather than of accentuating disagreement, although the most contentious questions such as economic unity were not debated. On the 10th March Mr. Bevin took the initiative in proposing that the Council should confirm the decision of the Control Authorities to liquidate the Prussian State (see *Summary* No. 303). The Russians had been eager for this final seal of approval. Next day the Ministers began discussion of the Control Council's Report and during the week covered "demilitarisation." "denazification and democratisation" and "Displaced Persons."

As regards demilitarisation, the French Delegate, M. Bidault, laid chief emphasis on the need to examine carefully how the industrial potential of Germany should be curtailed in those industries which, although ostensibly designed for peace production, were easily convertible to war purposes. He appeared reasonably satisfied with progress on the other aspects of demilitarisation, and this view was shared by the American Delegate, Mr. Marshall, who, however, was not happy about the progress made in the reduction of heavy industry and considered this question integrally linked with that of economic unity. M. Molotov made his expected attack—backed by circumstantial detail against the Western Allies for their slackness in liquidating war industries. He contrasted the fact, announced for the first time, that 676 out of 733 war plants in the Soviet Zone had been removed as reparations or dismantled with conditions in the west where by the 1st January, 1947, only 7 per cent. of war factories in the British Zone had been dismantled and only 40 plants from the three Western Zones had been wholly or partly deprived of equipment for reparations. In fact the Control Council's Report stated that up to the 1st January, 1947 work had been begun on 29½ plants, the French having loaded only 7 tons of equipment. A larger number of plants have been allocated to the different nations, for example 40 from the British Zone alone

up to October 1946. These figures do not, of course, include armament installations which have been destroyed. Indeed, Mr. Marshall later told the Conference that 80 out of 117 armament plants in the U.S. Zone had been liquidated and was congratulated on this result by M. Molotov, who wished the same could be said of other Zones.

M. Molotov also attacked the presence of what he stated to be units of non-German nationals in the Western Zones and the *Dienstgruppen* in the British Zone. He proposed that a plan should be made by the 1st July, 1947, for the elimination of all German industrial war potential by the end of 1948; all war installations should be destroyed by the end of 1949; remaining German military organisations should be dissolved by the 1st June, 1947; and all units of non-German nationals should be disbanded. Mr. Marshall asked that the Foreign Ministers' Deputies should consider, together with M. Molotov's proposals, a resolution that the Council noted the Report on demilitarization and the substantial progress made in this field and directed the Control Authority to proceed without delay to complete demilitarization. Mr. Bevin's main Statement was made on the 12th March. He considered M. Molotov's anxieties about the *Dienstgruppen* to be unreal. They comprised only some 80,000 men who were not organized in military formations, while by contrast three million members of the *Wehrmacht* had been disbanded in the Zone. The *Dienstgruppen* were employed on such work as mine clearance on which it was not intended to risk British lives. M. Molotov was informed, however, that it was hoped to replace these groups with ordinary labour under civil contract by the end of 1947. As for the non-German nationals, particularly the so-called Royal Yugoslav Army, the latter had been disbanded and its members given the status of displaced persons. Some had joined the civilian Mixed Watchmen's Corps for special guard duties—a step which did not infringe any Allied obligation. Mr. Bevin then asked for denials of reports that ex-German soldiers were serving with the Soviet Forces and that several million prisoners-of-war were held in the Soviet Union. The general progress of disarmament was not unsatisfactory, but a black spot was the Russian failure to destroy damaged German warships as they were bound to do under the Potsdam Agreement. (It will be recalled that the Soviet authorities have been repeatedly questioned on this subject and that there was reason to think that some ships were being reconstructed.) M. Molotov later admitted to the Conference that they had been unable to carry out the work but promised that it should be done. Mr. Bevin then refuted allegations about the existence of cartels in the British Zone. He did not disagree with M. Molotov's low figures for removals of equipment from the Western Zones, but pointed out that economic unity had been a basic assumption of the level of industry plan and of the Potsdam Agreement. While agreeing with M. Molotov on the need for a plan to be drawn up by July of this year he insisted that they must first know whether there would be economic unity. Moreover, experience had shown that the present plan needed review. A full study should be made, but to do so it was essential to know how much industrial equipment had been removed and how much remained; M. Molotov's figures were interesting but shed no real light on the position of peaceful industries or the extent to which firms had been transferred to Soviet hands. (It is estimated that in Saxony Soviet-owned companies account for 59 per cent. of all industrial production and that they enjoy a privileged position as regards labour and supplies.) Mr. Bevin said he did not wish the question of demilitarization to be dealt with in isolation from other subjects.

On the 13th March Mr. Marshall and M. Bidault urged the need of uniform denazification procedure, although M. Bidault objected to Mr. Marshall's plan for the Control Council, without acting through Zone Commanders, to instruct the Germans to draft a law. Mr. Marshall attacked the Soviet authorities for clearing former Nazis who joined the Socialist Unity Party. M. Molotov denied this allegation and dwelt mainly on the shortcoming of other Zones, mentioning Herren Dinkelbach and Poensgen as examples of Nazis now holding prominent positions in the British Zone. Mr. Bevin, while deprecating the system of accusation and counter-accusation, turned the tables by giving the names of five Nazis holding important posts in the Soviet Zone; the names of some forty others, he said, were available. In the British Zone nearly 300,000 Nazis had been deprived of posts, apart from 34,000 in internment. Mr. Bevin did not commit himself to direct

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support of Mr. Marshall's proposal for uniform denazification laws. He called for a word of approval on the progress made so far.

On the question of democratisation there were some exchanges of opinion about the varying electoral procedures of the zones and Mr. Bevin attacked the suppression of the Social Democrats in the Soviet Zone. On the following day (14th) the U.S. representative read a paper on democracy in which he called for agreed civil rights for the individual and parties and freedom of Trades Unions, press and movement. He also answered Soviet allegations about denazification in the U.S. Zone and said that 9,000 members of the *Wehrmacht* employed in the Zone were not in military formations and were being disbanded. M. Bidault re-stated the French view that it would be dangerous at present to make any advance towards the unification of political parties and Trades Unions. He said that in the French Zone denazification had been directly applied against Nazis in high positions and the rank and file had been spared. (In fact the French attach little value to denazification.) M. Molotov concluded the debate by giving the known Soviet view that freedom of speech must not mean freedom to propagate Hitlerism and aggression. He was still critical of denazification in the West, but announced that the Soviet Government would check up immediately on the five prominent Nazis employed in the Soviet Zone.

An important step in the Conference was the agreement of the Soviet representative to produce figures on prisoners of war in Russia. These were circulated on the 14th March, after details had been given by the other Powers. It was stated that 890,532 prisoners remained in the Soviet Union and that since the surrender 1,003,974 persons—the statement did not specifiy that they were all prisoners of war—had been repatriated. The former figure will be a bitter blow to the Germans as it had been frequently estimated that there were still at least 2–2½ and possibly 4 million Germans in Russian hands. Less than 200,000 prisoners have been repatriated since July 1946 and no details have been given of the earlier groups. It was not stated how soon the rest would be repatriated. Prisoners-of-war in British hands outside Germany number 435,295. They are being returned at the rate of 17,500 a month, and this rate will be increased. Mr. Bevin stressed the need for all prisoners to return as soon as possible in order to help build a balanced labour force. The United States hold only 30,976 prisoners, and repatriation is to be completed by June 1947, but France still holds 631,483, and, as in the case of the Soviet Union, no date was given for their return, although those living in the Saar are being sent home.

Perhaps the most interesting contribution of the week was the French proposal for large-scale emigration from Germany in order to reduce her over-population which was likely to be a constant danger to the rest of Europe and particularly to France with her inferior man-power resources. M. Bidault pointed out that there were now 66 million people in the reduced Germany amounting to 185 persons per sq. kilometre or 40 more than in 1933. When all Germans had been repatriated the total population would amount to 196 persons per sq. kilometre; this was a greater density of population than in any part of Europe except Holland and Belgium, and the comparison with France was 3 to 1 and even worse for Poland. The French Government therefore suggested that there should be no transfers of German population beyond those already agreed and that even those should stop where the interested Powers approved. Displaced persons should be repatriated or settled elsewhere. Emigration should be encouraged and France was willing to take her share of Germans. There must be a high enough standard of living in Germany to ensure political and economic stabilisation. Mr. Marshall expressed particular interest in these views. Mr. Bevin gave an account of the serious over-crowding in the British Zone as well as of the achievements in repatriating 2 million displaced persons and pointed out that whereas the British Zone had increased its population by 2½ million since 1939 that of the French Zone had decreased. He asked for a review of all previous agreements and said that until then the British Zone could undertake no new commitments to receive refugees. The Germans themselves should be made responsible for redistributing inside Germany those already admitted, and the Control Council should set up a Commission of Germans for this purpose. The Russians made a criticism of the treatment of displaced persons in the Western Zones as also a number of proposals for preventing "fascist" influence in displaced persons camps. All these proposals are to be considered later.

Other events of the week have naturally been overshadowed by the Conference. Comment on the Conference in the German press has not yet crystallised. Full and accurate reports of proceedings were given in the British, American and French licensed papers in Berlin, but the Soviet-controlled press, while reporting in detail, has been busy manipulating the headlines in order to place the Western Allies in an unfavourable light, and this has been combined with lengthy reporting of German speeches in support of German unity. Pieck and Grotewohl of the Socialist Unity Party have gained admission to the U.S. Zone once more in order to propagate these views. It was announced on the 4th March that one aim of this journey was to speed up the concentration of forces of the Western Communists with the S.E.D., and that one difference to be overcome was the Communists' disagreement on the S.E.D. *bloc* policy (see last week's *Summary*). A resolution passed by the S.P.D. executive in Hanover on the 13th March stated that the S.P.D. favoured the political and constitutional unity of Germany. There must be a Central Parliament elected on the basis of equal electoral rights and representing all German people. The German republic must be a federal State (*Bundesstaat*) but not a mere confederacy, while the S.P.D. equally opposed the attempts at neo-national communism, a road leading to a totalitarian State by way of supercentralisation. The S.P.D. wishes to see alongside a Reichstag, a Reich Council elected by the respective Diets, and the Party therefore seems to be drawing nearer to H.M. Government's conception of a federal structure in which the *Laender* would have direct representation.

The United States Government are already taking action to implement some of the suggestions made in Mr. Hoover's report on food conditions which were outlined in *Summary* No. 383, particularly with regard to soup kitchens for feeding children and old people, and extra shipments of seed potatoes. Action is being considered on other aspects of the report.

In the Political Directorate on the 5th March the Russians, surprisingly, approved in principle a new draft proposal circulated by the French on the political activity of police and public servants. This has long been a bone of contention, but agreement now seems possible.

(See also under "France.")

AUSTRIA

In Moscow the Special Committee set up to discuss the thorny question of German assets has reported to the Ministers' Deputies, who have confirmed the Committee's recommendation that the provisions of the Treaty on the subject of German assets should include a recognition by Austria of the Potsdam decision. No agreement was reached on the question of the transfer of title to the assets, the Soviet Deputy maintaining (as in the London talks) that this had already been effected under the Potsdam Agreement. "Eastern Austria" has still not been defined, but the Deputies have agreed that the Treaty should contain a definition of German assets. The Russians still insist that this definition should be their own, but they have at least agreed to the principle that definition is a matter for four-Power agreement and not solely for Soviet dictation to the Austrian Government. Under Soviet pressure in Vienna the Austrian Government have agreed to draw up and discuss lists of German assets about whose status there should be no doubt, but they have decided not to make transfers until the question is settled in Moscow.

In connection with this burning problem a *New Times* article on the 10th March has sought to disprove the Austrian Government's contention that the Austrian economy suffered from the Nazi occupation and to show that German capital was well established in Austria before the *Anschluss;* it has also condemned the Austrian law of the 26th July, 1946, nationalising German assets, as an attempt to revise the Potsdam decisions and as giving Anglo-American monopolies the chance of buying up nationalised enterprises. Other points recently discussed by the Ministers' Deputies at Moscow include the size of Austria's land army and the Soviet proposals for the limitation of the number and supply of airfields and the limitation of armaments to those of national manufacture. The last proposal would seriously hinder for some time the armament of the Austrian forces. No agreement was reached on any of these points.

At the Allied Council meeting on the 15th March there was an inconclusive discussion on measures to be taken against the infiltration into Austria by German-speaking and other "national" groups from Hungary and Yugoslavia. The British Representative referred to the embarrassment caused both to the Austrian State and the Occupying Powers by the continued arrival of *Volksdeutsche* from Yugoslavia, due to the Yugoslav Government's policy of expelling all *Volksdeutsche* from their country. With regard to the

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considerably reduced March allocation of liquid fuel for the Austrian Government, the Soviet representative refused to accede to a British request for an explanatory statement, maintaining that questions relating to Austrian fuel concerned the Soviet element and the Austrian Government alone. It was the British view that the Soviet representative's attitude was incorrect, since the shortage of oil affected the whole of Austria; General Winterton's question as to whether the oil was being sold to Czechoslovakia or elsewhere was left unanswered. The reduction in the liquid fuel supply has caused the Austrian Government to take strict economy measures in the use of motor spirit.

In his report to President Truman on the food situation in Austria Mr. Hoover estimated that rations in Austria are better balanced than in Germany and that, with supplementary unrationed food, the normal consumer's daily ration reached 1,900 calories. Mr. Hoover recommended that relief should be limited to food, medicine and agricultural supplies at a total cost for fifteen months of 155 million dollars, of which 86 million should come from the United States. He concluded that if land and industrial equipment were freely restored to Austria under the Peace Treaty and the occupying forces withdrawn, Austria could contribute to the cost of food imports in the second half of 1948 and could become self-supporting within two or three years.

On the 13th March the Austrian press announced that Herr Piesch, the Provincial Governor of Carinthia, had resigned his post at the request of the Austrian Socialist Party in order that Yugoslav disapproval of him personally might not prejudice Carinthia's interests at the Moscow Conference. In effect Piesch's resignation has been ordered by the Federal Chancellor as a result of the discovery of certain incriminating evidence regarding Piesch's pro-Nazi activities during the war. When the case was investigated by the Allied Council in mid-February, at the request of the Deputies in London, the available evidence did not warrant Western support for the Soviet/Yugoslav accusations against Herr Piesch.

The Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg, Dr. Rohracher, has denied Austria's responsibility for her part in Hitler's war on the grounds that Austria did not exist at that time and that both the U.S.S.R. and the Western Powers had acquiesced in Austria's annexation by Germany. He has also protested that "thousands of political prisoners" in Austria are still awaiting interrogation and has advocated leniency in the application of the new National Socialist Law to those who succumbed to propaganda and force of circumstances. Dr. Rohracher has attributed the slowness of Austria's reconstruction to the country's division into four zones.

(See also under "Czechoslovakia.")

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The case expounding the moderate Czechoslovak claims upon Austrian territory—a matter which it is hoped the two Governments primarily concerned will be able to solve satisfactorily on a basis of direct negotiation (see *Summary* No. 380)—has recently been given much publicity. The immediate reason has been the presence in Vienna of a Czechoslovak delegation to discuss frontier rectification. Taking into account the long years of frustrated national aspirations under the Habsburgs and the past influence of Germany upon Austria, relations between the latter country and Czechoslovakia have on the whole been surprisingly amicable. Consequently the Czechoslovak Government bases its case on purely strategic and economic arguments. and not out of any desire to reap revenge. These claims, insignificant in all conscience, are as follows :—

(*a*) A shortening of the frontier along the Dyje (Thaya) river in Southern Moravia. This area covers the southern approaches to the historically famous and strategically important Moravian Gap which unites the plains of the Vistula and the Austrian Danube.

(*b*) A minute frontier adjustment along the Dyje in order to enable the Czechs to construct a dam for the purpose of generating electric power.

(*c*) The right to use a road connecting two communities on Czechoslovak territory. This road is cut by the present frontier.

(*d*) Finally, a request for a small frontier rectification on the south bank of the Danube to the west of Petržalka, opposite Bratislava.

In none of these areas, it is alleged, will any Austrian settlement be affected.

From the Czechoslovak viewpoint this last demand is perhaps the most important, for it directly concerns the projected construction of an Elbe–Oder–Danube canal which will connect the Baltic with the Black Sea and which will debouch into the Danube near the village of Devin slightly to the west of Bratislava. The area claimed, a very small one, will enable the Czechs to erect administrative premises serving the canal and, from the strategic angle no doubt, to cover the approaches to the canal. The Czechs bolster their demand with the plea that Bratislava, a rapidly growing town with a future as a riverine port, can no longer expand with advantage on the north bank of the Danube. It will be remembered that similar arguments prevailed at the Paris Conference when a strip of Hungarian territory in the same area was ceded to Czechoslovakia.

The construction of the canal will considerably improve Polish communications with Central Europe and the Mediterranean. Hitherto Poland's main outlet to these regions has been by rail through the Moravian Gap. An examination of the railway system in the Czechoslovak Republic will show that improved water communications should lead to a noticeable increase of trade in this part of Europe where the much-publicised incursion of the State into economic planning, and the schemes—tentative as yet—for wider regional integration, have assumed a new significance in the post-war period. In this respect it is interesting to note the remarks of the Czech premier, M. Gottwald, on the prospect of greater economic co-operation between Poland and Czechoslovakia—the two most highly industrialised countries in Eastern Europe. It is hoped soon to conclude an agreement, covering common industrial, transport, scientific and planning problems, which will prove of far-reaching importance to these two countries.

SOVIET UNION

The work of the Council of Foreign Ministers is being given the fullest publicity in Moscow, the meetings being reported in detail in the press, in contrast to the brief summaries considered sufficient for Soviet readers during the meeting of the Ministers in New York. On the whole the reporting has been fair in tone and although the speeches of Soviet delegates have certainly been given greater prominence, many of the others have been reported *verbatim*. The only serious distortion was in the account of the session of the 12th March, where tendentious glosses were inserted on the Secretary of State's speech and the passages concerning the Soviet failure to destroy German ships were omitted entirely.

Comment has hitherto been limited and has mainly consisted in repetition of the familiar charges against Great Britain of maintaining German and other military formations. *Pravda* re-stated the Soviet case for a treaty "with" instead of "for" Germany. *Izvestiya* was mildly optimistic in tone. It joined with *Pravda* in castigating the British and American press for disturbing the calm atmosphere necesary for the solution of difficult problems by its demands for a revision of the Potsdam decisions. *Krasnaya Zvezda* expressed great satisfaction with the decision to liquidate the Prussian State, eternal enemy of the Slav people. *Izvestiya* discussed the situation in China with reference to M. Molotov's raising of the Chinese question, pointing out that the deterioration in China since the Moscow Conference of December 1945 showed that a check on the implementing of the decisions then reached was clearly necessary. The Soviet-controlled press in Germany has given detailed reports of the Conference, but by judicious manipulation of headlines and summaries has set forth a righteous M. Molotov in the rôle of a public prosecutor accusing his colleagues of lapses which they are unable to deny and often obliged openly to admit. One paper maliciously reported the amusement caused in Moscow by the fur caps and coats of the British delegation, coupled with the slacks worn by French typists, British appetites also came in for censure; it would appear from the quantity consumed at the Hotel Moskya the article in question said, that food conditions in England must be the worst in the world.

The honour of being the first Foreign Minister to be received by Generalissimo Stalin has fallen to M. Bidault, who went to the Kremlin on the 17th March.

Pravda and *Izvestiya* have each devoted a two-column front page unsigned leader to President Truman's recommendation to Congress of financial aid for Greece and Turkey. This treatment is only accorded to quite exceptional developments in foreign affairs. The passages in Mr. Truman's message most directly critical of Soviet methods were omitted from the articles and from *Tass* reports, and the attention of Russian readers has been focussed instead on the theme of American expansionism. The President was in particular criticised for failing to fulfil the obligations assumed by the U.S.A. to the United Nations, in that he had omitted to consult that body over the Greek situation.

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Great Britain, acting on "Churchill's initiative," had maintained anti-democratic elements in power in Greece and brought the country to bankruptcy; stepping into British shoes the Americans would now become masters of the country, and Greek sovereignty was at an end. As for Turkey, Mr. Truman's references to threats to her integrity were quite unjustifiable and merely a pretext for forwarding American designs in the Middle East. The U.S.A. had usurped the place of Hitler in hiding expansionist plans under the cloak of defending smaller States against Bolshevism, though the U.S.A. used the word totalitarianism.

On the 1st March the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. approved a State Plan for 1947 which set standards of performance for this year in the light of the results of the first year of the Five-Year Plan (see *Summary* No. 379). This provides a key to the present economic position of the Soviet Union and to the most urgent tasks of the coming year. The purport of the new annual plan is that, notwithstanding the average over-all fulfilment of the previous one, the tempo of production in a number of industries is still insufficient and must be raised. Plans for individual industries must therefore be calculated on a good average, *i.e.*, a selective rate of output rather than on a purely arithmetical over-all average rate. This obviously raises the figure of the norm, as the inefficient worker no longer influences its calculation. The following salient points emerge. The coal industry is lagging behind and retarding development in other industrial fields. An increase in the fuel industry is set as the first priority task of the 1947 plan. By the end of 1946 the output of industry in the former occupied areas had not yet reached half of the pre-war level. As a result of the drought, production of grain, sugar, beet and sunflowers declined, except in Western Siberia and Kazakhstan. The output of consumer goods was much less than might have been expected from the resources made available by reconstruction and reconversion. The housing plan for 1946 was not fulfilled. Housing difficulties are preventing a rise in labour productivity. Production in many pivotal industries, such as agricultural machinery, electrical machinery, pipes for the oil industry &c., is also lagging far behind requirements. This is also true of the lumber industry (a point of special interest to this country), and mechanisation is to be sharply speeded up so as to increase the output of timber. The raising of the new output standards for 1947 is most noticeable in electrical machinery and agricultural machinery. Finally, the seriousness of the agricultural position was brought out in the description of measures consonant with those contained in an important decree for the rehabilitation of agriculture adopted by the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party at the end of February. The emphasis on increased production of tractor and agricultural machinery strikes at the present basic weakness of the machine tractor stations which has been hampering the post-war reconstruction of agriculture. Many other industries, such as transport, are covered by the Plan's provisions, and in all this the needs of the population receive more attention than in the past. They have not yet received the highest priority, but it is now realised that the population must be given some material benefits if the workers are to increase their productivity and fulfil the Five-Year Plan.

The net is tightening round Soviet artists, the performers on the stage and concert platforms being now the victims. The Committee for Art Affairs has just issued a special order putting an end to anti-State practices in concert work; apparently artists and musicians have been giving private performances for large sums and evading their official obligations. One actor was singled out for censure for touring Omsk and Northern Kazakhstan under a false name and advertising his ability to cure all suffering from smoking, alcohol, hiccupping, warts, or persecution mania. One well-known film star appears to have been arrested, but two of the singers who were the object of criticism are announced as being shortly due to appear in Moscow.

As might have been anticipated, dissensions have again broken out in the Russian Orthodox Church of America after the decision of the Cleveland Sobor last autumn to seek reunion with the Moscow Patriarchate. Metropolitan Theophile, head of the Church, is himself not satisfied with Patriarch Alexei's answer to his message and is proposing to refuse to deal with Metropolitan Grigorii of Leningrad, who is being sent from Moscow to the U.S.A. as special negotiator. (It was he who headed the delegation to the Middle East last autumn.) Meanwhile, some of the more extreme of Metropolitan Theophile's bishops are preparing to cause a split by insisting on maintaining their connection with the Karlovtsy Synod.

An interesting account of Church life inside the U.S.S.R. has been given by Archbishop Adam of Philadelphia, who has just returned from a visit which included the Western Ukraine. This hierarch has a somewhat dubious ecclesiastical past, and was at one time linked with the Living Church movement in the U.S.A. Since the restoration of the Moscow Patriarchate he has taken a pro-Soviet line. He described a service in the former Uniate Cathedral of Lvov at which he concelebrated with the new Archbishop of Lvov, Makarii, who was formerly a Professor at Kiev. According to Archbishop Adam, only three-quarters of the Uniate parishes had returned to Orthodoxy. Among the irreconcilables was the brother of the late Uniate Metropolitan Sheptitsky, who appeared to be continuing to live in his Studite monastery. A member of the American Embassy in Moscow who recently visited the Ukraine was told that there were fifteen Churches open in Kiev and the same number in Kharkhov and Odessa; nearly all apparently had only been opened during the German occupation. The famous Pechersky monastery had also been open since 1941 and had now 75 monks. Membership was not, however, being allowed to expand by the authorities, though there were many applicants. He found also a monastery in Odessa with 10 monks and a theological seminary with 30 students. According to an interview given by Metropolitan Nikolai Krutitsky on the 7th February to the Soviet Information Bureau, the well-known Pochaev monastery in Volhynia is also functioning. Before the war this was the main centre of Ukrainian Orthodox Church life in Europe and had an important printing press for liturgical and theological works.

SCANDINAVIA

Sweden

After long-drawn-out discussions in the Riksdag on measures to counter inflation—discussions which ended in a deadlock on the 12th March—and following a memorandum on the situation handed to the Government by the Directors of the National Bank, the Swedish Government have been forced to assume sole responsibility for extensive import prohibitions on luxury and non-essential goods. Measures to reduce home consumption of certain export articles such as pulp and paper will also be introduced.

M. Unden, the Foreign Minister, M. Erlander, the Premier, and M. Gjoeres, the Minister of National Economy, made public statements on the Government's decision and emphasized that no change in the principles of Sweden's trade policy was involved, the aim merely being to bring the Swedish standard of living more in line with world conditions to-day and to combat the threatening inflation. Although the Government and the opposition parties were unable to agree on a joint anti-inflation programme there was, according to M. Erlander, no divergence of opinion on the purely practical measures to be taken, and he expressed the hope that they would, therefore, cause no political differences between the parties. Of the opposition elements the Communist Party alone supported the Government wholeheartedly, whether from conviction or as a matter of general policy it is difficult to say.

Among the measures to be introduced are the recruitment of new labour, including the import of foreign labour, inducements to increase private and public saving; a "wage stop," closer foreign exchange control and control and concentration of imports; and increase of exports. M. Gjoeres, commenting on these measures, explained that while in the present situation Sweden could, for instance, not even afford to maintain so large a fruit consumption and would have to curtail the import of fresh fruit, it was intended to increase the import of certain raw materials and semi-manufactured goods important to Swedish industry. These included hides, cotton, wool, yarns, agricultural machinery and spare parts, coal, oil and other fuels. At the same time the Government decided to reintroduce, with immediate effect, the rationing of coffee, tea and cocoa, in order to reduce their consumption by 70 per cent. as compared with that of 1946.

At a Social-Democrat meeting at Linköping, M. Unden refuted the allegations that Sweden was endeavouring to profit by the Spanish-Norwegian estrangement. Official statistics, which he quoted, showed that in normal years Swedish exports to Spain were double, or even treble, those of Norway, while Norwegian shipping engaged in trade with Spain far exceeded the volume of Swedish tonnage employed in the same trade. M. Unden concluded by expressing the hope that these facts would be noted by those who were anxious to make Sweden the scapegoat.

The appointment of M. Boheman as the new Minister to the Court of St. James will be welcomed by those who had the opportunity of working with the new Minister during the war, when he showed himself a most able diplomat and a good friend to the Allied cause. M. Boheman

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held the position of Head of the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs during the war and was subsequently Swedish Minister in Paris. Another diplomatic appointment of interest is that of M. Rolf Sohlman, as Swedish Minister to Moscow, where he will replace M. Hägglöf. It may be assumed that M. Sohlman also will be welcome in the country to which he is appointed, since he was largely responsible for the successful conclusion of the Russo-Swedish trade negotiations which ended in the recent Russo-Swedish trade agreement, and is known to be friendly disposed towards the U.S.S.R. In fact, there are circles in Sweden which were rather apprehensive lest his pro-Russian leanings might affect his usefulnes to his country by inducing him to take a too rosy view of the position in the Soviet Union.

Denmark

According to the Danish press the Danish contingent to be employed in the occupation of Germany, has been allotted an area in East Friesland between Wilhelmshafen and Emden. The brigade will receive exclusively Danish supplies. Major-General Richard Allerup, who will be in charge, explained that while fraternisation would not be forbidden the men would be warned of the risks involved. The troops will receive military training and will only go into action when called upon by the German police.

Renewed labour troubles have broken out in Denmark, this time among the printers; owing to a strike on the 1st March by the Copenhagen branch of the Printers' Union all the newspapers of the capital ceased to appear, with the exception of *Social-Demokraten* and the Communist *Land og Folk*, which are not affiliated to the Copenhagen Master Printers' Association. In view of the forthcoming elections to the Upper House the criticism has been made that this strike represents an attack on the freedom of expression, and the Federation of Danish Trades Union actually joined in an appeal to the strikers to make arrangements for the production of election material and the printing of the daily press. This appeal was, however, rejected on the grounds that the dispute was non-political and that election material could be printed by Copenhagen printing houses not affected by the strike or by provincial houses. The main demand of the men for a reduction in working hours is not likely to be strongly supported by the Danish Trades Union Federation, as it is argued that a small country like Denmark can hardly take the lead in pressing for a reduction in working hours at the present time. So far the Government have shown no inclination to avail themselves of their right to intervene in the matter and to appoint a board of arbitration. It remains to be seen whether the dispute, so far purely industrial, will develop into a political issue, in which case it might spread to other unions.

THE LOW COUNTRIES

Belgium

The long-expected fall of the Huysmans Cabinet has at length come to pass (see last week's *Summary*). It follows closely upon the heels of another defeat in the Senate and two more than usually critical speeches from M. van Acker and M. van Cauwelaert, the Catholic President of the Chamber, which M. Huysmans interpreted as a personal attack upon him. His long and somewhat rambling reply to his critics can hardly have carried conviction, but served rather to emphasize his apparent inability to break away from party politics and his tendency to gloss over difficulties. The length of his period of office (7 months) exceeded the estimates of many: the defection of the Communists, who all but resigned some time ago, made it impossible for him to carry on. On the day of his Cabinet's resignation (12th February), M. Huysmans told the Press that he did not anticipate a "long crisis." Asked about parties in the new Cabinet and about his own successor, his reply to the first question was that the problem was "now less of a party affair than an issue connected with the drafting of a new programme"; and to the second: "Do not look for a name containing several syllables!"—by which, presumably, he meant: "Do not look for M. van Acker!" In this last observation, at any rate for the present, he is correct: the lot has fallen upon M. Spaak, who has lost no time in setting about his none-too-easy task. While it is probably still true that the longed-for Cabinet stability cannot be satisfactorily achieved except by means of a four-party coalition, M. Spaak may experience difficulty in obtaining the whole-hearted support either of his own party, the Socialists, or of the Liberals, owing to the influence of the left wings of these two parties which enjoyed representation in the late Cabinet. (M. Huysmans belongs to the Socialist left wing, M. Spaak to the right wing.) The Communists will, in any case, return to the Opposition. At the time of writing, the

Christian Social Party had not issued any statement; but its participation once more in a Cabinet—so strongly advocated by M. van Acker in the interests of stability—can surely be taken for granted. The *question royale*, hitherto so great an obstacle to Christian Social inclusion, is said to have been shelved *sine die* by agreement with the Socialists (presumably the right-wing Socialists) during the winter. This *rapprochement*, which is apparently the work of M. Raymond Scheyven, a prominent younger member of the Christian Social Party, had for its primary object the re-entry of the party into a coalition Cabinet.

Later reports suggest that the Liberals have refused to accept office under M. Spaak. Thus, a four-party coalition now seems to be out of the question, although M. Spaak has not entirely given up hope. At a press conference on the 15th March, he said that a programme had been "worked out" which, he believed, was acceptable to "both sides." He could not see "any really insurmountable obstacles." He added that delegates of the Socialist and Christian Social Parties had met and tentatively discussed allocation of portfolios.

FRANCE

At the Conference of Foreign Ministers (see under "The Moscow Conference") M. Bidault has been playing a more active rôle than at previous meetings. The French feel that they are no longer mediators, but vitally interested participants in the discussions on Germany, and there is anxiety lest the open conflict of interests between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. and U.K. should obscure the real issues involved. On the 16th March M. Bidault outlined one of these fundamental issues when he dealt with the problem of the over-crowding of population within the frontiers of a diminished Germany. He was preoccupied with the danger to French security of a Germany whose density of population would be three times that of France, and the remedies he proposed included the provision in Germany of a standard of living high enough to ensure political and economic stability, the settlement of displaced persons outside Germany and the encouragement of German emigration. In this task, said M. Bidault, France was ready to play her part. This open admission of France's willingness to accept German immigrants is of great interest and no doubt indicates that Communist opposition to this step has been withdrawn.

The question of French recruitment of German civilian labour in the U.S. zones of Germany and Austria is now under discussion, and agreement has been reached on the recruitment of displaced persons in the U.S. zones for work in France.

In the matter of the German prisoners-of-war lent by the U.S. Army to the French at the end of hostilities, an agreement for their progressive repatriation and liberation was signed in Paris on the 13th March. The agreement is only provisional and does not apply to prisoners employed as miners (except in so far as the French agree to give them the same wages and rations as French miners) whom the French wish to hold on to as long as possible. There are 56,000 German prisoners employed in the French coal-mines, of whom 23,000 were captured by the Americans and 33,000 by the British, and the loss of these men, numbering nearly 20 per cent. of the French mining force, would cause a serious fall in coal output. The agreement, according to press reports, recognises the French wish to retain a proportion of the prisoners; all prisoners except the miners will be given the choice of repatriation to Germany or liberation in France with the status of foreign workers. They will have three months in which to decide, and inspectors of the International Red Cross will ensure that they have a free choice. Those who choose repatriation will be sent back at a minimum rate of 20,000 a month, beginning at once, and those who choose to remain in France will be released at a maximum rate of 25,000 a month. The total number of prisoners involved is not known exactly, but is estimated by the Americans at 450,000.

The French request for an increase in coal exports from the Ruhr beginning next month has been met by the U.K. and U.S. authorities. Provided that a minimum average production is maintained, exports are to be increased by 50,000 tons in April, by 200,000 tons in May and by 300,000 tons in June, and France will receive her due share of the increase. The French are not satisfied with this increase, although it represents a considerable sacrifice on our part, and in Moscow M. Bidault told the Foreign Secretary that the French attitude at the Conference would be affected by what we and the Americans could do for them over coal. In his proposals for economic control of Germany, outlined to the Conference on the 18th March, he asked that Germany should be required under the peace treaty to export a definite part of her coal production. France could only agree to a rise in the level of German industry if this provision were accepted.

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A French Institute, attached to the University of Nancy, was opened at Homburg in the Saar on the 10th March by the Minister of Education. For the moment it consists only of a School of Medicine, but other Faculties will be added, and it will eventually acquire university status. This move is in keeping with the policy of spreading French culture and education in Germany and illustrates the importance attached by the French Government to the Saar itself.

The Paris press resumed publication on the 17th March after an interval of thirty-three days. Its reappearance is a victory for the Government which refused to allow the printers to be given higher wages except in return for increased work. The men have gone back to work at their old rate of pay, and newspapers will still appear on six days a week only, but negotiations on their demands are to continue. The strike has not so far caused the anticipated disappearance of some independent papers. The number of papers is, moreover, likely to increase now that papers may appear without prior Government authorisation (see last week's *Summary*).

The High Court has continued its operations by sentencing Raphaël Alibert, Vichy Minister of Justice in 1940, to death *in absentia*; and Admiral Robert, Vichy High Commissioner in the French West Indies, to ten years' imprisonment with a recommendation for a reprieve. The new High Court, which is a political *jurisdiction* exercising functions enjoyed by the Senate under the 1875 Constitution, is a definite improvement on that which tried Pétain and Laval, and its president, M. Noguéres, a Socialist deputy, conducts the proceedings with more dignity and despatch than his predecessor, M. Mongibeaux. The main defect of the present constitution of the Court, as laid down in a law of the 27th October, is the system of drawing the jury by lot from lists of deputies put forward by the parties in proportion to their strength in the Assembly. This introduces an element of chance as was seen in the trial of Baudouin, when ten out of the twenty-four parliamentary jurors were Communists, who pressed for a heavy sentence.

If it was in the anticipation of trouble that the Government put off for so long the debate on Indochina, their fears have been justified in the event. Scarcely was the debate opened on the 11th March, when a deputy of the Right, after deploring the importance of the functions attributed last month to the Communist Minister of National Defence, passed to a history of the Communist party. When he reached the well-worn theme of M. Thorez' behaviour before and during the war there was an uproar ending in a scuffle in the lobby as the sitting was suspended. The Communists were scarcely less vociferous the next day in defence of the Viet Nam Government, very strongly attacked by M. Reynaud. The debate was, however, resumed after an interval, but without the Communists. On the third day a deputy of the left-centre group, U.D.S.R., criticised Communist activity in Indochina in a manner which was declared by the Bureau of the Assembly to be within his rights, but which roused the Communists to such noisy objection as to warrant another suspension. Afterwards M. Herriot, who had performed with distinction his thankless task as President of the Assembly, and M. Ramadier, who had intervened in the interests of national unity, spoke in conciliatory terms. In a calmer atmosphere M. Mayer (Socialist) spoke in general terms of the desirability of renewing negotiations with the Annamese. The debate was resumed on the 18th and concluded in the early hours of the 19th with a big vote of confidence in the Government. The Communists, however, abstained and their action may have wider implications (see also under "Germany" and "Bulgaria").

SWITZERLAND

Switzerland joined her protest to that of Great Britain, the United States, France, Italy and Sweden against the Bulgarian Government's decree of the 7th March withdrawing from circulation a large section of their paper currency (see *Summary* No. 384, "Bulgaria"). According to a Swiss broadcast the Federal Political Department issued a statement on the 1st March, declaring that it had already expressed to the Bulgarian Minister to Switzerland its astonishment and grave concern at the treatment to which the Swiss Legation in Sofia had been subjected. However, as the monies tended by the Legation had now been exchanged for banknotes of the new Bulgarian issue, the incident could now be considered closed.

Representatives of the Treasury and the Bank of England held discussions with the Swiss Authorities in Berne from the 24th February to the 1st March with the object of reviewing the Anglo-Swiss Monetary Agreement of the 12th March, 1946. The

limit of sterling to be held by Switzerland in the first year was exceeded in eight months. This was due not only to the heavy tourist traffic and to certain large non-recurring items, but also to substantial imports from Switzerland by sterling countries other than the United Kingdom. There are also suggestions that the allowance of £10 a day for businessmen visiting Switzerland may have been abused.

It has been stated in a Swiss broadcast that negotiations are proceeding with Sweden and Eire for the abolition of visas and that similar proposals will be submitted to the United Kingdom and Canada, and ultimately to certain other countries, provided that reciprocal concessions are made to Swiss nationals.

A conference of the International Association for Patents and Copyrights, attended by representatives of thirty-two countries, was held at Neuchâtel last month. Agreement was reached regarding patents and copyrights not registered during the war.

An exchange of trade exhibitions has been arranged with Italy. Swiss products will be on view in Milan from the 8th to the 27th March: Italian products will be shown in Geneva from the 14th May to the 2nd June.

Polish assets in Switzerland, which were blocked last October, have now been released.

One of the results of the Swiss-Argentine Commercial Agreement of the 20th January, described at the time of signing as an exceedingly important step towards the improvement of Switzerland's food supply, has been the arrival of butter from the Argentine. The Swiss monthly ration has been increased by 100 grammes, and for the time being best-grade local butter has been withdrawn from the Swiss market.

A Federal loan of 150 million fr. has been issued.

According to statistics for 33 towns, 6,751 dwelling-houses were built in 1946, while 12,514 new buildings have been approved for the current year.

The general tendency for wages and prices to rise continues. It is particularly noticeable that in the retail trade, prices are speedily increased as soon as the official control is removed.

The Federal Council has taken steps to meet the demand for agricultural labour by granting permits to foreign workers.

The number of Italians who took up employment in Switzerland during 1946 was approximately 48,000, of whom 15,000 were employed in hotels, 10,500 in agriculture, 7,700 in building, 4,200 in the metal industry and 4,000 in the textile industry.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

President Truman's dramatic gesture in seeking authority from Congress for American assistance to Greece and Turkey has created some excitement in Spain, where, of course, any challenge to "Soviet imperialism" is grist to the official mill. The press hacks have seized upon it as proof of General Franco's wisdom in holding to the course which was sketched out in his famous communication to Mr. Churchill at the end of 1944. One of the radio commentators makes a comparison with the events of 1933 "when Roosevelt sent his first warnings to Germany and Japan to make them desist from expansion" . . . No speech of Roosevelt stopped Germany or Japan, and we believe that speeches alone will not suffice to bar the Soviet impetus . . . By the customary roundabout expedient of an Efe message from Rome quoting from an "International News Service" cable appearing in the press there (which based itself on the familiar "London diplomatic circles") Spaniards were given to understand that the balance of power in the Mediterranean had become a burning question, and that neither Great Britain nor the United States, therefore, had any interest now in a change of régime in Spain.

There is nothing new in this narcissism and complacency. What is remarkable in the recent antics of the Spanish press—and rather shocking—is a return to the tone of cheap braggadoccio *vis-à-vis* this country which was abandoned in the summer of 1944 when the Caudillo and his intimates finally convinced themselves of an Allied victory. *Arriba* published prominently on its front page on the 2nd March a patronizing *Comentario* on the British economic crisis which was little less than insolent. "If the British were surprised by what was happening to them," said the writer, styling himself "Macaulay," "it was no surprise for us who have been watching the sun go down for them with their outworn systems, which may once have had some reason in them but now have grown sterile and ineffectual. The great British tragedy is that the British people refuse to understand that they have lost the war . . ." The writer then, after exclaiming that because of all the harm done to Spain in the course of history and of her unjust treatment in the

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international sphere, Spaniards had a perfect right to chortle at Britain's discomfiture, deplored her "melancholy situation" and hoped nevertheless that she would recover and set her house in order, taking a lesson from the measures of restriction and conservation which had been practised by the Franco regime.

H.M. Embassy in Madrid report that this and a whole crop of pseudonymous articles that have recently appeared are the work of the Caudillo's immediate entourage. It is quite clear that he and his friends at any rate are not at all abashed by Spain's isolation in the international domain—or indeed by the evidence that Spanish conservative and business circles are more and more turning away from the régime. General Franco's ostentatious homage to Catholicism—he recently sent an address to the Pope begging for the formal definition of the doctrine of the Assumption to be made a dogma of the Faith—is said to be considerably embarrassing the leaders of the Church. He knows, however, that abroad it is in Catholic circles, and there alone, that his régime gets support, and he loses no opportunity of "plugging" this appeal. Apart from Peronist Argentina, which, of course, is very much in favour these days—the advent of the new Labour Attaché to the Argentine Embassy, Señor Ramon Vera, has provided an excellent occasion for mutual complimenting—someone on the Caudillo's staff (probably Manual Aznar, recently back from Washington) has reminded him of the substantial Catholic population in the United States, and so we have had within a month two outsize interviews granted at El Pardo, one to the egregious Constantine Brown, representing the *Washington Evening Star* on the 15th February and the other on the 5th March to a correspondent of the (Hearst) *International News Service*. The first, which contained all the usual clap-trap about Spain's clean bill of "neutrality," Soviet intervention in the civil war, the depredations of the Reds, &c., was notable only for the statement: "Had I believed that to resign my leadership would be in my country's interests, I should have done so without hesitation and with pleasure . . . ." The second, after a comment on the "shameful" judgement passed by the United Nations, made some attempt to estimate the achievements of the régime in the political and economic sphere—"never was there a more socially-minded Government or greater co-operation between the Head of the State and his people." It dismissed as "empty words" the suggestion that there was any such thing as a "Democratic Alliance" in Spain, or any Christian-Democrat Party or indeed any Monarchist opposition.

General Franco may still profess to think that Monarchist opposition is negligible. But he seems to have been in two minds about allowing a number of well-known Royalists to make the journey to Lisbon to attend the unofficial "Crown Council" which Don Juan has convoked there this week (see *Summary* No. 383). Juan Ventosa, the Catalan business magnate and former Minister of Finance, and Count Rodezno, the Traditionalist leader, are among those who have gone. The Duke of Alba is reported to have been refused a visa on the ground that he was a "freemason" and had been colloguing with Republican exiles. Don Juan, by the way, has stamped hard on the suggestion that he is weakening in his opposition to Franco and all his works. And, in connexion with the Right-Left negotiations which are continuing, he has very sensibly counselled one of the Left leaders not to worry any of the Foreign Missions in Madrid with details, since "they are only interested in knowing the solution that the Spaniards themselves have been able to find for their national problems." There is no further development in the story of the Republican Government-in-exile. Señor Llopis (and the President) have had talks with MM. Ramadier and Bidault and have attended a reception at the Palais-Bourbon at which M. Herriot did the honours. He has also had a trip to Brussels where he had interviews with MM. Huysmans and Spaak. He seems to have had a cordial reception from Belgian Socialists; but the only noteworthy event in his visit was a remark, attributed by the news agencies to M. Spaak, that the "reasonable time" within which the United Nations Recommendation of the 12th December gave Spain to solve the problem of Franco's removal (before the Security Council had another go at it) might be taken as "six months."

Portugal

Dr. Salazar has, somewhat surprisingly, embarked on a scheme for the reorganisation of Portuguese defence. Stating that he proposes to table a Bill on the general question of mobilisation during the next legislative period, he has sent forward to the National Assembly now a Bill for the formation of a Supreme National Defence Council. The idea, apparently, is that the Ministry of War will in future be flanked

by a Ministry of Civil Mobilisation to deal with emergency situations. It is stipulated, too, that the directing of military operation should be the exclusive responsibility of the commanders of the forces concerned. Whether Lt.-Col. Santos Costa, the present Minister for War, is happy about thus "shedding the load" remains to be seen. The National Defence Commission of the Corporative Chamber met on the 14th March to begin the preliminary examination of the bill.

At long last the Committee of Inquiry into the country's Corporative Organization, which was set up by the Government early in 1945, has produced its report to the National Assembly. It was published the other day as a supplement to the *Diario das Sessões*. The report appears to be a sensible and useful document and contains an admission that there have been serious defects in the functioning of the Organization, not all of which could be attributed to the exigencies of the War period.

In his capacity as President of the Central Committee of the National Union Dr. Salazar made a speech on the 4th March welcoming the new Executive Committee. It was the usual apologia *pro domo suo*, well-phrased and, within its limits, convincing, with the addition, however, of an interesting avowal that the Government had hitherto been rather too engrossed in carrying out necessary large-scale administrative reforms to the neglect of political doctrine and organization.

ITALY

The Constituent Assembly has now begun to discuss the draft Constitution. The draft is meeting with criticism from all parties. There is a general feeling that it is too obviously the result of compromise and is lacking in clarity. Moreover although parts of the draft are vague in the extreme other parts are too detailed and include matter which should not be included as part of the Constitution. Benedetto Croce has said that the draft is badly written because it was written by too many people and that whatever else might be collectivised the art of writing could not. What was needed was not a series of dangerous compromises but a series of juridical rules which would guarantee the rights and the freedom of all citizens, irrespective of political opinion or social status. He went on to say that the Lateran Treaties should not have been included in the Constitution because there was nothing in common between a Constitution and an international treaty. Croce also said that he did not approve of regional autonomy because the unity of the State must be maintained. Togliatti, on behalf of the Communists, said that there were three points from which the Constitution could not depart—the freedom and sovereignty of the people, the political and moral unity of the Italian people, and social progress and the advent of a new ruling class. He expressed himself as opposed to the inclusion of the Lateran Treaties in the Constitution. And he, too, declared that he disapproved of any form of federalism, although he believed in autonomous régimes for certain regions.

Signor Terracini, the President of the Constituent Assembly, has sent to the Parliaments of France, Great Britain, the U.S.A., and the U.S.S.R., messages with a view to obtaining, "within the ambit of U.N. and by means of peaceful agreements between the Powers concerned, the revision of the terms inflicted on Italy, which contain territorial mutilations that hurt her national sentiments, ungenerous humiliations to her Army, Air Force and Navy, which did not spare themselves while fighting side by side with the Allied combatants, and financial and economic burdens that will hinder her recovery and social progress." Count Sforza, while on a visit to Florence, in reply to an enquiry as to what Italy's future policy will be within the framework of U.N. stated that she will have to do what Cavour did at the Paris Congress (1856) when he advocated the advent of liberty and true peace in Europe: "Shortsighted individuals accused him at the time of not having made specific mention of Italy. They were wrong. He rendered a service to Italy just because he identified her with those supreme principles which were bound to triumph. History proves that he was right."

Signor Giannini, the Qualunquist leader, has been trying for some time, not without success, to secure the support of the Vatican for his Party. It transpired some time ago that Giannini himself had never been received into the Church, as his English mother had been a Protestant. He therefore went to the Vatican and beat Solomon Grundy's record by being received into the Church and married on the same day!

The Italian Press continues to proclaim Italy's right to secure the return of her

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colonies. A correspondent of the independent right-wing *Tempo* at present in Eritrea reports from Massawa that the party which is in favour of union to Ethiopia is fairly strong but less numerous than that of the Independence Party, the majority of whom "look to Italy as the Power that offers the greatest guarantees and is more apt to safeguard the progress of Eritrea and to stimulate it, in other words to continue the work of half a century which a few years of mistaken administration cannot efface."

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

Roumania

In these days it is pleasant to be able to detect a lightening of the atmosphere in Roumania. There are indications that certain developments may lead to a modification of Communist policy. Some groups within the Government show faint signs of asserting their independence. The Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Supply has resigned and has explained to his Social Democrat supporters that he is unable to carry on owing to Communist interference. The danger here is that there is no effective leadership of the opposition, and that these anti-Communist activities may provoke reprisals while they are still in the formative stages. At the same time the slighting treatment by the Yugoslav authorities of the Roumanian mission in their country has been explained by the Counsellor of the Yugoslav Legation, in conversation with the British Representative, as being due to the fact that Roumania is not sufficiently communised to please the Tito Government.

The Government are a little anxious about the chances of the Industrial Bureau Bill. Some changes have been made in its provisions, but the Social Democrats and the Dissident Liberals are acting together to secure its rejection.

A number of trade agreements have been signed at Moscow. The Treaty of Commerce and Navigation confers unusual privileges upon the Russian Commercial representatives in Roumania. They are to have diplomatic privilege, and to be allowed to establish themselves at Constanţa, Galaţi, Iaşi, Cluj and elsewhere in premises which are to be regarded as extra-territorial. A Trade and Payments Agreement provides for the despatch of steel to Roumania for manufacture in Roumanian mills and return to Russia. 21,000 tons of steel is to be supplied for internal use in Roumania, and of this 6,500 tons are to be delivered to Sovrompetrol as oil-well tubing. 250,000 tons of petroleum products in all and 100,000 cubic metres of timber are also to be supplied to the U.S.S.R. Prices are to be calculated in U.S. dollars. A Convention dealing with a credit to Roumania of 10,000,000 dollars which is the estimated difference between the values of goods supplied on either side, is to be repaid over four years with interest at 3 per cent. A Protocol for Economic Collaboration envisages the creation of further Sovrom companies, and enlists the support of Roumania for the Russian interest in the Petroşani Coal Mines recently acquired from Hungary. Finally, there is a Protocol dealing with the execution of Article 12 of the Armistice which provides for the return to Russia of property taken by Roumania during the war. The balance owed by Roumania on the 1st January, 1946, is estimated at 100 milliard lei, and payment is to be completed by 1951.

An extension of time for the deposit of Roumanian Bank shares held by foreigners has been granted up to the 1st July.

Yugoslavia

The Director of Food Supply has held a press conference on the food situation. In spite of all the measures taken to make the best use of available resources it was not possible, he said, to satisfy even the essential needs of the population, and help from UNRRA, or from any organisation which was to continue UNRRA's work, was indispensable and urgent. As was stated in last week's *Summary* the head of UNRRA in Yugoslavia, M. Sergeichik, had appealed to Washington for the dispatch of grain. In reply the Director-General of UNRRA has promised to supply the grain if the British and American representatives in Belgrade can guarantee that Yugoslavia's need is genuine.

For various reasons the extent of that need is difficult to assess. The Government's difficulty in persuading the peasants to surrender their stocks of grain has already been mentioned here. In February only 45 per cent. of the estimated quantity of maize and 77 per cent. of other grains had been collected. Bad weather and a shortage of coal have hindered transport. The inefficiency and inexperience of Yugoslavia's new bureaucracy have also contributed to the maldistribution of foodstuffs. But a more serious aspect of the situation arises out of the Government's new policy of developing the export trade

in order to obtain foreign exchange for the purchase of the goods and materials required to fulfil the five-year plan of industrialisation. Some of Yugoslavia's most marketable goods are farm products. Turkeys and poultry have within recent months been exported to Great Britain, Czechoslovakia and Switzerland. The United Kingdom has been offered, too, deliveries of cheese, butter and condensed milk. 30,000 pigs have been offered to Poland. Dried fruit has been sent to Russia. It may be that by the sale of such foodstuffs the Yugoslav Government hope to earn sufficient foreign exchange to buy grain. On the other hand in January 20,000 tons of wheat were shipped in some secrecy to Roumania. The Yugoslav representative on the Financial Commission for Trieste affirmed that his country could provide 89 per cent. of Trieste's food requirements, and in the recent trade agreement with Czechoslovakia Yugoslavia has promised to supply foodstuffs of a high calorific value. Yet the Director of Food Supply said that "there can be no talk of regularly supplying the population with fats, vegetables and meat. The calorific value of food for the consumer is scarcely sufficient to maintain a bare existence."

Thus, although Yugoslavia's shortage of foodstuffs may be genuine, it does not seem to have been unavoidable.

Greece

President Truman's speech to Congress urging help to Greece has been welcomed with deep satisfaction by all Greek political circles except the Communists. Messages of gratitude to the President have been sent by the King of the Hellenes, the Premier and M. Tsaldaris who described the speech as "realistic and objective, giving a true picture of the present situation in Greece." Meanwhile the House of Commons has agreed to a Supplementary Estimate of £19,000,000 for aid to Greece and, in order that the Greek Government may proceed with their proposed reorganisation of the Greek Army, His Majesty's Government have agreed to make available free of charge a further £2 millions worth of equipment. Moreover, in order to cover maintenance during the period between the 31st March and the 14th April—by which time it is hoped the U.S. Government's aid may become effective—His Majesty's Government have agreed to release £1 million of certain Greek funds now blocked in London against an equivalent sum of debts owed by the Greek Government to the U.K.

The Army have already reported considerable success in their anti-bandit sweeps in the region of Vermion and Mt. Ossa and also North of Kilkis. There have, however, been two raids by bandits near the Albanian frontier; another large band which attacked near Xanthi withdrew only after an eight-hour battle with the Army; and a train running from Drama to Alexandroupolis was derailed and attacked by bandits. There has been little response during the week to the Government's amnesty offer but it is probable that the bandits' morale will be considerably lowered if and when Congress approves any loan to Greece.

The United Nations Enquiry Commission in Salonica continued their hearing of witnesses whose depositions were included in the Greek White Book of Evidence. Cross-examination of witnesses has been mainly confined to questions by the Albanian, Bulgarian and Yugoslav representatives and by the Russian and Polish delegates who have all aimed at discrediting the witnesses by endeavouring to pick holes in minor details of the statements. All questions of serious matters of substance, however, have been answered by witnesses with a considerable amount of circumstantial evidence. Most of them, by standing up so well to this cross-examination by the Slav *bloc*, have made a good impression on the neutral delegates and have, on occasions, made the Slavs look ridiculous. It seems that the two teams who have been conducting operations in the field have also had experience of Slav partiality, especially during what turned out to be a fantastic wild-goose chase in search of Markos Vafiades.

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(See under "United Nations.")

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colonies. A correspondent of the independent right-wing *Tempo* at present in Eritrea reports from Massawa that the party which is in favour of union to Ethiopia is fairly strong but less numerous than that of the Independence Party, the majority of whom "look to Italy as the Power that offers the greatest guarantees and is more apt to safeguard the progress of Eritrea and to stimulate it, in other words to continue the work of half a century which a few years of mistaken administration cannot efface."

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

Roumania

In these days it is pleasant to be able to detect a lightening of the atmosphere in Roumania. There are indications that certain developments may lead to a modification of Communist policy. Some groups within the Government show faint signs of asserting their independence. The Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Supply has resigned and has explained to his Social Democrat supporters that he is unable to carry on owing to Communist interference. The danger here is that there is no effective leadership of the opposition, and that these anti-Communist activities may provoke reprisals while they are still in the formative stages. At the same time the slighting treatment by the Yugoslav authorities of the Roumanian mission in their country has been explained by the Counsellor of the Yugoslav Legation, in conversation with the British Representative, as being due to the fact that Roumania is not sufficiently communised to please the Tito Government.

The Government are a little anxious about the chances of the Industrial Bureau Bill. Some changes have been made in its provisions, but the Social Democrats and the Dissident Liberals are acting together to secure its rejection.

A number of trade agreements have been signed at Moscow. The Treaty of Commerce and Navigation confers unusual privileges upon the Russian Commercial representatives in Roumania. They are to have diplomatic privilege, and to be allowed to establish themselves at Constanța, Galați, Iași, Cluj and elsewhere in premises which are to be regarded as extra-territorial. A Trade and Payments Agreement provides for the despatch of steel to Roumania for manufacture in Roumanian mills and return to Russia. 21,000 tons of steel is to be supplied for internal use in Roumania, and of this 6,500 tons are to be delivered to Sovrompetrol as oil-well tubing. 250,000 tons of petroleum products in all and 100,000 cubic metres of timber are also to be supplied to the U.S.S.R. Prices are to be calculated in U.S. dollars. A Convention dealing with a credit to Roumania of 10,000,000 dollars which is the estimated difference between the values of goods supplied on either side, is to be repaid over four years with interest at 3 per cent. A Protocol for Economic Collaboration envisages the creation of further Sovrom companies, and enlists the support of Roumania for the Russian interest in the Petroşani Coal Mines recently acquired from Hungary. Finally, there is a Protocol dealing with the execution of Article 12 of the Armistice which provides for the return to Russia of property taken by Roumania during the war. The balance owed by Roumania on the 1st January, 1946, is estimated at 100 milliard lei, and payment is to be completed by 1951.

An extension of time for the deposit of Roumanian Bank shares held by foreigners has been granted up to the 1st July.

Yugoslavia

The Director of Food Supply has held a press conference on the food situation. In spite of all the measures taken to make the best use of available resources it was not possible, he said, to satisfy even the essential needs of the population, and help from UNRRA, or from any organisation which was to continue UNRRA's work, was indispensable and urgent. As was stated in last week's *Summary* the head of UNRRA in Yugoslavia, M. Sergeichik, had appealed to Washington for the dispatch of grain. In reply the Director-General of UNRRA has promised to supply the grain if the British and American representatives in Belgrade can guarantee that Yugoslavia's need is genuine.

For various reasons the extent of that need is difficult to assess. The Government's difficulty in persuading the peasants to surrender their stocks of grain has already been mentioned here. In February only 45 per cent. of the estimated quantity of maize and 77 per cent. of other grains had been collected. Bad weather and a shortage of coal have hindered transport. The inefficiency and inexperience of Yugoslavia's new bureaucracy have also contributed to the maldistribution of foodstuffs. But a more serious aspect of the situation arises out of the Government's new policy of developing the export trade

in order to obtain foreign exchange for the purchase of the goods and materials required to fulfil the five-year plan of industrialisation. Some of Yugoslavia's most marketable goods are farm products. Turkeys and poultry have within recent months been exported to Great Britain, Czechoslovakia and Switzerland. The United Kingdom has been offered, too, deliveries of cheese, butter and condensed milk. 30,000 pigs have been offered to Poland. Dried fruit has been sent to Russia. It may be that by the sale of such foodstuffs the Yugoslav Government hope to earn sufficient foreign exchange to buy grain. On the other hand in January 20,000 tons of wheat were shipped in some secrecy to Roumania. The Yugoslav representative on the Financial Commission for Trieste affirmed that his country could provide 89 per cent. of Trieste's food requirements, and in the recent trade agreement with Czechoslovakia Yugoslavia has promised to supply foodstuffs of a high calorific value. Yet the Director of Food Supply said that "there can be no talk of regularly supplying the population with fats, vegetables and meat. The calorific value of food for the consumer is scarcely sufficient to maintain a bare existence."

Thus, although Yugoslavia's shortage of foodstuffs may be genuine, it does not seem to have been unavoidable.

Greece

President Truman's speech to Congress urging help to Greece has been welcomed with deep satisfaction by all Greek political circles except the Communists. Messages of gratitude to the President have been sent by the King of the Hellenes, the Premier and M. Tsaldaris who described the speech as "realistic and objective, giving a true picture of the present situation in Greece." Meanwhile the House of Commons has agreed to a Supplementary Estimate of £19,000,000 for aid to Greece and, in order that the Greek Government may proceed with their proposed reorganisation of the Greek Army, His Majesty's Government have agreed to make available free of charge a further £2 millions worth of equipment. Moreover, in order to cover maintenance during the period between the 31st March and the 14th April—by which time it is hoped the U.S. Government's aid may become effective—His Majesty's Government have agreed to release £1 million of certain Greek funds now blocked in London against an equivalent sum of debts owed by the Greek Government to the U.K.

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and 8th March, described in last week's *Summary*, was that while no apology had been received from the Bulgarian authorities for their discourteous and uncalled-for treatment of the Allied representatives, and while M. Dimitrov had publicly repeated his assertion that certain missions had been engaged in illegal traffic in gold and foreign exchange, he had so far yielded to the strong representations made to him as to settle satisfactorily the purely financial aspect of the matter: that is to say, he had authorised the immediate payment of the remainder of the funds presented by foreign missions for exchange into the new currency. At first it had appeared that their seven more or less identical notes of protest sent in on the 8th March were going to be ignored; and moreover, when the Foreign Ministry did deign to reply, they did so in a completely unsatisfactory manner; but before that the heads of the missions concerned—those of Great Britain, the United States, France, Sweden, Switzerland, Italy and Turkey—had met on the 11th and drafted a collective note protesting still more emphatically, and it was this sharp collective protest which wrung M. Dimitrov's withers. Some further steps were taken by the French Government on account of the assault made on the French Minister (since then recalled to Paris to report) and the expulsion from Bulgaria, at 24 hours' notice, of a French woman journalist (Bulgarian by birth) who had been struck in the face on the same occasion. In retaliation two Bulgarian journalists were expelled from France, privileges were withdrawn from eight others, and the negotiations for a commercial agreement which had been going on in Paris for some weeks were broken off.

On the 16th March the new British Political Representative, Mr. J. C. Sterndale Bennett, arrived at Sofia from Istanbul. During the previous ten days the Bulgarian frontier had remained closed, while the withdrawal of the old currency notes was proceeding. The authorities do not believe in leaving anything to chance. The Government press and the wireless have been daily warning the public about the penalties in store for those who try to evade the regulations, and explaining to the peasants (especially) that they are *not* going to be impoverished in consequence of the monetary reforms. For throwing doubt on this—and perhaps also for recommending in a leading article that Bulgaria should take note of the latest American moves and modify her policy accordingly—one of the two surviving Opposition newspapers has been suspended for ten days. When a Parliamentary Question on this subject from the Opposition benches was ignored and a fairly stormy protest was made in consequence, the whole of the Opposition were sentenced to exclusion from the Assembly for three sittings. One little nigger-boy was now left—the organ of the Social Democrats: that dared to mention these occurrences a little disapprovingly, and its whole issue was instantly confiscated. Even the next day it was not allowed to appear.

With some effrontery, in all the circumstances, the Bulgarian Government have sent letters to each of the four Foreign Ministers attending the Moscow Conference, in which they coolly ask for reparations from Germany on the ground that Bulgaria declared war on Germany [in September 1944], fought against her with 340,000 men, and suffered losses amounting to 40,000 dead, wounded or missing.

Turkey

Deep satisfaction has been caused in Turkey by President Truman's request to Congress for authority to use American funds and American military and civilian personnel in assuring the independence and economic soundness of Turkey, on the principle that free peoples must be helped "to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian régimes." Although they have stood firm under the war of nerves which the Soviet Union has been waging against them for the last two years, the Turks have in their heart of hearts been counting on concrete American help for the lifting of the Russian cloud which has so long been overshadowing them. The inefficiency of the Turkish forces is due not only to the lack of modern equipment—particularly transport—but also to complacency, inertia and lack of experience. The Turks need more up-to-date weapons, and perhaps more instructors than Great Britain can supply. Further, they need financial and economic support if they are to keep their economy sound despite the continued mobilisation which Soviet pressure imposes on them. One of their chief internal schemes is their new five-years' industrialisation plan. President Truman's gesture brings them hope of having not only the finance but also the security for pursuing the modernisation of their country.

Owing to a mistranslation the first reports received in Turkey suggested that

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His Majesty's Government were asking the United States to take over our obligations under the Anglo-Turkish treaty of 1939. Considerable consternation resulted, but when it was found that H.M. Government held as closely to the alliance as ever, it was readily recognised as natural that, in view of Great Britain's strained economy, the required economic and financial support should come from the United States.

THE MIDDLE EAST

Egypt

The whole of the sitting of the Senate on the 11th March was devoted to a debate on a motion by Abdul Hamid Abdul Hakk (Independent) regarding the Prime Minister's statement on the breaking-off of the Treaty negotiations on the 3rd March. The Senator congratulated the Government on the attitude they had taken up with regard to the evacuation of British troops and the unity of the Nile Valley, but complained that they were silent on the subject of the 1936 Treaty, which should have been abrogated, a step on which all Egyptians were agreed and one which it was within the rights of Egypt to take. He then asked what the Prime Minister had meant by his reference to self-government for the Sudanese and the restoration of Egypt's rights in the administration of the Sudan. If he meant that Egyptians would share the administration with the British, that implied recognition of the 1899 Agreement; the demand for the evacuation of Egypt and the Sudan should have been more precise. He regarded the term "self-government" as an unfortunate one, since it could properly be applied only to a country detached from another and not to a part of the territory of one country. The law provided severe punishment for "separatists." Nokrashy's statement that Egypt desires that the Sudanese shall be able as soon as possible to express their views freely, which they can do only after British troops have left the Sudan, opened the door wide to the destruction of the unity of the Nile Valley. He claimed that the whole question had been inadequately studied, and that complete and immediate evacuation should have been demanded from the outset of the negotiations. In conclusion he asked the Prime Minister whether he was demanding the evacuation of Egypt and the Sudan, and said that the unity of the Nile Valley must be complete, as it was before 1880, when Egyptians and Sudanese sat side by side on the Legislative Council. In his reply Nokrashy Pasha claimed that he had, in fact, expressed in full all the rights of Egypt in his statement of the 3rd March; that he had said that evacuation should be complete and immediate, and that this demand would be forcefully presented to the Security Council. He declared that "self-government" meant that the administration of the Sudan would be taken away from the British and put in the hands of the Sudanese. Although this step must be taken within the framework of the unity of Egypt and the Sudan, Egypt had not demanded domination of the Sudan. He said that the prospect of the Sudanese expressing their aspirations caused him no alarm, but that British troops must be withdrawn before they did so. He claimed that his demand in this respect strengthened rather than weakened the unity of the two countries. After a plea by another senator for national unity (the only means by which national aims could be achieved) the debate was adjourned until the 18th March.

Sidky Pasha, in an interview with the *Ahram*, maintains his view that Egypt has more to gain from negotiations with His Majesty's Government than from reference to the United Nations, but the general tone of the press remains as anti-British as before. The Ikhwan al Muslimin and the Young Men's Muslim Association have been giving a religious turn to the campaign of anti-British propaganda, in which the Government and the Wafd vie with one another in extremism, while the attitude of the Palace is clearly one of encouragement.

According to the press Egypt's case for presentation to the Security Council has now been prepared, and copies have been circulated to the Arab and other foreign legations in Cairo. The *Muqattam* asserts that these memoranda have been described by some foreigners who have seen them as constituting a convincing argument for the unity of the Nile Valley. The *Dastur* says that the case will be before the Council before the end of the month, and that the delay has been due only to a desire that it should first come before the Arab League, whose Council met on the 17th March.

Palestine

On the 16th March it was announced that the period of martial law imposed on certain areas would be brought to an end

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at noon the following day. It had then been in force for fifteen days, the maximum period for which it was estimated that the restrictions could be maintained. The economic effects are certainly serious, but they cannot at present be estimated. Allegations that the intention of the Government was to strangle Jewish economy were reported last week, and it is probable that it will now be claimed that the attempt has been defeated. The *Jewish Chronicle*, commenting last week on the succession of "Operation Hippo" (evacuation of civilians) by "Operation Elephant" (martial law), remarked that "the mark of failure is stamped on a policy which sets out thus to trample and to squash," and suggests that "this amiable zoological nomenclature emphasises the virtues of bulk rather than those of cerebration." At the same time there appears to have been no slackening in public denunciations of the terrorists in the areas affected, and many individuals have shown willingness to give information which, it is hoped, will lead to important results in the apprehension of terrorists. Since the Order was made, twenty-four known terrorists have been arrested, the majority outside the martial law area. Although there seems still to be little chance of the Jewish institutions withdrawing their refusal to co-operate with the Government, there are signs that the Yishuv may not continue to follow their lead, and there is some feeling that any action to bring terrorism to an end should be taken, even though it might lead to an open clash.

The Jewish Telegraphic Agency report a new line of argument by the Hagana to persuade the terrorists to cease their activities. In an "ultimatum," said to have been issued on the 15th March, they are told that their help will shortly be required in an "all-out effort" to ensure large-scale immigration which is to start immediately, and they are urged to use their forces in a constructive manner for defying the Government's "illegal immigration law." Reuter has reported the sailing from the United States of a small fleet of illegal immigrants' ships, said to have been purchased by the Hagana, but nothing further is known about them except for a report that one, the *President Warfield*, had put back with engine trouble.

A meeting of the Jewish Agency Executive started on the 15th March at the Hadassah Hospital in Jerusalem, where Ben Gurion is undergoing treatment. Dr. Silver had arrived from the United States of America the previous day, and the meeting had been postponed on account of the delay which he had experienced. In a statement made in Jerusalem on the 14th March Dr. Silver said that future policy would have to be decided as well as the course of action to be taken "if and when the Palestine problem is brought before the United Nations." It is thought that the position of Dr. Weizmann will also come up for discussion, and that the enlargement of the Jewish Agency Executive to include all schools of Zionist thought may be considered.

Acts of terrorism continue, and include attacks on road transport and on the railway. A Jewish bank in Tel Aviv was held up on the 13th March, and £P.14,000 was stolen. On the night of the 16th March the press conference room of the Jewish Agency was blown to pieces. It has been generally assumed that this was the work of the Stern Gang.

On the 12th March the *Susannah*, an illegal immigrant ship, ran ashore at a point a few miles north of El Mejdal in the Gaza district. The majority of the passengers reached the shore and mingled with the colonists, who were ready to receive them. A military and police cordon was thrown round the area, and over one thousand persons were taken into custody preparatory to screening, which was made very difficult by the unhelpful attitude of both immigrants and settlers. Eventually nearly two hundred were recognised as local residents, and the remainder were transported to Cyprus. A broadcast from the *Kol Israel* station claims that about two hundred local residents have been sent to Cyprus with the immigrants, and that "several hundred illegal immigrants have been absorbed in the settlement." The broadcast added that "scores of thousands" of immigrants are expected in the near future.

Iraq

As was expected the Iraqi elections have resulted in a triumph for the Government candidates. The Government resigned on the 12th March, but Nuri Pasha, the Prime Minister, was asked by the Regent to retain office until a new Government could be formed.

Arab League

The Sixth Meeting of the Council of the Arab League began in Cairo on the 17th March under the Presidency of Yusuf Yasin, representing Sa'udi Arabia. In his opening address the Chairman expressed the hope that the aspirations of Egypt and of the inhabitants of the Nile Valley would be fulfilled. According to press reports subsequent discussions were held *in camera*, and it was then announced that a Political Committee had been formed.

Persia

Although a sufficient number of deputies have now been elected to form the necessary quorum for convening the new Majlis, it appears unlikely, according to the British Military Attaché, Tehran, that it will be convened before the end of April. The Minister for War (General Ahmedi) has given as a reason for the delay the fact that the Cabinet wished first to see the results of the Moscow Conference. The delegates so far elected are, almost without exception, either members of the Persian Democrat Party or on the Prime Minister's list of approved candidates. A fuller report on the election results and on the elected deputies will appear as soon as details are available.

The work of the delegation from the World Federation of Trade Unions (see last week's *Summary*) is still impeded by the obdurate attitude of Borisov. On the 13th March he again refused either to proceed to Abadan or to meet the Government before El Aris had arrived. Mr. Harries, the British member, then announced his intention to visit Abadan in company with Naficy, Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Labour (who was going there to study the application of labour laws by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company) and, if necessary, to conduct an independent investigation. The other delegates met on the 14th March to consider this development, but their decision is not yet known.

Reports from Kurdistan indicate that the Barzanis, under Mulla Mustafa (see *Summary* No. 382) have made very slow progress in their return trek to Iraq. They are being delayed by sickness, snow, lack of animal transport, and by transit negotiations with the Pizhdur Kurds of 'Iraq. Meanwhile, the disarming of the Persian Kurds (see *Summary* No. 379) continues. Four columns of the Persian Army are engaged in these operations, which have so far been directed solely against one section of the Herki Kurds under Zero Beg. The Chief of the General Staff has stated that, by early March, 40,000 rifles had been collected in Kurdistan and Azerbaijan.

Farouhar, the Minister of Roads and Communications, has stated that he has secured enough money to start work immediately on the completion of the standard-gauge railway from Mianeh to Tabriz—a task which, by reason of the limited amount of money available each year, would take three years. When completed, the line will extend from Tehran to Tabriz, where it will connect with the existing 5-ft. gauge line linked to the Soviet railway system *via* Julfa. Other railway construction projects were mentioned in *Summary* No. 362 of the 2nd October, 1946.

THE FAR EAST

China

The initial step toward the long-promised broadening of the Nanking Government has been taken in the appointment of 81 third-party delegates to the Legislative Yuan, the Control Yuan and the People's Political Council. It is expected that further reorganisation will be effected before the end of March, thus bringing to an end the periods of Kuomintang political tutelage. Unfortunately, however, this step may be too late to play any immediate part in arresting the general spirit of discontent and restlessness that is now manifesting itself, particularly throughout southern China.

On the 7th March, the Communist delegation left Nanking for Yenan by air, despite the hope they had expressed to the United States Ambassador, Dr. Stuart, that they might finally be permitted to retain their delegations in Nanking and Shanghai. They had gone so far as to hint that Yenan was contemplating some modification of the two Communist demands which had made further attempts at negotiation impossible—the dissolution of the National Assembly and a return to the military positions that maintained in January 1946. When the chief Communist Delegate, Tung Pi-wu, called before leaving, Dr. Stuart entrusted him with a message to Yenan that he was prepared to transmit to General Chiang Kai-shek any proposal which they might send him for the resumption of negotiations and, provided he considered the suggestion fair and reasonable, to urge the Generalissimo to accept it. He even expressed his willingness to travel to Yenan in person for discussions if it would help to put an end to civil war. The Communist representative for UNRRA and his staff are being

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permitted to remain in Shanghai and it is through this channel that Tung Pi-wu expects to be able to communicate Yenan's reply to Dr. Stuart. General Chiang Kai-shek, on the other hand, has clearly given up all hope of arriving at any settlement with the Communists by means other than by force. In a speech at Nanking on the 15th March he is reported to have stressed the finality of the split with the Communists and to have declared that the Government had no option but to use armed force, since the Communists were deliberately trying to enlarge their sphere of influence by fomenting disturbances in areas under Government control.

Press reports credit official sources in Nanking with the expression of opinion that Yenan has been acting in co-operation with the Soviet Union in attempting to get the Chinese problem placed before the Moscow Conference and that in an effort to impress the "Big Four" Foreign Ministers with the extent of their strength, Mao Tze-tung has issued orders to his forces to conduct a full-scale offensive in an endeavour to capture as many strategic points as possible during the Conference. What substance there is for this assertion it is not stated. If, as it would seem, however, the Communists did intend the launching of a more than usually vigorous offensive to coincide with the opening of the Moscow Conference, it can scarcely have served its purpose. In Shantung the Government would appear to have sustained reverses along the railway line between Tsinan and Tsintao; and Tsinan, itself, is still being heavily attacked by a large Communist detachment. In Manchuria the defeated Communist forces were able to re-group and, after crossing the Sungari River under the protection of a snowstorm, succeeded in making some progress in their attempt to recapture Tehwei, the town generally regarded as the gateway to Changchun. This success, however, was short-lined and they were once again driven off with substantial losses. In Shensi, too, Kuomintang troops, crossing from southern Shansi, are reported to have captured the Communist capital, Yenan, although reports state that they have inherited an empty shell. The city, which was reported previously to have been bombed from the air, had been stripped and was almost deserted—the Communist forces having gone into the surrounding hills, no doubt to follow their established practice of waging guerrilla warfare.

At Moscow M. Molotov has already suggested, first, that the Council of Foreign Ministers should formally examine reports on implementing the decisions arrived at regarding China at the Moscow Conference of December 1945, and, failing that, the Ministers concerned should exchange opinions at a private sitting. These two suggestions have been rejected by Mr. Bevin and the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Marshall, in deference to the wishes of the Government of China that on this occasion her internal affairs should not be discussed either formally or informally (see *Summary* No. 383). Mr. Marshall, however, agreed to furnish information concerning the execution of the provisions of the Moscow declaration regarding China; this, Mr. Bevin pointed out, was not applicable in the case of H.M. Government, who had had no troops in China. In this connexion it is of some interest that the Soviet Ambassador to China should have enquired recenty of Dr. Wang Shih-chieh, Minister for Foreign Affairs, whether China is now prepared to resume control of Dairen and participate in the operation of the Manchurian Railway in accordance with the terms of the Agreement entered into in August, 1945.

On more than one occasion General Chiang Kai-shek has expressed confidence in his ability to restore peace and unity to the country within a period from six months to a year. This, however, is not the view taken by Mr. Marshall, whose expression of opinion to Mr. Bevin in the course of a recent confidential conversation was gloomy in the extreme. He said that he thought the existing situation could scarcely be worse for the Kuomintang and that it seemed to him to offer every opportunity to the Communist Party. Months ago he had warned General Chiang Kai-shek that unless the Government modified their policy they were faced with military and economic chaos. Instead of heeding this warning, however, and confining military operations to essential objectives, they were fast exhausting their best American-trained troops in costly operations fore-doomed to failure. The local inhabitants of rural districts refused to co-operate with occupying Government units because they were terrified of the measures that would be taken against them when the Communists reappeared in the districts concerned after the Kuomintang forces had moved forward. One General on the Government side had seen eye to eye with Mr. Marshall in realising where they were headed, but had been over-ruled by the reactionaries in the Kuomintang Party, who were not merely digging their own graves, but also bringing their country to

ruin. The economic crisis was already with them and must, in his opinion, inevitably be succeeded shortly by a state of hopeless military chaos. As the position stood at present, he felt it could only be a matter of time before the whole of China north of the Yangtsze Valley was taken over by the Communists and, since the economic life of the larger towns was so entirely dependent on coal supplies from the north, it was not unlikely that the Communists might even extend their hold to areas further south.

In this connexion, however, it is of interest to note that at the end of the year 1946, the Communists controlled approximately 70,000 square miles less territory than at the end of 1945.

Despite the Executive Yuan's order to local governments to refrain from action calculated to cause public resentment, wholesale arrests in Peiping, which began on the 14th February, and which are reported still to be continuing, are causing widespread alarm. These arrests, which do not appear to have been confined to Communists, have been accompanied by forcible entry into houses on the pretence of police search for "unauthorised persons." Victims have included distinguished scholars, students and a Buddhist Abbot, and immunity or release from prison has been obtained only by payment of heavy bribes.

So far no official reason for these arrests has been given, the only public statement in the matter to date being, in fact, a joint protest to the local authorities by twelve Peiping University professors, alleging that about the 17th February no fewer than 2,000 arrests were made. H.M. Ambassador in Nanking reports that this sudden severity appears to have been a temporary spasm, but that the feeling of insecurity which has thus been created will take some time to subside, especially among the student body who consider themselves the main targets. Much nervousness prevails in Shanghai where similar arrests are feared as the result of the Government's sudden and unexplained decision to suspend the issue of passports for abroad.

In the meantime trouble has broken out in south China which, unless carefully handled, may have far-reaching consequences. In Formosa long smouldering resentment against the repressive measures of General Chen-yi's administration has culminated in an ugly situation. On the 27th February, serious rioting occurred at Taipei and Keelung, apparently as the result of a search conducted by officials of the Tobacco Monopoly Bureau for stocks of smuggled cigarettes. Angry mobs are reported to have surged through the streets with Government buildings as their objectives. In Keelung the local Customs residential quarters were looted and the staff compelled to take refuge in a Customs cruiser. The Government Authorites, unable to rely on the local police force, were powerless to quell these disturbances, which spread quickly to the southern part of Formosa and assumed the proportions of an organised revolt. Although the intensely unpopular Governor, General Chen Yi, made known his readiness to accede to the demands presented by the Formosan delegates for a greater measure of self-government and the abolition of the existing military régime, as well as other reforms—including the dismissal of officials accused of acts of undue harshness against the people—well-armed bands of Formosans continued to attack the Government Headquarters at Taipei and Keelung. On the 9th March, the general situation had become so serious that martial law had to be proclaimed in both these towns. The Government's position is now reported to have been eased by the arrival of large numbers of reinforcements. Unfortunately it is also reported that General Chen Yi is not keeping his promise to treat the matter leniently. The liberal newspaper, *Wen Wei Pao*, published at Nanking quotes the delegates of the six Formosan public bodies deputed by the Government to assist in restoring order as reporting that the Governor is now taking drastic reprisals against the leaders of the uprising.

Philippines

The plebiscite to ratify the amendment to the constitution granting parity to Americans in the development of Philippine industries and the operation of public utilities (see *Summary* No. 366) was held on the 11th March, 1947, and although the results will not be known for a month, President Roxas has issued a statement to the press that the amendment has been overwhelmingly approved. The President engaged in an active campaign to popularise the amendment while the opposition, headed by the former guerrilla leader, Senator Tomas Confessor, no less energetically condemned it as binding Philippine economy to the United States and

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THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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the House of Representatives Labour Committee on the 11th March, has already come out with the sweeping proposal that Communists should henceforth be excluded from "any type of public activity, including the right to run for office, to sit in chambers of commerce or to hold office in trade unions."

LATIN AMERICA

Argentina

A report by members of the American Federation of Labour delegation which visited Argentina at the end of January has now been delivered to the United States press. It declares that though there is "little formal action by the Government to suppress civil liberties" and though Argentina's economic situation has allowed the Government to carry through a large number of overdue reforms, there has been "a wholesale usurpation by the Government of ordinary trade union functions." The Argentine *Confederación General del Trabajo* (CGT) is a political arm of the Government; it cannot elect its officers independently of the Government; it cannot and does not determine its policies or carry on collective bargaining or administer its affairs independently of Government direction. This has resulted in a steady reduction of the "area of free activity" in industry and labour. Independent trade unions, though often deprived of legal status, continue to exist and to struggle to preserve their independence.

The policy of the A.F. of L. seems to have been to make contact with the labour movements in Latin America which are anti-Communist and hostile to the Latin American Confederation of Labour (C.T.A.L.) and the C.I.O. As the Argentine C.G.T. is the strongest Latin American body unrecognized by these last two, it seemed to offer the most practical starting-point for an anti-C.T.A.L. drive. The present adverse report, however, seems to reduce greatly any possibility of success, and the C.T.A.L., which vituperated vigorously against the scheme at their last conference in Costa Rica, may be relieved.

The experiences of the delegation, as far as they are known, suggest that their visit was not a happy one. The invitation was jointly made by the Argentine C.G.T. and the Government, but the Government appears to have been determined from the first to control the tour. Arriving on the 19th January in a blaze of publicity and official "good will," the delegation were faced, three days later, with violent press attacks, arising partly from the translation of the delegation's purpose ("to make our own surveys" being rendered as "*para hacer nuestras propias investigaciones*"); partly from American resentment at the "conducted tour" method, partly, too, from purely personal reasons and as a result of the curious "resignation" of the secretary of the C.G.T., Señor Luis Gay, which followed the delegation's arrival. A secret meeting of the C.G.T. elected Sr. Aurelio Hernandez to succeed the energetic and independent Sr. Gay, all of whose supporters have disappeared from the executive board. According to the United States press, the A.F. of L. delegation were unable to make contact with Sr. Gay after his sudden removal.

Following the publication of the A.F. of L.'s report, the Argentine C.G.T. and other Peronist unions made counter-declarations. President Perón had already declared in a speech that his labour policy could not be called intervention, since the Government was "merely the continuation of the working-classes in Government House." He did not refer to the continuation of Government House in the Secretariat of Labour, where Señora Perón has her offices; the Secretary of Labour, Sr. Freire, an elderly and well-meaning worker, is now hardly more than a rubber-stamp in the hands of an unscrupulous and designing woman.

Paraguay

According to press reports the outbreak of a revolt against President Morínigo's Government has been followed by the declaration of a state of siege and fighting at various places. Recent reports suggest that the Government's position is weakening, as the rebels gather strength. President Morínigo, who took power in 1940, relied on military support alone until June 1946, when he fell foul of Colonel Benítez Vera, the tough cavalry commander, and Major Stagni of the aviation. Last August the President permitted political parties to re-form, though without founding a party of his own. His association with the Colorados, who entered his cabinet, drove the Liberals into open opposition, and periods of vigorous political activity then began (see *Summary* No. 356). At the end of September the

Paraguayan Communist Party had got itself suspended for a month, and in December an anti-government demonstration was broken up by a party of specially-released convicts, so that the police might have an excuse to intervene. By then President Morínigo seems to have been regretting that he had allowed the politicians to return. In January he failed to settle a quarrel between the two political parties who supported him, the Colorados and Febreristas, and was obliged to drop the latter. An imaginary plot was attributed to the Communists and Febreristas, and a state of siege was declared on the 13th January for 30 days. A new cabinet composed almost entirely of Colorados was appointed (see *Summary* No. 377). The state of siege was in itself a sign of weakness. Even the Colorados, though fully associated with the Government, displayed a certain nervousness about the future. Certainly, General Morínigo's position was an unenviable one, for he had powerful enemies in the army and few friends among the politicians.

UNITED NATIONS

The Corfu Incident

The Committee of Three, composed of the delegates of Australia, Columbia and Poland, which the Security Council set up on the 27th February to examine all the available facts of the dispute, issued an entirely non-committal report. It requested the Council to consider whether a minefield existed in the swept channel on the 22nd October, and whether this minefield was laid by Albanians or with their connivance. It could not agree whether the mines which damaged the British ships were part of the minefield discovered in the sweeping operations of the 13th November. Poland's representative added a memorandum, questioning the trustworthiness of Captain de Mestre's evidence, and refusing to accept British statements as to the existence of a minefield on the 13th November. It is the normal Slav defence of flat denial, carried rather further than usual. The Committee questioned the Albanian, Greek and other representatives, and among the replies the following were worthy of note: Albania recognised the Hague Convention of 1907. Albania believed that the U.K. itself might have laid the mines, to further its anti-Albanian policy. Greece's representative, M. Dendramis, said that the sudden stoppage of Yugoslav traffic through the Corfu Channel suggested that Albania had warned her friends of the presence of the new minefield. It will be observed that the Slav *bloc* has suggested (*a*) that Greece laid the mines, (*b*) that the U.K. laid the mines and (*c*) that the minefield did not exist on the 13th November.

Japanese Mandated Islands

The United States wishes the Islands to be entrusted to her before the terms of a Japanese peace have been settled. Russia has agreed, on the ground that the U.S. played the major part in the defeat of Japan. Australia and the United Kingdom have not felt entirely satisfied with the legality of the proposed transaction, which involves a principle of wide application. Sir Alexander Cadogan touched on this legal difficulty when the Council met on the 7th March, saying at the same time that he would not oppose the U.S. receiving at once what all agreed they should receive eventually, if the majority of the Council so wished. Australia's representative welcomed U.S. control of the islands, but considered that the final settlement should be approved in a Peace Settlement in which all belligerents took their share. The Lebanese delegate argued that Japan had forfeited her legal rights when she left the League of Nations. Senator Austin maintained that trusteeship did not affect the question of ultimate ownership.

The discussion was resumed on the 17th March when the Australian delegate brought forward an amendment to the U.S. Draft making the Security Council's decision subject to confirmation in the Peace Treaty. It was pointed out that the Council's decision could not be made subject to the decision of another body, and the Australian amendment was modified on U.K. initiative so as to make the Trusteeship Agreement enter into force when a Peace Treaty had recorded Japan's surrender of her rights. Senator Austin contended that Japan had already renounced her rights by the original deed of surrender; but Sir Alexander Cadogan at once explained the essentially provisional nature of "surrenders," no matter how closely their terms might be followed in the actual Peace Treaty. To transfer the Japanese islands before a general settlement, he pointed out, might justify similar

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piecemeal transfers in Europe at a time when the Foreign Ministers of the U.K. and the U.S. are resolutely fighting against piecemeal decisions.

International Wheat Conference

The Conference, called in accordance with a resolution of the International Wheat Council, opened in London on the 18th March. This Council was established jointly in 1942 by the principal wheat-exporting countries, Argentina, Australia, Canada and U.S.A., with the addition of the U.K. as the chief importing State, and was expanded in 1946 by the inclusion of certain other countries interested in the production and trade in wheat. Though the pre-war wheat surplus, which occasioned negotiation of the draft International Wheat Convention of that year has long since vanished and the Convention has never come into force, the prospect of another unmanageable surplus in a few years' time, with its natural consequences of depressed prices and unprofitable agriculture, is already perturbing the great producing countries, especially U.S.A. and Canada, and they are pressing strongly for a new agreement. The objects of the present meeting are to reach an agreement which will accord with principles generally agreed in connection with F.A.O. and I.T.O.—*viz.*: the provision of adequate supplies at all times for all at prices which are fair to producers and consumers alike; the promotion of stability in wheat prices; adequate reserves in both exporting and importing countries, the avoidance of burdensome surpluses, security for efficient producers and provision for world requirements to be met from sources which can supply them most effectively; consumption to be increased and the nutritional level to be raised where necessary.

The U.K. agreed to summon the conference in accordance with the recommendations of the F.A.O. General Preparatory Commission and the I.T.O. Preparatory Committee concerning commodity arrangements. A moment like the present when wheat prices are at a very high level is not however in our view a good time for the conclusion of a wheat agreement, particularly as world conditions are still so unsettled. The import of wheat and its price are so important to the U.K. that we cannot agree to enter a wheat agreement at the present time unless our position is fully safeguarded. Among the matters to which the U.K. attaches importance are the immediate reduction of prices from their present high levels and hence the conclusion of the agreement in the very near future, the progressive reduction of prices over the following years, the holding of adequate reserves, and flexibility in the operation of export quotas to safeguard the position of importers.

Some 40 nations are represented at the Conference, as well as the F.A.O., the United Nations Organisation and the International Monetary Fund. Sir Gerald Clauson, an Under-Secretary of the Colonial Office, was appointed Chairman, and Mr. L. A. Wheeler, head of the U.S. Delegation, vice-chairman. Meetings are being held in private.

THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE

In the first eight meetings of the full Conference differences have been defined and policies made clearer, so that what agreements are reached should be based on reality and not on equivocation. Mr. Marshall is far less approachable than was Mr. Byrnes, nevertheless the line he has adopted has coincided to a remarkable extent with that of Mr. Bevin. Both have repulsed Soviet charges and made counter-attacks—Mr. Bevin with exceptional vigour and armed to the teeth with facts—upon the shrouded Soviet zone, where Russians and Germans live in mysterious partnership of industry, and "current production" sends a stream of reparations to Russia, while, as Mr. Marshall said, America pumps in money at one end of Germany, and Russia draws reparations from the other. Both are determined that Germany owes it to Europe, her own people and to the taxpayers of America and Great Britain to become at least self-supporting. Both therefore denounce the Russian economic policy, which indefinitely defers the recovery of the Western Zones and gives no promise of relief to the American and British taxpayer. Both favour treating Germany as an economic whole, as paragraph 14 of the Potsdam agreement laid down. If this proves impossible, and indeed in any case, both insist that the level of German industry will have to be raised until Germany can pay for her own imports. Both, and Mr. Bevin in particular, contend that all the factors of the German problem must be taken together and the problem seen as a whole, and both

reject the uncompromising Russian technique of establishing agreement on parts of a problem which in the Anglo-American view lose their significance when divorced from the whole. Both contend that no plan for all Germany is possible until M. Molotov discloses the true position in the Russian Zone, and the exact relationship between German and Russian industry. M. Molotov's figures, as Mr. Bevin pointed out, signify nothing; and when M. Molotov replied to Mr. Bevin's questions on the 12th March, for all his sweet reasonableness, and distress that technical difficulties had prevented his country from destroying "fully" the German naval vessels, he ignored the vital subject of production in the Soviet Zone. The United Kingdom realised the dangers of a policy of reparations from current production when the terms of the Italian treaty were being discussed, while the U.S. could not then be brought to realise all that the policy implied in the way of interference in Italian economy. At Moscow, however, Mr. Marshall realises what is involved in the Russian demand for ten billion dollars' worth of reparations. The reparations are to be calculated at 1938 prices, a device which Russia has already employed to magnify the total of deliveries due to her. They are to be spread over 20 years, and they are to come largely from current production, supplemented by bulk removal of industrial plant and a share of German assets abroad. Neither Mr. Bevin nor Mr. Marshall is prepared to see Germany become a kind of Russian milch cow, fed on Anglo-American fodder. Both reject M. Molotov's attempt to quote Yalta as justifying Russian demands; Mr. Marshall stating flatly that he will not retreat from Potsdam to Yalta, for Potsdam superseded Yalta.

It seems that, once a fact has been asserted by the exponents of Soviet foreign policy, it assumes a life dependent only upon Soviet will. No contradiction can kill it. Mr. Byrnes had refuted the Yalta statement. Mr. Bevin explained on the 12th March that the "Royal Yugoslav Army," of which M. Molotov had complained, had been disbanded. Yet, later in the same meeting, M. Molotov solemnly asked that it should be disbanded.

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piecemeal transfers in Europe at a time when the Foreign Ministers of the U.K. and the U.S. are resolutely fighting against piecemeal decisions.

International Wheat Conference

The Conference, called in accordance with a resolution of the International Wheat Council, opened in London on the 18th March. This Council was established jointly in 1942 by the principal wheat-exporting countries, Argentina, Australia, Canada and U.S.A., with the addition of the U.K. as the chief importing State, and was expanded in 1946 by the inclusion of certain other countries interested in the production and trade in wheat. Though the pre-war wheat surplus, which occasioned negotiation of the draft International Wheat Convention of that year has long since vanished and the Convention has never come into force, the prospect of another unmanageable surplus in a few years' time, with its natural consequences of depressed prices and unprofitable agriculture, is already perturbing the great producing countries, especially U.S.A. and Canada, and they are pressing strongly for a new agreement. The objects of the present meeting are to reach an agreement which will accord with principles generally agreed in connection with F.A.O. and I.T.O.—*viz.*: the provision of adequate supplies at all times for all at prices which are fair to producers and consumers alike; the promotion of stability in wheat prices; adequate reserves in both exporting and importing countries, the avoidance of burdensome surpluses, security for efficient producers and provision for world requirements to be met from sources which can supply them most effectively; consumption to be increased and the nutritional level to be raised where necessary.

The U.K. agreed to summon the conference in accordance with the recommendations of the F.A.O. General Preparatory Commission and the I.T.O. Preparatory Committee concerning commodity arrangements. A moment like the present when wheat prices are at a very high level is not however in our view a good time for the conclusion of a wheat agreement, particularly as world conditions are still so unsettled. The import of wheat and its price are so important to the U.K. that we cannot agree to enter a wheat agreement at the present time unless our position is fully safeguarded. Among the matters to which the U.K. attaches importance are the immediate reduction of prices from their present high levels and hence the conclusion of the agreement in the very near future, the progressive reduction of prices over the following years, the holding of adequate reserves, and flexibility in the operation of export quotas to safeguard the position of importers.

Some 40 nations are represented at the Conference, as well as the F.A.O., the United Nations Organisation and the International Monetary Fund. Sir Gerald Clauson, an Under-Secretary of the Colonial Office, was appointed Chairman, and Mr. L. A. Wheeler, head of the U.S. Delegation, vice-chairman. Meetings are being held in private.

THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE

In the first eight meetings of the full Conference differences have been defined and policies made clearer, so that what agreements are reached should be based on reality and not on equivocation. Mr. Marshall is far less approachable than was Mr. Byrnes, nevertheless the line he has adopted has coincided to a remarkable extent with that of Mr. Bevin. Both have repulsed Soviet charges and made counter-attacks—Mr. Bevin with exceptional vigour and armed to the teeth with facts—upon the shrouded Soviet zone, where Russians and Germans live in mysterious partnership of industry, and "current production" sends a stream of reparations to Russia, while, as Mr. Marshall said, America pumps in money at one end of Germany, and Russia draws reparations from the other. Both are determined that Germany owes it to Europe, her own people and to the taxpayers of America and Great Britain to become at least self-supporting. Both therefore denounce the Russian economic policy, which indefinitely defers the recovery of the Western Zones and gives no promise of relief to the American and British taxpayer. Both favour treating Germany as an economic whole, as paragraph 14 of the Potsdam agreement laid down. If this proves impossible, and indeed in any case, both insist that the level of German industry will have to be raised until Germany can pay for her own imports. Both, and Mr. Bevin in particular, contend that all the factors of the German problem must be taken together and the problem seen as a whole, and both

reject the uncompromising Russian technique of establishing agreement on parts of a problem which in the Anglo-American view lose their significance when divorced from the whole. Both contend that no plan for all Germany is possible until M. Molotov discloses the true position in the Russian Zone, and the exact relationship between German and Russian industry. M. Molotov's figures, as Mr. Bevin pointed out, signify nothing; and when M. Molotov replied to Mr. Bevin's questions on the 12th March, for all his sweet reasonableness, and distress that technical difficulties had prevented his country from destroying "fully" the German naval vessels, he ignored the vital subject of production in the Soviet Zone. The United Kingdom realised the dangers of a policy of reparations from current production when the terms of the Italian treaty were being discussed, while the U.S. could not then be brought to realise all that the policy implied in the way of interference in Italian economy. At Moscow, however, Mr. Marshall realises what is involved in the Russian demand for ten billion dollars' worth of reparations. The reparations are to be calculated at 1938 prices, a device which Russia has already employed to magnify the total of deliveries due to her. They are to be spread over 20 years, and they are to come largely from current production, supplemented by bulk removal of industrial plant and a share of German assets abroad. Neither Mr. Bevin nor Mr. Marshall is prepared to see Germany become a kind of Russian milch cow, fed on Anglo-American fodder. Both reject M. Molotov's attempt to quote Yalta as justifying Russian demands, Mr. Marshall stating flatly that he will not retreat from Potsdam to Yalta, for Potsdam superseded Yalta.

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be told to send in agreed quantities. (Mr. Bevin and he agreed that it was not easy to draw the line between the industrial potential appropriate to a Germany geared for peace or for war.) M. Bidault was, in the nature of things, disposed to take less risks than his Allies. He had no rooted objection to reparations from current production. On the other hand, he declared, with French logic, that the boundaries and the nature of Germany must be determined before he could say whether he agreed to a unified Germany. And, in any case, the Saar must become a part of the French economy. He would like the U.S. Draft Treaty to include "industrial disarmament." His main economic statement was made when the Conference met on the 18th March. Of his previous remarks the most striking was an offer to take German immigrants into France. Both M. Bidault and Mr. Bevin have made it clear that their respective Zones can accept no more people from the East, beyond the exact number already agreed upon, and in this connection Mr. Bevin could not help remarking on the amazing dearth of able-bodied men among those who came from the Eastern areas to the British Zone.

Despite M. Molotov's appeal to Yalta, Potsdam remains the Holy Writ which all say they would observe, did not heretics prevent them.

(See also under "Germany," "France," "Far East.")

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary No. 386

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
26TH MARCH, 1947

Copy No. 143

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EUROPE

GERMANY

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On the 17th March Mr. Bevin discussed the need for economic unity and its dependence on other factors. He did not reveal all the stringent conditions on which His Majesty's Government's acceptance of economic unity would depend, but mentioned as an example freedom of movement throughout Germany. Mr. Bevin justified the bi-zonal arrangements and made it perfectly clear that Great Britain would stick to the agreement until there was economic unity and would not accept any additional financial burdens. Nobody was satisfied with reparation deliveries, Mr. Bevin remarked, and matters must be speeded up, but the scope of the present plan was such that it could not be achieved within a reasonable time and was in any case hampered by the fog of uncertainty surrounding Germany's future and conditions in the Soviet zone. Mr. Bevin did not ask the Powers to desert Potsdam, but to confirm its general principles in this respect. They should enable the Control Council to publish by the 15th August, 1947, a fresh and complete list of equipment to be removed, based on a revised permitted level of industrial production.

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wanted an increase of exports to secure imports and financial reform (of a type unspecified), points on which all are agreed. Otherwise, he concentrated on attacking once again the failure of reparation deliveries from the West and on upholding the Russo-Polish claim for 10 billion dollars in reparation, basing this on a clause in the Yalta Agreement which was not agreed by Mr. Churchill—and which in any case the U.K. and U.S. representatives now consider to have been superseded by Potsdam. Figures for other countries, M. Molotov suggested, should be determined by the Control Council and should include reparation from current production. This meant that under the Soviet scheme demilitarisation should be completed in the Soviet zone by 1st July, 1947, and elsewhere a year later, but reparation obligations, he said, could continue for 20 years after the signing of the Potsdam agreement. He made regular fulfilment of deliveries a condition for permitting unfettered peaceful production. As Mr. Marshall bluntly told the Russians, the British and U.S. public are not going to agree to a scheme of this sort which meant them paying reparation to an ally. M. Molotov also attacked French action in the Saar and, as expected, asked for the Ruhr to be put under four-Power-control and for German mills and combines to be transferred to State ownership. Mr. Bevin pointed out later that Great Britain did not favour basic industries being made a powerful weapon in the hands of a Central Government but thought they should be owned by some such authority as the *Laender*. The most unhelpful contribution of M. Molotov's speech was to ask for the annulment of the bi-zonal Agreement.

Mr. Marshall's theme was that the reparation issue could not be solved without economic unity—the core of the problem. He demanded freedom of movement throughout Germany and equitable use of indigenous resources together with agreed restrictions on their supply to the occupying Powers. In a particularly downright attack, later supported by Mr. Bevin, he demanded proper four-Power supervision over the Soviet-owned industries in the Eastern zone which appeared to his Government to represent extra-territorial principles inconsistent with the Potsdam Agreement. By contrast M. Bidault who spoke on the 18th March was preoccupied chiefly with the French need for coal and fear of German industry. He wished Germany to be obliged by treaty to export a certain amount of coal and threatened that the French Government would not agree to a higher level of industry unless supplies were assured. Let Germany sell her coal to smelt iron in France rather than France send iron to Germany. If coal and steel were controlled under a special régime for the Ruhr, other products, said M. Bidault, need be less severely limited. It was not surprising that M. Bidault in his concern for reparations supported their payment from current production. The principles of economic unity, he said, must be defined before any central economic departments were established. The remainder of the meeting on the 18th March was taken up in a wearisome enumeration by M. Molotov of various false allegations which have already blossomed in the Berlin press about reparations taken by the West. He was roundly trounced for this, probably with little effect, by Mr. Marshall and by Mr. Bevin, who later showed exactly how little Great Britain had received.

On the 19th March Mr. Bevin replied to M. Molotov and noted a number of points on which they agreed such as the need for a revision of the level of industrial production. One great difference was that M. Molotov only seemed to consider particular aspects of economic unity and not the whole problem. Mr. Bevin rejected the Russian reparation demand and also the demand for a special régime in the Ruhr, but pointed out that if there was economic unity there would be four-Power control of industry. He was forced with regret to oppose also M. Bidault's coal demands. M. Bidault varied this request on the 20th March when he alleged that coal was being wasted in Germany. (This is not strictly true although present conditions in some factories make uneconomic use of fuel inevitable.) He then said that France was willing to modify the level-of-industry plan provided that it did not reduce coal exports. All this is putting the cart before the horse, and Mr. Bevin had again to point out that such conditions, which might impose new financial burdens on this country, were impossible. Mr. Bevin, however, sought to help the French in a paper circulated on the 22nd March which said that the rate at which German production increased should be in relation to the need for coal exports. This paper covered economic principles in general and included a demand for equitable sharing of the costs of occupation both in the past and in the future. Mr. Bevin re-emphasised Mr. Marshall's preoccupation with the need for an export-import plan, for central German economic administrations and for the pooling of indigenous resources and the fulfilment of the Potsdam agreement. A

moderate speech by M. Molotov on the 20th March greeted Mr. Bevin's views as a useful contribution. M. Molotov thought that the views put forward about economic unity were not irreconcilable but then restated Russian claims on reparations and the Ruhr and also stood by the original French proposals on coal. Mr. Marshall expressed his readiness to consider M. Molotov's proposals. Mr. Bevin was ready to agree that industries purely warlike in character should be liquidated without waiting for a new industrial plan and concluded that he thought this the most important session of the Council and that they would never again have such a good opportunity to settle Europe peacefully.

Great Britain took the initiative decisively on the 21st March by presenting detailed suggestions for the political structure of Germany. Mr. Bevin stressed that this was a practical plan avoiding as far as possible slogans or generalisation about federalism. The relations between the Centre and the States is essentially the same as that defined for the British Zone in November 1946. All powers will be vested in the *Laender* except those specifically reserved to the centre. At the Centre two chambers are proposed, one representing the nation, the other the separate *Laender*, the latter having the right of absolute veto on constitutional matters and suspensory veto on other legislation. The president should only exercise the function of a constitutional head of State. Constitutional democracy might have to be established by gradual stages. The Control Council should reserve to themselves for the time being subjects such as demilitarisation and reparations and foreign affairs. A statement making many similar points was delivered by Mr. Marshall, but as the first stage he wished the Germans to organise a Provisional Government composed of the heads of the *Laender*, thus placing greater emphasis on federal rights. M. Bidault remained firmly opposed to a Provisional Government or even central administrations at this stage.

On the 22nd March M. Molotov made his plea for a centralised Germany, claiming that the imposition of federalism—unless freely chosen by the Germans—might leave the popular alternative of centralism as a plant for the political agitator. Much of this speech was obviously addressed to the German public. He wished the (partly discredited) Weimar Constitution to be taken as a basis for discussion though not in its entirety (the Russians have previously hankered after Weimar on questions of electoral procedure). This is not surprising when it is recalled that Grotewohl described the Socialist Unity Party's Draft Constitution as based on Weimar, but eliminating its more "objectionable" features. M. Molotov suggests there should be a President, though presumably not with executive powers, and that he should be elected by Parliament (not by a referendum as under Weimar, where the procedure weakened the powers of the elected legislature). The main difference from the SED Draft Constitution is that M. Molotov wants a second chamber but gives no definition of whom it is to represent nor how much real power, if any, it is to exercise, so that in fact it may represent little divergence from the SED plan. Under Weimar the rights of the *Laender* were strictly limited. It is significant that M. Molotov wished the non-party democratic organisations and the Trade Unions (all Communist-controlled in the East) to be associated in the drafting of the Constitution.

Mr. Marshall thought there was much in common between the proposals of all four delegations. Perhaps it was a question of words; for M. Molotov's design for the new Germany seemed to the American Delegation, in point of fact, to indicate a federal system, and divergencies between the various plans were rather of degree than of substance. Mr. Bevin and M. Molotov also expressed assent, but both Mr. Bevin and M. Bidault objected strongly to taking the Weimar Constitution as a basis for discussion. It was agreed that by the 25th March a sub-Committee should co-ordinate all the proposals already made, listing points of agreement and disagreement, for a further meeting of the Ministers.

The most submissive German comments on the conference came from the Communist-controlled *Neues Deutschland* which asserted blithely that no one had thought of querying the figures of prisoners-of-war in Russian hands until Dr. Schumacher had had the "effrontery" to do so. Dr. Schumacher spoke in Berlin during the week and gave another warning against the "new nationalism" which was the gravedigger of Germany and European order and world peace, but which, he declared, sprang from the mercilessness of the world. Meanwhile the Christian Democratic Union has invited the leaders

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of the main German parties to prepare for overall representation of German interests, a move welcomed by the Communist (KPD) and by the Liberal groups who have now united as the Democratic Party of Germany. Dr. Schumacher, while agreeing in principle, thought the scheme useless until the Social-Democratic Party (SPD) were re-admitted in the Soviet zone. The French representative in the Control Council has objected that the whole thing is illegal while there is no law permitting interzonal party union. A KPD conference for the three Western zones was held from the 22nd to the 25th March in which Socialist Unity Party speakers figured prominently. All territorial losses (except presumably in East Prussia) were again rejected. Emphasis was laid on the need for wide trade union influence, and Ulbricht claimed that trade unionists in the West were being used to cover up the interests of big capital by appointing them to executive boards without granting them responsibility. Numerous allegations were made against the West, and Helmut Lehmann then admitted that the Germans had not yet grasped the meaning of "democracy" (as understood by the SED). In support of a Centralised Germany he said that this provided the only guarantee that the workers would influence the shaping of events.

Five Berlin University students were arrested by the Soviet authorities in the middle of March; one has since been released. The majority are members of the CDU who in February were active in defeating the Socialist Unity Party candidates for the Berlin Students council. It is possible, however, that the Russians have more substantial charges against them. Further arrests are stated to have taken place among members of the CDU in the Soviet zone.

(See also under "Moscow Conference" and "France.")

AUSTRIA

In Moscow the Foreign Ministers have agreed to Mr. Marshall's proposal that Austrian representatives be invited to Moscow. The Austrian Ministers for Foreign Affairs and for the Protection of Property, and the Austrian Envoy to Britain, were expected to leave for Moscow on the 25th March. They are to be followed by Chancellor Figl and representatives of the three political parties. The Deputies have dealt with certain military, political and economic clauses of the Treaty, but have on the whole made little progress. It has been agreed that airfields are to be strictly limited in number and size to correspond to the tasks of the Austrian Air Force and to the requirements of civil aviation. An attempt by M. Gusev to secure the setting up of an expert committee to study the Yugoslav claim for a frontier revision was successfully opposed by the other Deputies, and the Soviet Deputy was also persuaded to agree to the use of the term "Nazi" instead of "Fascist." Agreement has not yet been reached, however, on the important question of the maintenance of the rights of the Occupying Powers within their Zones between the signature of the Treaty and the final withdrawal of troops. The Control Agreement of June 1946 must lapse when the Treaty comes into force, but, on the other hand, all the Powers need and desire the temporary retention of certain rights. A tentative British proposal to regulate the withdrawal of troops by means of a separate Four-Power Agreement, and not by the Treaty itself, has been formulated with the intention of enabling troops to begin withdrawal immediately, completing the process within 90 days, the Treaty itself then containing a provision that it would not come into force until 90 days after signature.

At the meeting of the Executive Committee in Vienna on the 22nd March a British paper (supported by the French member) designed to secure immediate action to establish armed forces for Austria was placed on the agenda. The British member suggested that the present situation, in which the Foreign Ministers' Deputies were discussing the size of the Austrian armed forces while the Military Directorate regarded with suspicion any Austrian who dared mention the word "army," was bringing ridicule on the Control Authorities in Austria: he insisted on submitting the problem to the Allied Council. The Soviet member refused to discuss the problem, no doubt being anxious to prevent Austria from being able to resist Yugoslav threats when British troops withdrew.

Lack of Allied unanimity on food policy for Austria was clearly demonstrated at the Economic Directorate's meeting on the 11th March, when the French and Soviet members pressed for the implementation of the Austrian proposed increase of livestock by 100,000 head during 1947. The British and Americans, who do not live off the land and who have to subsidise the cost of food imports into Austria, have already strongly criticised the Austrian

Government's restocking programme. The Directorate also dealt with a letter from the Austrian Government complaining that the Soviets had interfered with an Executive Committee decision by attempting to curtail the amount of bread grains being removed from their zone.

POLAND

The text of the Polish Constitution which has now been issued has yielded more exact information on some of its provisions (see *Summary* No. 382). To a considerable degree the powers and prerogatives of the State Authorities have been defined by a simple re-enactment of many articles of the 1921 Constitution, upon which the present one is allegedly based.

Thus, Article 13 of the 1947 Constitution, concerning the position of the President, has revived thirteen articles of the former document. Some of them relate to formal matters such as limited legal immunity, deputizing in the case of Presidential incapacity, etc., and for the procedure of diplomatic representation common to most heads of states. But it should be noted that the President is also vested with the power of pardon and respite, and has the position of titular head of the armed forces. As regards the process of government, the President will exercise his executive power through Ministers responsible to Parliament. All laws are to be signed by the President and the Ministers concerned. The President also has the power of appointing, cancelling or revoking the appointment of the President of the Council of Ministers (the Prime Minister). How much attention, if any, the President must pay to the wishes of Parliament in this matter is uncertain: it is provided elsewhere, however, that the Government as a whole, or any Minister, shall resign if Parliament so decrees. On the Prime Minister's suggestion the President is to appoint the other responsible ministers, as well as officials of Civil and Military authorities established by the Law on the advice of the Council of Ministers. Finally, the President has the power to convene, open, adjourn and prorogue Parliament, which will probably not sit for more than three months in the year, one month in spring and two in the autumn.

A similar re-enactment of clauses of the 1921 Constitution defines the Government's position. The Council of Ministers is to be collectively responsible, politically and constitutionally, for the Government's policy. Each Minister will be individually responsible for acts committed by himself and his subordinates in the normal course of the exercise of his or their functions. As mentioned above, any Minister or Government can be forced to resign by Parliament. Two obvious theoretical limitations on such a power are first, the probable shortness of Parliamentary sessions, as mentioned above, and second, the authority granted to the Government, acting under the President's direction, to advise the Council of State to declare a state of emergency. And, it should be recalled, 394 out of 444 seats in Parliament are held by the Government's supporters.

The chief function of the Council of State, which is the real innovation of the whole Constitution, appears to be the control of local government at all levels. This power derives from the law of the 11th September, 1944, one of the first decreed by the then existing "Homeland National Council," which was the parent of the new Government. The September law was also based on the 1921 Constitution, but the present Government's powers over local authorities are vastly greater than those of the 1921 administration, and amount to absolute control.

Supervision of public finance and expenditure is to be in the hands of a Supreme Control Chamber. Apart from the fact that its President will be elected by Parliament, the composition and competence of this body have still to be defined. To this, as yet, amorphous organization the Council of State has the power to entrust the control over any State or semi-State undertaking.

Questions of constitutional interpretation, arising out of the legal aspect of administrative acts and the responsibility of Ministers and President, are to be decided by the appropriate organs, which will be established by a separate law. The Constitution itself can be changed only by a two-thirds majority of the number of deputies.

In the 1947 Constitution there are thus combined the doctrine of governmental responsibility to Parliament and the provision for rule by decree, to be exercised by the Government and Council of State. Such apparent contradiction presents, on paper, a nicely-balanced equation of the liberal and authoritarian principles of the Constitutions of 1921 and 1935. Of which set of principles the Government will, in practice, make the greater use will be shown only by time; their past record makes it a virtual certainty that the Pilsudskian

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rigours of 1935 will be not only imitated, but immeasurably surpassed.

SCANDINAVIA

Finland

The long-heralded opening-up of the Saimaa Canal and the Porkkala railway to Finnish transit traffic was brought a step nearer realisation by the arrival in Moscow, on the 12th of March, of a delegation headed by the Minister of Communications, M. Kaijalainen. The negotiations, conducted by M. Vyshinsky on behalf of the Soviet Union, are, it is believed, mainly concerned with such technical questions as tariff rates and the volume of traffic. The importance which the Finns attach to the concessions that they hope to gain, was illustrated by a statement in one of the Helsinki newspapers that 258,244 tons of goods passed through the Porkkala area in 1939, while during the previous year more than 750,000 tons were shipped through the Saimaa Canal in the direction of the sea alone.

Many Finns have been counting on an early restoration of greater freedom for the Press after the ratification of the Peace Treaty, when certain defence regulations will automatically lapse. These hopes received a rude shock with the presentation before the Diet of a Bill amending existing press laws. The Government, it is said, consider that the present regulations afford insufficient protection against irresponsible newspaper comment which might harm Finland's relations with foreign Powers. The Communists have hailed the Bill with satisfaction, despite the fact that their own papers have been the chief offenders in this respect, frequently adopting an abusive tone towards Great Britain and the United States. Though the matter has no bearing upon foreign relations, it is interesting to note that the two chief organs of the Folk Democrats, *Vapaa Sana* and *Vapaa Pohjola*, have recently been sued for libel by the imprisoned former leader of the Social Democrats, M. Väinö Tanner. This led *Vapaa Sana* strongly to condemn the insolence of M. Tanner, a convicted war criminal, who had dared to bring an action against the main mouthpiece of the new "democratic" trend.

Four members of the House of Commons arrived in Helsinki on the 15th of March as guests of the Finnish Inter-Parliamentary Union. Two members of the delegation, Mrs. C. S. Ganley, M.P., and Mrs. B. A. Castle, M.P., participated in the celebrations marking the 40th anniversary of the achievement of the franchise by the women of Finland. The British visitors were given an extremely friendly welcome and in the course of their brief stay were received by President Paasikivi.

The current month has proved of particular significance to Finnish foreign trade, and important agreements have been concluded with Poland and France. From the former country Finland will receive one million tons of coal, valued at 12 million dollars, during the next three years. In exchange Finland will send to Poland 4,000 pre-fabricated wooden houses, 10,000 tons of pulp and quantities of raw copper and copper products. The agreement places Finland, for the time being, third in degree of importance as a receiver of Polish exports.

The Franco-Finnish agreement is valued at one and a half milliard francs in each direction, with France supplying much needed fertilisers, steel, scrap iron, machinery and other goods, in exchange for cellulose, sawn timber, paper and furniture.

A Finnish trade delegation also visited London recently and a commercial agreement with this country was reached. Anxious to secure raw materials for their hard-pressed reparations industries, the Finns were prepared to negotiate only on a steel-for-timber basis. Great Britain consequently agreed to deliver 45,000 tons of steel during 1947, plus a further 20,000 tons during the first quarter of 1948. In exchange she will receive 175,000 standards of timber.

Denmark

It was announced in the press of the 26th March that, by agreement between H.M. Government and the Government of Denmark, the two countries' Ministers have been elevated to the rank of Ambassadors.

THE LOW COUNTRIES

Belgium

Although unable to form a four-party Cabinet (as he had wished), M. Spaak had little difficulty in forming a Socialist-Christian Social coalition, which he completed on the evening of the 19th March. The new Cabinet, which was sworn in next morning (20th), consists as before of 19 Ministers (including M. Spaak)—eight Socialists, nine members of the Christian Social Party, and two non-party "technicians." Its two-party basis is thus identical with that of the Beel Cabinet in the Netherlands. M. Spaak's Cabinet will enjoy majorities of 122 seats (162 to 40)

in the Chamber, and 109 (138 to 29) in the Senate: very different from the paltry and insecure majorities of 17 and 1 commanded by M. Huysmans' Cabinet. Inevitably there are numerous changes of personnel. Almost half the Cabinet consists of men without previous ministerial experience: this, however, applies only to the C.S.P. Ministers, of whom M. Eyskens alone has previously served in a Cabinet. He again becomes Minister of Finance, a portfolio which he held in M. van Acker's first Cabinet until July, 1945, when, together with his C.S.P. colleagues, he resigned over the *question royale*. Most of the other C.S.P. Ministers are, however, well-known men (notably M. Struye, the new Minister of Justice, who, it will be recalled, made an unsuccessful attempt to form a Cabinet last July). Apart from M. Spaak, only five members of the old Cabinet are included in the new—MM. Huysmans, Merlot, Troclet and de Groote (Socialists), and Col. Defraiteur (non-party). While M. van Acker makes a welcome reappearance, the retention of M. Huysmans' services is, in the circumstances, perhaps a little unwise: it is interesting to note that he, a left-wing Socialist, has been given the distinctly "controversial" portfolio of Education—an appointment which is hardly calculated to please the more clerically-minded supporters of the C.S.P. The two remaining Socialists, MM. Vermeylen and Delattre, have each held Ministerial appointments, each having served under M. Spaak—M. Vermeylen in March 1946, M. Delattre in 1938 and 1939. M. Moens de Fernig, one of the two non-party Ministers, was a colleague of M. Vermeylen in March 1946. The continuance of a Cabinet of 19 has been made possible by separating the Ministry of Overseas Trade from that of Foreign Affairs (both previously held by M. Spaak), and by amalgamating the Ministries of National Re-equipment and Economic Co-ordination (the latter a new Department).

The list of Ministers and their portfolios is as follows:—

M. P.-H. Spaak (Soc.): Prime Minister and Foreign Affairs.
M. C. Huysmans (Soc.): Education.
M. P. Vermeylen (Soc.): Interior.
M. J.-J. Merlot (Soc.): Budgets.
M. L.-E. Troclet (Soc.): Labour and Social Welfare.
M. A. van Acker (Soc.): Communications.
M. P. de Groote (Soc.): Economic Co-ordination and National Re-equipment.
M. A. Delattre (Soc.): Coal and Power.
M. G. Eyskens (C.S.P.): Finance.
M. P. Struye (C.S.P.): Justice.
Baron J.-M.-F.-X.-H.-G. van der Straeten-Waillet (C.S.P.): Overseas Trade.
M. P.-A. Verbist (C.S.P): Health and the Family.
Professor P. M. Orban (C.S.P.): Agriculture.
M. O. Behogne (C.S.P.): Public Works.
M. R. de Man (C.S.P.): Reconstruction.
M. P. Wigny (C.S.P.): Colonies.
M. J. Duvieusart (C.S.P.): Industry.
Col. R. Defraiteur (non-Party): Defence.
M. G. Moens de Fernig (non-party): Food and Imports.

In a statement issued on the 21st March the Secretariat of the C.S.P. welcomes the "end of government by the Left" and hails the fusion of the two major parties as a "victory of common sense." The new Cabinet's "comfortable majority," the statement continues, had given it the strength which it needed to solve "great post-war problems." The C.S.P. rejoiced to see the end of Communist influence in government; and believed that the absence of the Liberals would enable a "progressive social policy to be carried out." Private enterprise had to be freed from "superfluous and cumbersome State intervention," and the foundations of a "comprehensive family policy" laid down. Although the C.S.P. conceded nothing of its own programme, it would "loyally implement the Government agreement." With regard to the *question royale*, the C.S.P. remained "faithful to its pre-election position," and still believed that this problem had to be solved "constitutionally."

FRANCE

At the Conference of Foreign Ministers (see under "Germany" and "The Moscow Conference") M. Bidault made a second and more conciliatory statement on economic control of Germany, on the 21st March. While disclaiming any desire to interfere in the running of the British Zone, he suggested that international control of the Ruhr should be introduced during the period of Allied military occupation since it would be more difficult to do this later on. He returned to the

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question of coal, asking that Germany should not be allowed to retain a proportionately larger supply of coal than was available to her former victims. On the question of political organisation M. Bidault emphasised the need to avoid the mistakes made after the war of 1914–18 when a strong centralised Government had retained the administrative powers of the German empire and paved the way for the Third Reich. French press comment on Moscow has been pessimistic, and many writers have stressed France's isolation from the other three Powers. M. Stalin's reception of M. Bidault, however, and M. Molotov's remarks in favour of the French demand for the export of a definite proportion of Ruhr coal output, have encouraged hopes of Soviet support. For the Communists Mr. Bevin is inevitably the villain of the piece; their emphasis on his "negative" attitude, however, is paralleled in most of the Paris press. Meanwhile, M. Bidault has continued to set a guarantee of supplies of coal as the price of any French concessions at Moscow, and M. Massigli has now written to the Prime Minister asking for increased allocations of Ruhr coal.

If the Moscow Conference had not been in session it is probable that M. Ramadier's Government would have broken up last week-end. The crisis caused by the Communist attitude in the debates on Indo-China (see below) has thrown into relief the conviction of the Communist leaders that they must for the time being remain in the Government. Only this idea can account for their acceptance of the unsatisfactory compromise whereby at the end of both debates the Communist Ministers voted with the Government while the Communist deputies abstained. M. Ramadier, himself, emerges from the crisis with his reputation increased. He was careful not to encourage the vociferous demands of the Right for the departure of the Communists from the Government, but he told the latter that "if you maintain your attitude of abstention you will reduce French politics to that fundamental opposition between Communism and anti-Communism which we have done our utmost to avoid."

The debate on Indo-China (see last week's *Summary*) was continued on the 18th and 19th March, when M. Moutet replied for the Government. He said that the Viet Minh Government was no longer representative of the Annamese people: "If Ho Chi Minh is still the head of a Government, let him speak like one, and communicate with our representatives": he spoke of the "ill-fated ideology" which encouraged flood and famine by the refusal to maintain the French-built dykes; and he mentioned "the problem of the reunion of the three Annamese countries." The Minister was followed after an hour's suspension requested by the Communists for deliberation, by M. Duclos (Communist), who said that since a change of policy was evidently not intended and since, if negotiations were further delayed, the gap between French and Annamese could only widen, the most the Communist could do would be to abstain from voting. The Prime Minister then made his statement defining the Government's position and said that France must remain in Indo-China; the March 1946 agreement was now superseded and future policy and negotiations would be based on the provisions of the Constitution concerning the French Union, such as those placing the responsibility for the defence and foreign policy of the Union with France herself. He referred to his former statement that the union of the three Annamese countries "will be realised if those countries so wish, and in the form they choose." The task of the new High Commissioner was to enable the Annamese people to choose their leaders, and with them the French would negotiate. The Government motion was passed unanimously by 421 votes, but while the Communist Ministers, including M. Thorez, Deputy Prime Minister, voted in favour, the Communists as a party signified their desire for immediate negotiations with Ho Chi Minh as President of the Viet Minh Government, by abstaining.

Although the Communist members of the Assembly's finance committee had passed the military credits for Indo-China, M. Duclos had hinted that the Communist group in the Assembly might not vote them, and the Central Committee of the Communist Party passed on the 19th a resolution "considering impossible the vote of military credits for the pursuit of a war against Viet Nam." The Socialists at the meeting of their national council which opened on the same day showed themselves divided on whether to negotiate with Ho Chi Minh. It was not surprising therefore that M. Ramadier demanded that the vote be treated as a matter of confidence in the Government, thus ensuring the lapse of a clear day required by the Constitution before such a vote can be taken. This gave the Communists time to appreciate their position as a dissentient party within a coalition Government carefully composed

and maintained from considerations of national economy and external affairs. It also brought into full play the well-proved mediatory powers of M. Vincent Auriol, President of the Republic. When the debate opened on the 22nd, M. Duclos explained that the Communists found themselves unable to vote the military credits for Indo-China, but in order that the coalition Government might survive "ministerial solidarity would not be broken." The five Communist Ministers accordingly voted with the majority of the Assembly and M. Ramadier gained his vote of confidence by 411 votes, 195 deputies abstaining.

The Government's decision to fix a minimum wage but not to raise other wages in proportion (see *Summary* No. 383) was not at first accepted by the trade unions; but when the National Confederal Committee of the *Confédération Générale du Travail* (C.G.T.) met on the 12th March it passed a resolution which virtually accepted the *fait accompli* and asked only for a raising of the limit for exemption from income tax. The Communist Party's political bureau had already announced its support of the Government's decision and the Party has evidently been successful in bringing the C.G.T. to heel. This action is yet another illustration of the Communist anxiety to remain in the Government so long as the Moscow Conference continues. The Government have also held out against the C.G.T. over the question of collective contracts. The C.G.T.'s claim to be recognised as the only trade union organisation qualified to engage in collective bargaining with employers was contested by the Catholic trade union confederation and by the confederation of senior staffs whose membership, although much inferior to the C.G.T., is still considerable. Both organisations enjoy the tacit support of the M.R.P. and a compromise has now been reached whereby the smaller organisations will be allowed to participate in collective bargaining where they represent a specified proportion of the workers concerned.

The task of reducing the budgetary deficit is proving as difficult as was anticipated, and will be aggravated by the fact that the ordinary budget cannot now be voted until the end of June so that the Government are asking the Assembly for a further three months' ordinary credits on the basis of the 1946 estimates. The planned budgetary economies, therefore, will only take effect in the last six months of the financial year. The first instalment of 60 per cent. of the extraordinary budget, including credits for the Monnet Plan (see *Summary* No. 381), was passed by the Assembly on the 7th March.

M. Gaston Monnerville, Radical Councillor for French Guiana and former Under-Secretary for the Colonies in 1937 and 1938, was elected President of the Council of the Republic on the 18th March. He defeated the Communist candidate at the second ballot.

(See also under "Far East.")

ITALY

The Constituent Assembly is continuing its debates on the new draft Constitution, the text of which was published in the press of the 13th March.

The provisional Constitution at present in force is based on that promulgated in 1848 for the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia by King Charles Albert, although the link-pin of that constitution, the monarchy, was swept away as a result of the Referendum held in June 1946, and although the Senate has also been abolished. The Constitution of 1848 was gradually extended to other parts of Italy as they joined the Piedmontese Kingdom, and when the unification of the country was achieved in 1871 to the whole country. Between 1871 and 1915 constant demands were made for revision as it was obvious that a Constitution suited to a single region was not well adapted to a country containing such very different areas and people at such different levels of development as Italy.

During the Fascist régime the Constitution was retained but its provisions were twisted out of all recognition by Mussolini who, by means of decree laws, usurped to himself special powers as the Head of the State, wrecked the electoral system both for Parliament and for local government by the adoption of the principle of appointment from above on a hierarchical basis, and in 1939 substituted for the Chamber of Deputies a new Chamber of Fasci and Corporations. These Fascist excrescences were for the most part swept away by the Badoglio Government within a few days of the fall of Mussolini. Others were dispensed with at a later stage and the country is consequently now governed by those provisions of the much abused Constitution of 1848 which remain in force.

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One of the chief weaknesses of the 1848 Constitution was the vagueness of its terms which facilitated its violation. Steps have therefore been taken in the new draft to evolve a Constitution which is both concrete and detailed. The result has been to run to the other extreme and to include within the draft much unnecessary detail and many provisions, such as the clauses dealing with the organisation of labour, which it would probably have been wise to have left out of the Constitution in order to facilitate amendments rendered necessary by changing circumstances. Moreover, the draft is obviously the result of compromise and at times bears clear marks of the Communist, at others of the Christian Democrat imprint. The result is not always happy, nor is it always consistent. There are signs that the draft will have a stormy passage in the Assembly although its various parts have already been approved by specific Commissions. Nevertheless it may be well to take note of the salient features of the draft as presented to the Assembly.

The Draft Constitution

Articles 1 to 7 consist of general provisions. Italy is proclaimed to be a democratic Republic based on labour, and she renounces war as an instrument of conquest agreeing to a limitation of sovereignty necessary to enable an international organisation to secure peace and justice. The State and the Catholic Church are declared to be independent and sovereign each in its own sphere, their relationship being regulated by the Lateran Pacts, but any modification of the Pacts agreed on bilaterally shall not necessitate a revision of the Constitution. [The inclusion of these provisions in the Constitution is already meeting with bitter opposition which is not confined to the left-wing parties but is also expressed by certain Liberal elements.] Other religious faiths have the right to organise themselves according to their own statutes. All citizens are declared to be equal before the Law.

Articles 8 to 51 deal with the Rights and Duties of Citizens. Provisions are made to safeguard the liberty of the individual. The right to emigrate is guaranteed, and it is stated that the Republic will protect the labour of Italians abroad. The right of political asylum is accorded. Censorship is prohibited. No one may be punished except in accordance with the law in force at the time of the alleged crime. Punishment must be such as to help to re-educate those condemned, and the death-penalty, introduced by the Fascist Penal Code, is abolished. Family rights are recognized and the State will interest itself specially in large families. The indissolubility of marriage is proclaimed. Rights of illegitimate children are to be equal to those of lawful children. [This seems to have been a concession made by the Christian Democrats to the Communists in a sub-Commission in order to secure support for the inclusion of the Lateran Pacts in the Constitution.] Rights of which private schools were deprived under Fascism are restored. Education is compulsory and free for eight years. The rights of labour are dealt with and the freedom of trade union activity and of striking is guaranteed. Provision is made for Social Assistance which hitherto has largely remained a dead letter in Italy. The right of private property is guaranteed. The law authorizes the expropriation of private property in the general interest but compensation must be paid. All citizens who have attained majority may vote.

Articles 52 to 125 deal with the organisation of the Republic. Parliament is to consist of a Chamber of Deputies elected by direct, universal suffrage and a Chamber of Senators elected on a Regional basis, both for five years. Legislative functions are exercised by the two Chambers collectively. In certain circumstances a referendum may be held. The President of the Republic is elected for seven years by both Chambers meeting as a National Assembly with additional representation from the Regions. Provisions are laid down for the formation of the Council of Ministers. Judges are not removable from office, special tribunals such as those instituted by Fascism are forbidden, juries are to be restored and popular (lay) judges may sit with professional judges in non-criminal cases.

Considerable space is devoted to the proposals for Regional autonomy. The Republic remains divided into Regions (22 instead of 18 as formerly) and Communes. Statutes conferring special forms of autonomy are to be granted to Sicily, Sardinia, Trentino-Alto Adige and the Val D'Aosta. [The proposal to make one Regione of Trentino and Alto Adige together is likely, if adopted, to cause serious trouble with the German-speaking population in the Alto Adige (South Tyrol) and with Austria.] Specific account is given of the Regional organs of Government, their functions and powers, which are considerable, though subject to fairly close supervision by the Central

Government. It is to be hoped that the stranglehold of Rome on the Regions will be considerably lessened by these measures. As regards the four special régimes of autonomy considerable apprehension has been expressed by all parties with regard to the possible effect of these clauses on the unity of the State. It may be, therefore, that this section of the Constitution may be altered considerably.

The concluding Articles 126 to 131 lay down constitutional guarantees. A Constitutional Court is to decide on the constitutionality of any law which may be referred to it. Any revision of the Constitution must be passed by both Chambers and on demand must be submitted to a popular referendum. The final article declared that the Republican form of State is fixed and cannot be the object of constitutional revision.

Tacked on to the draft are nine supplementary articles. The reorganization under any form whatever of the Fascist Party is prohibited, and restrictions are placed on those who held certain offices during the Fascist régime. Others of these articles are concerned with the House of Savoy. Descendants of the House are ineligible for public office, and members of it may not reside in Italy. The property of the House is confiscated.

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

Hungary

Recent reports from Hungary state that a decision has been reached to hold a General Election early in May on the basis of a new electoral register. This alleged development is the more surprising in view of the agreement signed by the leaders of the four Coalition Parties and welcomed by the entire press as a solution of the political crisis. Smallholder concessions previously referred to (see *Summary* 383) included yet another purge which has already deprived the Party of five more prominent members—one of whom is M. Pfeiffer, the former Under-Secretary of State in the Ministry of Justice—as well as the "democratization" of education by standardizing text-books and relegating religious teaching to the rank of an optional subject. In addition the Agreement provided for the establishment of a joint three-year economic plan of Communist and Social Democratic origin, the central control of co-operative organizations and the extension of social insurance, particularly among agricultural workers. M. Nagy found it no easy task to persuade his followers to comply with the demand for a further reduction of their numbers, but he finally carried his point by stressing the need for unity.

The U.K. and the U.S.A. have addressed a second Note of protest to General Sviridov. As happened before, only the U.S. Note appeared in the Hungarian press, and again not until it was accompanied by the Soviet answer. The U.K. Note repeats the earlier request for an enquiry into the arrest of M. Kovács and the situation arising out of left-wing attempts to coerce the majority Party. It stops short, however, of the specific U.S. accusations, some of which, unfortunately, shewed a certain bias and were easily met by General Sviridov. The U.S.A. complain that investigations have been conducted by the Communist-controlled Political Police, that the Smallholders' request for a political Committee of Enquiry was refused, and that the scales of justice were weighted against the Smallholders, since three out of the four members of the People's Court belonged to the left-wing *bloc*. In reply General Sviridov contended that the proceedings were entirely constitutional and that the Court was set up in accordance with the Law for the Defence of the Republic. To this he might have added that the Smallholders made no great effort to obtain the appointment of a Parliamentary Committee, and that not only does the composition of the People's Court represent each Coalition Party fairly, but the real power rests with the presiding Judge who is, theoretically at least, above party considerations. Moreover, the issues are not so clear-cut that the three members of the left-wing *bloc* will inevitably vote together on all occasions. Allegations of anti-Semitic behaviour, for instance, would presumably be viewed leniently by the National Peasant Party which attaches great importance to the doctrine of racial purity. There is more justification for the U.S. complaint that the question of espionage was introduced only after the Communists had failed to obtain the raising of M. Kovács' parliamentary immunity, since he submitted to "voluntary" interrogation on the understanding that this would remain unprejudiced. Nor is the guilt of M. Kovács established by the Russian statement that he has admitted crimes against the Republic and the Army of Occupation.

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For the moment, however, the U.S. Government will probably merely express regret at the refusal to permit a joint enquiry and renew their request that the Soviet authorities should refrain from further unilateral interference in Hungarian internal affairs.

The recent ministerial re-shuffle did not affect the proportion of portfolios allocated to the different Parties. M. Veres of the National Peasant Party has taken over the Ministry of Reconstruction—an appointment which had remained vacant for many weeks following the arrest of the former Smallholder Minister, M. Mistéth—but the Ministry of Education is now in the hands of the Smallholders, M. Ortutay having succeeded M. Keresztury, who was a member of the National Peasant Party. The three other new Ministers, MM. Mihalyffi, Pinnyes and Nyarady, who hold the portfolios of Information, Defence and Finance respectively, are Smallholders like their predecessors.

The Freedom Party has started to publish a fortnightly periodical entitled *Holnap*, the appearance of which was delayed by lack of funds. M. Rákosi is alleged to have countered M. Sulyok's bold and uncompromising attitude to the conspiracy by refusing him the initial grant of 250,000 forints, which is the right of every newspaper irrespective of its party affiliations. It may be supposed that M. Sulyok has since obtained financial backing from capitalists and the Church.

Roumania

Adversity is fulfilling its time-honoured function in Roumania, but so far it has not got beyond the point of leading Gheorghe Tătărescu and Iuliu Maniu to opposite sides of the bed, where they are considering whether or not to risk the next step. Naturally their motives vary with the character and abilities of the two men. Dl Tătărescu dislikes the Industrial Bureaux Bill, and has gone so far as to say that the bill will not pass "as long as he is a member of the Government." There has been some modification of the measure, and in the view of some people, the Government intend to force it through Parliament. As noted in last week's *Summary*, the Government are not too happy about things in general, and may be feeling that the moment for action is now—or perhaps never. It would be a mistake to place too much reliance on this, for the fact remains that the Groza Government is backed by Russia, and Russia has shown no signs of relinquishing her hold. Roumanians as always, are hoping for the best, and Dl Tătărescu is emphatic that things will be altogether different "the very day following the ratification of the Peace Treaty." There is certain to be strenuous opposition to the Bill, and the Social Democrats are at one with Dl Tătărescu's Liberals on the subject. What is even more to the point is that the United Nations could if they wished take exception to the bill on the ground that it would adversely affect the provisions of Article 31 of the Peace Treaty.

Dl Maniu is taking rather a different line, which however, is also dictated by the assurance that everything will be different when the Treaty is ratified. Together with D-ni Brătianu and Petrescu he has addressed a memorandum to the Four-Power Conference at Moscow. This memorandum begins by recalling the conditions under which the election was held and the consequent indignation of the Roumanians and goes on to protest against the numerous arrests of opposition officials which have taken place. It accuses the Government of having taken this action from ulterior motives and primarily with the object of keeping themselves in power. The memorandum appeals to the Conference to bring this situation to an end, as being a violation of the Crimea, Potsdam and Moscow agreements, as well as infringing the Peace Treaty. Dl Maniu does not stop there. He would like to head a movement to overthrow the Government, which he thinks could be carried out with only a limited amount of bloodshed, and which he believes would have the support of the King. The U.S.A. whose advice he has tentatively asked have given him no encouragement. What is quite certain is that if such a *coup* is to be organised and carried through, Maniu is not the man to do it. He has failed too often when it has come to the point of taking action. He can write notes, but leaders will have to be found amongst the younger members of the Peasant Party if Maniu's verbosity is to be translated into action. And it is in the matter of capable leadership that Roumania most conspicuously fails at the present time.

The representatives of the Jewish Agency in Roumania have denounced terrorism and its results and have expressed their condolences with the relatives of the victims. The terrorist campaign, they say, prejudices the Jewish national cause.

An article in *Semnalul* on the forthcoming budget says, "Year after year with each changing Government we have increased the number of our civil servants.

We have now the greatest number of civil servants in Europe in proportion to the population . . . . Let us reflect seriously on the present state of the country . . . . Can we afford to spend three-quarters of our budget on staffs and experts?" *Verb. sap.*

The value of individual shares in the National Bank of Roumania which has been nationalised is stated to be 57,531 lei. This meticulous exactness is striking. In English money it amounts to something less than 2*s*. 6*d*. The claims of British holders for repayment do not seem likely to bring in a great deal.

Yugoslavia

The Yugoslav appeal for emergency relief has fallen on deaf ears. The State Department, having come to the conclusion that Yugoslavia's present difficulties are the outcome of high rations and maladministration, have decided that her need is not sufficiently great for her to qualify for emergency relief. They suggest that Yugoslavia should be able to obtain part of her requirements in reparations deliveries of foodstuffs from Bulgaria and Hungary. For the rest she should be able to finance her own purchases abroad, although the supply situation does not permit of such purchases being made in the United States.

Official anti-American feeling in Yugoslavia is now such that this statement could hardly arouse any greater bitterness. Since President Truman's speech America has been clothed with the garb of Hitler.

The food crisis as a topic of news has given precedence to the draft budget, which has been balanced, in contrast to last year's budget in which there was a deficit of seven milliard dinars. But the estimates total the large sum of 85,854,000,000 dinars, more than twice the figure for 1946. The difference may be accounted for by the enormous increase of direct State control over the national economy as the result of the Law of Nationalisation. It is intended that the State sector of economy should be the main source of revenue, and for this purpose, so it is explained, there is to be a rigid system of price control, with elimination of all non-productive expenditure.

There is a significant contrast between recent broadcast transmissions to D.P. camps, in which a special appeal has been made to "Nedíc men, *četnici* and members of the Serbian Volunteer Corps" to return, and an article in *Politika*, for home consumption, on the revision of the electoral registers. According to the paper, it is essential to prevent all those "who have *ever* been the enemies of the people" from taking part in the affairs of the country. Such persons may be disfranchised, therefore, at the request of indivduals or organisations.

Meanwhile General Danijanovic has placed a reward of 2,000,000 lire on the head of Pavelic, the money having been raised by the sale on the Rome black market of coffee saved from the British Army rations supplied to the Eboli camp.

Reserve officers have been ordered to report for two months' military service, beginning on the 1st April.

The Yugoslav Government have been informed that in the view of His Majesty's Government a Mixed Commission is necessary to settle the question of British property in Yugoslavia (see *Summary* No. 382, 26.2.47). Meanwhile the signature of the Property and Monetary Agreements which have been negotiated in London, and in which the Yugoslav Government have shown considerable interest, is held in abeyance.

Greece

Lawlessness in Greece continued and outrages by both Right and Left were reported. In the Peloponnese the notorious right-wing leader, Katsareas, and several of his officers were ambushed and murdered by a Communist band near Sparta on the 20th March. On the 21st, presumably as a reprisal, 200 right-wing adherents, fully armed, surrounded the prison at Gythion. They disarmed the guards and removed 27 Communist prisoners detained for ordinary crimes. Others surrounded the police station and removed five Communist deportees. The 32 prisoners were then taken to the central square of the town and shot dead. There are reports of other minor reprisal incidents in Laconia and the authorities fear further bloodshed. Martial law has, therefore, been proclaimed throughout the province and gendarmerie reinforcements have arrived in Sparta and Gythion.

In Northern Greece the bandits are said to hold the initiative in Western Thrace where 200 of them attacked a gendarmerie company in the Kerdilion area and a train was derailed at the Kirki tunnel. Two more presidents of communities have been murdered, making in all 25 village presidents who have been murdered in Macedonia and Thrace during the last six months. In Salonica itself Zevgos, one of the leading members of KKE and a member of the Central Committee of EAM, was

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Military operations to clear several areas of bandits have begun and successes have been reported, particularly from the areas of Kilkis, Vermion and Larissa. Near Grevena, the Greek Army has attacked a band 800 strong.

The United Nations Commission have made several journeys into Yugoslavia and Bulgaria and have visited the scenes of various incidents including Skra. They also investigated the Sourmena incident of the 20th September and Greek officers showed them that the geography of the terrain proved that the bands could not have retired before the Greek forces otherwise than over the Yugoslav frontier. It was felt that the Yugoslav witnesses were "clearly subject to strict control and unwilling to commit themselves to anything beyond the prepared statement."

The Soviet and Polish delegates and the three liaison representatives who remained in rebel-territory last week returned to Salonica on the 22nd March, claiming to have met Markos.

Albania

While in New York M. Hysni Kapo has been trying his best to convince the Security Council (as a *Times* correspondent neatly put it) that "the British Navy on the 12th–13th November last laid the mines that blew up the destroyers three weeks previously," Enver Hoxha himself has helped to keep the ball rolling by bringing a *fresh* complaint to the notice of M. Trygve Lie. This time he alleges that on the 13th March a tanker coming from the direction of Italy without flag and without warning penetrated into Albanian territorial waters near Valona. He says that when an Albanian motor launch tried to approach her, the unknown ship went off at full speed without having been identified. In the absence of any better explanation he jumps to his usual conclusion. "At a time when previous repeated violations by British ships are before the Security Council for discussion, this new violation constitutes a premeditated and inadmissible act of provocation against Albanian sovereignty." Once more he asks, why does not the Security Council act?

Mr. Murphy and Sir William Strang came in for some sharp criticism from *Bashkimi* on the 19th March for having put forward objections to Albania's claim to a small share in reparations from Germany. The suggestion that Austria could make out as good a case as Albania was particularly resented.

Yet another "treason trial" has been going on. Seven men were convicted at Koritsa on the 21st March of having plotted against their country in the interests of "a Greek terrorist fascist organization" called E.A.V.I. They were sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from twenty years to three years.

Bulgaria

In answering a Parliamentary Question on the 17th March about the events of the 7th at Sofia, Mr. McNeil stated that His Majesty's Government regarded the Bulgarian Government's reply to the collectively signed protest presented to them by the seven heads of missions on the 11th as being "in no sense satisfactory." He also said that after making rigorous enquiries he was satisfied that our mission had been involved in no transactions designed to make illegal profits from currency. It is hoped that the whole disagreeable incident may be terminated this week by the publication in the Sofia press of a joint statement to be agreed between the Bulgarian Government and the foreign missions involved. At the time of writing the Bulgarian Government have, however, not given their consent to this course, which would involve their publicly undertaking not to act without prior consultation with the missions in any parallel case that might occur in the future.

When the Bulgarian Foreign Minister received the new British Political Representative on the 19th March, he tactfully enquired when he might hope to address him as H.M. Minister. M. Georgiev was politely told that he must wait until after the ratification of the treaty.

For the second time since the New Year, it has been found necessary to reduce the standard bread ration: it will now be 300 grammes of white bread or 370 grammes of wholemeal a day. At the same time the meat ration has been increased from 200 to 300 grammes a week. It is possible that the necessity of repaying last year's loan of cereals by the Russians may be behind the bread cut.

The suspension of the Opposition newspapers continues. M. Petkov was ordered out of the Assembly for complaining about it and told he might not resume his seat for three days. The entire Opposition thereupon marched out of the Chamber in a body.

Turkey

The Turkish press greeted President Truman's message to Congress about Greece and Turkey, with a paean of praise. No doubt was expressed but that substantial help would be forthcoming. The United States were believed to have understood the Soviet danger at last, and it was hoped that a firm American and British stand would produce results at Moscow. At the same time the Turks betrayed misgivings not only as to the value of Britain as an ally, but also as to limitations of their freedom which American help might connote. To their mentality it is almost inconceivable that British withdrawal from India and Egypt should be due to anything but weakness. On the other hand they are genuinely perturbed lest American help should mean American domination, and fears of a virtual return of the capitulations or of "Egyptianisation" have been seriously entertained. Upon all these misgivings Soviet propaganda has been trying to play. It has long been insinuating that the alliance with Great Britain is valueless to Turkey—unlike what one with Soviet Russia would be. Now Soviet broadcasts also suggest that American capitalism is trying to take Turkey under its control. However, the vulnerability of Turkey is such that even the Turk in the street cannot fail to realise how momentous for his country and the whole Middle East it will be if the United States step actively into an arena where Great Britain and Russia have hitherto been face to face.

The Minister of State announced in the House of Commons on the 17th March that, since the end of the war with Germany, Great Britain had supplied two destroyers, a submarine, a score of smaller vessels and more than £500,000 worth of equipment for the Turkish navy; small quantities of equipment for the Army; and 400 aircraft. All this had been furnished against payment except in so far as it was covered by the unused portion of the 1939 armament credit. A number of naval, military and air advisers had also been provided for purposes of training and supply.

The Turkish Government are not in the habit of paying much attention to the Turks of Cyprus who form some 18 per cent. of the population. Some importance may therefore attach to a leading article in the *Ulus* of the 28th February on the subject of the recent visit to the United Kingdom of a delegation of Cypriot Greeks who begged for union with Greece. After dwelling on the strategic importance of the island the semi-official paper remarked that the 60,000 Cypriot Turks would see great disadvantage in annexation to Greece and would not consent to it. It might therefore be taken for certain, the *Ulus* continued, that there was no question of any change in the status of the island.

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King Farouk, in an audience on the 18th March, had already told His Majesty's Ambassador that what Nokrashy meant was that a treaty should not a *sine qua non* of evacuation, since he knew the people felt that His Majesty's Government had used the question of evacuation as a means of pressure to get a treaty and did not relish it. His Majesty added that there would be nothing to prevent a treaty of alliance once the evacuation question was out of the way—a remark which lends itself to the obvious interpretation that the present régime does not want to negotiate any treaty so long as there are any British troops in the country, but that they will be glad to enter into negotiations after they have all gone. The value, from a military point of view, of an alliance concluded in such circumstances (judging from the present state of opinion) may well be doubted.

The Qasr an Nil Barracks in Cairo are to be handed over to the Egyptian Government towards the end of this month without ceremony, and with as little publicity as possible.

Palestine

There have been no important developments in Palestine during the week. The Jewish Agency Executive have elected a committee to formulate Jewish demands to be raised before the United Nations "if the Palestine problem is considered on an international basis" (Jewish Telegraphic Agency), and a memorandum is to be prepared for forwarding to the United Nations in June or July. As the meeting of the Zionist General Council, which was to have been held in Jerusalem within the next few days, has now been postponed until the end of April or the beginning of May, and will be held in New York, it may be presumed that this memorandum will figure on the Agenda.

The Jewish Agency Executive, regarding the immigration question as the most vital issue at the moment, have been considering what *legal* means they could take to secure an increase in the quota. This, they believe, may be feasible as a result of the increasing pressure of illegal immigrants in Cyprus and in Athlit camp in Palestine. Rumours which have been circulating in Jerusalem that authorisation for an increased immigration quota had been received from His Majesty's Government—the figure of 2,500 a month had been mentioned—have been officially denied. A statement was issued by the Jewish Agency Executive on the 24th March calling upon the Jewish community to "make a united effort to expand its economic position in town and country, to increase its help for immigration and the absorption of immigrants, and to provide, as hitherto, pioneer men and women for new settlement, security services, Zionist missions abroad, and any other tasks the emergency may demand." The executive says it will maintain uncompromising opposition to the "iniquitous, repressive White Paper régime." It notes with deep anxiety that the appeals made by the Zionist congress to the terrorists have fallen on deaf ears, and it emphasises the grave moral and political damage caused by their outrages, and calls upon them to accept national discipline.

At a press conference in Jerusalem on the 21st March a representative of the Palestine Communist party said that his party were in favour of the abrogation of the British Mandate and the evacuation of British troops, and favoured an independent Palestine under a democratic régime guaranteeing full equality to Jews and Arabs. They oppose partition and unrestricted immigration on the ground that "emigration solves no national problem." The speaker attacked Zionist leadership for its "imperialist policy." These sentiments were expressed also at the meeting of the recent Congress of Empire Communist Parties held in London, where Zionism was stigmatized as a device of

British and American imperialism in pursuit of their aims at economic penetration, and at the establishment of a strategic base against the Soviet Union.

Arab hopes of the support of the Soviet Union when the Palestine case comes before the United Nations seem to be reflected in the current issue of the *Arab News Bulletin*, which contains not only a lengthy account of the Congress of Empire Communist Parties, but a first instalment of extracts from Russian publications giving views on Zionism and a review of a book condemning Zionism by an Iraqi Jew who is Chairman of the "Anti-Zionist League," which is strongly Leftist in politics. "Progressive" Arab youth will find it hard to resist the appeal afforded by a combination of anti-British and anti-Zionist prejudice with belief in Soviet omnipotence.

Iraq

His Royal Highness the Regent opened Iraq's Eleventh Parliament in extraordinary session on the 17th March. In the Speech from the Throne it was announced that, as the majority of the members were Independent, the new Cabinet would be chosen from them. Salih Jabr has been elected President of the Senate, but there is some expectation that he will occupy a Cabinet post. It has been stated in the press that the Democratic party has issued a manifesto saying that it has decided to withdraw all its deputies from the new Parliament.

Arab League

A communiqué issued by the Secretariat-General after the Second Meeting of the Council, held on the 19th March, stated that note had been taken of a communication from the "Freedom of Libya Organisation," which drew attention to the economic plight of Libya and begged the Council to help in famine relief. Examination of this matter was deferred to later in the session, when the question of Tripolitania comes under consideration.

After discussion on the Secretary-General's report the question of land purchase in Palestine and the gifts made by the Arab Governments for this purpose were considered. Jamil Mardam Bey, for Syria, presented a cheque for £1 million Syrian (about £112,000 sterling) to be put at the disposal of the Council, and Riad as Solh stated that the Lebanese Parliament had approved a credit, and that the Lebanese Government were willing to double the sum.

On the 23rd March an official communiqué was issued by the Arab League Council, which announced that the following decision had been taken unanimously:—

> "Whereas the Arab Powers have repeatedly expressed their total support for Egypt as regards her cause and national claims, and whereas they confirmed that support at the meeting of the Heads of their States at Zahrat Inchass on 28/29th May, 1946, and affirmed it in the extraordinary session of the League Council which met at Bludan from 8th June to 12th, 1946, whereas the negotiations between Great Britain and Egypt have not realised an agreement, and whereas the Egyptian Government has proclaimed its decision to submit its cause to the United Nations Organisation, the League Council takes the opportunity of its present session to reiterate once again the absolute support of the Arab Powers for Egypt in her national claims, namely immediate and total evacuation and permanent unity of the Nile Valley under the Egyptian Crown."

Thus, once again, the members of the Arab League have shown their inability to oppose a resolution expressing opposition to Great Britain, in spite of their previous protestations that they were reluctant to do so and very doubtful of the wisdom of the course of action proposed by the Egyptian Government. The Egyptian Cabinet is reported to be delighted at the result; the reception of the news by Government circles in other Arab countries may be less enthusiastic, for there was everywhere evidence that Egyptian demands were not accepted without qualification. and, in particular, a feeling that the rights of the Sudanese to decide their own future must be recognised. Such, indeed, was the basis of the intervention of the Levant States and of Nuri Pasha's insistence that Iraq supported Egypt's *just* demands. Yusuf Yasin, who was in the chair at the League Council meetings, has been playing an ambiguous rôle which will surprise no one with a knowledge of his career; full of sweet reasonableness, goodwill and plausible explanations of his inconsistencies in conversation with British officials, he has been more Egyptian than the Egyptians in his statements to the Cairo press. It remains to be seen how ibn Sa'ud reacts to his behaviour.

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The vote on the first resolution was challenged and a number of Wafdist and other Opposition Senators walked out of the Senate in protest. Although Nokrashy Pasha has demanded evacuation free of any conditions laid down in a treaty, the resolution appears to have gone further than he and his Government probably desire, and was designed to embarrass them.

King Farouk, in an audience on the 18th March, had already told His Majesty's Ambassador that what Nokrashy meant was that a treaty should not a *sine qua non* of evacuation, since he knew the people felt that His Majesty's Government had used the question of evacuation as a means of pressure to get a treaty and did not relish it. His Majesty added that there would be nothing to prevent a treaty of alliance once the evacuation question was out of the way—a remark which lends itself to the obvious interpretation that the present régime does not want to negotiate any treaty so long as there are any British troops in the country, but that they will be glad to enter into negotiations after they have all gone. The value, from a military point of view, of an alliance concluded in such circumstances (judging from the present state of opinion) may well be doubted.

The Qasr an Nil Barracks in Cairo are to be handed over to the Egyptian Government towards the end of this month without ceremony, and with as little publicity as possible.

Palestine

There have been no important developments in Palestine during the week. The Jewish Agency Executive have elected a committee to formulate Jewish demands to be raised before the United Nations " if the Palestine problem is considered on an international basis " (Jewish Telegraphic Agency), and a memorandum is to be prepared for forwarding to the United Nations in June or July. As the meeting of the Zionist General Council, which was to have been held in Jerusalem within the next few days, has now been postponed until the end of April or the beginning of May, and will be held in New York, it may be presumed that this memorandum will figure on the Agenda.

The Jewish Agency Executive, regarding the immigration question as the most vital issue at the moment, have been considering what *legal* means they could take to secure an increase in the quota. This, they believe, may be feasible as a result of the increasing pressure of illegal immigrants in Cyprus and in Athlit camp in Palestine. Rumours which have been circulating in Jerusalem that authorisation for an increased immigration quota had been received from His Majesty's Government—the figure of 2,500 a month had been mentioned—have been officially denied. A statement was issued by the Jewish Agency Executive on the 24th March calling upon the Jewish community to " make a united effort to expand its economic position in town and country, to increase its help for immigration and the absorption of immigrants, and to provide, as hitherto, pioneer men and women for new settlement, security services, Zionist missions abroad, and any other tasks the emergency may demand." The executive says it will maintain uncompromising opposition to the " iniquitous, repressive White Paper régime." It notes with deep anxiety that the appeals made by the Zionist congress to the terrorists have fallen on deaf ears, and it emphasises the grave moral and political damage caused by their outrages, and calls upon them to accept national discipline.

At a press conference in Jerusalem on the 21st March a representative of the Palestine Communist party said that his party were in favour of the abrogation of the British Mandate and the evacuation of British troops, and favoured an independent Palestine under a democratic régime guaranteeing full equality to Jews and Arabs. They oppose partition and unrestricted immigration on the ground that " emigration solves no national problem." The speaker attacked Zionist leadership for its " imperialist policy." These sentiments were expressed also at the meeting of the recent Congress of Empire Communist Parties held in London, where Zionism was stigmatized as a device of

British and American imperialism in pursuit of their aims at economic penetration, and at the establishment of a strategic base against the Soviet Union.

Arab hopes of the support of the Soviet Union when the Palestine case comes before the United Nations seem to be reflected in the current issue of the *Arab News Bulletin*, which contains not only a lengthy account of the Congress of Empire Communist Parties, but a first instalment of extracts from Russian publications giving views on Zionism and a review of a book condemning Zionism by an Iraqi Jew who is Chairman of the " Anti-Zionist League," which is strongly Leftist in politics. " Progressive " Arab youth will find it hard to resist the appeal afforded by a combination of anti-British and anti-Zionist prejudice with belief in Soviet omnipotence.

Iraq

His Royal Highness the Regent opened Iraq's Eleventh Parliament in extraordinary session on the 17th March. In the Speech from the Throne it was announced that, as the majority of the members were Independent, the new Cabinet would be chosen from them. Salih Jabr has been elected President of the Senate, but there is some expectation that he will occupy a Cabinet post. It has been stated in the press that the Democratic party has issued a manifesto saying that it has decided to withdraw all its deputies from the new Parliament.

Arab League

A communiqué issued by the Secretariat-General after the Second Meeting of the Council, held on the 19th March, stated that note had been taken of a communication from the " Freedom of Libya Organisation." which drew attention to the economic plight of Libya and begged the Council to help in famine relief. Examination of this matter was deferred to later in the session, when the question of Tripolitania comes under consideration.

After discussion on the Secretary-General's report the question of land purchase in Palestine and the gifts made by the Arab Governments for this purpose were considered. Jamil Mardam Bey, for Syria, presented a cheque for £1 million Syrian (about £112,000 sterling) to be put at the disposal of the Council, and Riad as Solh stated that the Lebanese Parliament had approved a credit, and that the Lebanese Government were willing to double the sum.

On the 23rd March an official communiqué was issued by the Arab League Council, which announced that the following decision had been taken unanimously :—

> " Whereas the Arab Powers have repeatedly expressed their total support for Egypt as regards her cause and national claims, and whereas they confirmed that support at the meeting of the Heads of their States at Zahrat Inchass on 28/29th May, 1946, and affirmed it in the extraordinary session of the League Council which met at Bludan from 8th June to 12th, 1946, whereas the negotiations between Great Britain and Egypt have not realised an agreement, and whereas the Egyptian Government has proclaimed its decision to submit its cause to the United Nations Organisation, the League Council takes the opportunity of its present session to reiterate once again the absolute support of the Arab Powers for Egypt in her national claims, namely immediate and total evacuation and permanent unity of the Nile Valley under the Egyptian Crown."

Thus, once again, the members of the Arab League have shown their inability to oppose a resolution expressing opposition to Great Britain, in spite of their previous protestations that they were reluctant to do so and very doubtful of the wisdom of the course of action proposed by the Egyptian Government. The Egyptian Cabinet is reported to be delighted at the result; the reception of the news by Government circles in other Arab countries may be less enthusiastic, for there was everywhere evidence that Egyptian demands were not accepted without qualification. and, in particular, a feeling that the rights of the Sudanese to decide their own future must be recognised. Such, indeed, was the basis of the intervention of the Levant States and of Nuri Pasha's insistence that Iraq supported Egypt's *just* demands. Yusuf Yasin, who was in the chair at the League Council meetings, has been playing an ambiguous rôle which will surprise no one with a knowledge of his career; full of sweet reasonableness, goodwill and plausible explanations of his inconsistencies in conversation with British officials, he has been more Egyptian than the Egyptians in his statements to the Cairo press. It remains to be seen how ibn Sa'ud reacts to his behaviour.

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Persia

El Aris (see last week's *Summary*) arrived in Tehran on the 18th March, and has had long conversations with Reza Rusta and Jodat of the Central Committee of Trade Unions. He has now left Tehran for Abadan, accompanied by Borisov and Malfettes. Mr. Harries, who had flown to Abadan on the 15th March and intended to leave for Isfahan on the 18th, may by now have rejoined his colleagues.

Saiyid Zia un Din Tabatabai, who has been detained in *résidence forcée* since the 20th March, 1946 (see *Summary* No. 337 of 26th March, 1946), was permitted to leave prison on the 18th March and go to his house, where he remains under guard. He is said to be seriously ill.

On the occasion of the Persian New Year (*No-ruz*) on the 21st March His Majesty the King sent a telegram of cordial greetings to His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah of Persia.

ASIAN RELATIONS CONFERENCE

The Conference (see *Summary* No. 383) opened in Delhi on the 23rd March. The following countries are reported to have sent delegates on behalf of cultural organisations to take part in the discussions: Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, Persia, Afghanistan, Nepal, China, the Philippines, Burma, Siam, French Indo-China, the Malayan Union, Indonesia, Ceylon, and the Mongolian, Azerbaijani, Kirghizstan, Armenian, Georgian, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan republics of the Soviet Union. The Chinese Government originally protested at the inclusion of Tibet among those countries invited to attend the Conference, but an assurance was given them that the Conference was non-official and non-political, and that the invitations had no bearing upon any country's territorial or political status. The Chinese Government particularly rquested that the question of Tibet's national status would not be raised at the Conference. They aslo requested that the Tibetan representatives should form part of the Chinese delegation, and a press report states that two "representatives of the Tibetan communities" are included in the Chinese delegation.

The following Governments are reported to have sent observers: Turkey, Lebanon, Palestine, Persia, Afghanistan, Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan, Egypt, China, Siam, Indonesia, Ceylon. The Arab League, Great Britain, the United States of America, Australia and New Zealand have sent non-governmental observers.

The press reports that Mr. Nehru, in his inaugural speech, emphasised the potential contribution of a united Asia to world peace, as contrasted with the moral bankruptcy of the West which had led the world into wars and conflicts and was threatening further wars. "The idea underlying this Conference," he said, "is in no way aggressive or directed against any other continent or country. . . . Ours is the great design of promoting peace and progress all over the world." Mr. Nehru stated that, as a result of Western imperialism, the countries of Asia had been largely isolated from each other, but that to-day this isolation was breaking down.

Although Mr. Nehru is described as the Vice-President of the Conference all invitations have gone out over his name, which has also been prominent in press references to it. Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League appear to attach some sinister significance to these facts, and, in spite of the large representation of non-Indian Muslims, are refusing to attend the Conference themselves.

THE FAR EAST

Japan

The Japanese Premier has published a message of thanks to General MacArthur for the sympathy towards Japan's plight and the understanding of the Japanese people shown in his statement on the urgent need of an early peace treaty. At the same time fears are being expressed in Japan that the withdrawal of the forces of occupation might be the signal for a burst of activity by extremists both of the Right and of the Left.

In the Allied Council the Chairman, Mr. Atcheson, who has been on a visit to the United States, stated, according to a Press report, that American businessmen were ready to assist in the development of Japanese economy and of international trade. So are British businessmen, it may be added, on whose behalf His Majesty's Government have for some time past been urging the need of the resumption of private trading at the earliest time practicable.

Korea

March 1st is known in Korea as Independence Day because on this day in 1919 patriotic leaders, inspired by President Wilson's doctrine of self-determination, "demonstrated" and demanded, with disastrous results, independence for their country. It was feared that there might be serious disturbances this year, but, though there were minor clashes between Right and Left throughout Southern Korea, the day passed off comparatively quietly. A plot to issue a proclamation of a "Korean National Provisional Government" was discovered on the 3rd March and nipped in the bud.

According to the Central News, Tokyo, the arrival of Liu Yi-wan as Chinese Consul-General in Seoul has been followed by negotiations between the Chinese Government and the U.S. authorities for the re-opening of trade. Korea needs tobacco, rubber, hemp and piece-goods from China and has ginseng (a medicinal plant highly prized by the older Chinese) and marine products to offer in exchange. Cultural and commercial relations between Korea and China have always been close.

It is stated that the U.S. Military Government have decided to authorise the use of national flags by Korean ships in the near future.

General Christiakov has replied to General Hodge's letter of the 24th December, 1946, suggesting terms on which the Joint-Commission might be reconvened (see *Summary* 376). While couched in comparatively friendly terms, the reply detailed conditions which would bar various groups from participation and repeated the desire to exclude individuals who had compromised themselves by active opposition to the Moscow decision.

French Indo-China (see under "France")

Reports from Indo-China suggest that the military situation has been stabilised. The total French force available on the spot is said to be 120,000 which is regarded as adequate. Garrisons in Tonking have been relieved and communications restored. In the extreme south of the Province not only is Huë secure but a column—no doubt using Route Coloniale 9—has struck across from Quangtri on the coast to Savannaket on the river Mekong in Laos. By this action, it is claimed, the Viet-Nam line of communication between Tonking and Annam has been cut. It was reported in the Cochin-Chinese Assembly that the new State Army, which is significantly stated to be for the purpose of fighting Viet-Nam guerrillas, would consist of four regiments and five squadrons or a total of 20,000 men. Ten per cent. of the effectives would be French, and training of Cochin-Chinese officers would be carried out at Dalat.

Indonesia

On the evening of 25th March, the long and difficult period of negotiation for a peaceful settlement between the Netherlands Government and the Indonesian nationalist leaders—which had all too often trembled on the brink—ended happily in the formal signing of the Linggadjati Agreement at the residence of the Commission-General in Batavia The signatories to the Agreement on the Netherlands side were Professor Schermerhorn, M. van Poll and the Lieutenant-Governor-General, Dr. van Mook (M. de Boer did not sign, having already tendered his resignation from the Commission-General); and on the Indonesian side Mr. Sjarir, Dr. Gani and Messrs Roem and Soesanto.

After the Agreement had been signed, Professor Schermerhorn, in a short speech, stressed the importance of the step which this event marks in the history of the two nations, since it sealed the determination to pursue a policy of peaceful co-operation; he also drew attention to the pitfalls which inevitably lay ahead and pointed out that the beginning of the gigantic task on which they were embarking was not to be found merely in the letter of the 17 Articles of the Agreement, but in the spirit in which they are interpreted—a spirit which alone has made possible the present moment. Replying, Mr. Sjarir agreed that the signing of the Agreement marked an important step forward and expressed the hope that in practice it would act as a shining light in the path of peace. Dr. van Mook brought the ceremony to an end in a speech in which he dwelt on the necessity to maintain a constructive outlook, regarding their quarrels as belonging to the past and looking forward to a future dominated by mutual friendship and co-operation.

The events immediately preceding the signing of the Agreement are not without interest, the more especially since the ill-timed action of the Dutch military authorities all but brought about yet another deadlock.

On the 13th March, Mr. Sjarir returned to Batavia after attending the Provisional

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Indonesian Parliament session at Malang. Two days later he addressed a letter to the Commission-General, reaffirming the Indonesian Delegation's inability to accept the so-called "Jonkman interpretation," but suggesting that they should compromise by signing the Langgadjati Agreement first and discussing M. Jonkman's statements afterwards. Mr. Sjarir stated that on his side there was no objection to the Netherlands Government considering themselves bound by their own interpretation of the Agreement, but that he and his Cabinet were not prepared to accept these statements and explanations as binding on them. Two days later the Commission-General notified Mr. Sjarir that the Netherlands Government had authorised them to sign the Agreement on the basis of the suggested compromise.

Meanwhile, however, late on the night of the 16th March, Dr. van Mook quite suddenly informed Mr. Sjarir by letter that, to his sincere regret, it was considered necessary that Netherlands military units should occupy the inundated territory within the Republican perimeter in order to check further flooding of the Sourabaya area. (Netherlands forces had recently advanced 15 kilometres beyond the demarcation lines to occupy the important hydro-electric power station at Kratjak, justifying their action on the ground that it had been left unguarded by the Indonesians). At dawn the following day the territory in question was duly occupied—The Netherlands Army Information Service reporting that the sluices were secured intact, thus completely safeguarding the key position for the water supply of the Porong Delta. (This move by the Dutch military authorities gave the impression of being part of a deliberate plan to establish a firm foothold in the Krian–Porong triangle before pushing on, eventually, to the occupation of Modjokerto.) In their official communication notifying Mr. Sjarir of the *fait accompli*, the Commission-General also informed him that the state of the floods necessitated a greater area than the actual delta being covered in the operation and that they had also occupied Modjokerto. (Modjokerto is an important railway junction some 35 miles south of Sourabaya.) In this connexion it is of some interest to note that the only remaining hydro-electric station in West Java which is not held by the Dutch is that at Oeroeg, three kilometres from Tjibadak in the Buitenzorg area. On the day of the occupation of Modjokerto the local Netherlands Commander at Buitenzorg notified the Indonesian Commander that unless the headman of a village in Republican control was handed over within a time-limit of three days, Dutch military forces would proceed to occupy Tjibadak. The Republican Commander complied with the demand before the ultimatum expired.

It can have provided little consolation to the Indonesians that both Dr. van Mook and the Commission-General wrote to M. Sjarir expressing their regret for the Porong Delta action, promising to limit it to the prevention of improper manipulation of the sluices and stressing their hope that no delay might be occasioned thereby to the signing of the Linggadjati Agreement. Mr. Sjarir lodged a formal protest, made it clear that he was not prepared to sign before he had investigated the situation at Modjokerto and discussed the whole question with Dr. Soekarno and other members of his Cabinet, and left immediately for Jogjakarta.

On the 22nd March a full meeting of the Indonesian Government took place and on the following day the Republican Ministry of Information announced that, in accordance with the decision taken by the K.N.I.P. at the session recently held at Malang, the Indonesian Delegation would sign the draft Agreement in its original form and at the same time would press for a solution of the several breaches of the "truce" committed by the Netherlands forces. Reports from Dutch sources also claim that an amicable compromise has been reached on the Modjokerto problem, but, if this is so, its terms are not yet known.

In the meantime the Hague decision to authorise acceptance of the "face-saving" loop-hole provided in Mr. Sjarir's letter has resulted in the resignation of one member of the Commission-General, M. de Boer, and of both its two recently appointed Advisors, Professors Posthuma and Verzijl. No reasons for these resignations have been stated officially yet, but newspaper comment describes M. de Boer's action as a protest against the manner in which the Indonesian question has been conducted at the Hague since the draft Agreement was initialled in November, 1946, and to irritation over the delay resulting from the motion sponsored by, and the recent speech-making activities in Java of, Professor Romme. Reports from Indonesian quarters express appreciation of M. de Boer's understanding of the situation and sound a note of genuine regret at his withdrawal. Just the opposite reason is said to have prompted the resignations of Professors Posthuma and Verzijl. They are recorded as holding the opinion that

the Netherlands Government's decision to authorise the Agreement to be signed on the basis of Mr. Sjarir's letter is incompatible with the motion of Professor Romme and Jonkheer van de Goes van Naters which was adopted at the Hague as the condition of acceptance of the draft Agreement (see *Summary* No. 381), and on which understanding they had taken up their appointments to advisorships.

Originally it had been intended by the Republican Government that Mr. Sjarir should head the Indonesian Delegation to the Inter-Asian Relations Conference at New Delhi (see *Summary* No. 383), but it was finally decided that the recent political events rendered this inadvisable and, for the same reason, it was also considered better not to adopt the suggestion that Vice-President Hatta should go in his place. Finally M. Haji Agoes Salim, the Republican Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, headed the Delegation, which was scheduled to leave Java on the 20th March.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

President Truman's request for 400 million dollars in aid to Greece and Turkey continues to preoccupy the press and the leaders of Congress in the United States. A bill to meet the President's requirements was introduced by Representative Charles A. Eaton, the Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, on the 18th March. It provides for amounts not exceeding 100 million dollars to be advanced by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation until such time as the total appropriation of 400 million has been approved by Congress. It authorizes the President to send a limited number of military and civilian experts to Greece and Turkey in an advisory capacity and to transfer to those countries such goods, services and information and to extend to them such "instruction and training of personnel" as he may deem advisable. Representatives of the American press and radio are to be permitted to "observe freely and report fully regarding the utilization of such assistance," and the President is to make quarterly reports to Congress on all the "expenditures and activities" involved.

Hearings on Mr. Eaton's bill opened in the House Foreign Affairs Committee on the 20th March and in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the 24th March. On the 20th Mr. Dean Acheson read to the House Committee a prepared statement on the developments in Greece and Turkey which had led to the appeal for assistance and on the considerations which made it imperative for the United States Government to take the action proposed. Mr. Eaton is striving to get his bill through the House in the shortest possible time. On the 19th his Committee reported out favourably the 350 million dollars general relief bill (see *Summary* No. 383), thereby preparing the way for consideration of the new measure. The Senate likewise is endeavouring to clear its calendar for the coming debate on the foreign relief programme. The general impatience among Senate leaders to increase the pace of proceedings led on the 18th March to a clash between the Republican President *pro tempore*, Senator Vandenberg, and the ranking Democratic member of the Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Connally. Senator Connally felt that, after the precedents established by the loans to Great Britain, France and Italy, the Senate could proceed with its debate on the plans with regard to Greece and Turkey without waiting for the answers to the questionnaire which Senator Vandenberg had invited his colleagues to submit to the State Department. There was also an uneasy moment on the same day when Senator Vandenberg stepped down from the rostrum to denounce a proposal by Mr. Gael Sullivan, the executive director of the Democratic National Committee and Assistant Postmaster-General, that the chairman of the rival Republican National Committee should subscribe to a joint proclamation in support of President Truman's policy. Senator Vandenberg asserted that when bi-partisan policy got into the hands of national committees it was "in grave danger of losing its precious character," which derived from the fact that it was "not the result of political coercion but of non-political conviction." He also took the occasion to remind Mr. Sullivan that the present bi-partisan approach did not extend to "China policies or Pan-American policies," with both of which he had at times been dissatisfied.

There is still much concern at the possible effect which the proposed direct action with regard to Greece and Turkey may have upon the prestige of the United Nations. Mr. Acheson endeavoured to dispel anxiety on this score in his statement of the 20th March when, after pointing out

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that the United Nations organization did not of itself possess the funds which the Greeks and Turks required, he emphasized that the State Department was, nevertheless, giving serious consideration to the ways in which the United Nations might take over the problem when the present emergency was past. Senators Vandenberg and Connally have also endeavoured to bring the Eaton bill into line with the considerable body of sentiment which feels that the United States ought at least to seek the "moral backing" of the United Nations for its policy. This they have done by adding a draft preamble expressing the belief that the proposed aid to Greece and Turkey will "contribute to the freedom and independence of all members of the United Nations in conformity with the principles and purposes of the Charter."

Some surprise was caused on the 23rd March when copies of hitherto secret State Department documents relating to the present situation in the Eastern Mediterranean were handed to the press in Washington, and when one of these was found to contain a statement favouring the cession of Cyprus to Greece. The documents had already been in the hands of the House Foreign Affairs Committee since the beginning of its hearings. In reply to inquiries on the subject by His Majesty's Ambassador in Washington Mr. Acheson has admitted that he did not know what all the documents in question contained when they were first submitted to Congress, and he has been most emphatic that the Cyprus statement does not represent his Government's considered viewpoint. The document was apparently prepared by the Division of Research and Publication of the State Department, and was passed on to Congress and the press without the knowledge of the political sections. In any case the proposal with regard to Cyprus appears to be completely at variance with current State Department policy, which is to maintain British influence at its maximum in the Eastern Mediterranean. This policy has caused the State Department *inter alia* to continue to press His Majesty's Government to keep intact the British training mission with the Greek army, even though the other British troops may be withdrawn.

The proceedings of the Foreign Ministers' Conference are being followed with sustained interest in the United States, although only on M. Molotov's demand for 10,000 million dollars worth of reparations from Germany has any strong line of comment tended to develop. Here Conservatives and Liberals are unanimous in rejecting the Soviet claim on the ground that payment would reduce Germany to a condition of "industrial servitude" to the Soviet Union and that it would in any event be most undesirable to permit the Russians to draw upon current German production for reparations purposes at a time when American and British taxpayers were pouring money into Germany from the West to keep the country from collapsing. The *New York Times* points out that Russia has already compensated herself "quite liberally" for her war losses by annexing more than 250,000 square miles of territory, by looting Eastern Europe and Manchuria and by "collecting direct reparations through seizure and slave labour whose value former Secretary of State Byrnes has estimated at no less than 14,000 million dollars." General Marshall is therefore warmly commended for his refusal to compromise on the Soviet reparations plan. His prestige has risen considerably as a result of his performance at the Conference—his robust and positive definition of what the United States understands by democracy in relation to Germany at the meeting of the 14th March winning him particular praise and admiration.

At home the drive against disloyal elements on the extreme Left, which has come to be regarded as the natural corollary to Mr. Truman's insistence that help must be given to democratic nations abroad "against movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian régimes," has received a fresh impetus from the Executive Order which the President issued on the 22nd March to purge the civil service of members and "fellow-travellers" of "totalitarian, Fascist, Communist or subversive" organizations. Under this Order every Government department is to have a "loyalty board" to investigate charges brought against its members, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation is to prepare and maintain up-to-date a list of subversive organizations throughout the country. The President's hand has been strengthened in this matter by the rejection by the Supreme Court on the 17th March of the appeal of a War Manpower Commission employee who had been dismissed for belonging to the Communist-inspired "American Peace Mobilization" group.

At its same session the Supreme Court made effective, as from the 20th March, its order requiring Mr. John L. Lewis and the United Mineworkers to withdraw their notice terminating their contract with the Government. This had been the condition

imposed by the Court on the 6th in reducing the union's fine from 3,500,000 to 700,000 dollars (see *Summary* No. 384). On the 19th Mr. Lewis complied "unconditionally" with the order of the Court. He is believed thereby to have removed the threat of a new strike in the soft coal industry on the 31st of this month, the date up to which he provisionally continued his agreement with the Government when he ordered the miners back to work last December.

LATIN AMERICA

Argentina

An exchange of notes between H.M. Embassy and the Argentine Ministry for Foreign Affairs has extended indefinitely the Anglo-Argentine commercial agreement, though rendering it subject to summary termination. The Argentines refused an extension subject to three months' notice, but offered an extension until April. This would entail negotiations for a new agreement, which, if unsuccessful, would threaten Britain's food supply. Moreover, present Argentine policy suggests that it would be impossible to negotiate a new agreement compatible with Britain's obligations to the International Trade Organization. The possibility of inducing Argentina to enter into the same obligations appears to be faint. Owing to the attitude of the United States Administration Argentina was not invited to take part in the preliminaries of the I.T.O. last summer. Following that exclusion the Argentines adopted an increasingly nationalistic attitude in economic matters, and they have used their economic strength to rally Latin American support against the policies of the United States. Thus, in addition to the proposed agreement with Chile, Argentina has signed a Commercial Treaty with Bolivia and is negotiating one with Peru.

While the fact that Argentina has agreed to send delegates to the International Wheat Conference now meeting in London suggests a possibility of her being gradually drawn into other international agencies, it is difficult to believe that she will do anything contrary to her own immediate material interests, for no policy could be more popular in Argentina than one which combines profiteering and nationalism.

Brazil

It seems likely that negotiations about the treatment of Brazil's sterling balances may be resumed after an awkward break caused by Brazil's sudden decision to suspend purchase of sterling by the Bank of Brazil. This attempt at blackmail seems to have been due to a hasty decision by the Ministry of Finance, and to have afforded some embarrassment to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. In reply to a British Note pointing out that the Brazilian action was a violation of the Anglo-Brazilian Payments Agreement, Sr. Raul Fernandes told H.M. Ambassador that there had been no intention to exert pressure in the negotiations, and that, if his explanations were accepted and the resumption of negotiations was not made conditional on the withdrawal of the Brazilian suspension order, all would be well within a very few days.

Chile

The proposed Argentine-Chilean treaty has been the subject of much discussion in which the danger of excessive dependence on Argentina is balanced against the need for Chile to escape from her present plight; the second of these considerations seems likely to prevail. Conditions are bad enough to induce the Communists, who are part of the Government, to oppose strikes, and the Ministry of Finance has asked other Ministries to reduce expenditure. As 65 per cent. of the budget goes on the bureaucracy, this is necessary; but the Chilean Congress have passed a bill raising military pay and some salaries are being increased—so that the inflation is likely to go on.

Hostility to the Communists has increased and there are rumours that President González Videla may eject them from the Cabinet. In two speeches delivered at the end of February, however, the President declared that though the present ministerial combination was unsatisfactory to Liberals, Radicals and Communists, he was resolved to proceed with it, since Communist support was indispensable and any attempt to govern with the Radicals alone might plunge Chile into revolution. The Communists, for their part, are dissatisfied with the bill providing for agricultural workers' unions, which they regard as inadequate.

Ecuador

Despite his temperamental approach to politics and the notorious instability of

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Ecuadorean governments, President Velasco Ibarra has remained in power since the overthrow of the Arroyo del Rio régime in 1944. Having run through his liberal and left-wing support after the promulgation of the Constitution of 1945, the President went over to the Conservatives, calling another Constituent Assembly which gave birth to a new Constitution in December 1946. The President's relations with both Constituent Assemblies were strained. The last ended in less disorder than the first, but this is partly due to the fact that the second Assembly was a packed house of Conservatives, the Liberals having refused to take part in the elections. More recently Dr. Velasco has been in touch with the Liberals again. Their leader, Dr. Humberto Albornoz, is ready to collaborate, and the party directorate, after at first forcing Sr. Albornoz to resign, appears to have come round to his way of thinking. The Liberals are still the strongest party in the country, and a new supply of Ministers might soon be acceptable to Dr. Velasco, who has now quarrelled with a fair proportion of those at present available for office. In January the Minister of Defence, Colonel Marcheno, resigned. The Minister for Public Works, Sr. Jorge Montero Vela, one of the President's favourites, on being called before Congress to explain certain appropriations of public funds was finally constrained to agree that the money had disappeared, and resigned. In the excited session, two shots were fired in the public gallery; the man responsible was arrested, and when the President insisted on his release, the Minister of the Interior also resigned. At the beginning of the year a local attempt at an armed rising took place, but on the whole the season has been a poor one for revolutions.

UNITED NATIONS

Disarmament

The Security Council's "Commission for Conventional Armaments" held its first meeting on the 24th March. All countries which are represented on the Security Council have representatives on the new Commission. Each country supplies a chairman for a month, the order of succession being alphabetical, beginning with Australia (Mr. Hasluck). Sir Alexander Cadogan said that his Government would be submitting practical proposals in the near future. Meanwhile he laid down some principles. Disarmament depended on international confidence. To say that confidence depended on disarmament was putting the cart before the horse. The arrangements for collective security contemplated in Article 43 of the Charter must be carried out before disarmament could begin, and, in the same way, a system of international control and verification must precede disarmament. Sir Alexander Cadogan then drew upon his experience in the League of Nations Disarmament Conference, where he played a leading part, to recall how the French had argued that since defensive armaments were maintained to give security, no country would reduce them without the certainty of an alternative source of security. Unfortunately, he added, the French had not succeeded then in teaching us wisdom. This whole question of the relation of disarmament to security had occupied much of the League's time. It was vital, and he only hoped that no Power today would follow in the steps of Fascist Italy who sneered at the whole contention as "sophistry disarmament." Confidence developed gradually. It needed sound Peace Treaties and continuous proofs of co-operation. It needed good faith and a refusal to impugn the motives of others. It needed time, for the pursuit of quick results would in fact be a sure guarantee of ultimate failure. One step, however, could be taken without delay. Article 43 could be fulfilled. International inspection and control meant the loss of some elements of National Sovereignty; but so did every treaty! It was strange, he concluded, how loath the nations were to renounce the right to plunge the whole world into chaos.

The U.S. representative followed similar lines, using Japan's evasion of the Washington Naval Treaty to demonstrate the urgent need for the international control and inspection of the production of Atomic Energy.

Atomic Energy Commission

Something in the nature of a model discussion took place when the Commission met on the 19th March. The Chairman (Soviet Representative) introduced the following resolution: "Having received the resolution of the Security Council of the 10th March, 1947, adopted in connection with the discussion of the report of the Atomic Energy Commission, the Commission resolves that its Committees, and in particular the Working Committee and Committee No. 2, consider the questions following from the Resolution, and first

of all the questions relating to the establishment of international control of atomic energy on which the necessary agreement among its members has not yet been reached." The United States Representative supported the resolution, considering it fruitful. Sir Alexander Cadogan also supported it; but saw a danger that the words "first of all" might prevent the Committees emerging from the difficult problems of control, whereas the wiser course had already been shown to be to continue with the clarification of technical problems, hoping that time would allow common sense to solve the problem of control. The Chairman was for dealing with difficult problems first; but he was accommodating. The French Representative supported his U.K. colleague. Finally the Representatives of Syria and Colombia proposed to cut out the words "the necessary" before "agreement," and to put "in particular" for "first of all." Thus amended, the Resolution was passed unanimously, though M. Gromyko remarked that he still believed that what he thought first things should be taken first.

THE COUNCIL OF FOREIGN MINISTERS

When the Ministers adjourned on Tuesday the 25th March to go to the Bolshoi Theatre the future seemed to promise well; for M. Molotov, after listening to Mr. Bevin on peace Conference procedure, said that his general view coincided with Mr. Bevin's; but so far the weather at the Ministers' meetings has had an April-like quality, and neither showers nor sunshine have lasted long.

On Monday the 17th Mr. Bevin, M. Molotov and Mr. Marshall gave their views upon economic affairs and Mr. Bevin enunciated his doctrine that German economic unity was indivisible. M. Bidault replied with the French case on Tuesday. The discussion continued on Wednesday and Thursday. On Wednesday Mr. Bevin, M. Molotov and Mr. Marshall made careful statements on economic unity and on reparations, M. Bidault again following the day after his colleagues. Mr. Bevin showed how His Majesty's Government had refused to consent to any reparations figure being settled at Yalta, and had objected to the sum of 20 billion dollars discussed between the Americans and the Russians, as far in excess of what Germany could pay. In support, he quoted a telegram which the Cabinet had sent to Mr. Churchill, and which Mr. Churchill had read to the Conference: "We shall find ourselves paying for the imports necessary to keep Germany alive, while others obtain the reparations." Potsdam, Mr. Bevin added, had superseded Yalta, and Potsdam mentioned neither a reparations total nor the vexed question of reparations from current production. He defined the difference between M. Molotov's and his own views. Both regarded the matter of economic unity as fundamental; but M. Molotov inclined to concentrate on certain aspects to the exclusion of others. Unity was indivisible, and this indivisibility meant that Mr. Bevin must reject Russian demands for joint control of the Ruhr and for the dissolution of the fusion of the British and U.S. zones until unity was achieved. He welcomed M. Molotov's suggestion to raise the level of steel production to between 10 and 12 million tons. His Majesty's Government had all along advocated 11 million tons! He did not, however, approve that the new level should be made dependent on the payment of reparations. Here Mr. Marshall joined Mr. Bevin, and recalled the fatal consequences of stimulating German production after 1918 in order that reparations might be paid. Mr. Bevin also drew attention to the danger lurking in proposals to place German heavy industry under the control of the central Government. International security would be better served if the *Laender* had the control. M. Molotov was conciliatory. While he declared that no economic unity would satisfy Russia that did not provide for reparations, he admitted that the new level of industry should (1) meet German internal needs, (2) pay for imports, and (3) pay for reparations. He did not lay down the order in which the three obligations should be met. He foresaw the possibility of agreement on the major problems. Mr. Marshall, like Mr. Bevin, saw things whole. He also recalled how at Potsdam the Soviet had proposed a steel production of only 3·5 million tons.

On Thursday the 20th M. Bidault made his country's agreement to economic unity and higher levels of industry dependent on the amount of coal Germany exported to France. He laid down two principles (1) that Germany should not retain a proportionately larger supply of coal than was available to her former victims, (2) that the steel production of Germany's neighbours should always be superior to that of

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Germany, since German steel had been an essential element in German aggression; and he noted that recently every increase in the coal output of the Ruhr had meant a decrease in the export of coal from Germany. He obviously did not believe that Germany would produce enough coal for export, unless she were compelled to do so. Mr. Bevin based his rejection of M. Bidault's request for coal on his doctrine of the indivisibility of German economic unity, of which the Ruhr constituted only a part, and on the rights of the British taxpayer.

On Friday the 21st the Ministers first heard a progress report on the work of the Austrian Deputies, and agreed to invite Austrian representatives to come to Moscow for consultation. They then began a two-day exchange of views on the future political structure of Germany. Mr. Bevin and Mr. Marshall spoke on Friday, M. Molotov and M. Bidault on Saturday. There was a clear distinction between the ideas of the Russians and the others. M. Molotov desired a centralised, "democratic unitary State" which would give certain powers to the *Laender*. The Control Council would draw up a provisional constitution, "aided by democratic parties, trade unions and representatives of the *Laender*." A Central Government was essential to fulfil Germany's obligations to the Allies. He suggested the Weimar constitution with the autonomy it gave to the *Laender* "as a starting-point." M. Bidault, himself a historian, had no difficulty in showing that Weimar gave less power to the *Laender* than had any previous German constitution, and that it had paved the way to Hitler. In his view all power should belong to the *Laender* who would delegate the essential minimum to a Central Government. But the present subject was the provisional organisation of Germany, stage 2 in the problem. It was premature to deal with stage 3, the provisional Government, before stage 1, "Local Governments," were working properly. The main features of Mr. Bevin's and Mr. Marshall's proposals were almost identical. Both emphasised the fact that a policy of decentralisation was in accord with paragraph 9 of Potsdam, that the Control Council was not a substitute for a proper German Government, based on human rights, and the rule of law. Mr. Marshall would limit the powers of the Central Government strictly, leaving residual authority with the *Laender*. Mr. Bevin's scheme was at once practical and imaginative. All powers would be vested in the *Laender*, except those delegated to the Central Government to secure the necessary political, legal, economic and financial unity. In the eventual German constitution there would be two Chambers, one representing the nation, one the *Laender*, and the latter would have the means to safeguard all *Laender* rights. Further, a Supreme Court would be set up to watch over the constitution. The President would have only the powers of a constitutional ruler. The practical approach to the problem can be seen in the care taken to ensure that Germany evolves towards freedom, first under guidance and control and, when these become redundant, by her own will. Mr. Bevin's appreciation of the perils which beset the path towards freedom can be seen in the "rights" which he would have guaranteed during the period of growing up, freedom not only to express oneself, but, far more important, freedom to inform oneself. He is alive to the perils of over-centralisation in Germany, and recalled from his own experience, how the bureaucratic centralisation which the Allies set up in Germany after 1918 provided part of the machinery which Hitler used. He is alive, also, to a subtler danger, of Nazism being replaced by a so-called freedom-loving, democratic, but none less totalitarian and exclusive Party. "We want to encourage the interplay of democratic forces and parties which we believe will provide the necessary protection for the Allies." Here the practical mingles with the imaginative, and the aim of Allied policy is shown again to be the conversion of Germany from war to peace. The possibility that Russia's conception of a German constitution may be fundamentally different is suggested in an article which Zalavski wrote in *Pravda* of the 23rd March. He was discussing the Conference: "Before Bismarck Germany had been evolving on the right lines towards unity under the leadership of Marx, Engels, Lassalle, Liebknecht and Bebel. Unfortunately Bismarck and Hitler brought about this unity by the means, *i.e.*, blood and iron."

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Weekly Political Intelligence Summary

No. 387

FOREIGN OFFICE,
(RESEARCH DEPARTMENT),
2ND APRIL, 1947

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The Next Number of this Summary will appear on the 16th April

EUROPE

GERMANY

No real progress on German affairs was recorded during the third week of the Moscow Conference, although discussions were held on the procedure for drafting a treaty (see under "Moscow Conference"). The Ministers had to wait until the 28th March for the Sub-Committee's report on points of agreement and disagreement, since its members had been unjustifiably led astray by M. Vishinsky into a maze of political verbiage. His most important statement was that the Soviet Government considers four-Power control of the Ruhr to be an essential condition of economic unity. As shown by Mr. Bevin, the week before, this is precisely the reverse of His Majesty's Government's view. The Russian Minister retold the legendary accusations against para-military formations and the treatment of Displaced Persons in Western Germany. Russian allegations about reparations are equally hard to kill. Mr. Bevin had explained to the Conference on the 21st March how Great Britain had received only £22,990,000 in reparations from all sources and would get no gold, all of which was held in custody for other countries. On the 26th March *Pravda* accused Great Britain and the United States of taking 10,000,000,000 dollars (£2,500,000,000) and virtually planning to keep the gold for themselves; and of withholding from other countries essential information in connection with German patents. *Pravda* as good as called Mr. Bevin a liar to his face by reiterating that German coal was being used as reparation since it was not being

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paid for at a fair price. Mr. Marshall announced on the same day that his country had so far taken in reparation only 275,000,000 dollars making, with the British figure, a total of less than £100 million. So the matter rests—for the time being. A paper designed to help German economy was tabled by Mr. Marshall on the 24th March when he advocated reducing the occupation forces to a minimum in progressive stages; the first review of troops to be in July of this year. The need for compensation for United Nations property affected by industrial removals was also raised, and Mr. Marshall enunciated the important principle that there ought to be no compensation for enterprises organised exclusively for war production. The French delegation tabled proposals for dealing with cartels. M. Molotov's contribution was to give a definite promise that the overdue demolition of damaged German warships would be completed by August 1947.

The German press and radio has given full coverage to reports of the Conference. The Socialist Unity Party (SED) press has rejected outright M. Bidault's proposal for organised emigration of Germans. *Berlin am Mittag* of the 17th March called it an attempt to revive Hitler's spurious theory of "*ein Volk ohne Raum*," but, surprisingly enough, the idea was welcomed by Pieck, a veteran leader of the Party. The American-licensed *Tagesspiegel* cautiously approved the plan if meant as a conciliatory gesture, but obviously feared that it might turn out to be a scheme for concealed deportation. The British-licensed paper *Telegraf* saw in it chiefly a welcome fillip to the morale of the refugees. The French Government now wish the subject to be discussed at a conference before July 1947. Apart from comments on reparations and figures for prisoners-of-war in the Soviet Union the other main Moscow news interesting the German press and radio were the proposals on the structure of German Government. That some members of the SED were disconcerted by M. Molotov's proposal for a bi-cameral Parliament was shown by Berlin Radio on the 24th March. The commentator objected, if only on the ground that the second Chamber would not be elected in the usual parliamentary way. However, forced into conciliation, he stated that if this proposal was likely to provide a basis for agreement, all such objections would have to recede into the background. He still insisted that a second Chamber would only serve a purpose if designed to promote German unity, and provided that it did not become the first Chamber. Clearly recognizing that M. Molotov had left the question of centralism or federalism completely in the air, the commentator declined to accept Mr. Marshall's view that there might only be a difference of interpretation between the proposals of the Soviet Union and the United States. Mr. Bevin's proposals were given prominence by all sections of the Berlin press. Soviet-controlled organs reacted cautiously, although they opposed any attempt to put the clock back by giving the *Laender* as much independence as in the pre-Weimar period. Comment may have been restrained by Mr. Bevin's insistence that the German people should be fully associated in drafting a constitution.

The Eastern Zone still appears to present the most solid front in its clamour for German unity, whereas discordant voices are raised from the Western Zones on many subjects. Bavaria in particular is a thorn in the flesh of German unionists. Yet it is evident that in the West a consensus of opinion on the structure of Germany now has some hope of forming. A fortnight ago it was recorded that the SPD made proposals for a united but decentralised system of Government which seemed to draw nearer to the views of His Majesty's Government. The Rhineland-Westphalian Diet has unanimously approved a federal system. Now the Christian Democrats all over Germany have agreed that there should be a federal structure, in which a second Chamber representing the *Laender* should have equal rights with the Chamber elected on a nation-wide basis. This goes further than the SPD would wish, since presumably the *Laender* have the right of absolute veto on all matters, whereas even under Mr. Bevin's scheme the *Laender* would be limited to a suspensory veto except on constitutional matters. The Left wing of the Christian Democrats, however, is likely to support a system giving less power to the *Laender*. Another important point is that, although the Social Democrats were forced to refuse the Christian Democrats' invitation for four-party meetings, because it would have meant sitting down with the Socialist Unity Party, the Christian Democrats, and Social Democrats, together presumably holding the allegiance of 80% of the German electorate, are conferring on possibilities of further cooperation in representing Germany's interests.

The Germans are not alone in these activities. The Soviet Authorities have

been making active preparations for some months past in order to take the initiative if the opportunity arises for setting up a Central German Government. The first step might be the establishment of a number of Central German Administrations under Allied Control. In either case the Russians would wish to be first in the field in proposing candidates suited to themselves, but not necessarily all stamped as followers of the Socialist Unity Party. Such candidates are now being sought. Foremost among those reported to have been selected for a post in the Central Government, presumably for that of Foreign Minister, is Herr Nadolny. His name has already been mentioned in this connection by the press of the Western Zones. Nadolny was Ambassador to Russia for some months after September 1933, but retired in June 1934. He was a strong advocate of Russo-German understanding. He had represented Germany for a time at the Disarmament Conference in Geneva, when Germany demanded equality of status. He is believed to be a strong nationalist of the traditional type, whose views are unlikely to be wholly palateable even to Russia. Other possible candidates are Otto Grotewohl, the Socialist Unity Party leader, and less probably Karl Germer of a Berlin SPD opposition group.

Whatever the activities of politicians the ordinary population throughout Germany is infected with bitterness and depression. In the Soviet Zone the population lives under a cloud of uncertainty. The Soviet Authorities have now stated that the arrested Berlin students were charged with secret fascist activities. Two more arrests were reported on the 28th March. In the Soviet Zone proper the deportation of prisoners to Russia has increased in recent weeks, many of the prisoners being members of the Intelligentsia who were not deeply involved with Nazism. German apprehensions were described by a Social Democratic Speaker in Berlin City Council on the 27th March, when she said that "the shadow of the régime whose . . . illegal methods left everybody in doubt at what a sudden ring at the door might portend still hangs over us." Inhabitants of the U.S. Zone, although probably less hopeless, live in an atmosphere darkened with corruption and intrigue. In the French Zone there is apathy engendered by food shortages and the heavy drain of exports. The British Zone is probably the most marked by bitterness. One day strikes and other demonstrations have occurred in Ruhr towns. During a mass food demonstration of 30,000 people in Duesseldorf on the 28th March, unruly elements smashed windows of British offices and overturned into a lake a *Volkswagen* in the British service. An orderly demonstration in Dortmund the following day demanded the resignation of Dr. Schlange-Schoeningen, the head of the food administration in the Zone (all internal food distribution is in German hands). Every effort is being made to increase supplies in an area which has been living from hand-to-mouth since last May and is further hampered by mismanagement by German authorities. The Regional Commissioner supported the German view that the demonstrations were not directed against Military Government but in order to call attention to the food situation. Dr. Schumacher has called on the people to show discipline or perish and declared that Germans, particularly farmers, were to blame for past failures, as well as the Occupying Powers. The first serious example of non-co-operative policy has come from Essen where the Town Council is refusing to evacuate accommodation required owing to re-distribution of occupying forces. In such conditions the people will be particularly open to inflammatory election speeches preceding the poll for State Assemblies on the 20th April. Adenauer (CDU) spoke on the 23rd March against transferring industries from the dangerous hands of private monopolists to the equally dangerous clutches of the State rather than of less centralised bodies. He asked, however, for an all-party truce on those questions in which the German people should show a united front in their dealings with the Allies. He spoke disparagingly of the Moscow Conference where the German people was "merely one of the pawns being pushed here and there" as the interests of the Powers demanded. He added a salutary reminder, however, that "nothing good for us can come out of differences between the Allies."

AUSTRIA

The Council of Foreign Ministers, acting on the proposal made by Mr. Marshall in his memorandum of the 21st March, have held two further meetings in an attempt to resolve the deadlock reached by the Deputies on certain of the economic clauses

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in the Austrian treaty, in particular the problem of the "German assets" in Austria. The definition of this term has still not been agreed, and indeed at the beginning of the discussions it seemed as though M. Molotov might go back on the agreement previously reached by the Deputies that the treaty should include some definition of this term. M. Bidault eventually put forward a three-point proposal, according to which the Deputies should be instructed:—

1. To prepare an article providing for the recognition in the Austrian treaty of allocation of German assets in Austria under the provisions of Potsdam.
2. To prepare a definition of German assets in Austria, excluding all property taken under force or duress or, more generally, all property unduly taken from United Nations nationals or from Austrian nationals, for racial, religious or political reasons.
3. To prepare an arbitration clause on the basis of article 50 of the draft treaty.

M. Molotov expressed his willingness to accept the first clause, but wished to exclude the provision for arbitration and to amend the definition of the assets so that it should only exclude property "seized by the Germans from the United Nations or from Austrians as a result of forcible action or in the process of Aryanisation without any compensation." Such a definition would, of course, extend very considerably the scope of the Russian claims and, as Mr. Bevin has pointed out, would penalise those owners who had, in so many cases, received only nominal compensation or who had been obliged to surrender their property by intimidation. The Soviet rejection of the arbitration clause in the proposal is based on the assumption that, as Great Britain and the United States have renounced any claim on German assets in Eastern Austria, the Soviet authorities have the right to deal with these assets as they please. The other three Powers are anxious to see that German assets in Austria are acknowledged to come within the competence of the four Powers and to be relevant to reparations from Germany, not reparations from Austria. According to press accounts the Ministers were unable to reach agreement on the problem, and the matter has been referred back to the Deputies. M. Molotov is reported to have urged that the Ministers should not refer to the matter again until the Austrian treaty as a whole is reached on the agenda; in view of the amount of work to be got through before this point is reached, this would mean a considerable lapse of time during which the Deputies would be left without guidance on this important issue.

The Deputies have been continuing their discussions and have reached agreement on some comparatively unimportant points. The British compromise figure of 53,000 for the size of the Austrian armed forces has now been accepted, but the armament of these forces with war material of non-Austrian origin or design is still under discussion and is being opposed by the Russians. Efforts to achieve a compromise on the article concerning the preservation of Austria's independence have been unavailing, the Soviet Deputy objecting to the whole article. While admitting the validity of the Potsdam decision that no reparations should be exacted from Austria, M. Gusev has sought, but without success, to obtain a hearing for the Yugoslavia claims for reparations. The Soviets have also supported Yugoslav claims to keep Austrian property in Yugoslavia. In regard to Yugoslav territorial claims Soviet propaganda continues to maintain a cautious attitude.

Reports in the Soviet press of a recent clash in Eisenkappel (Carinthia) between members of the Slovene Liberation Front (the OF) and the local inhabitants did not commit the Soviet Union to support Yugoslav claims. According to the report of the Director of Public Safety in Carinthia, the clash occurred as the result of the holding of an unauthorised procession by the OF. In view of the negative attitude to Yugoslav claims hitherto publicly maintained by the Austrian Communist party, it is of interest that the version of the incident given by the Communist *Volksstimme* omitted all reference to the provocative behaviour of the OF officials.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Despite the President's recent warning on the dangers attending yet another internal Czech-Slovak crisis (See Summaries 372 and 382), the approaching close of the Tiso trial in Bratislava—a verdict is expected shortly after Easter—has thrown perhaps even more sharply into relief the unsatisfactory relationship between Conservative Slovakia and the Socialist Czech Lands. As far as the Slovak scene itself is concerned the trial amounts to nothing more than a phase in the struggle for political supremacy between the Slovak Democrats and the Communists, since both parties are energetically making ideological capital out of the *cause célèbre*. In its wider aspect where questions of national security are involved the trial has a far greater significance. Public sympathies in Slovakie are so overwhelmingly in favour of Dr. Tiso that competent Czech observers believe that, if the death-sentence is pronounced, Czech-Slovak relations will be hopelessly ensnarled for years to come. Consequently any prospect, it is thought, of reaching agreement on the new Constitution would be grievously damaged—unless, of course, the Communist stock slumps in the 1948 elections. The news of pro-Tiso demonstrations, notably in Pieštany, shows that Hlinka extremists and *agents provocateurs* are still at work, although it is not impossible that the incidents were deliberately inspired by the Communists. Among those arrested as the alleged instigators of the demonstrations is the Secretary of the Freedom Party which was formed shortly before the 1946 elections to cater for the discontented Catholic elements in the Democrat ranks.

In retaliation the Slovak Nation Front, reinforced by representatives of the Slovak Trades Union Council and the Partisan Organisation, staged a counter-demonstration in Bratislava. The principal theme of the many speeches delivered was that of fidelity to a united Republic and the need to purge the province of all subversive elements. General Ferjenčik, the non-party Commissioner of the Interior, has been empowered to take severe measures to prevent the recurrence of similar disorders.

M. Masaryk, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, has reviewed in the course of a lengthy speech to Parliament his country's relations with foreign Powers. The tone of his speech was optimistic, though he urged that effective control over Germany is vital. No new disclosures were made; the Soviet Union continues to be the keystone of Czechoslovak foreign policy. Regarding Anglo-Czech relations M. Masaryk welcomed the increasing political interest and cultural collaboration between the two nations; the signing of the Anglo-French Treaty he regarded as proof that Great Britain has not cut herself adrift from the Continent. In the debate which followed M. Masaryk's *exposé*, the Czech Communist, Popular, and Socialist parties deplored the American attitude towards the new Republic.

The Government have approved the Central Planning Commission's proposal that there should be a general price reduction—to be effective as from the 1st April—in foodstuffs and essential goods. The cost of living is expected to fall by 5 per cent.

(See also under "Hungary.")

POLAND

It now seems likely that the differences of opinion among the leaders of M. Mikolajczyk's Peasant Party, the P.S.L., have led to a definite breach. The subject of such differences was the question whether the P.S.L. ought to have joined the united electoral "*bloc*," proposed by the Government parties or, as actually happened, taken part in the contest as an independent opposition. That the party adopted the latter course was due to M. Mikolajczyk himself, who, finally realizing the extent to which the Government parties would certainly go in their programme of electoral chicanery and dishonesty, decided not to be associated with them in such a procedure. Instead, he thought that the P.S.L. should present itself to the country as the party standing for the traditional democratic principles of freedom of thought and expression, in relation to Poland's domestic affairs, while fully accepting the fact that a considerable limitation would have to be placed on the claim to an independent foreign policy in so far as that an alliance with Russia, while certainly not completely to the liking of the majority of Poles under present conditions, was rendered inevitable precisely by those same conditions, and therefore outside the range of discussion.

The opinion that the P.S.L. should have joined the "*Bloc*" was, and still is, held by a group led by Dr. Kiernik and M. Wycech, Ministers of Public Administration and Education respectively in the provisional government prior to the elections. Both men spent the war in Poland as members of the underground forces acting against the Germans, and were among those admitted to the provisional government when it was re-formed on a "broader" basis, in accordance with the Yalta agreement.

For a long time such a diversity of views did not appear to imperil the party's unity to any great degree, and seemed to be one of those points of controversy which normally, and often inevitably, occur in any political organization founded on the commonly accepted principles of democracy.

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Indeed, had the government parties showed any genuine respect for the spirit of the Yalta postulate of free and unfettered elections, the contention of M. Kiernik and M. Wycech might well have been more reasonable, on the ground that Poland's unsettled state did not permit the luxury of party politics.

The conduct of the government, however, before and during the elections of January of this year proved that far greater principles were at stake than mere inter-party arrangements. The division within the P.S.L. therefore assumed a fundamental character. At the end of February the supporters of M. Kiernik and M. Wycech openly declared their opposition to M. Mikolajczyk, and started to publish a new weekly newspaper "The Peasants and the State." In this paper M. Dec, one of the opposition leaders, maintained that it was only the obstinacy of M. Mikolajczyk which had prevented the P.S.L. from joining the Government "*bloc*," and that it was in the interests of the peasants to co-operate with the workers' parties. There have also been reports of spontaneous dissolutions of the P.S.L. in various parts of Poland, especially in the regions of Bialystok, Wroclaw (Breslau), and other Silesian districts. The dissidents are said to have joined either the "*Bloc*" Peasant Party (S.L.) or the ranks of the moderate Socialists. That M. Mikolajczyk will resign himself to such a state of affairs seems unlikely. On the 14th March the P.S.L. Executive suspended the editors of "The Peasants and the State" from their party membership, on the ground that they had started publication of a paper without the Executive's permission, and that their action was detrimental to the Party's interests.

According to Warsaw Radio and the official Soviet news agency "*Tass*," General Karol Swierczewski, the Polish Vice-Minister of Defence, was murdered by Ukrainian Fascists near Sanok on the 28th March. (Sanok is in the south of Rzeszow province, some fifteen miles from the Polish-Russian frontier.) Swierczewski, who was born in Warsaw at the end of the last century, was one of the Poles of Russian Poland who became almost more Russian than Polish. Between the two world wars he became a Soviet officer, graduating at the Frunze Academy. In July 1936, under the name of General Walter, he commanded one of the International Brigades in the Spanish Civil War, and was later in charge of the Polish contingent. During the recent world war, he acted as deputy to General Berling, the Polish Commander of the Polish troops fighting in Russia. He was placed in charge of the Second Polish Army, promoted to the rank of Colonel General by the Soviet Government and, according to Warsaw radio, distinguished himself during the battles for the Western Neisse, the river now claimed by Poland as part of its frontier with Germany. He became Vice-Minister of Defence in March 1946.

SOVIET UNION

Mr. Bevin was received by Generalissimo Stalin on the 24th March. On the whole, attacks on Great Britain in the Soviet press have been on a smaller scale than before the Moscow Conference, though specific criticisms continue. The tour of the delegates of the Supreme Soviet visiting this country has been reported in daily *Tass* messages; the Prime Minister's dinner on the 24th March was given one and a half columns, Mr. Attlee's speech being condensed into fifteen lines, and M. Kuznetsov's reply being reported in full. It is of interest that this is one of the very rare occasions since the end of the war when the Soviet public has been allowed to read any praise of the British war effort or expression of confidence in British intentions.

Mr. Truman's proposals for aid to Greece and Turkey have been kept before Soviet readers, but there has been no further comment after the original *Pravda* and *Izvestiya* leaders, which themselves were relatively mild in tone. It does not seem that a major press campaign is to be launched comparable with that devoted to Mr. Churchill's Fulton speech. The atmosphere in Moscow would seem to indicate a feeling that the Soviet Government may have pushed its policies rather too hard since the war, as such a strong American reaction has been provoked. The line put forward by Soviet citizens in conversations with H.M. Embassy staff is to point out how right the Soviet Government has been about the expansionist tendencies of the U.S.A. and to suggest Anglo-Soviet co-operation in resistance to American domination.

M. Molotov reaffirmed on the 24th March his Government's view that it would be expedient for the present Council of Foreign Ministers to discuss the fulfilment of the Moscow Agreement on China, and on the following day the first Soviet press comments on the question began to appear. A long *Tass* message from

Shanghai emphasised that "democratic" Chinese circles were in favour of the proposal to discuss China, and the same point was elaborated in a *Krasnaya Zvezda* article, which denounced American imperialist interference in Chinese affairs.

Reporting of the Conference of Foreign Ministers has continued on the same lines as hitherto, though the account of the proceedings of the 25th March was deliberately distorted so as to give the impression that it was the U.S.S.R. which had taken the initiative in inviting the participation of Persia. The Secretary of State's proposal to associate Persia was completely omitted. The bulk of comment on the Conference in the press has been devoted to different aspects of the German problem. The main attacks on British policy in Germany have been concerned with the question of patents and of the Ruhr coal. Patents were described as a very important article in reparations, in contradiction to the Secretary of State's statement, and Great Britain and the U.S.A. were said to have already received more than a milliard dollars under this heading. As for the Ruhr, the British were said to be deliberately restricting Ruhr coal production to prevent further competition on European markets, in view of Britain's present lack of coal for export. The most important articles on the German problem have been two in *Izvestiya* and *Pravda* by the well-known writers Tarle and Zaslavsky. Tarle attacked federalisation on the usual lines, but while highly critical of this country and the U.S.A. he never referred to the French. Zaslavsky, surprisingly enough, in view of his usual unrestrained invective, devoted himself exclusively to the political structure of Germany without criticising the Allies. He actually allowed some virtues to the Weimar Constitution, saying that the restoration of many of its features would be useful, as it would be utopian (the greatest condemnation from the lips of a Marxist), to attempt to return to the pre-Bismarck structure of Germany. He concluded by affirming the responsibility of the German people themselves for the future structure of their country. Nothing permanent could be imposed on them from outside.

The decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. prohibiting marriages between citizens of the U.S.S.R. and foreigners was only published in the official bulletin on the 18th March, though it was dated 15th February. It does not appear as yet to have been reproduced in the Soviet daily press. H.M. Ambassador had spoken to M. Molotov concerning such marriages on the 31st December to the effect that it might be better to forbid them than to refuse to allow wives to join their husbands. The decree may, however, be mainly designed to prevent marriages between Soviet occupation troops and civilian employees abroad and foreigners. No success has so far been achieved in securing permission for Soviet wives of British husbands to leave the U.S.S.R.

The negotiations between this country and the U.S.S.R. over fish supplies have at length been concluded, and a contract signed providing for the shipment over two years of 150,000 cases of tinned salmon and 25,000 cases of tinned crab weighing 48 lbs. each from the Soviet Union to Great Britain. Before the war the United Kingdom imported 2½ million cases of salmon of which 700,000 came from Russia. The main obstacle encountered during the course of the recent negotiations, apart from the price, was the Russian demand for 1,000 tons of tinplate; only 500 were necessary for the amount of salmon offered.

(For the arrival of an Icelandic Trade Delegation in Moscow see under "Scandinavia.")

General Golikov has issued a statement on Italian prisoners-of-war in the U.S.S.R., asserting, in contradiction of earlier reports, that the repatriation of Italians from the U.S.S.R. had been completed by the end of 1946. He gave a total of 21,065 and stated that a further 146,756 Italians had been liberated from German captivity by the Red Army in Poland, Germany and Austria and had been repatriated. According to Italian sources, 60,000 Italian prisoners have disappeared in the U.S.S.R. without trace and are believed to have died in concentration camps.

The serious agricultural situation in the Ukraine was discussed at a recent plenary session of the Ukrainian Communist Party; M. Kaganovich, who has recently been sent specially by the Central Committee to become Chairman of the Communist Party of the Ukraine (replacing M. Khrushchev, who remains Chairman of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers), drew special attention to the serious lagging behind in the production of summer wheat and emphasised the importance of restoring the sugar beet acreage. The provincial committees of the Ukrainian

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Communist Parties and the local Soviets in certain districts were held responsible for many of the deficiencies in agricultural production.

SCANDINAVIA

Norway

In the complete absence of any Soviet reaction to the Norwegian note conveying the *Storting's* resolution on Spitsbergen (see *Summary* No. 383) the most important repercussions so far have taken place at home. Considerations of foreign policy forbade the proceedings in the *Storting* on the 15th of February from being made public until more than two weeks later, when it was disclosed that the Government's resolution had been adopted by 101 votes to 11. The Communist members were found to have been the only dissenters, favouring a draft resolution drawn up by the Party's representative in the Foreign Affairs Committee, M. Strand-Johansen. This motion, as might have been expected, urged the Government to continue the bilateral discussions with the Soviet Union regarding the joint defence of the Islands. The action of the Communists, so clearly demonstrative of where their true allegiance lies, has evoked bitter criticism throughout the country, and the chief Government organ, *Arbeiderbladet*, has not hesitated fairly and squarely to condemn them as fifth-columnists prepared to subordinate the interests of Norway to those of the Soviet Union. Whatever the outcome of the whole affair may be, and there is no reason to suppose that the *Storting* will feel inclined even to reconsider the matter, it may already be said that the Communist Party has suffered a serious, though as yet inestimable, loss of popularity.

An important debate on reconstruction was resumed on the 4th of March. Concerned mainly with the work in the war-ravaged provinces of Finnmark and North Troms, the debate formed the occasion for a determined and concerted attack upon the Government. Members of the Opposition, one after another, alleged gross incompetence on the part of the administration, and M. Utheim of the Liberal Party, went as far as to call upon the Minister of Supply, M. Torp, to resign. The same speaker also urged the appointment of a special committee to investigate the malpractices revealed, most of which concerned the evasion of regulations, particularly by timber contractors. Freights paid to shipowners were also far in excess of the maximum rates stipulated, and the Opposition brought the charge that the Ministry of Supply had, though perhaps unwittingly, encouraged black market transactions which it was the avowed intention of the Government to stamp out. Government speakers ridiculed the contention of the Opposition that the debate was non-political, and asserted that the speeches in which the Government had been criticised revealed a gleeful desire to make political capital out of the difficulties in the North. Answering the charges, M. Torp admitted that a certain amount of unlicensed building had taken place, and timber had been obtained by persons evading the regulations. This, however, showed a lack of social conscience on the part of individuals and firms who were supporters of the doctrine of private enterprise, for which the Government could hardly be held responsible since this policy was advocated by the Opposition itself. Excess freights, the Minister agreed, had been paid in a number of cases but these had been recovered; the Department was continuing its investigations into other cases, and proceedings would be instigated against offenders. M. Utheim's proposal for the appointment of a special investigation committee was a challenge and he, M. Torp, considered the question to be one of confidence. M. Utheim's motion was rejected with 82 votes to 54, and the investigations left in the hands of the Ministry of Supply. The Communist members voted with the Government.

Denmark

Denmark is at present in the throes of the forthcoming elections to the Upper House, the *Landting*. The elections to this body are rather complicated and far less democratic than those to the Lower House, which is one of the reasons why the abolition of the *Landting* has been repeatedly mooted and forms one of the planks of the Communist platform. Of the 76 members of the *Landting* nineteen are elected by an electoral college composed of members of the retiring *Landting*, while the remainder are elected in the seven Upper House constituencies, each division electing an electoral college. In practice, however, the electoral colleges carry out the decisions of the party organisations, since the parties hold meetings immediately prior to the official deliberations of the electoral colleges and impose on their members the duty to vote for candidates selected by the party. Thus it would seem as though it were possible to work out accurately the number of Upper House members which each party will gain, but there exist certain means of "eking out the votes" and parties know how to exploit these possibilities. If, for instance, two parties jointly can secure a mandate, they may do so in association on previously agreed conditions. While it is possible that an agreement may this time be made between the middle class parties it seems hardly likely that the Conservatives and Radicals will be able to come to an arrangement, and M. Hedtoft, the leader of the Social-Democratic Party, has rejected a Communist proposal for a joint list, although he tempered his refusal by explaining that his Party did not wish to form a list with *any* party. It is rather difficult to forecast the result of the elections, as the strike in the printing trade is severely handicapping any expression of opinion, but there seems little likelihood that the Government Party will lose any votes—they may even show a slight gain.

The outgoing *Landting* consists of 34 Social-Democrats, 19 members of Venstre, 14 Conservatives, 8 Radicals and one Member for the Faeroes.

On the 25th of March, M. Rasmussen, the Danish Foreign Minister, announced the Government's intention of terminating the United States-Danish Greenland treaty. This decision may well be one of the most popular that the present Danish Government has taken, as rumours emanating from the United States that it was intended to purchase Greenland were very much resented all over the country and had been described by the Foreign Minister himself, as absurd and contrary to Danish tradition.

The expression of Danish opinion on President Truman's message to Congress was also handicapped by the printers' strike. On the whole, however, those papers which have appeared seem to have confined themselves to reporting the speech without comment, which is probably partly due to the usual Danish lack of interest in foreign affairs and mainly to the intense Danish desire to avoid being forced to take sides in any dispute between East and West. Nevertheless, one may wonder whether the sudden firmness displayed by the Danes in their demand for payment under their agreement with Soviet Russia—and a very recent approach to the American Ambassador in Copenhagen about inter-Scandinavian defence—is by any chance connected with Mr. Truman's declaration.

Sweden

In Sweden, on the other hand, the latent dislike and fear of Russia has led to a widespread welcome in the Liberal and Conservative press for Mr. Truman's declaration of defiance. The Government papers, however, and the Communist *Ny Dag*, deplored Mr. Truman's speech as signifying a challenge to Moscow which might conceivably lessen the chances of the peace settlement between the Great Powers.

Iceland

An Icelandic Trade Delegation has arrived in Moscow, but its coming has not yet been announced in the Russian press. It will be interesting to see whether, taking their cue from the Danes, the Icelanders will use these parallel negotiations for trying to exert pressure on His Majesty's Government during the trade conferences at present taking place in this country.

Finland

Signs that the fortunes of the Social Democratic Party may be reviving can be detected in the resolution adopted at a recent congress of the Party's Swedish branch, which for a considerable period has been opposed to the central leadership, and at times carried on a vigorous flirtation with the Folk Democrats. The meeting at which the Swedish-speaking workers considered the future affiliation of their organisation, decided by 90 votes to 31 to remain within the Social Democratic Party, and, at the same time, reached the conclusion that their paper, *Arbetarbladet*, must in the future follow a line more in conformity with the remainder of the Party press, and not lend itself to attacks upon the Social Democratic Movement. The Editor, M. Atos Virtanen, who, it will be remembered, last autumn, together with Mme. Kilpi, resigned from the Party, was consequently replaced by M. Gunnar Henriksson. The Congress further expressed the hope of speedily reaching a better understanding with the majority of the Party, thus ensuring that the minority will receive a satisfactory representation in the Party leadership. In view of the fact that a very real danger at one time existed of the Swedish branch detaching itself and perhaps joining the Folk Democratic camp, the decision of the Congress must be regarded as an important step towards the unity of the Movement, and should greatly strengthen it during the critical months ahead.

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